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Immigration and British Politics from
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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my parents who have been a great source of inspiration and support. This thesis is also dedicated to all my family members and friends whose affection, love and prayers encouraged me to get such a success and honour. Along with all my respected teachers who made great efforts to guide me and build my personality during my educational career.

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Abstract

The contribution of immigrants in British politics is backdated to the pre-war era. In the recent decades, this contribution is strikingly different due to the government's attempts to restrain the power of immigrants. However, they constitute a vehement opponent as they manage to impose themselves. This policy adapted by the government became more visible after 9/11 Attacks when they started considering Muslims as an imminent danger. Surprisingly, this incident constitutes a spark for the Muslim activism to be more effective in the 21th C. They change the rule of the game and contribute in the emergence of new political entities. This paper investigates different patterns of immigrants' political involvement either as electorates or candidates, in addition to the political movements, organizations and election campaigns that worked on urging these communities. The first chapter is concerned with the historical context to immigration and British politics and the roots of immigrants' political involvement in this country, because it is worth to mention the various stages of its development. The second chapter investigates their political engagement in the 1980s and 1990s, the main problems they faced and the way how they dealt with. The third chapter is devoted to be on Muslim involvement in British politics and how they faced the campaign organized against them after 9/11. It depicts their situation in the wake of this incident and their strategies to improve their image. Overall, this research concludes that the social problems cannot be solved by accusing immigrants and alienating them. In contrast, involving them in the political life will make them feel responsible and work hand in hand with government to get rid of all these problems.

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Introduction

In the last decades, Britain witnessed unexpected waves of immigrants who made their touch in British politics. This influx of foreigners created a multicultural society with serious social and economic problems because they were often unwelcomed. Thus immigration became the most prominent issue discussed in any political debate.

Immigration in the UK is unquestionably not recent. In fact, the nation has been experiencing it for centuries. The British society throughout history has been formed from different civilizations which were: Celts, Saxons, Vikings and so on. All of them were invaders settled down in Britain because it consisted for them a land of making fortune. However; the most influential generation of immigrants that highly affected British politics took place during the post-war era. At that time, the post Empire Britain opened the door for immigrant workers from the former colonies to cover the labour shortage in several industrial zones thanks to the *1948 British Nationality Act*. The latter provided for them golden opportunities to get rid of poverty and unemployment. Subsequently, the level of immigration exceeded the expectations. This overflow of entrants pushed the government to reshape immigration policies because it was under the pressure of the Far-Right wing parties. The latter could be seen as the main political consequences of increasing growth of immigrants. They strongly believed that there was a need to control immigration and reduce it. As a consequence, a policy of restrictionism was introduced and remained valid and more tightened during 1980s and 1990s. This policy took a great part in the rise of racism and discriminatory behaviours among the British society. On the other hand, the ethnic minorities realized that the only solution to fight this racial hatred was the engagement in British politics. Thus they adopted other different strategies to deal with this plight.

With the end of the 20th century, immigration strikingly expanded thanks to the EU expansion and Blair's policies that encouraged more immigrants. This led to an exceptional movement of labours from Eastern Europe. Some scientists believe that the real reason behind

the large waves of immigrants is the Capitalist system. They think that this economic scheme depends heavily on the free movement of people who are seeking jobs while others believe that there are political purposes from this mass immigration. Whatever the reason is, the sheer number of immigrants has always its outcomes on the British politics.

After the 9/11 Events, The government's views towards immigration have changed. These events put Muslims in the forefront of any political debate because they were seen as the responsible about these terrorist attacks. As a result, the British government brought new measures to restrict immigration control. They primarily targeted Muslims as if they were the only category of immigrants. In contrast, these racist policies motivated many Muslims to involve in British politics and defend the Muslim community's rights .This rise in the political awareness and Muslim activism changes Muslims' life as well as the balances of British politics.

The British government considers immigration as serious problem facing their country. The radical changes brought by immigrants make it one of the hottest topics in the political arena. The main problem that bothers the decision makers is the ongoing rise of immigrants' involvement in British politics at all the levels. They constitute a real threat for them in the electoral competitions due to the increase of their supporters. Thus, each time the government changes its policies over immigration to serve its interests. This returned to be more problematic after 9/11 Attacks because the government's new approach produced a serious racism towards Muslims. It is of interest to know how immigrants changed the British politics and the mains reasons behind the over-focus on Muslims. This helps to overcome the social problems and introduce alternative approaches that can be more effective.

The aim from this work is to highlight why the newcomers have such great interest in Britain and exhibit how the concern about immigration affects the political stances of the

mainstream politicians. By other words, it depicts the shift in the government attitudes towards immigration throughout history, the main causes behind it, and the consequences of these orientations. It seeks also to show how immigration is politicalized and how immigrants reshape the current British political landscape. This study also elaborates the situation of Muslims after 9/11 and their political response to the anti-Muslim campaign. The major focus will be on the post Empire immigration onwards.

What is expected from this research is providing a number of strategies to support the policy of multiculturalism and advocate integration and toleration among the natives and the foreigners. The latter will enjoy better life conditions with these strategies. Furthermore, the work will correctly represent immigrants and Muslims in particular and deny all the stereotypes fabricated against them.

Immigration in the UK definitely is a divisive question and everyone is exposed to deal with it either as an immigrant or as a host community. Both natives and newcomers often face several problems in dealing with this situation due to their limited knowledge about such issues. The meanwhile it is also a chance for the British people to know how to intelligently deal with foreigners. The other reason behind choosing this topic is the horrific experiences of treating Muslims after 9/11 incident and their misrepresentation in media. Such work will contribute in correcting the dominant ideas about Muslims and reinforcing the ties between the indigenous and the outsiders in general. It can be seen as a contributory study works on realising a peaceful coexistence in which all the political rights of these minorities are saved.

Immigration and its impact on the UK are considered as very critical questions that attract the attention of the national and international literature to talk about. Thus several scholars attempt to illuminate the positive and negative effects of this phenomenon at all the levels. Terri E. Givens, an associate professor in Texas University discusses in his work

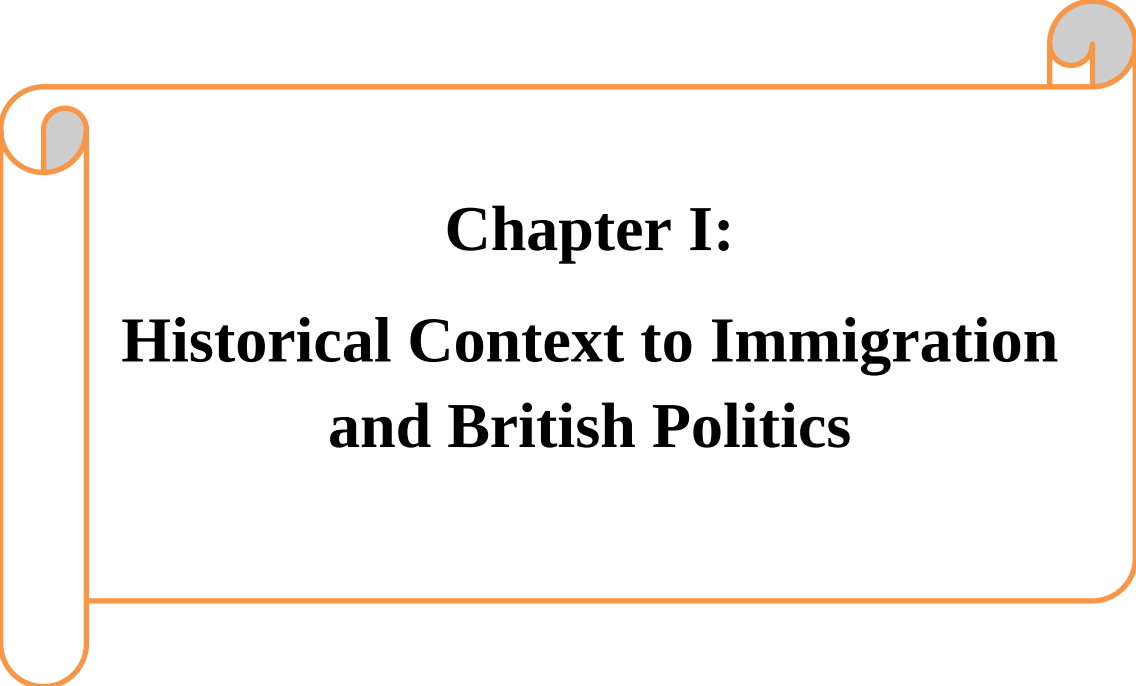
which entitled '*The Rise of the Radical Right and its Impact on Immigration Integration Policies*' the influence of the massive amounts of immigrants which were accompanied with the rise of anti-immigration far- right parties. The latter witnessed an unprecedented growth in the mid-1970s and heavily contributed in determining the immigration regulations and making it more restricted. These racist attitudes were the main reason behind the violent behaviour practiced against the ethnic minorities. What fuelled their stance was the 9/11 Attacks. This Ideology introduced what is known by xenophobia and made the immigrants feel alienated. It went in parallel with strong anti-Muslim sentiments (Ginkenberg 2004).

Despite the efforts of the racists to close the door of immigration, they have to accept the fact that Britain is a diverse country with noticeable ethnicities that cannot be ignored. Gradually these minorities developed and started asking for their political rights like parliamentary representation and participating taking decisions. (Purdam and Field 2002). This idea of politicalizing ethnicities aims to save the social coherence and secure their rights. For example Anwar's 2001 analysis of the ethnic minorities' participation in the 1997 General Election and 1998 Local Election exhibits that the Black Caribbean and Africans had the least proportion of participation in which 26% of them found themselves unregistered followed by the Indians and White immigrants. The corollary of this, several organizations were founded to defend the ethnic minorities' rights like NBS and NCRM. Thanks to them, the political participation became no longer voting and selecting their favourable candidate, yet it developed to be effective involvement by gaining seats in the parliament (Back et al 2004).

In this research I am going to use a variety of approaches. I will depend firstly on descriptive and historical approaches to depict the historical events related to immigration that took place from the end of the WWII onward, then I will adapt the analytical approach

to interpret and discuss these events and find the relationship between them. Data will be collected from polls, interviews, political statement, governmental sources and so on.

The thesis will be divided into three chapters. The first one is devoted to be on the historical background of immigration and politics in the UK . The second chapter will discuss and analyse the major effects of immigrants on British politics ,while the third one will tackle immigration policies after 9/11 Events and the concentration on Muslims. It will contain also the conclusion in which I state the main findings and the contribution that this research will add to the previous knowledge about this topic.

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Chapter I:

Historical Context to Immigration and British Politics

This chapter presents a historical context of immigration in Britain and clarifies the major political and economic circumstances behind the growth of the immigrants' proportion in the UK. This helps you understand the origins of modern political spectra and attitudes and analyse the process of their development. It is divided into two parts which are the pre and post-war immigration. The pre-war period characterises by an influx of Jewish refugees mainly from Russia and Germany . The main reason behind the concentration on the Jewish immigration was their great impact on British politics. It was very remarkable in comparison to the other immigrants' influence which became noticeable only after the WW II. This study aims to exhibit the Jews' political role and the contribution of their rapid growth in determining immigration policies at that time. It depicts also their political influence at the international level which is keenly interesting. The chapter also covers the main problems grow out of this upsurge. The second part of this chapter tackles the post-war period which is known by labour shortage. This section shows the main procedures taken by the British government to solve this problem and the major consequences of these decisions on British politics. It illuminates the new political entities that emerged as a result to these radical changes either from the side of the natives or the new settlers.

1. The Pre-war Immigration:

Throughout history, Britain was always an attractive land associated with immigrants who came from all around the world seeking more comfortable life. These waves of immigrants were initially modest. However; they started to be noticeable in the middle of 20th century. Despite the geographical difficulties Britain Witnessed a series of invasions from all over Europe like: Celts, Anglo-Saxons, Romans, Normans, Vikings and more. These episodes of successive civilizations heavily affected Britain and shaped the current face of this country. The early statistics of 1900s showed that there were over fifty thousand Germans, and twenty

thousand Italians inhabiting England and Wales¹. Therefore, the majority of the newcomers arguably came from European countries specially: Poland, Ireland, Ukraine, Belgium and other countries from Eastern and Central Europe. This increase in the European population was due to the free approach of immigration followed by the government. This approach backdated to the era of the free trade and the growth of the Industrial Revolution which was known by a harsh labour shortage. Moreover, the British bosses did not care about nationalism and ethnicities because the priority was given to the economic advantages. Therefore, the main motives that made Britain the first destination of early immigrants were firstly the few control over the access of the foreigners, and secondly, seeing Britain as a great labour market in the era of the Industrial Revolution.

1.1. The Jewish Refugees as the Dominant Exodus of the Pre-war immigration:

With the advent of the 20th century the number of immigrants became very noticeable and the government sought to control it by imposing regulations and laws over immigration. Thus, the new legislations gradually ended the soft policies over immigration with the introduction of the Aliens Act in 1905. This act mainly targeted the Jewish who were the overwhelming majority of aliens. At that time, there was a growing movement of European Jewish towards Britain to escape unrest and maltreatment in Russia and other places in Eastern and Central Europe. They suffered from horrific experiences in these anti-Semitic countries. They settled in Spitalfields and the living standards were generally better than those in their homelands.

Soon after that, signs of tension started to appear between the indigenous and Jewish settlers because, firstly, they were accused of occupying all the available jobs, and secondly,

¹“ The History of Immigration to the UK”, *Migration Watch UK*, <https://www.migrationwatchuk.org/key-topics/history-of-immigration>

they hardly integrated within the British society in order to maintain their culture and traditions. This led to a huge concern among the British government and public as well about the increasing number of Jews entering Britain. Thus, this period characterised by anti-Jewish immigration and many politicians sought to stop it with the help media backlash. The 1905 act was annually amended and increasingly tightened the borders . Hence, Britain did not become the most appropriate place for the Jews because they were unwelcomed and their sufferance started again due to the rise of anti-Semitic sentiments.

1.2. The Government's Attitudes towards the Jewish Immigrations:

The successive government followed the same path of their ancestors and there were real attempts to reduce immigration. After the end of the First World War, there was a wide spread unemployment especially with the high number of immigrants and the returned servicemen. This created a sharp competition over the job opportunities. As a reaction the government introduced the Aliens Order Act of 1920 to minimise the influx of aliens seeking jobs or residence in Britain. This act required the newcomers to be registered by the police whose power was extended by this law. It aimed to make the operation more systematic and prevent the unfavourable applicants or those who were healthily unqualified to obtain the right of abode in Britain. Even those who were allowed to enter did not enjoy absolute freedom because they were banned from getting some jobs like public services or holding a government office .i.e. it sought to secure jobs for the natives. Thus, it strongly limited the right of employment for the immigrants and enflamed anti-aliens sentiments.

The 1920 Act was supplemented by another one in 1925 which put more constraints on the coloured alien seamen who experienced a violent mistreatment especially those from Africa and India. Therefore, the period between WW I and WW II characterized by lower level of immigration and growing racial considerations. The prominent factors behind this

discrimination and immigration reduction in addition to the restricted policies were the economic depression and the rise of nationalist sense. Thus, several workers and immigrants chose to accept miserable life at home rather than suffering twice from unemployment and racism in Britain.

