The emergence of social cohesion as a political project in the UK

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Deep roots of 'multi-culturalism' in the UK

- British citizenship as a colonial proposition, maintaining the bounds of the Empire/Commonwealth after 1948
- Maintenance of Commonwealth citizenship as a status facilitating entry and residence status in the UK and political rights
- Reality – Strains between citizenship bound up with the elite project of maintaining British world influence through its Commonwealth, and growing popular animosity to 'coloured' immigration
- Result - Ambiguities of the 1950s, with political commitment to the maintenance of Commonwealth citizenship combined with covert efforts to limit New Commonwealth immigration (Kathleen Paul 1997)

1960s: Immigration controls and race relations

- 1962 – curtailment of Commonwealth immigration rights
- Retention of a commitment to integration on the basis of the Hattersley formula: "Without integration, limitation is inexcusable; without limitation, integration is impossible".
- Race Relations Act 1965 – Race Relations Board – emphasis on the role of civil society in addressing issues.
- Roy Jenkins definition of multiculturalism: equality of opportunity (secured by state action) plus tolerance of diversity (obtained by civil society).
- 1968 Commonwealth Immigrants Act – established the dimension of race and implicated 'patriality' in the concept of citizenship

1970s: Relative stability

- 1971 Immigration Act resolved the ambiguities of the 1960s;

- 1976 Race Relations Act – establishment of the CRE – concept of indirect discrimination

- Emergence of black community leadership – Community Relations Commission report, *The Participation of Ethnic Minorities in the General Election, October 1974* – 85 constituencies where outcome was presumed to be determined by BME votes (Layton-Henry 1992)

1980s: Rise of the second generation

- Strong identification of BME activism with Labour
- Grievances of the inner-city – Toxteth-Brixton disturbances 1981
- Scarman Report – drew attention to lack of confidence between black communities and the police – issues of recruitment and training. Absence of programmes to combat racial disadvantage.

1990s: Re-emergence of the immigration issue

- Rise in the number of asylum seekers across the decade
- Erosion of capacity to control immigration at borders
- Bureaucratic failings of immigration management
- By end of decade: Increase in demand for managed migration

New paradigms: Managed migration, social cohesion and citizenship

- White Paper "Secure Borders, Safe Haven" – February 2002
- Blunkett's foreword:

"Migration is an evitable reality in the modern world and it brings significant benefits […]"

"Confidence, security and trust make all the difference in enabling a safe haven to be offered to those coming to UK. To enable integration to take place, and to value the diversity it brings, we need to be secure within our sense of belonging and identity and therefore to be able to reach out and to embrace those who come to the UK."

Blunkett's 'civic republicanism'

- Impact of the Northern disturbances, summer 2001
- Lessons learnt:

"The State must increasingly stimulate and broker creative and entrepreneurial solutions to social problems and find new ways of engaging citizens and civil society in delivering those solutions." *Politics and Progress – Renewing Democracy and Civil Society* 2001.

"Secure Borders…"

"The first challenge migration poses is to our concept of national identity and citizenship. Migration has increased the diversity of advanced democracies, leading to changes in national culture and ethnic backgrounds."

"The reports into last summer's disturbances […] painted a vivid picture of fractured and divided communities. […] need for us to foster and renew the social fabric of our communities, and rebuild a sense of common citizenship."

" […] citizenship is not just for those entering the country – it is for all British citizens."

On citizenship and nationality…

- Citizenship not just a question of acquiring passports – needs to foster "a sense of community and belonging"
- Preparing people for citizenship – importance of English language and "British values"
- "Celebrating acquisition" – oath of allegiance, citizenship ceremonies
- "Updating deprivation procedures" ….

Managed migration realities

- Developed as an immensely complex and bureaucratic procedure – 80 different routes of entry, etc

- Hierarchies of rights, general ethos of reduction of rights to emphasis enforcement capacity.

- Internal controls – recruitment of civil society to migrant management.

- Increase in surveillance and supervision of migrant communities.

Effects on public opinion

- Anxieties have risen from less than 5% to more than 30% of the population.
- Polarisation between immigrant tolerant and anti-immigrant viewpoints.
- Rise of a new hard right – BNP.
- Ratchet effect – growing anxieties institutionalised and integrated into immigration and integration policies.

Current situation

- Acknowledged concerns about the growth of destitution and vulnerability amongst newly arrived immigrant communities.

- Emergence of undocumented migration as a significant phenomenon.

- Renewed commitment to enforcement component of managed migration.

- Language tests for all migrants

- Reduction of public services for migrants.