1.3. The Rise of Fascism as a Consequence to the Outflow of Jews:

During the next decades, particularly 1930s, the rise of racist groups like The British Union of Fascists fuelled the anti-immigration sentiments. They were seen as a political response to the huge number of arrivals in Britain. This union was headed by Oswald Moseley who was influenced by the Fascist ideas of Benito Mussolini after his visit to Italy. He was also enamoured and fascinated by the Nazi regime and anti-Semitism in Germany and wanted to create the British version of them. The union was founded in 1932 and gained a worthwhile popularity especially after the rise of xenophobia and the overwhelming Jewish exodus. Their target was to cut immigrants' coming to Britain because they saw them as the responsible about the 1930s economic turmoil and the growth of unemployment. Moreover, they aimed to purify the British society and save the Britishness. They mainly opposed Jewish and non-white immigrants. They were considered as a pressure group on the government to push it to pass more restricted legislations.

Few years later, the radical ideology of the Union progressively minimised the proportion of its supporters especially after practicing aggression on anti-fascist opponents. This fraught environment led to more social riots especially in London' East End which contained a large proportion of Jewish and Irish immigrants. As a result, several cities witnessed racial riots. This arguably was due the harsh campaign of the white racist groups against other minorities. The battle of Cable Street in London was one of the cruellest struggles and considered as a turning point in the union's history because it forebode by signs

of its ending. The prominent consequence of this battle was the Public Order Act which made it illegal to use threatening language and wear political uniform i.e. Mosley's Blackshirts. In the eve to the Second World War, the increasing enmity towards Nazi Germany which was linked by the media to the British Union of Fascists extremely participated in the downfall of the BUF in 1940.

The growth of the Nazi power made the British feel panic and be aware that there was a necessity to give up on the union. A horrible fear started to be visible towards anyone spoke German accent because he was seen as a spy. Thus, a series of arresting Germans living in Britain lunched at that time. This decision included even the Jewish minority who were seen as 'Enemy Aliens'. Eventually, the British government decided to get rid of them and adapt of policy of deportation in 1940's. Australia and Canada were the fate of the majority of them.

1.4. Jews' Political Response to Anti-Semitism:

In the interwar time, Britain was a refuge provider for tens of thousands of refugees fleeing poverty, injustice and marginalisation. It was the first destination for the second wave of Jewish who looked for a salvation from the Nazi persecution because it was never a battleground. However; the British government at that time tightened the borders depending on the 1919 Aliens Act provision and the refugees' statuses were studied case by case. Even those who were accepted allowed only for temporary residence. In April 1933 Home Secretary John Gilmour discussed the refugee question for the first time stating that: 'in accordance with the time-honoured tradition of this country, no unnecessary obstacles are placed in the way of for foreigners seeking admission' .²

² John Hope Simpson, "The Refugee Problem" *Report of Survey*, Vol.17, No.5, (London: Oxford University Press),1939, p.345.

Despite the efforts of anti-Semitic and fascist groups, a new organisation was established in 1930s to defend the Jewish rights. It was known by the Jewish Refugees Committee (JRC). As a result, The British government showed some sympathy towards the persecuted Jews and changed its policy. This embodied the early attempts of Jews to engage in the political life of Britain. Subsequently a large scale of Jewish guaranteed entering with considerable privileges like housing, education, jobs, financial aids, and similar. These soft policies were temporary because many political and civic activists opposed this decision and called for the protection of jobs. Hence; several refugee cases were refused later on and the door was closed again in the face of any refugee came from Nazi-controlled territories.

1.5. The Emergence of the Pro-Jewish-Immigration Politicians:

The immigration policies in Britain changed by the internal circumstances as well as by the course of world events. After the implication of the Crystal Night or what was known by "*Kristallnacht programme*" in Germany a sheer number of Jewish were killed by Hitler. This historical incident took place in November 1938 and was called also the Jewish Holocaust. As a reaction, pro-refugee voices started to rise and many politicians tried to put pressure on the government to edit its policies towards this category to save them from the ravage and horror of the war. Therefore, the British government adapted what was known by the Kindertransport programme. It took place in 1938 till 1940 and aimed to salvage roughly 10.000 Jewish children from Germany and other places around the world but it firstly targeted the Holocaust survived children³. These children got between the hammer and the anvil. From one side, there was the Nazi threat and from another one they will face homelessness and poverty if they managed to rescape from Hitler's menace. These soft policies obviously included only some categories of refugees who were predominantly children under age of 17.

³ C N Trueman, "Kindertransport", *The History Learning Site*, 9 Mar 2015.
<https://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/nazi-germany/kindertransport/>

They were brought for temporary residency and they will go back to their homelands when the war will end. Few years later, the introduced children became young men and reached adulthood. One year after the outbreak of the Second World War, The government passed a new law declared that all the enemy aliens should be interned including the Kindertransport Jewish who became adults. Eighteen years old internees were chosen between two options, either to join the army or to work in war industries and the majority of them preferred the first choice. After the termination of the war, a massive proportion of Kindertransport Jewish wanted to join their families, however; most of them discovered that their family members died either in the Holocaust of 1938 or in the Second World War. Hence, they remained in Britain and became British citizens with permanent residence. As a result, the Jewish population remained very significant. This flow of Jews was the first sizeable exodus of foreigners stationed in Britain and followed later on by successive waves of immigrants from around the planet.

1.6. The Jewish Contribution in British Politics during 1930s/ 1940s:

Politically speaking, the Jewish played a very influential role in British politics in the 20th C. Initially their presence in Britain was always a controversial issue. They were pariahs and unwelcomed by the British people and government as well especially Arthur James Belfour. However; they were intelligent and characterised by high mental abilities which managed them to innovate many significant discoveries particularly in the war weapons. One of these scientists was Chaim Weizmann who met Belford on 1904 and the latter was admired by his abilities to convince the great States to change their minds about a given issue. Thus he tried to gravitate him to his side to convince the USA to join the war with Britain in the WWII. In this meeting they discussed the idea of establishing a State for the Jews in Palestine, because Weizmann was one of the leaders of the Zionist movement.

The Zionist movement was established by Theodor Herzl who thought that the most appropriate solution to get rid of the undesirable Jewish was founding a new State for them on Palestine. He said that though this region was not attractive and naturally poor yet we were ready to live within it by the virtue of historical relations. He added that the Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe will continue due to the brutality in that area. To solve this problem of the Jewish overflow, their destination should be changed to end the existence of the sematic race in Britain⁴.

Before this meeting, the Zionist movement was looking forward to ear the support of Germany and Othman Empire, however, their demand was not advocated. Thus, Britain took the lead and promoted their project. In return, Weizmann should place his discoveries at the disposal of Britain especially the Acetone which strongly contributed in the victory of the Allies in the WW II. Thereby, Belfour gave them his famous promise which was known by *Belford Declaration*, that he will give them Palestine, though it was under Othman rule.⁵ Herbert Samuel who was the first Jewish Zionist minister in Britain declared that the current circumstances were not suitable to occupy Palestine by the Jews. It was better to put it under British power to pave the way for them and organise immigration and settlements. This decision was advocated also by Weizmann who supported the British indirect colonisation to Palestine. As a result, the British occupation to this land took place in 1922 till 1947. He reinforced his stance by saying that creating a loyal power in this area will be a human barrier to protect the British benefits there especially the Sues channel.

There was also another factor behind the British support to the Jews which was the occupying of Jewish officers sensitive administrative positions in the Othman Empire. As it

⁴ "How Britain Prepared Palestine for The Jews", *Aljazeera*, Oct 2017.

<http://www.aljazeera.net/news/alquds/2017/10/31>

⁵ " Belfour's Declaration: The letter that Changed the Middle East History", *Aljazeera News*, Oct 2017.

<http://mubasher.aljazeera.net/news>

was common, Britain's imperial policy stimulated it to seize some provinces of this Empire or what was known by the Sick Man. Therefore, Britain conspired with those officers to topple the Othman regime instead of taking Palestine as a home land. This decision was welcomed by the Jewish who organized campaigns and unions to overthrow The Sultan Abdel Hamid the Second especially after his rejection to give up on Palestine. Ultimately they managed to defeat him in 1909. Hence, Britain's aim from this plan was its mutual benefits with the Jews rather than sympathising with them. This showed how the Jewish were involved in politics and to what extent they were influential.

1.7.European, Asian and Black Immigrants in Britain during 1930s /1940s:

It sounded illogical for Britain to blindly tighten the borders in the face of Jewish and other aliens whilst it was suffering from an acute labour shortage in some industrial areas. Thus it followed a dual policy by providing some exceptions out of the 1920 Aliens Act's terms whereas its power was still effective through the deportation of enemy aliens. Actually, in the Second World War, the British government gave around 60.000 Irish men and women the right to obtain jobs in the country⁶. Historically speaking, the most massive exodus of Irish backdated to the Irish Potato Famine in 1840s in which more than one million refugees landed Britain. Thus, the British-Irish relations had entrenched traditions. Throughout the 1930s, the Irish overflow went on due to the economic hardship at home and the establishment of the Free State in 1922 which negatively affected the life of the Irish citizens. This was considered as a push factor that led the Irish to emigrate.

On another hand, there were also pull factors which made Britain the favourable place of the majority of them. It was the geographical location and proximity between the two countries since they were neighbours.

⁶ " Irish immigration to England", *Irish Genealogy Toolkit*, <https://www.irish-genealogy-toolkit.com/Irish-immigration-to-England.html>

The growing number of Irish moving to Britain bothered the British who felt that they are flooded and their culture and language were threatened. They considered them as a burden and the main reason behind this economic decline. Although the Irish were white, they faced a harsh confrontation with the locals and suffer from discrimination. When the war finished many of them stayed in the British Isles and acquired the right of abode thanks to their participation in the war. Shortly, the Irish immigration was purely economic and based on three criteria which were: closeness, availability of jobs , and the facility of crossing the sea.

A verity of immigrants arrived Britain and the importation of Asian workers was the dominant feature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However; the number was not highly significant. The early presence of the Asians particularly Indians began with the growth of the East India Company which brought workers basing on its economic needs. After that, a flow of people from the Sub-Indian continent landed Britain for several reasons. Some of them were eager to discover the land of the colonizer; others came as workers after the growth of the Industrial Revolution, whilst the rest were international students get scholarships to continue their studies in the Great Britain or soldiers fought for Britain. Some statistics recorded 1.3 million Indians participated in the war. On the other hand, there were other cases of Asians who participated in politics. The first Asian political activists were: David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre, Dadabhai Naoroji, Mancherjee Bhowmagraee , Shapurji Saklatvala and Jonathan Sayeed. All of them were Indians and divided between the Conservative and Liberal parties.⁷

Another group of people was brought to Britain who consisted in the Black. They were obliged to come to England. The origin of the Black existence backdated to the Slave Trade which brought unwilling slaves from the Caribbean and the African continent. This

⁷ Richard Cracknell, "Ethnic Minorities in Politics, Government and Public Life", (UK: Library House of Common), 2012, p3.

ethnic group increasingly developed and established their own community in England. It was estimated around 10.000 to 20.000 but the absence of census banned the sociologists to know the exact number⁸. Throughout the World Wars another waves of Black arrived Britain and annexed to the British troops. By 1948 the total number was estimated around 20000⁹. These servicemen did not return their home and were considered the oldest ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom. They paved the way to form a very large Black community which became very influential at the political level in the next decade.

In 1940s a flood of Poles entered Britain as a result of the dual occupation of Poland in 1939 by the Soviet Union and the Nazi Germany. After the fall of Poland, a government-in-exile was established firstly in Romania, then it moved to France to station finally in London in 1940. Subsequently, more than 20.000 Poles wanted to enlist as volunteers and fight with the British army against Hitler. This collaboration strengthened the British-Polish ties and the Polish population significantly increased. What reinforced these ties was that Britain's first reason to engage in the war was the fall of Poland. The economic circumstances as well as the political circumstances were very important motives in the Polish existence in Britain. After the Second World War, the Polish felt betrayed because they fought with Britain to free their country from the German and Russian rule, however, Britain made an alliance with the USSR to collectively defeat Germany and take Poland by Russia instead. Therefore many of them refused to go back the communist Poland. Eventually the British government gave them a British nationality as a compensation to be satisfied by introducing the Polish Resettlement Act in 1947. This showed the strength of the immigrants' pressure on the British government to realize their demands.

⁸ David Dabydeen, "The Black Figure in 18th-century Art", *BBC*, 17 Feb 2011.
http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/abolition/africans_in_art_gallery.shtml

⁹ David Dabydeen, "The Black Figure in 18th-century Art", *BBC*, 17 Feb 2011.
http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/abolition/africans_in_art_gallery.shtml

In short; The Pre-war immigrants were divided into three categories. They were either refugees, labours seeking jobs or unwilling soldiers enforced to enlist in the war and fight for Britain. Despite The British triumph in the World Wars, Great Britain came out from this bitter struggle with heavy loses. Millions of its soldiers were injured, several establishments were destroyed, and the treasury was burdened by war expenditures. As a result, in the Post-war era, it continued the importation of workers in order to reconstruct Britain's infrastructures. However, in this period the new immigrants sought to gain effective role in the British society and be part of the British political arena. **The Postwar Immigration:**

The post-war period characterised by a shift in immigration dominated by the Jews to immigration dominated by the Commonwealth entrants. The new type of immigrants was considered as the most influential generation that brought drastic modifications to British politics.

2.1. Labour Shortage & The Introduction of workers:

After the end of the Second World War, Britain desperately needed workforce to cover the fatal deficiency of labours which made the British industrial production very low. What made matters worse was the women's abandonment about their jobs after the return of their husbands from the war. Thus, the British government understood that the construction of the country necessitated crowding a great number of volunteers to occupy the various jobs in different industries. At that time, an outstanding event took place which was the historical victory of Labour party in the 1945 General Election for the first time with the overwhelming majority. This new government radically changed the face of Britain at different levels and was known by its support to foreign labour settlements. This party constantly encouraged importing worker from abroad because of its concern about the future of labour shortage.

In the second half of 1940s, the immigration policies were quickly reversed to keep up

with the economic needs. The latter was the prominent priority of the Labour government. This step was described by "the Open Door Policy" by which the UK literally opened its frontiers for foreign workers. Even the economic project of the welfare state introduced by the party based mainly on the labour assistance especially in the National Health Services programme (NHS). Moreover, the rise of transportation also created several vacancies which exceeded the number of the local workers. Thereby, the situation changed in less than one decade after closing the door in front of the Holocaust Jewish refugees and Britain was flooded by huge number of immigrants coming predominantly from Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean.

Since the recovery of the country required more workers Britain realised that there was a must to amend its immigration regulations. Hence, the British government founded an entire plan known by *European Volunteers Workers Scheme* (EVW) to invite workers from Displaced Persons Camps (Dps) which contained Eastern European refugees to occupy vacancies in agriculture, industry, or public services¹⁰. According to Mail Online's article headed by "*Revealed How Thousands of Eastern European Immigration Helped to Rebuild Britain in the Dark Days after WWII*" there were roughly more than 80.000 men and women recruited as EVWs to reconstruct the nation after the havoc of the war¹¹. This category of labour migrants particularly Balts, Ukrainians, Latvians and Poles were highly desirable and welcomed while the largest recruited group from DP camps was the Polish because they were serious and high-skilled workers. This characteristic was the common feature among all East European DP workers. This was the argument used by the government to convince the anti-immigration parties.

¹⁰ Roman Krawec, "European Voluntary Workers", *Ukrainians in the United Kingdom Online encyclopaedia*, 2010. <http://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/eng/01/evw-e.htm>.

¹¹ Amie Garden, "Revealed How Thousands of Eastern European Immigration Helped to Rebuild Britain in the Dark Days after WWII." Mail Online 2017. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4510524/Eastern-European-immigrants-rebuilt-Britain-WWII.html>

2.2. Commonwealth Immigrants and the Question of British Nationality 1948:

In 1948 the British government brought a new controversial act which made a storm in British politics. It was known by the British Nationality Act which gave people from the Commonwealth countries British citizenship and allowed them to enter Britain without visa. The first exodus of the Commonwealth citizens under Britain's attempt to polarise labour power was the SS Empire Windrush which contained roughly 500 settlers¹². They came from Kingston Jamaica in June 1948 and the majority of them were ex-soldiers. It was the first sizeable immigration from non-European countries. They often took jobs in NHS, transportation and other state directed sectors. Soon after that, the employers immediately understood that the Caribbean and the Sub-Indian continent were a rich market of labours during 1950s without taking into account any racial considerations but economic advantages. They neglected the Royal Committee's attitudes which warned them from the consequences of the coloured immigration. Indeed this committee did not object the Commonwealth immigration in particular but it called to introduce only those workers who might not create problems because of their race or religion¹³. However; the British bosses declared that they had no alternative place in the world to import workers from¹⁴. They added, its preference was that this category did not cost too much but only on the condition that they did not accompany anyone unable to work due his age or health situation. Thus, sometimes they obliged to sign that they were alone without any dependant.

The purpose of this law was regulating both the nature and the ratio of immigration and bringing only the readymade and efficient workers. Furthermore, the employers were

¹²Richard Cavendish , « Arrival of SS Empire WindrushRichard : the arrival of the Empire Windrush, carrying some 500 settlers from Jamaica, at Tilbury Dock”, *History today*, Vol 48, NO.6, 1998 .

¹⁴ P. Foot, “Immigration and Race in Politics”, (Harmondsworth: Penguin) 1965, p116.

eager to bring this group of workers because they accepted to work in unhealthy and strenuous jobs unlike the local people. This decision was promoted by with the establishment of the Cabinet Committee in 1950s which supported the relaxed policies and opposed more crackdowns on immigration. As a result, the Commonwealth population progressively developed. Some statistics declared that the Immigration figure in the time between 1953-1956 increased from 30.000 to 46.300. They managed to drop the labour shortage to some extent¹⁵. This could be considered as the beginning of politicalizing immigrants and establishing organizations to talk in the behalf of them.

2.3. The Introduction of Restricted Immigration Policies 1960s/1970s:

In 1950s and 1960s, the British cities experienced a profound multiculturalism and remarkable increase in the census. Although the Commonwealth immigration launched in the late of 1940s, it started to be a strain only in 1960s. The reason behind this was that net immigration was less than zero in the last years and the number of Britons leaving the UK towards the USA, Australia and Canada was higher than that of the entrants. However; in 1960s the situation reversed to the opposite.

Fourteen years after the introduction of the Nationality Act, another piece of legislation was passed in 1962 known by the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act*. It was as a response to the massive proportion of the outsiders living in the UK and seen as the first law to regulate the Commonwealth immigration and the first racist one in the postwar Britain imposed by the Tory government. Under the provision of this act, Britain accepted only those who guaranteed jobs and could start working immediately after getting access to Britain. By other words, it followed a selective approach by which the unemployed or dependant immigrants became no longer accepted because they were considered as a burden on the

¹⁵ "Net migration into UK increases - Office for National Statistics", *BBC*, 28 Nov 2013.
<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-25135418>

British economy. Despite tightening the borders, the levels of immigration was still significant. Unexpectedly after this act the number of the Commonwealth residents grew up though the borders got further tightened because the fear that Britain will close its frontiers permanently pushed several families to join their relatives working in the UK¹⁶.

Throughout the 1960s, the immigration policies increasingly got more limited especially after issuing the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1968. The latter argued that having work experience or prospective jobs were not sufficient to be accepted. Alternatively, they must have a link with the UK either by birth or having ancestors living here. The act arguably weakened the power of the Nationality Act of 1948 because it declared that there were no more privileges given to the Commonwealth immigrants. Henceforth, there was no distinction between them and immigrants from other countries.

This act was actually a response to the Kenyan Asian refugees. These Asians were supported before to immigrate to Kenya when it was under British rule to make business and investment. After its independence in 1963 a new act was brought by the Kenyan government. Under this act Asians held jobs temporarily but in case when there were unemployed Kenyans the priority was given to them. Thereby, many Asians were replaced by the indigenous and found themselves jobless. Thus, massive amounts of them moved towards Britain. However, the majority of them were prevented to enter because they had no predecessors born in the UK. This decision made several people questioning about when the British subject could be considered as a British subject. Moreover, the government's intentions were somehow confused. From one side it sought to defend the rights of those aliens already living in Britain and outlaw discrimination. From another one, it imposed immigration policies to control the access of foreigners basing on racial grounds like: descent, skin colour and similar.

¹⁶ Colin Holmes, "John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society 1871-1971" (London: Macmillan), 1998, p3.

2.4. The Rise of Far Right Parties in the mid-1970s:

The growing number of the entrants attracted the attention of the British politicians especially the anti-immigration ones. The soft policies over immigration faced a bitter opposition by this group of political activists. At that time, another sense of fascism and radicalization resurfaced since Mosley's British Fascist Union of 1930s. Entire political parties were formed to achieve their goals. The most prominent one was the British National Front (BNF) which was founded in April 1967 and characterised by extreme racist ideology to completely stop the non-white immigration. They organised several anti-immigration protests and were supported by the press which misrepresented the immigrants.

Another influential figure was Enoch Powell who was a symbol of anti-immigration politics. He was a conservative MP and the minister of healthcare at that time. He opposed the overflow of newcomers and the Commonwealth entrants in particular. He believed that the British society will be swamped by aliens after few years. The BBC stated that the number of the foreign-born population reached one million by 1960s which meant 6.4% of the total population. The BBC added that the 1971 census recoded that there were 171.000 Jamaican, 313.000 Indian and 676.000 Irish . As a reaction to the 1968 Race Relations Act, Powell delivered his famous controversial speech which was known by "*Rivers of Blood*" and considered as a political earthquake. This act acquired this significance because it illuminated a very divisive issue and faced a harsh objection by the pro-immigration and anti-racist groups.

Through his speech, Powell reproved the immigration policies of the post war Britain and asked to quickly rethink about new legislative procedures. He said: 'I am making no allowance at all for fraudulent entry .In these circumstances nothing will suffice but that the total inflow for settlement should be reduced at once to negligible proportions and that the

necessary legislative and administrative measures should be taken without delay'¹⁷. This speech was contributory factor in rising aggression against the outsiders and found a great popularity among the British public and the Far-Right wing as well, because it included even those living in the UK. He thought that they should return to their homelands and kept only the high-educated ones. His supporters made several protests and strikes to promote his views. As a result, race riots broke out across the country.

Actually, Powell did not totally refused immigration because he called for adapting selective approach and brought only the high-skilled people like doctors, dentists and so on. He was strongly opposed by members from the conservative party itself. Subsequently, this speech led to his dismissal by Heath government which considered it racist and inflammatory. It was the first time that a British politician publicly incited prejudice and racism. It was considered as a disgraceful behaviour. Despite his dismissal, Powell managed through his speech to drop the number of entry demands of foreign labourers who were hesitated and afraid from the racial hatred they might face in the UK. . Moreover, some critics thought that it was the main reason behind the Conservative victory in the 1970 General Election.

2.5. The Growth of Anti-racist Groups and Organization.

Along the 1960s the notion of immigration in the UK was mistakenly linked to crime, terrorism and economic turmoil. The corollary of this was the increase of racism and this phenomenon negatively affected the new settlers . They were treated unequally in which the high-skilled workers were classified as unskilled workers. As a result, many of them preferred to be away from the largest cities where the levels of discrimination were very high and station in areas with low proportion of indigenous and occupied manual working. The European immigrants' number dropped after this racial discrimination unlike the

¹⁷ "Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' speech", *The Telegraph*, Nov 06. 2007.

Commonwealth one which remained still considerable due to the hard life conditions and the rise of unemployment their countries which got its independence recently. This social unrest attracted the attention of the government, thus it concentrated on controlling race relations to create more homogeneous society. Eventually a new act came into force in 1965 labeled the *Race Relations Act*. It was the first law in the UK that tackled this issue and aimed to strengthen the social ties and end discrimination in public spaces. This act was an appreciated step taken by the government to end prejudice; however it did not manage to eradicate this entrenched ideology of racism among the British society which still exists till now.

After the introduction of the 1968 *Commonwealth immigrants Act* which fuelled sentiments of hatred, the antidiscrimination activists called for administrative measurements to stop these racial conflicts. Although the previous *Race Relations Act* penalised any attempt of incitement or harming the others' freedom, it did not fully cover the sensitive aspects of discrimination like housing and employment. Its point of weakness was that it limited the scope of penalising discrimination in only the public spaces. That's to say, it was legal in other spaces. After a big pressure on the government, the latter announced the *Race Relations Act* of 1968 which enlarged the power of the 1965 *Race Relations Act*. It outlawed discrimination in housing, education and job opportunities basing on racial considerations.

In 1970s the British economy slowly developed and the job opportunities gradually decreased especially for the inefficient workers. As a result, the number of labour migrants reduced as well, particularly during the economic recession. Therefore, the image of Britain as an attractive land for labours progressively declined due to the absence of vacancies. There was also another influential factor which was the *Immigration Act* of 1972.

The 1972 *Immigration Act* superseded the 1967 act and heavily emphasised on having parents or grandparents born in the UK. What was new with this act was the concept of

patriality which meant having a connection with the UK through one of their parents. As a response, the pro-immigration parties who were the second generation of the immigrants took the lead this time and were stubborn opponents. They fought for their rights and called for social equality. They formed organisations, created their music and festivals, and strongly believed in their claims. Eventually they managed to push the government to pass the 1976 *Race Relations Act*. This act led to the establishment of the *Commission for Racial Equality* (CRE). Its target was reducing discrimination and advocating social justice between all races. This was clearly mentioned in its statement: ‘we work for a just and integrated society, where diversity is valued. We use persuasion and our powers under the law to give everyone an equal chance to live free from fear of discrimination, prejudice and racism’¹⁸. It worked on establishing multicultural policies and supporting integration among the conflicting groups. This organisation also defended the rights of oppressed ethnic minorities and promoted any efforts to achieve equality and fairness and raised consciousness about jeopardy of this phenomenon.

The real reason behind this Race Act was the flock of asylum seekers came from Uganda seeking refuge in Britain due to the brutality of their government after it independence. At that time the country ruled by a dictator president named Id Amine who kicked out around 80.000 Ugandan inhabitants. They were predominantly from non- Ugandan descent. They were British, Asians or Israelis. Unfortunately the majority of them were refused to enter under the 1972 Immigration Act’s terms because firstly, they were non-patrial and secondly, the government believed that the country was about to be Africanized.

In one word, the first decade after the end of the Second World War characterized by free policies of immigration and upsurge in the ratio of labour migrants coming

¹⁸ Stephen Spence, “Race and Ethnicity, Culture, Identity and Representation” (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis), 2014. p29.

predominantly from Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan in Asia ,and Kenya, Uganda and Nigeria in Africa, alongside a massive exodus from the Caribbean particularly from Jamaica . However; these policies of welcoming got further restricted due to economic circumstances and the rise of racial problems.

Conclusion:

The immigrants' presence contributes heavily in the birth of new political entities as well as new views towards immigration. In the interwar time, Britain was flooded by the Jewish refugees who broadly determined immigration policies at that time. These policies were more restricted by the introduction of a series of Aliens acts. Although the Jews were unwelcomed, they significantly participated in British politics and took part in several critical decisions concerning the foreign policy of Britain. One of these decisions was the British mandate of Palestine. The domination of Jewish to the pre-war immigration does not deny the fact that there were other waves of immigrants from all around the world. Such immigrants were Irish, poles, Black and Asians. They were very noticeable; however their political engagement was not yet visible.

In the wake to the WWII Britain suffered from a lack in the workforce which pushed the government to issue the 1948 Nationality Act to attract more workers from the Commonwealth countries and secure their remaining to reconstruct Britain. This led to a massive movement of people who gradually became a burden on the British society. This contributed in the rise of the Far-Right wing which called for controlling immigration and introducing more restricted laws. As a result, tension between natives and immigrants increased and this led to the formation of anti-racist organization in 1970s which were seen as the beginning of ethnic minorities' engagement in British politics. This involvement was

reinforced by more other successful achievements in the next decade despite the fact that the successive government was known by its cautious attitudes towards immigration.

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Chapter II:
Immigration & New Political
Approaches in 1980s/ 1990s

Introduction:

The end of the previous decade was known by a vitality in the ethnic minorities' activism whilst the new decade took a new direction which was totally different with the coming of Margaret Thatcher. It was considered a watershed in the history of British politics. This chapter talks about how the iron lady sought to reduce immigration by introducing a firm immigration control and illuminates the main factors behind this policy and its major outcomes.

The chapter highlights also Brixton Race Riots which have political dimensions and Manifests their sufferance of ethnic minorities at that time. In addition, Thatcher's struggle with the EU is also tackled because it has a relationship with the immigration question and the movement of labours. It shows how the issue of immigration determines even the foreign policy of Britain. Moreover, this section mentions the successful ethnic minority participation in British politics with the election of the first non-White MPs in the 1987 General election. The second part of this chapter discusses the immigration policies in 1990s which become further restricted due to the rise of the British National Party (BNP). The latter enflames racial hatred and opposes immigration. On the other hand, it highlights the ethnic minorities' political reaction to this racial menace. Furthermore, it is interest to know how the British membership in the EU affected the stability of the Tory government because of the question of immigration and led to its defeat in the 1997 General Election in favour of the Labour party. During Blair's premiership, immigration policies became very soft and this analysis seeks to investigate the real purposes behind this new orientation.

1. The Question of Immigration & the Thatcherian Government:

The Thatcherian period featured by new orientations at the political level. The coming of Margret Thatcher with her unique character significantly affected the question of immigration and other issues related to it. Its influence was evident even at the continental level. These new updates affected even the immigrants' behaviours and increased their political awareness.

1.1. Restrictionism & Electoral advantages:

The 1980s was the decade of British restrictionism over immigration in which the British government ended the age of the *Open Door policy*. This ideology backdated to 1960s, however; it clearly applied in 1980s because it was the target of both parties and the Conservatives in particular. They heavily insisted on this issue in their manifesto of 1979.

After being in opposition for five years, the Conservatives realized that the secret to win the election was the White opposition to Black immigration. They thought that the growth of the National Front in the mid-1970s was sufficient evidence to show that talking about hot topics like race and xenophobia was the trump card that could be used for electoral advantages. Thus, tightening the borders and adapting a quota system to reduce immigration were the prominent suggestions in the Conservatives' campaign. The party relied on the rhetoric of Margaret Thatcher who was known by her controversial anti-immigration stance.

During her campaign, Thatcher exhibited a huge concern about the overflow of newcomers arriving Britain in the postwar era. In the eve to the 1979 General Election, she made a TV interview for *Garanda World in Action* which illuminated sensitive questions like race and nationalism. When she was asked about the Party's vision towards immigration she

replied that people's concern could vanish only by a complete close to immigration doors. She added that the party had an intention to bring a new nationality act which inevitably wills tight the frontiers particularly in the face of dependants. She stated:

If we went on as we are then by the end of the century there would be four million people of the New Commonwealth or Pakistan here, now that's an awful lot and I think it means that people are really rather afraid that this country might be rather swamped by people with a different culture.¹⁹

Perhaps she presaged by the social unrest of the early 1980s.

Actually Thatcher's intentions from this speech were exploiting the fear of the British from immigrants and acquiring their sympathy to win the election. She added: "*We are not in politics to ignore people's worries; we are in politics to deal with them*"²⁰. This comment widely contributed in the rise of her supporters. Thus, they heavily insisted on this point to attract more voters. Moreover, she declared that the Conservative party did not call for racism and prejudice. However, it was mistakenly linked to it. Although people disagreed on the National Front's principles but they supported it because it talked about their concerns. Hence, she affirmed that discussing immigration control was for the sake of solving social plights and preventing people to gravitate to the extremist National Front and not for being racist. This convincing speech alongside with the attack of Powlies on the soft policies of Labour party which weakened it and the rise of anti-racist organizations that participated in the decline of the National Front, led to the victory of the Conservatives.

In addition to the electoral advantages, the other factor that created these attitudes towards immigration was Thatcher's high sense of nationalism. The Thatcherite vision saw that the country's British values eroded since 1950s and the British society lost its identity and the sense of unity. Thereby, she strongly rejected additional waves of immigrants, the Asians and Blacks in particular. The media's role in strengthening these ideas and advocating the

¹⁹ Dawn Gill, Barbara Mayor and Maud Blair, "Racism and Education: Structures and Strategies", (London: The Open University) 1992, p104.

²⁰ Tim Bale, "Immigration and Integration Policy in Europe: Why Politics - and the Centre- Right-Matters", (London: Routledge): 2009, p 10.

Conservatives' claims could not be ignored. Furthermore, there was a call to adopt the policy of deportation to enforce even those foreigners already living in the UK to return their homelands.

As long as the government was under the Tories leadership, the Members of Parliament felt more comfortable to be frankly racist unlike Powell who was attacked by the Labour government which was known by its support to immigration. The Radical Right also became stronger during Thatcher's premiership. This new administration continued in the same track with further restrictions to limit the entry of undesired people. This shift to the right vastly influenced the ratio of entrants in 1980s. Even the international students were not excluded from these constraints because Margaret Thatcher imposed fees on the overseas students for the same sake. The entrenched views of Britishness and the profound anti-immigration sentiments stimulated Thatcher to redefine the British citizenship because she was unsatisfied about the British Nationality Act of 1948.

1.2. New Definition of British Nationalism 1981:

Two years after being a Prime Minister, a new nationality act came into existence by which the Commonwealth citizens lost their right to be British citizens. It was a turning point and break between the Empire and the current Britain. This act was initially proposed during the Labour government on the mid-1970s but it acquired a Royal Assent only during the Conservative government and supported by both parties. The act cancelled the status of Citizen of UK & Colonies (CUKC) which was superseded by other three categories which were: British Citizenship, British Dependent Territories Citizenship, and British Overseas Citizenship. Thereby, under this act, only those who lived in British-ruled territories could be considered as British, whilst the ones that got their independence became no longer included. Even those who had British nationality could not pass it to their children who were born

abroad. In addition, acquiring citizenship through marriage became somehow difficult because the government recorded several cases of fake marriage just to get British nationality. However, they could apply for naturalization and gaining a British nationality after living three years in the UK. The government's aim from ending the generous policies was that these laws contradicted with the British interests and damaged the Parliamentary democracy.²¹

1.3. Thatcher and Economic Migration:

Although the act of 1981 sought to drop the entry of the foreigners, other immigration emerged. Rather, they were only a shift from inflow of people dominated by the Commonwealth immigrants to tripartite system of immigration based on family reunification, asylum seekers, and workforce or the economic immigration. However, this kind of economic immigration differentiated from the previous one because it supported only the highly skilled workers. Subsequently, it led to the emergence of a global labour market for this category of people. Although the unemployment increasingly developed, the issued work permits increased too. This contradictory situation mirrored the need for specific type of workers with specific skills which were unavailable within the indigenous. Therefore, The British Department of Employment at the time gave the work permit only when there were no local workers possessed those qualifications to occupy a given work.

What led to this lack in the workforce was the high level of British emigrants who left Britain at that time. Hence, with these legislations it became too hard to obtain a work permit only in some cases. For instance; there was an ongoing development of the National Health Services activities and the need for healthcare services exceeded the capacity of the workers especially in nursing. Thus the Department of Health in England declared that it had the intention to import more nurses from abroad which automatically led to the increase in labour

²¹ Nicholas Watt, "Pro-European Claim, Thatcher Supported UK's Special Status in EU", *The Guardian*, 11 Feb 2016.

recruitment. This decade also characterised by the spread of the entrepreneurship culture with the coming of new investors from South and East Asia. Therefore, Thatcher was against the non-selective immigration from the Commonwealth countries and highly advocated the effective economic immigration which could contribute in the recovery of the ill economy. In one word, the age of the Commonwealth immigrants came to end and replaced by the highly educated workers.

1.4. Politics and Race in Brixton Riots:

Although the Conservatives managed to strictly control the borders, it was hard for them to restraint and take control over racial riots and regulate the social ties. Even the Race Relations Acts that were passed in the two previous decades to prohibit racial discrimination were ineffective. Thus, race disturbance broke out in the early 1980s in several cities and Brixton in particular. These race riots were a result of accumulated disappointments of the Black due their ignorance. Thus they were anger from this discrimination which became increasingly violent with the successive generations who were born in Britain. As a result, they organized protest which contained more than 15.000 protesters.

What characterised these riots was that the confrontation was between the Black youth and the policemen. The presence of the latter pushed the black to believe that this racism was directed and supported by the State. What confirmed for them that the British political landscape was racialized was the description given to them by the government as "Enemy Within" which literary meant that their fighting was against the State. Another evidence used by the critics was the immediate coming of huge number of policemen to assist their mates in Brixton. This incident showed that there was a political plan to weaken the power of those who were against the government's decisions and the Nationality Act of 1981 in particular.

Along these riots, the police made a series of arrests for the Black youth who were suspicious and accused by criminal behaviours.

As a response, Leslie Scarman went to Brixton to lead a public investigation on this civic disobedience. He suggested to omit the racist officers and replaced them by ethnic minority officers. Despite this valuable procedure another race riot took place in Brixton in 1985. Therefore, it was evident that the Thatcher government unintentionally was constructed on racial grounds and Thatcher herself stated that this disturbance were made by Black criminals which insured the views of racist groups instead of denying them to reduce racism.

1.5. Thatcher's Position towards Europe and the question of immigration:

One of the most controversial issues in British politics was Britain's membership in the European Union which was significantly affected by the question of immigration. Margaret Thatcher was known by her Eurosceptic ideology and the refusal of the European project in her final phase as a Prime Minister and even after her departure. She was described as the spiritual mother of Euroscepticism particularly from the mid-1980s onward. Rather, both parties had contradictory views among their members about the European Union and Euroscepticism. The latter started initially in 1970s and early 1980s and the Labour party was more Eurosceptic than the conservatives and supported Britain's separation from the EEC. Hugh Gaitskell who was a Labour MP said that this Union was: "The end of Britain as independent State, the end of thousand years of history".²² They thought that the Union will restrict their foreign policy and kill their hope to be a world power. From another side some critics believed that the British people still had a sense of superiority because Britain was the Empire where the sun never sets. It occupied around 90% of the world either directly or

²² Greg Rosen, "Labour's Brexit brigade should not rewrite history", *Progress Online*, 10 Feb 2016. <http://www.progressonline.org.uk/2016/02/10/labours-brexite-brigade-should-not-rewrite-history/>

through indirect rule. Thus it was seen as a regression for them to deal with Europe and commit by the Union's instructions.

For Thatcher, at the beginning she advocated the British membership in the EEC when she was in the opposition and her efforts could not be neglected. However; she disappointed from the European project when she became a Prime Minister. Hence she introduced what was known by UK Rebate which aimed to reduce the British contribution for the European Economic Community (EEC) and return back Britain's money. This was the sign of an expected struggle between Thatcher and the EU. Actually she emphasized that Britain was a part of Europe but it was a unique country unlike the rest of Europe and this uniqueness should be maintained. Moreover, she argued that centralizing the power will weaken the European States and affect them negatively.

In 1985, this conflict started to be evident with Thatcher's rejection to Schengen agreement which aimed to create borderless federal. By other words, this agreement based on keeping the frontiers open to secure the free movement of people. However; Thatcher's tendencies to save Britishness prevented her to sign this agreement and accept more foreigners. She thought that controlling the borders was a must to protect the country at several levels.

In 1987 she surprisingly agreed to sign the Single Act which sought to create a single internal market. To find an explanation to this paradoxical situation some critics said that she was against the EU because it had political dimensions while she signed the Single Act because it was based on economic purposes. Hence, her view was purely pragmatic. Within the same year she enacted a new Immigration Act known by The Carriers Liability Act to impose further restrictions on the entry of newcomers . This act was an amendment to the 1971 Immigration Act and penalized British airline and shipping companies which brought

new immigrants illegally or with non-complete visa requirements²³. Thus she sought to confirm her attitudes towards the entry of aliens and frustrated any attempt to convince her to change her mind.

One year later, she delivered the Bruges speech in which she firmly confirmed her opposition to the centralization of power and the establishment of a political union with Brussels dominance. As a result this speech created serious problems for her with the EU and the members of her party itself who divided between pro and anti-European Union. This tussle led to her downfall and then her resignation. Her attitudes and resistance continued even after her resignation when she objected the Maastricht Treaty which was signed to form the European Union in 1992. Therefore, the question of immigration impacted the British politics even at the continental level.

1.6. The Election of the First Non-white MPs:

The 1980s was the time of the third generation of the immigrants, which meant that they were not just a hot topic discussed in the political conferences, yet they became strong participants in British politics either as voters or as MPs. They constituted a very significant population whose presence backdated to more than thirteen years ago. In 1987 a landmark election took place in which four non-White MPs gained seats in the parliament for the first time in the postwar Britain. These four members consisted in Diane Abbott and Paul Boateng who were the second generation of the Black minority while Keith Vaz and Bernie Grant were immigrants. All of them belonged to the Labour party. This was the starting point of politicalizing immigrants at the parliamentary level.

2. Immigration Policies during 1990s:

²³ "Immigration Control are out of Control", (UK: Great Manchester Immigration Aids),1993,p10.

The UK immigration policies in 1990s were mostly hybrid due to the diversity of immigrants reaching Britain. From one side they were highly tightened in the face of asylum seekers and undesirable immigrants and from another, they were very soft in the face of the advantageous entrants like scientists and high professionals particularly from Eastern Europe.

2.1. The Rise of Asylum Seekers & Government Response:

At that time there were political changes in Europe by the defeat of the Soviet Union, The war in Yugoslavia and economic unrest in Eastern European countries which significantly affected immigration policies. These events produced a huge amount of refugees seeking asylum in the UK. Their figure noticeably developed after the fall of Berlin Wall in 1989 and they were estimated around 1640 people in 1991 to sharply increase in 1991 and reached 44840²⁴. As a response, the government introduced visa restrictions in 1991 to ban people from the beginning to emigrate from their countries especially from Yugoslavia. The same laws were implemented on the victims of Srebrenica in 1995. Moreover, they re-enact the Carrier liability Act which decreased the number of asylum seekers to the half in 1992.

Due to the ongoing bulky inflow of refugees, the government was under pressure to regulate this uncontrolled situation. Thus, a series of Asylum Act came into force to broadly limit the admission of this category of people. The first act was enacted in 1993 and labeled the Asylum and Immigration Appeal Act. This act targeted to repeal the right of appeal and the applicants should complete all their documentations to gain entry to Britain. From another aspect, it imposed more constraints on the qualifications applicants that should be acquired. Subsequently, having a legal residence became very hard and many statuses were refused. As a result, the next year witnessed a low level of entrants and even those who managed to get access before this act were driven out because they did not finish their visa requirements. Immediately after this act the Conservative administration introduced what was known by the

²⁴ "Asylum seeker figures", *The BBC*, 7 February, 2001, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/1157031.stm

word "bogus" which meant fake refugees. Because of this new concept many refugees were obliged to prove that their first reason of coming to Britain was political or religious threat but economic purposes. This was just a political trick created by the government to ban these applicants to obtain access to Britain and drop those already living there.

Mostly this act was seen as a racist piece of legislation brought by the Tory government to institutionalise racism. Furthermore, the government made campaigns against illegal residents and gave doctors, teachers and government workers the right to be immigration officers and verify the legitimacy of immigrants dealing with them. This led to a series of arrest for the Black and Asians because it was difficult to show that their residency was legitimate. As a result, a series of strikes made by the Black and non-White workers to resist these racial laws .

Since the Asylum seekers were the largest part of immigrants arriving Britain another act was issued known by Asylum and Immigration act of 1996. This act made it illegal for the employers to employ workers with illegal residence. Three years later, the third Asylum act came into existence under the labour government. Many people expected that this act will be in favour of refugees because the Labour Party throughout history characterised by its soft policies towards immigration. However; this act surprisingly was only a continuation for the previous acts which put further limits to tight the borders. This firm control was a mutual work between Tory Government, Tabloid press and the racist groups who sought to convince the British public that the presence of these aliens was always coupled by unemployment, pressure on housing and crime. Actually this plan was just a propaganda by the government to cover their failure and divert people's attention from the real source of the plight and accused immigrants instead. This concluded the fact that the British government opened the door of immigration only when the applicants had high qualifications. Refugees consisted for them no more a contributory factor in the decline of the country.

2.2. The Emergence of the British National Party (BNP):

What made matters worse for the ethnic minorities was the rise of Far-Right politicians who practiced violent harassment and even murders against these minorities. This political change was at the continental level and emerged after the defeat of the Communist regime in Eastern Europe in 1989-1990 and coupled by the growth of nationalist sense across Europe. Their representator in Britain was the British National Party (BNP) which was the successor of the National Front. In 1994 they achieved 3% of the total votes in the European parliamentary election which reached 11 seats and gave the BNP an increasing degree of legitimacy in Britain.

The BNP formed from a group of dissidents led by John Tyndale in 1982 and adopted the stance that only White people should live in Britain and acquired British nationality. Thus it strongly opposed immigrants and called for a complete close of borders in the faces of non-White people. They advocated their stance by biological racism and relied on scientific theories like the White Genocide Conspiracy which stated that the overflow of immigrants was a menace by which British people will be a minority and contributed in their extinction. Therefore, Zero immigration became the core point of the BNP's agenda. They organized several protests and marches to fuel racial hatred and harassment of the Black who were portrayed as criminals. They aimed to seed xenophobia and anti-immigrant sentiments, and the call for deportation was one of their main claims because they thought that even the high number of ethnic minority new-born children participated in the disappearance of the White race. Sometimes they even offered even financial aids to encourage these minorities to return their country of origin. This depicted the profound hate and fear from the existence of foreigners in Britain.

There was progressive popularity of the BNP in Britain and they managed to achieve a valuable trump by the election of Derek Beacon in September 1993 in Tower Hamlets. Thus,

it was the first seat since the decline of the National Front in 1979. Although the BNP success was not highly influential in the electoral competition, yet it was very active at the local level and fuelled racial conflicts and harassment especially among the White working class. As a result to this political change in the early 1990s, more violent treatment emerged towards the aliens and the Black minority in particular. One of these victims was Rohit Duggle who was a school boy killed in South East London just because he was not White. Some Statistics showed that 15 Blacks were murdered between 1992 and 1994 just by the virtue of being different²⁵.

2.3. The Political Reaction of Ethnic Minorities to Racial Threat:

Although the efforts to decrease the immigrants' proportion in UK, they gradually managed to form political communities which were not merely gathering of people, yet they were a historical structure with distinguish character related to each other by uncounted connections . They did their best to be seen less different and part of the British society to activate their membership within it. They tried to respect its instructions, adopt its identity and being faithful to the State. However; these efforts of belonging were not appreciated by the white population which was racist. Thus many ethnic minority activists reacted towards this problem and realized that the secret to solve it was securing their political rights and making their voices heard. Thereby, politicalizing the ethnic minorities became the common features of British landscape which arose out of being ignored and prevented from getting access to public life.

This fighting was very difficult because the political representation of ethnic minorities was always a divisive issue. Prior to 1990 there was a modest ethnic minority representation, though there was a very considerable population. The main reason behind this

²⁵ Roger Hewit, "White Backlash and the Politics of Multiculturalism" , (London:Cambridge University Press,) 2005, p2.

was the attempts of the white politicians to reduce the ethnic minority influence and prevent them from being competitors over the parliament seats.

For more engagement in British politics to fight these inequality and marginalisation, the ethnic minority activists followed various strategies. First of all they practiced a huge pressure on the government to attract its attention and find an effective solution to this plight. Secondly, they formed anti-racist groups to defend those people who were ethnically persecuted. Among these groups founded in London Newham Minority Project, Greenwich Action Committee against Racial Attacks (ACRA), Anti-Nazi League and Anti-Racist Alliance, alongside other self-defence associations especially in those areas where the BNP was active²⁶. Even the Commission of Racial Equality sought to guarantee a chance for these minorities to be correctly represented and called for controlling the media content which should accept this diversity and the fact there was a multiracial society. Subsequently, there was a growth in the ethnic minority media organisations which slightly enhanced the situation of Black in Britain and their problems attracted the attention of many politicians.

2.4. Britain's joining the EU and the Development of Labour Migration 1992:

A landmark event took place in 1992 when the successor of Margaret Thatcher, John Major accepted to sign the Maastricht treaty which aimed to create a single market and a political European unity. Basing on this treaty, people were a part from the common market, thus, not only goods and services had a free movement between the EU member countries, but also the contributors of productivity which were labours and capitals. Hence, the joining of the UK the EU meant that everyone from the EU member countries had the right to work and live on Britain. Even the Labour Party supported this agreement. Consequently, the

²⁶ Tariq Mood .et al, "Ethnic Minorities in Britain, Diversity and Disadvantages", (London: PSI),1997,p 260.

immigrants ' number increased faster than the number of emigrants between 1991-1995 according to Migration Statistics by House of Common Library's data²⁷. The 1990s immigration policies arguably began to be shaped according to EU instructions. Although Britain did not sign the Schengen Agreement, it participated in the application of Schengen Information System (SIS) which was a scheme aimed to save the openness of the EU enteral borders. However; it withdrew from the social chapter which tackle employment, health, and safety. Therefore, UK selectively implemented the EU commitment of free mobility of labours. It also gave some exceptions for the third country nationals i.e. those who were not from UK, nor from the EU member countries to move freely such family members . However, it based mainly on skill selectivity and self-sufficiency.²⁸

The European issue threatened the unity of the Conservatives who were divided between Eurosceptics and pro- Europeans. The main source of this conflict was the issue of immigration and the free circulation of Labours. John Major worked on finding a satisfactory solution for the British membership and end the British confrontation with the EU. Ultimately, the opponents agreed on the agreement only when the word "Federal" was removed because it bothered the Eurosceptics and was seen as a real threat to Britain's sovereignty. Due to this enteral problem, the Conservative party was about to lose the General Election yet they surprisingly managed to achieve unexpected victory. In the next year, the potential decline of the party became a reality. Eventually, this division weakened the party and led to its defeat in 1997 General Election in favour of the Labour party under the leadership of Tony Blair.

²⁷ Oliver Hawkins, "Migration Statistics", (London: House of Common Library), 2017, p3.

²⁸ Timothy Jhatton, Explaining trends of UK Immigration, (UK:University of Essex) 2004, p7

2.5 Blair's Immigration Policies:

The Labour Party came to power in 1997 after being in opposition for 18 years and brought radical changes to Britain. The previous leaders of Labour party fail to win the election because they publicly announced that they will remove all the Conservatives' strict immigration policies and this statement was not highly supported by the British public and led to a series of defeats. However; with the coming of Tony Blair the party adopted a new policy known by "The Third Way". This policy was based on taking a position between the left and the Conservatives. Tony Blair thought that following soft policies over immigration will led to another failure, thus, he emphasised on doing nothing except the best for Britain. By other words, he did not say it frankly that he will end this racist laws because any attempt to do so will be unsuccessful. Alternatively, he left this fight for the Black and the other harassed people to amend these racist policies. In parallel there were campaigns of anti-deportation which managed to achieve a great success and took part in the increasing number of immigrants in Britain. Thereby, the unity of the Black and non-white people was the cornerstone to destroy racism and realise equality. Moreover, administrative measures against racial discrimination were taken to defend the rights of Blacks like: Human Rights Act of 1998 and Race Relation Act 2000 to support multiculturalism.

Therefore, this period witnessed a remarkable relaxation of immigration policies taken by the Labour government from 1997 onward and political activism among the ethnic minorities. It was considered as a shift in the government attention from Asylum seekers to economic migration which was the priority of Labours' political platform with taking into account borders' security and selective openness. These policies were supported nearly by the entire political spectra and restrictionism became no longer exist in the UK immigration policies.

To encourage more immigration, particularly from Europe, the government repealed the Primary Purpose Rule which asked the newcomers to prove the legitimacy of their marriage to British citizens and the aim from this marriage was not getting the Right of Abode, because this was very difficult. The aim from this policy was to attach economy with migration. As a result, the economic progress was as a pull factor which lay behind this inflow of people. This free movement guaranteed also by the EU agreement which contributed in maximising the number of immigrants. The East European entrants were the overwhelming majority due to the high level of unemployment and economic hardship because of the war. Unlike Thatcher, Blair advocated even the low skilled workers to increase the number of immigrants in Britain.

2.6. Blair's Conspiracy behind Mass Immigration:

Blair's policy was suspicious and many politicians criticised it and thought that he had undeclared purposes behind this sheer number of immigrants. What confirmed their doubts was his order to prevent his ministers to talk about this question. In the book of "*Broken Vow, Tony Blair, The Tragedy of Power*", Tom Brow revealed several secret plans done by Blair in several sectors and immigration was one of them. Mr. Brow stated that Blair banned his government to mention even the benefits of immigration because it was and still a divisive issue and this will divert their attention to it²⁹. Moreover, he was accused that he classified some asylum seekers as economic immigrants in order to give them the right to live in Britain. By this way he managed to gain more than 350.000 asylum seekers³⁰. According to some statistics, around 2.3 million immigrants arrived to Britain during his premiership. Some critics believed that Blair's hidden goals from losing immigration control consisted in

²⁹ Andrew Rawnsley, "Broken Vows: Tony Blair – The Tragedy of Power – review", *The Guardian*, 13 Mar 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/mar/13/broken-vows-tony-blair-tragedy-power-review-tom-bower>

³⁰ Robert Mendick, "Tony Blair accused of Conspiracy over Mass Immigration", *Telegraph*, 27 Feb 2016. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/tony-blair/12175813/Tony-Blair-accused-of-conspiracy-over-mass-immigration.html>

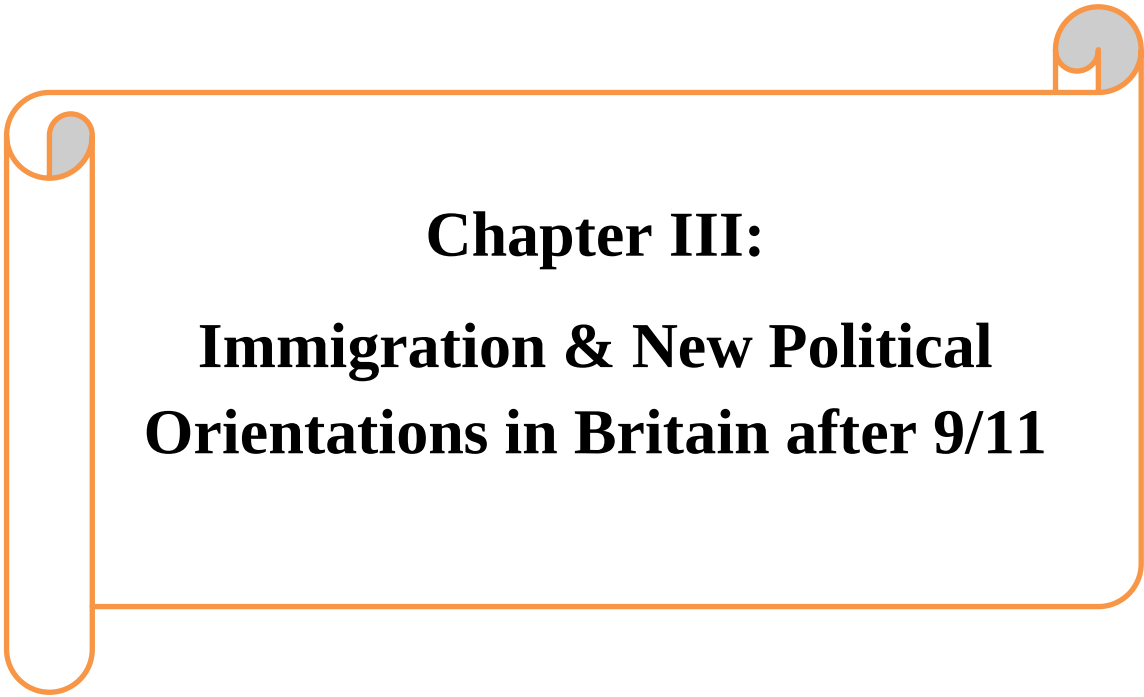
electoral benefits more than economic interests. It was common that people from Asia and Africa throughout history preferred to vote in favour of the Labour Party rather than Conservatives or Liberals. Therefore this situation was the opposite to what happened in 1980s. Both Thatcher and Blair understood that immigration was the trump card to win the electoral competition. However; Thatcher sought to gain the white population's votes by tightening the borders while Blair aimed to win the Ethnic minorities' sympathy.

Conclusion:

The 1980s witnessed a revolutionary shift in immigration control towards the right with the issuance of the Nationality Act of 1981. The latter repealed the Nationality Act of 1948 and the right of the Commonwealth nationals to be British citizens. The main factors behind this policy consisted in Thatcher's nationalist sense in addition to attempts to gain electoral advantages. This debateable act enflamed several race riots across the country and legalized racial discrimination. Within the same decade, Britain experienced various challenges at the continental level. Margaret Thatcher's ideology of euroscepticism grew out mainly from her rejection to accept more immigrants. Eventually, this struggle with the EU ended with her defeat.

In 1990s, immigration policies diversified between strict laws in front of asylum seekers and very soft in the face of economic migrants. This ideology was vividly apparent during Blair's premiership. The factors that led to this massive influx of newcomers were the repeal of Primary Purpose Rule, the guarantee of spouse visa under the process of family renunciation, in addition to the permissive policies and Britain membership in European Union. In short, the political attitudes towards immigration were shaped to serve the government's interests. It supported it when it was beneficial and worked on reducing it when it was disadvantageous. From another aspect, whenever there were legislations to tighten the freedom of the ethnic minorities, the political activism of these groups increased and

contributed in changing the rules of the game. After 1997, the struggle between immigrants and the State witnessed a truce because there were crucial updates in the course of world events. The most prominent one took place at the beginning of 21th C which consisted in the 9/11 Attacks. These events diverted the attention of the government to focus only on Muslims, whilst the rest of immigrants enjoyed the permissive policies of the Labour government especially after the expansion of the EU in 2004.

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Chapter III:

Immigration & New Political Orientations in Britain after 9/11

Introduction:

With the beginning of the 21st C, the Labour Party under Blair's leadership was in power. Although he encouraged more immigration, his generous policies did not include Muslims. Thus, this chapter concentrates on the post-9/11 immigration policies and the over-focus on Muslims. It examines the anti-terror scheme introduced by the British government and some cases of racial harassment committed against them. It also assesses the Media's role in implementing this scheme and how it seeks to falsify the British public and demonise the image of Muslims. The chapter investigates the main factors behind this stance towards Muslims and reveals some evidences of a conspiracy organised against them. The second section of this chapter highlights the Muslims' involvement in British politics to face this campaign. It shows some successful cases of these attempts and statistics about some governmental offices held by Muslims either as MPs, councillors, mayors and similar.

1. 9/11 Events and the Question of Muslims

In the early twentieth century, views towards Islam and Muslims shifted considerably due to the rapid growth of Muslim population in Britain. What led to this growth was the new policy of globalisation, which took a great part in the mass mobility of not only Muslims but immigrants in general. However, the Muslim presence gradually was seen as a burden because the British people thought that the Islamic principles were incompatible with the British values unlike the rest of immigrants especially those from Europe because they shared the same values and adapted similar life style. Therefore, in the last decades the social prejudice shifted from concentrating on women, Black minority and homosexuals to focus on Muslims with the turn of the century. At that time there were also other events like the Caricature of Prophet Muhammad, the Scarf and school, and the Iraq War which significantly influenced the public opinion towards Muslims and put a spotlight on them. These events did

not change only the British public opinion but also the mainstream politicians' views who emphasised on Islamophobia instead of race issues.

1.1. Muslim Population in Britain after 9/11:

The Rapid growth of Muslim demographics frightened the British government and the far right politicians as well. They were afraid from the Islamic domination not only for Britain but whole globe. The 2001 census recorded that there were 1.6 million Muslims in Britain, which constituted 2.8% of the whole population³¹. This meant that Islam was the 2nd religion in Britain and this put Muslims in the public eye. This growth took a great part in the surprising decrease of Christians' number. The critical analysis exhibited the reason behind the reduction in the Christian believers' proportion. They synthesised that the non-European nationals usually were more religious than the locals who were mostly atheist and did not belong to any religion especially the young people. The latter were easily influenced by Muslims thanks to the peaceful friction with them. Thus they converted to Islam with their total willingness.

Moreover, as it was common that Muslim immigrants had more children than the British which meant that the new-born baby rate among Muslims was higher in comparison to the birth rate among the British themselves because the latter did not support marriage and this actually threatened their demographics. This what bothered the decision makers especially when they saw the religious commitment of Muslims and the widespread of veil and their unity in the Friday Prayer. They believed that these religious practices increased the curiosity of the British to know the secret of adhering such religion although it seems somehow restricted. This opened the door of discussion with Muslims and enabled the British

³¹ Nicol Tauch, Russel Spear and Oliver Christ, "Religious, National Identity as Predictor of Attitudes the 7/7 Bombing among British Muslims: Analysis of UK Opinion Poll DATA", *Cairn info*, 2009.
<https://www.cairn.info/revue-internationale-de-psychologie-sociale-2009-3-page-103.htm>

to know the real Islam. This what the politicians and clerics were worry about especially when they saw that many mosques were originally churches bought for Muslim when the Christians gave up on them .

Basing on all these changes, several studies are made which state that in few decades Europe will transform automatically and without war to Muslim continent. As a result, the government imposed more restrictions on immigration policies as an expansion to previous attempts to amend the postwar immigration regime. The new system of immigration aimed to control the movement of people and made it more secured basing on selective openness. They were considered mainly as an outcome of the noticeable Muslims' presence in UK. They were designed according the interest of different parts: the international organisations, government, and political parties. These new measures heavily focused on securitisation, which became the government's priority. However, they entrenched the notion that any Muslim immigrant could be a terrorist and portrayed all the Muslims as a suspect community. Consequently, these strategies undoubtedly determined the circulation and lives of Muslims in Britain and manifested how the political decisions were racialized. Henceforward, any extremist act was always attributed to Islam and Muslims.

1.2. Attacks against British Muslims:

The cultural differences between Muslims and British Christians strongly contribute to the emergence of anti-Islamic sentiments. The corollary of this, a cultural clash between the two civilizations was born because both British people and government are controlled by the idea that these brown bodies try to destroy them. Thus, Muslim communities are seen as a problematic and they criminalize them whenever it is possible. This stance shows how racism is still embodied in the British society. As a result, numerous cases of racial hatred are

recorded against Muslims because the British society did not use accept the ethnic minorities easily.

These violations are mostly done by those who think that Muslims do not have the willingness to assimilate within the British community. According some polls, 70% of the population say that immigration is a problem more than an opportunity but the anti-Muslim sentiments are the dominant in this opposition to immigration. Subsequently, the British Muslims experience harsh discriminatory practices which are widely found among the working class, less educated and old people who support the far right wing. On the other hand the racial hatred is less found among those who have a contact with Muslims by having friends, neighbours or colleagues. There is also discrimination in the workplace where Muslims receive lower wages and work for additional hours.

What makes their position worse is the 9/11 incident by which they became in the forefront of any political debate." Muslims are not seen to be deviants or even criminals but the worse type of criminal fundamentalist terrorists". This notion developed by a series of attacks occurred in other European countries like Madrid attacks in Spain. This was the opportunity of the anti-Muslim politicians and groups to convince the government by the necessity to cut immigration from the Muslim-majority countries. This conflict feeds the tension between the locals and Muslims and leads to the rise of discrimination more and more. As a result, the government adopted policy of securitization which was violently implemented especially by the radical right. This resulted more unpleasant consequences because radicalism produces more radicalism. *The Guardian* stated that there were around 300 incident of violence against Muslims in the mid-December 2001³². *The Times* added "This is a bad time to be Asian in Britain"³³. After This terrible incident immediately there

³² " Britain Has a Proof Record for Its Treatement of Muslims", *The Guardian*, Dec 8.2001.

³³ "A Bad Time to Be Asian in Britain", *The Times*, Sept 27.2001.

were attempts of racial incitement, burning mosques, verbal and physical harassment and Islamophobic protests. All these contributed in the increase of xenophobia which was coupled by the rise of Muslim murders. What made matters worse was the 7/7 London attacks because there were racist narratives said that this operation was a reaction to the British military presence in Iraq. Moreover, even the labour market witnessed a reduction in the rate of the accepted young Muslim workers after 9/11 Attacks and then after 7/7 London Attacks³⁴ . Even those already had jobs in the UK were dropped.

Therefore, this racial threat and interrogations discouraged several Muslim immigrants to come to Britain. They preferred to stay in their homelands rather than experiencing this awful mistreatment. These social violations and political discrimination were supported by the State which normalized such behaviours in the name of securitization. It introduced several theories and legislations to officialise them.

1.3. Anti-Muslim Political Discourse:

There was a British political awareness to fight the threat of terrorism after the Attacks of 9/11 on the Twin Trade Towers on September 11, 2001 in the US because this operation influenced the entire world. The government became more wary and this negativity affected the Muslims in particular. Even the political parties advocated these views by delivering inflammatory anti-Muslim rhetoric to spread stereotypes and the notion of Islamophobia and called for stopping Muslim immigration. These racist narratives always represented Muslims as uncivilised, inferiors, criminals and intellectually limited. They worked on familiarising the concept of "Islamic terrorism" to give credibility to their discriminatory activities and legalise their interrogation and the arrest of Muslims. Thus, the Muslim presence in the UK gave a new breath for the radical right wing to strengthen their stance after 9/11 and illuminate the

³⁴ Faisal Rabby, "The Post 9/11 Labour Market for "Muslims" in the West : Evidences from the US and UK", (New Jersey : New Brunswick), 2008, p18.

social and cultural differences to gain more votes. For instance the BNP manifesto declared "There should be absolutely no further immigration from any Muslim countries as it represents one of the deadly threats yet to the survival of our nation"³⁵. They organised also campaign which helped it to achieve a noticeable headway in the General Elections of 2003 and 2006. These anti-terrorist calls contributed in shaping the way how the UK dealt with immigration with huge concentration on Muslim entry.³⁶

Actually, this hostility towards British Muslims started prior to 9/11 with the introduction of 2000 Terrorism Act which vividly presented Muslims as dangerous menace that should be controlled. They terrorize them and made it lawful to stop and interrogate them without any logical suspicion. After 9/11 the government reacted rapidly and introduced a series of secular strategies and anti-terror measures which featured the post 9/11 immigration policies. Initially they brought the Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001 after three months. This act called for the deportation of non-UK citizens particularly those who were charged by having ties with terrorist organisations. It targeted primarily Muslims and characterised by its bias. Soon after that, other successive counter- terrorism acts were issued like the Prevention Terrorism Act 2005, Terrorism Act 2006, The Terrorism Act 2006, The Counter Terrorism Act 2008 and the Counter-Terrorism and Security 2011, in addition to new visa control was implemented. All these legislative pieces came to reinforce the idea of considering Muslims as a menace to the stability of British society. Hence, they were victimised by the State which empowered the society to resist violent extremism without any proof³⁷.

³⁵ "BNP Call for End to Immigration from Muslim Nations" *BBC*, April 2010, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/election_2010/8639097.stm

³⁶ Raxon Focal, "National Analytical Study on Racist Violence and Crime: UK Analytical Study of Racial violence and Crim"(UK: Commission for Racial Equality), p3.

³⁷ Tina Gipatel, "It Is Not about Security, It Is about Racism: Counter-Terror Strategies, Civilizing Process and Post-Race Fiction", *Nature.com*, 2017. <https://www.nature.com/articles/palcomms201731>

Another anti-terror program was established in 2003 known by the CONTET which aimed to fight any kind of extremism or radicalization including the far right practices. However, in reality it was over-focused on Muslims. Thereby, the terrorist behaviours were attributed to Muslims by laws.³⁸ It was based on four strategies: "preventing" violent extremism, "preparing" the country for terrorist attacks, "protecting" the country from terrorist attacks and "pursuing" terrorism. However, these policies received a huge criticism because the alienation of Muslims will lead to unpleasant results and encourage more extremist ideas. We cannot deny the fact that these attacks carried out by people who declared themselves as Muslims, yet it is injustice to classify all Muslims as terrorists. So the concentration on Muslims weakened the counter-terror scheme. In short, the UK new immigration control did not seek to drop immigration; rather, it worked on making it more tightened in the face of Muslims. By other words, The Labour government wanted to control the nature of immigration more than the number of immigrants because it was known by his support to it³⁹.

1.4. Representation of Muslims in the Media:

The role of media cannot be neglected in determining how the British Muslims are treated. It demonizes the British perception of Muslims rather than telling the truth. Whenever it discusses Islam, it talks about terrorism and extremism. Thus, the British people automatically perceive Islam as a source of these radical and fundamentalist ideologies. That's to say, this category of immigrants are the scapegoat due to the media bias.

Indeed, this media backlash is directed by the government to support their new policies and put Muslims under suspicion. Therefore, the media fragmentation gave the 9/11 Events another direction which totally reversed the reality to create their own truth. So the

³⁸ V. Coppock and M. McGoven, Dangerous Minds, Diconstructing Counter-Terrorism Discourse , Radicalization and Physical Vuhereality of Muslim Children and young People in Britain", Vol28, NO.3, 2014, p245.

³⁹ Rinta Okhi," Assising the Corelation Between Terrorist Attacks and Limiting Muslim Immigration Due to Anti-Islamic Sentiments", (US: Florida University), 2013, p30.

prevailing terms used in portraying Muslims were: terrorists, counter-terror, extremism, preachers of hate and similar. However, these terms could not be used to describe the Christian extremist groups or anti-Islamic fundamentalists. These are lines picked out from an article written about Muslims in *the Times* newspaper which is known by its conservative trend: " Muslims involvement in deviant activities threatened security in the UK, Muslims are threat to the mainstream British values, and thus provoke interrogative concerns. There are inherent cultural between Muslims and the host community which creates tensions interpersonal relation and Muslims are increasingly making their presence felt in the public sphere⁴⁰ ". This exhibited the sentiments of racial hatred which were confirmed by the homogeneity of the use of "us" and "them". Even movies like the siege are produced basing on such stereotypes which depict Muslims as jeopardy and free from humanity. Even when the terrorist attack witnessed a decrease after 2007, the press discussed another issues related to Islam like the veil and how the nature of this religion opposed the liberal Britain. All these articles intended to shed more light on Muslims and keep them on the top of this coverage.

1.5. Restricting Muslim Immigration: A Conspiracy?

There are hidden intensions from terrorising Muslims. It is clearly evident that there is a sympathy between the Jewish or Israeli State and the powerful nations like US and UK. It is quite possible that these attacks were just a conspiracy between the Jewish and western governments to realise the Jewish's next plan which was Iraq. It was their second targeted land. Thus, they described Muslims as extremists just to fight an alleged terrorist threat in those territories. What confirmed these assumptions was that the political storm of September 11, 2001 coincided with the fact that the American right with Zionist beliefs was in power which was known also by its fundamentalist Christianity and hostility towards Arabs. This helped to establish the claim that Islam and Muslims were behind this horrific incident and

⁴⁰ Elizabeth Pool, "Reporting Islam : Media Representation of British Muslims", (London: I.B. Tauris), 2002, p52.

did not attribute it to any other religion. The reason behind this was that Judaism and Christianity were traditionally the rooted faiths of British and the western identity unlike Islam which was seen as a strange religion.

This terrible situation of treating Muslims developed with the "War on Terror" plan which was introduced by the American George Bush after 9/11 and adopted by Tony Blair's government. At the time, it was known that there were close relationships between the two leaders, Thus they had similar ideologies and they supported each other to achieve their goals which addressed Islam. Subsequently, the new scheme produced a serious anti-Muslim racism not only in the US or UK but in the West in general. To achieve this conspiracy they created the plot of al-Qaeda and the ISIS to generate a justification to wage wars in some Muslim majority countries like Iraq and Syria through claiming that they wanted to stabilise the rebellious Middle East. Therefore, the 9/11 Attacks were just a spark to implement a pre-planned agenda by making Muslims closely observed.

Ironically, there was no evidence proved that these attacks carried out by Muslim yet the Labour government did its best to restrict them. Even if we conceded that some groups of Muslim prejudiced people were behind them, it is unreasonable to generalise these notions about all Muslims and punish innocent people. They were discriminated only by the virtue of being Muslims.

This hostility increasingly developed among the British public due to their limited knowledge about Islam and their focus on the internal social issues. Hence, they believed all what the government propagandized about this religion. Indeed, they ignore that there are two types of Islamic leadership. The first one is the Modernates who have permissive ideologies and the second one is the exclusivists who have extremist ideas and seek to purify Islam. They constitute a minor group of Muslims, however they were supported by unknown power which

aimed to destroy this faith and present it in a negative way. Therefore, for peaceful coexistence the greatest powers should support the first type of Islamic leadership.

Soon after the 9/11 Event, the beliefs that there was a conspiracy against Muslims organized by the decision makers emerged. At that time, several American reports were issued and heavily promoted these beliefs. The Wayback Machine Archive which was an American website stated that two years before the actual operation, the NORAD defensive system made a series of training sessions to strike the Trade Towers and the Pentagon Building and there were even some manoeuvres to test the effectiveness of the operation on the same day of the attacks. Moreover, on 24 Oct 2000 the Pentagon launched a massive training programme called Mascale which included simulations of Boeing 757's collision at the Pentagon⁴¹. The archive added that on June 1, 2001, sudden new instructions came into force by the military forces to prevent any administration or airline company from intervening in any plane hijacking case without submitting a request to the ministry of defence to decide the final measures that should be taken.

In addition, the Guardian newspaper also made investigations and analytical studies and declared that on September 10, 2001 many Pentagon officials cancelled their trips of 9/11⁴². On the same day San Francisco Governor Willy Brown received a call phone advising him not to go to New York for a meeting scheduled on September 11 and he did not leave basing on that advice. Later on, it was discovered that this call had been received from Condoleezza Rice's office.⁴³

⁴¹ Steven Komarow and Tom Squitieri, "NORAD had drills of jets as weapons", *Wayback Machine*, Apr 19, 2004. https://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/washington/2004-04-18-norad_x.htm

⁴² Komarow and Squitieri, , Apr 19, 2004.

⁴³ David Batty and Julian Borger, "NY firefighters reached South Tower crash zone", *The Guardian*, Aug 5, 2002. <http://web.archive.org/web/20080906160854/http://www.guardian.co.uk/waronterror/story/0%2C1361%2C584444%2C00.html>

The recent investigations exhibited also that the explosion did not occur because of the collision, yet it started from inside the Towers. This claim was supported by what some workers of the Towers commented about the incident. They said that there was a smell of Chloride conspicuously speeded in the Pentagon Building which is a fuel for rockets and missiles not for airplanes. Additionally, the survivors spoke about sounds of explosions heard under the Towers but the official investigators ignored that. Even the firefighters described what they saw as a bombing operation launched from inside the Towers .Later on, evidences of underground explosion were found⁴⁴. What weakened the American claim and propagandas about these attacks was that it was illogical for a country like the US with its high developed system of surveillance to be unable to discover that one of its airplanes was stolen and seized by terrorist groups. Therefor all these reports confirmed that there was an American-Zionist pre -plan targeted Arabs and Muslims to eradicate them and demonize their image by accusing them by these attacks.

The contemporary conflict Islam and the West is backdated to the great hostile history between the Christian and Islamic worlds. For centuries there have been long battles between Muslims and Christians in the East and the West starting by the Islamic Conquests to the western occupation and the terrible massacres done by the missionaries during the Crusades reaching to the contemporary movements of colonization in the 20th C and the establishment of the Zionist State in Palestine. This ideology of imperialism made Britain and the other western nations focus more on the international vision and depend on foreign policy based on competition between the great nations to impose their homogeny. In their philosophy, to be creative and developed there should be a competitor. They thought that if they became the only intellectual producer there will be no motive to be more powerful and developed.

⁴⁴ Khaled Mahran, "Details of 20 American Rapport Accuse George Bush by the 9/11 Event", *Al Nabaa*, Sept 2015. <http://www.elnabaa.net/482435>

However, since they had an aggressive nature they considered the competitor as an enemy rather than rival.

After the collapse of the Red Threat which was the USSR they sought to intimidate people from Islam and consider it as the next Green Threat. If we go back years ago, we found that even the struggle between USSR and the West due to their contradicted ideologies and the fear from communism replaced another bitter conflict between the Allies and Axis. It consisted in the World Wars. Hence the war on Islam was just a continuation to this ideology which established on rivalry for survival and being the dominant power in the world. As long as Islam was an international religion which included 1/5 of the world population⁴⁵, it was the best alternative counterpart to fill the gap of being threatened. This plan emerged when the western leaders were trying to form the new world system and the idea of considering Islam as the next enemy increasingly developed. Therefore, many western writers and policy makers intended to mislead the public opinion and made Islam and Muslims as one entity. This confusion between religion and its followers would lead to terrible results. This was also the view of John L. Esposito in his book " *Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality*"⁴⁶. He said that it is common that among the followers of any religion are fool and prejudiced people who believe that anyone violates their aggressive ideas should be destroyed. However, they should not be attributed to Islam because all religions are peaceful.

Another reason behind these sentiments of hate is the doctrinal factor. It is stated in the Quran in the verse 120 of al Baqara Chapter: "And the Jewish will not be pleased with thee. Nor will the Christians till thou follow their creed". This is an acknowledgement of the current reality. They see the Muslims as devils from their faith and they have to be fought.

⁴⁵ Rahgib Esardjani, "The Western Views to Islam and Muslims", *The Way to Islam*, 2014.
<https://ar.islamway.net/article>

⁴⁶ Ahmed Abde Lwahab Ali, "The West's Enmity to Islam", *Alukah*, Jun2014.
<http://www.alukah.net/culture/0/71995/>

Recently, the Far Right wing took the lead in ensuring this fact as it happened in America with George Bush and in Britain with the BNP. Even the Conservative Party took a part of this campaign and this what the Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's adviser Alfred Sherman mentioned when he said that the Christian Europe was under Islamic threat.

This conflict is not only in favour of the right political parties, yet even the stakeholders significantly interest in destroying the image of Islam and exaggerating their fear by introducing Muslims as a serious enemy. The most prominent stakeholders are the international organizations. After the collapse of the USSR and Communism there is no need for the NATO, thus it must be dissolved and stop the production of many military factories. That means tens of thousands of workers will be layed off and lose hundreds of thousands of billions dollars. This what the French official Jack Bommel declared. However, by creating another alleged struggle, the need for fabricating the war weapons will go on and the coming of money from the coffers of other countries will be secured. The stakeholders advocate their stance by some ehavioural deviations of some Muslims in Britain to give a nignative impression about them. They notice that the number of Muslims in the prisons is higher than their number in the society. Indeed, they are imprisoned because of illegal immigration or durgs, however, some parts take the opportunity and claim that they are arrested due to terrorist behaviours. They are not excused in this attribution because when they find terrorist tendencies among groups from another religion they associate them to their nationality or race but religion. Thus they are biased in doing so.

This strategy is also used to serve political objectives. For instance, exaggerating the image of Hamas greater than the actual military capabilities aims at intemedating the western citizens and allowing the British government to assist the Zionist entity against the terrorist

Hamas.⁴⁷ Last and not least, the Counter-Terrorism programme and the War on Iraq are strong evidences prove that the British government targets Muslims from these racist policies and wants to alienate them. They exploited the question of immigration because it meets the needs of their plan.

2.Role of Muslims in British Politics:

Muslims in Britain are actively involved in the political life and have a significant influence starting from the bottom reaching to the top of the political hierarchy. Their engagement is clearly evident at both local and national levels either as candidates or voters. It is very considerable in comparison to their involvement in the other European countries. Generally all the ethnic minorities managed to achieve an effective participation and keep their touch thanks to the Nationality Act 1948. This act enabled them to enjoy full political rights and vote from the first moment they reached Britain because they were considered as British citizens.

Since the Commonwealth countries were the main provider of these immigrants that meant the majority of them were Muslims especially the Asian ones. This influx of Muslim immigrants especially from Bangladesh, India and Pakistan since 1950s formed a great force that could not be underestimated. The first Muslim who held an office was labeled Bachir Maan from Pakistan and then he became a city councillor of Glasgow in 1970, while the first Muslim MP was Mohamed Sarwar who was elected in the 1997 General Election. However; some national incidents made Muslims closely watched and politically more involved. Such events was the 9/11 Attacks which produced discrimination towards Muslims. This situation of ignorance and media manipulation undoubtedly pushed many Muslims to be active in the political sphere to fight the anti-Muslim propagandas and stereotypes. Therefore, the war on

⁴⁷ Rahgib Esardjani, " The Western Views to Islam and Muslims " *The Way to Islam*, 2014.
<https://ar.islamway.net/article>

terror and the counter-terror programme were the main factors that motivated Muslim activists to change the dominant view towards Muslims. They were a watershed in the growth of Muslim participation in Britain.

2.1. Facing the Campaign:

The 9/11 was the spark for young Muslims to realize their willingness in forming an official political alliance to defend the Muslim community's rights in Britain. Indeed, Muslim activism backdated to Rushdie's Affairs in which Muslims were a part of political protests against the publication of Rushdie's book "*the Satanic Verses*". However, these protests were not purely about Muslims' issues because they tackled economic and social concerns of the other ethnic minorities. They were not organised, thus they did not achieve a great success. Another event took place in 1990/1991 and politicalized Muslim population which was the Gulf War. As a response, Muslims organised several marches and called for the remove of British troops from the Gulf countries like Saudi Arabia, however, it had less impact than Rushdie's Affairs.

After 9/11, Muslim activism became very visible. These initiatives lunched as anti-war movements which provided the basis of Muslim engagement in politics especially after the establishment of the *Stop the War Coalition*. This coalition emerged immediately after the terrorist attacks in 21st September 2001 as a response to the war in Afghanistan; however, it was not established on Islamic basis and included non-Muslim members. Later on Shahid Saleem proposed the suggestion of including Muslims and mobilising them against the war because they were directly concerned with this issue and this will empower the coalition⁴⁸. He organised a special group for them known by "*Just Peace*" to reinforce the Muslim involvement in the coalition.

⁴⁸ Taylor & Francis, "Muslims and Political Participation in Britain", (London : Routledge), 2017,p8.

Consequently, the anti-war movement became increasingly powerful especially after the invasion of Iraq in 2003 and was seen as source of mobilizing Muslims to oppose government's decisions. In 15 February 2003 a number of anti-war protests were held as a reaction to the British intervention in Iraq. These marches took place in London and included around two million people to be one of the largest demonstrations throughout history. They were organised mainly by the StWC and the Muslim Association of Britain. The movement was very active at the national level and paved the way for new generation of Muslims to be influential leaders. It was seen as a source of their unity.

The anti-war movement significantly contributed in raising a political awareness among a huge number of young Muslims. Such these young people were Selma Yaqoob who headed the Stop the War Coalition in Birmingham. She was also the main figure of one of the most successful attempts of Muslims in British politics which was the Respect Party. This party was founded by Selma yaqoob and George Monbiot in 2004 as a response to British participation in the war on Iraq. It was a combination of leftists and anti-war groups but it was dominated by Muslim majority. It had an anti-Zionist ideology and refused the establishment of the Israeli State because they believed that the war on Iraq was enflamed by the Jewish who wanted to found a State for them in this territory.

The party grew out of the labour supporters' disillusionment which inspired Muslims to form an alternative party to fully represent their concerns. The British media initially underestimated the capacities of this party and expected its decline in the near future. However, it achieved unexpected success especially in areas with a large Muslim population. The party made several campaigns to define its ideology and attract more voters in other areas. Gradually, the party constituted a real rival to the Labour party which used to obtain "safe seat" from the ethnic minorities due its stance about immigration, thus there was a solid relationship between the labour party and Muslims either as voters or candidates. However,

with the emergence of the Respect party, many ethnic minority voters changed their favourable party because they were unsatisfied about its foreign policy. Hence, the Labour's supporters dramatically decreased between 2004 and 2007. Moreover, the party obliged even the other mainstream parties to revise and edit their agendas as a result to its ongoing popularity.

In addition, the Respect party was active even at the continental level and managed to gain a seat in the European parliament just after one year of its emergence. It was in increasing growth and witnessed its heyday in 2006 and 2007. The social organisations and the rise of Muslim demographics took an important part in this success which meant more seats were guaranteed. However, after 2008 the party suffered from a serious split which led to its decline. The main reason behind this decline was the lack of cohesion due to the differences among Muslims in ethnicities, affiliation, and country of origin. However, this did not deny the fact that the Respect party was one of the most successful attempts of Muslim engagement in British politics.

There was an increasing disenchantment among Muslims who filed several complaints about the abuse in implementing the counter-terror measures and the government's foreign policy in addition to the economic marginalisation. The Muslim Council of Britain which was founded in 1997 and considered the overarching body of around 500 mosques, schools, and several Muslim organisations declared: "The approach of government is wrong and ineffective and not engaging with local communities and does not have a community support"⁴⁹. Thus they lost their confidence in the government and worked on introducing an alternative plan to fight terrorism known by " *Muslim-Run Anti-Radicalisation Scheme*" .

⁴⁹Elizabeth Zoe, "British Muslims Lunch Anti-Terrorism Scheme & Blatt infectial Government Measures", *Sunday Press*, Oct .2016. <https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/723208/british-muslims-anti-terrorism-scheme-government-prevent-home-office-radicalisation>

The council's purpose was redefining Islam in Britain, correcting the misleading ideas and securing Muslims' rights. They also sought to keep Muslims away from terror groups. The council depended basically on mosques in spreading this programme because they were the zone of contact between MCB and Muslims. Pray time provided a golden opportunity especially the Friday pray in which all Muslims crowded to take religious lessons. Thus they were not merely a place of worship yet they were used also to mobilise Muslims. In 2007 the council launched a campaign with the slogan of "Islam is peace" which showed the honest tendencies of this programme. Therefore, these Muslim organisations played a hybrid role in this situation. From one side they worked with the government to fight terrorism, from another they were eager to protect Muslims from hostile behaviours and racial discrimination.

2.2. Muslims and Elections:

Britain's parliamentary and local election campaigns witnessed numerous initiatives held by Muslim groups urging Muslims to participate heavily in elections. These initiatives focused on informing Muslims in Britain about the electoral programs offered by the parties, introducing candidates and showing the advantages of their participation. In addition to "*You Elect*" initiative which aimed to mobilise a larger number of voters from Muslim descents, the non-profit association "*Engage*" launched also another campaign known by "*Take Out and Vote*" to encourage more Muslims to vote. These campaigns were supported by a number of Muslim organisations and mosques. The expected results of the elections after these initiatives showed that there was a possibility in the increase of the number of Muslim members in the Parliament. The figure of Muslim voters in Britain was estimated around 1.6 million voters and the analysts believed that if they vote intensively in the upcoming election, they could change the political balances in the British Parliament. Currently, there are eight Muslim members but the number is still incompatible with the big size of Muslim voters. Pallet said:

"Talking about the appropriate representation of the British Muslims should exceed ten seat⁵⁰".

2.3. Towards an Increasing Role of Muslims in Politics:

Muslims gradually gained the trust of British people and there was an increase in the rate of Muslims holding offices of councillors, and being a mayor became a common reality. In 1996 there were 160 Muslim councillors in Britain and the majority of them had experiences in anti-racist organisations. In 2012, thirty Muslim councillors were appointed in London Borough of Tower Hamlets and other twenty four councillors in Bradford while Birmingham had 17 Muslim councillors. Concerning their political affiliation, they were members in all the British political parties. In 2012 there were 8 Muslim MPs divided between 6 for Labours and 2 for Conservatives in addition to 2 members in the Scottish Parliament. In the Last General Election, the Labour Party engaged in the election with 12 Muslim candidates while the Conservatives' list included 3 Muslim candidates. Thus there were 15 Muslim members in the House of Common including women. There were also 11 Muslim members in the House of Lords⁵¹. Some of whom belonged to political parties while the others were independents. They consisted in 6 men and 5 women. The most prominent woman was Baronis Saida Wasri who was the first woman to hold a Cabinet office in the British government. The Conservative MP Said Javed was also a successful and became the State Secretary of Local Administrative Affairs in the current government and a member in the House of Common since 2010.

However, the most successful candidate in the recent elections was the Labour's Governor Siddik Khan who sought to be a mayor of London against the Conservative

⁵⁰ Monsif Salimie, "British Muslims between Limited Participation and the Ambition for Effective Role", *DW*, May 4. 2001. <http://www.dw.com/ar/>

⁵¹ "Muslims in Britain : Effective Role in the Political Life", *BBC*, Jun 20.2017.

candidate Zack Goldsmith in 2016. He was the first Muslim to serve as a governor in a western capital. The triumph of Khan had a special taste. A number of newspapers celebrated the victory of Khan and described him as the most powerful member in the Labour Party. This compliment came after the racist campaign organised against him and led by the British Prime Minister David Cameron, The former mayor of London Boris Johnson and his competitor Zack Goldsmith who accused him of participating in extremist groups ⁵². Despite these campaigns, he managed to win the election. This manifests that Muslims have an influence even at the highest levels.

Conclusion:

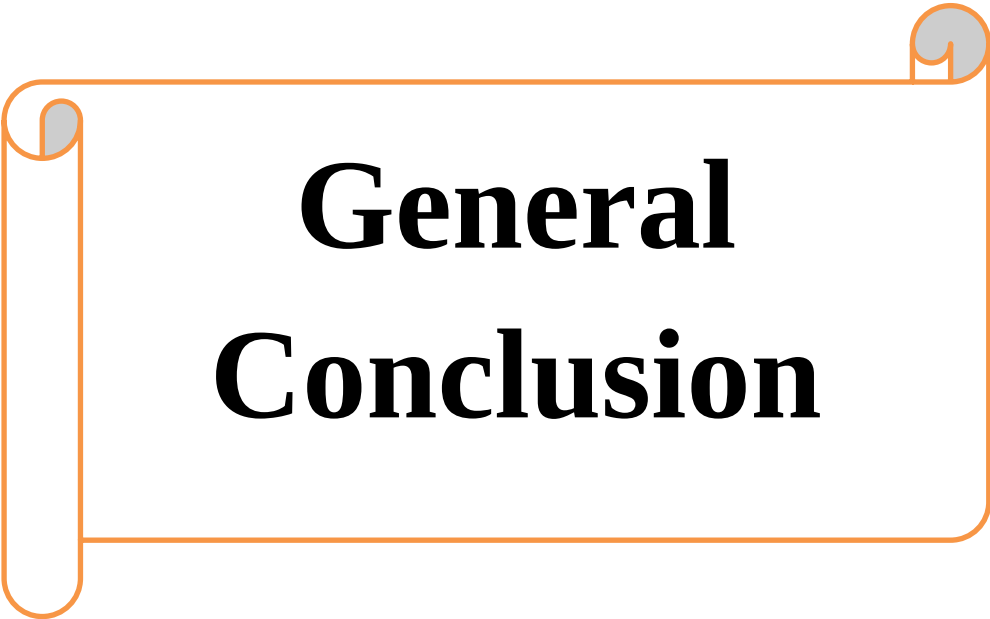
The increasing anxieties among the British public after a series of terrorist attacks negatively affected Muslims' life in Britain. However, the silver lining to this story is that the misleading idea of seeing Islam as a threat to the British values is gradually changing thanks to the efforts of Muslim organizations. The fake stories fabricated against Islam make it the most famous religion and this urges many British people to read more about it. In contrast, they find that the basic principles of this faith are honesty, justice, respect and sympathy. Moreover, the Counter-terror scheme cannot be effective only when there is collaboration between Muslim communities and local authorities. This will extremely contribute in combating extremism.

Throughout the last two decades, several cases prove that the engagement of Muslims in politics is more fruitful than alienating them. Although Islamic communities suffer a lot after 9/11 Attacks, it can be considered also as an opportunity because there is an upswing in Muslim activism and participation in British politics. They formed interesting groups like UK Action Committees for Islamic Affairs, The Bradford Council of Mosques, The British

⁵² BBC, Jun 20.2017.

Muslim Association, Muslim Solidarity Committee, The Islam Foundations, The Islamic Party of GB, Muslim Parliament, and the Association of Muslim Lawyers. Their activities are based mainly on street protests to attract more supporters and spread their concerns at the local level.

Furthermore, they depend on the mobilisation of Muslims in the mosques which constitute very influential institutions. One of the main problems that face the Islamic parties is identity. They are allowed to participate in British politics only on the condition of non-positioning Islam in the heart of their agendas. Overall, this problem cannot be seen as a great dilemma that bans Muslims from engaging in the political life. They are able to be very successful politicians despite the fact of being Muslims.

An orange scroll graphic with a white background, featuring a vertical strip on the left and a horizontal strip on the right, both with rounded ends and a small grey circle at the top left corner.

General Conclusion

Immigration in Britain is originated to the prehistoric era. In the early 20thC, these immigrants started to be visible and formed large societies. The period preceded the WWII characterized by the Jewish immigration despite the fact that there were profound anti-Semitic sentiments among the British public and government alike, yet the Jewish this time found a loophole in the British government to oblige it to change its attitudes towards them. They offered their assistance for Britain to achieve their hidden plans. On the other hand the British government opened the door of negotiations with them and this exhibited their strong position in the British political arena. After the end of the WWII, immigration in Britain took another direction with the Nationality Act of 1948 which gave an automatic British citizenship to the Commonwealth nationals. The corollary of this, Britain was swamped by immigrants coming from Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean. This new structure of the British society extremely participated in redesigning the British political landscape with the emergence of the Far-Right Parties which strongly opposed immigration and called for more firm control. This ideology was found even in the conservative party in the 1980s and 1990s and was clearly evident under the Thatcherite government. However, this restrictionism became no longer valid under Blair's government to win the ethnic minorities' support on his side.

On the other hand, the ethnic minorities were active at the political level since 1970s to improve their situation and prove their role in the economic growth of Britain. They were the ones who accepted to stay in the UK and live in miserable life when the country was suffering from a sharp labour shortage due to the large scales of emigration towards North America, Canada, and Australia. Their role could not be neglected in rebuilding Britain after the havoc of the World Wars. Thus, these ethnic minorities formed a number of organizations and political parties to defend their rights and secure their political participation. They became no longer immigrants yet ancient societies with effective involvement either as voters or

candidates. They fought racism and help these minorities to get access to the public life and managed to achieve a great success.

However, with the turn of the 21th C, the politicians' attention shifted from focusing internal issues to concentrate on terrorism and accuse Muslims by extremist ideology especially after 9/11 Events. As a result, they launched anti-terror measures focused primarily on Muslim. Ironically, this ordeal was considered as a quantum leap for Muslims because it heavily contributed in the rise of political consciousness among them especially the younger generations. They were brave to challenge the government and say that this new approach was wrong because it was injustice to punish innocent Muslims about extremist crimes done by irresponsible people. They founded their own organizations like the Muslim Council of Britain and other influential institutions alongside with effective political parties. Such parties were the Islamic Party of Britain and the Respect Party. The latter was very successful constituted a real threat for the Labour Party which was in power at that time as well as to the other political parties. Thus, the Muslims' involvement in British politics could not be underestimated because it managed to a great extent to enhance the image of Muslims and call for controlling the media content. They worked on showing that Muslims were not terrorists , rather, they were able to integrate and ask for their rights politically with a civilized way.

This study confirms the finding that immigrants have a great contribution in the British politics either directly by their participation as MPs, voters, councilors, founders and activists in several organizations, or indirectly by obliging the government to introduce new policies to control the ongoing growth of their population in Britain. It is worth to discuss the fact that immigrants played a significant role in the emergence of new political spectra. Such these new political structures were the Far-Right parties and political Ethnic minority representators. They became very influential and as important as the deep-rooted parties like the Conservatives and Labours. Thus, this promising finding demonstrates the correlation

between immigrants and British politics because they sometimes determined even the way how the government should behave. For instance, the great success of the Respect Party pushed the other parties to rethink about their political platforms to face the rapid growth of its popularity. Thereby, as we have mentioned elsewhere, the political participation of Muslims and immigrants in general may be seen as a promising leap to impose themselves.

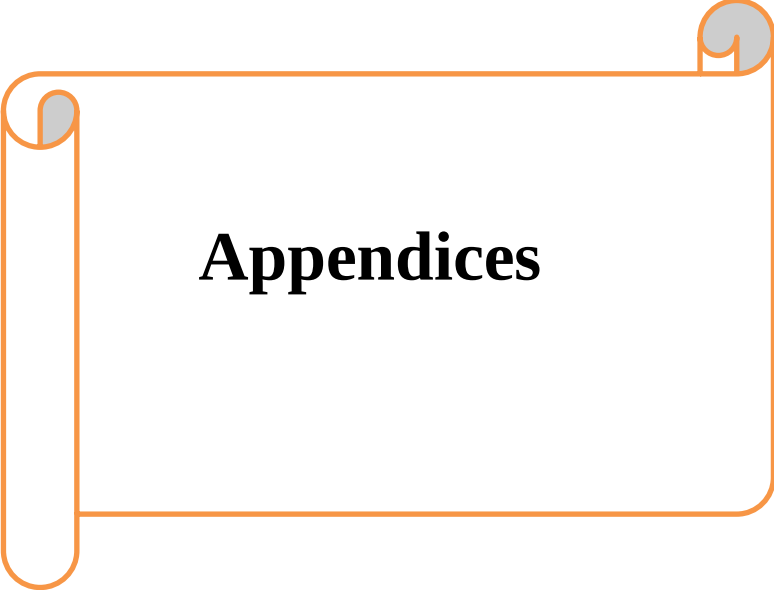
The major problem today is not the question of controlling the borders and accepting more immigrants. Rather, it is the integration of those already living in the UK. Indeed, the political activism of ethnic minorities is a result of accumulations of ignorance, and racial discrimination due to the lack of integration. Recently, this concept is heavily associated with Muslims. Thus, the MCB takes the lead to defeat these difficulties of getting access to the public life. In contrary, this deprivation and alienation will produce more radical ideas. If someone is prevented from getting his rights he will seek to get them illegally and violently. This confirms that the distinctions in socio-mental beliefs are a results of socio-economic disadvantages.

What makes matters worse is the inability of British people to accept these differences. However, diversity is a fact that cannot be avoided because the contemporary world system and the policy of globalization are purely based on the movement of people, capitals, goods and services. Thus there is a necessity to recognize the reality of being different to assimilate with each other. For instance the conservatism of Islam about some issues like abortion, homosexuality and similar should be respected because it does not threaten the British liberalism. It is no more about personal beliefs and Muslims do not oblige anyone to embrace them. What gather them are just mutual and exchangeable benefits because they complete each other. Therefore, Britain will be more cohesive society only when the individuals' freedom secured and British people coincide the fact that they are diverse. Hence, the idea of seeing Muslims as the scapegoat of all the social and economic problems should be eradicated

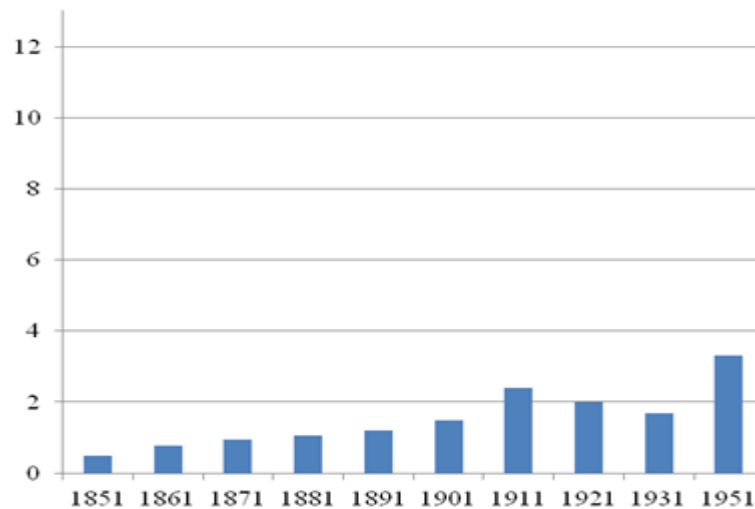
and no more penalties placed on them. This will help also the other ethnic minorities to freely practice their religious ritual with respecting the other's beliefs. They will build a new society in which respect is the mutual feature between all races.

In short, all the decision makers, government, British public and immigrants should be fully aware of the fact that political participation is the key point and the most appropriate solution for all the social problems. It facilitates controlling the ethnic minorities and avoiding racial problems because their rights are secured due to this involvement. Moreover, it is a must because it correctly represents them and fights all the stereotypes. Therefore, this research contributes in showing that the best strategy to live in a peaceful coexistence is following the policies of multiculturalism, integration and assimilation. These policies should not be implemented only on paper. Rather, the government must do its best to spread and strengthen this ideology in the British society.

Contemporary Britain witnesses a very significant watershed which consists in the Brexit question. This decision is significantly affected by the issue of immigration because being out of the EU means that Britain is no longer obliged to keep its borders open and accept more immigrants under the Schengen agreements' terms. Therefore, further research is needed to show how Britain will look like without the contribution of immigrants, and how this decision will affect the British political landscape as well as its economic and social structures. This is considered as a good starting point for further discussions.

A stylized orange scroll graphic with a light gray background. The scroll is oriented horizontally and has a vertical tab on the left side. The word "Appendices" is written in a bold, black, serif font in the center of the scroll.

Appendices



1.The percentage of the foreign born population of England and Wales from 1851-1951.⁵³

The charts showed that the number of the overseas-born residents in England and Wales during the second half of the nineteenth century was initially inconsiderable and slowly increased. With the turn of the twentieth century the number exceeded 2% due to outflow of the Jewish refugees who came from Eastern and Central Europe. During the First World War the ratio has returned to be modest and this declined went on even after the end of the war because of the Economic depression of 1930s and the rise of Fascists groups. After the end of the Second World War immigration in the UK flourished and witnessed unprecedented levels thanks to the Commonwealth approach followed by the government. These charts exhibit the increase number of immigrants was always accompanied by governmental backlash and restricted policies.

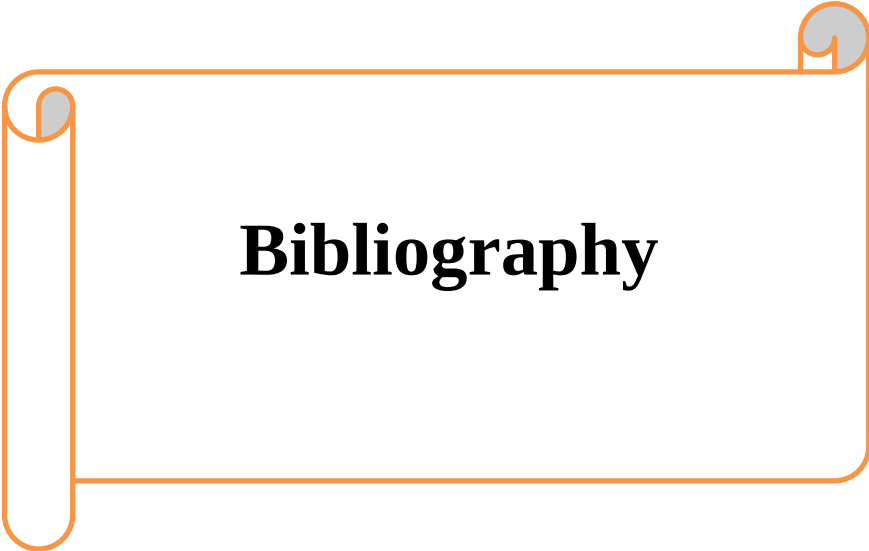
⁵³ “ The History of Immigration to the UK”, Migration Watch UK, <https://www.migrationwatchuk.org/key-topics/history-of-immigration>

TERRORISM RELATED ARRESTS: TOP 30 NATIONALITIES					
	British	2,001		Netherlands	20
	Algeria	167		Portugal	20
	Pakistan	152		Albania	19
	Iraq	134		Germany	18
	Afghanistan	78		Palestine	18
	Iran	74		Ethiopia	17
	Turkey	69		Sudan	17
	India	60		Jordan	15
	Somalia	60		Lebanon	15
	Ireland	42		Saudi Arabia	15
	Sri Lanka	34		Syria	15
	Bangladesh	33		Poland	14
	Libya	31		Romania	14
	France	28		Italy	13
	Morocco	23		Spain	13

Source: Home Office, Operation of Police powers under the Terrorism Act 2000 and subsequent legislation: 31 March 2017⁵⁴

This picture shows the nationalities of people arrested in Britain after the 9/11 Attacks. It exhibits that the majority of them are from Muslim countries. Thus, it is clearly evident that Muslims are accused and considered as the responsible about these terrorist behaviours.

⁵⁴ Graham Allen and Noel Domsey, "Terrorism in Great Britain: the statistics", (London:House of Common Library), October 2017, p14.



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