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# **Immigration in the United Kingdom in the Context of EU Enlargement**

(Diplomová práce)

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*I declare that I elaborated this paper independently and that I mentioned the absolute list of works cited*

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

- A2 – Bulgaria and Romania
- A8 – 2004 accession countries (Malta and Cyprus excluded)
- BBC – British Broadcasting Corporation
- BES – British Election Study
- BSA – British Social Attitudes
- COMPAS – Centre on Migration, Policy and Society
- DVLA – Driver and Vehicle Licensing Agency
- EEC – European Economic Community
- EU – European Union
- EU15 – European Union member states before 2004
- GDP – Gross Domestic Product
- IPS – International Passenger Survey
- MAC – Migration Advisory Committee
- NINO – National Insurance Number
- UK – United Kingdom
- UKBA – United Kingdom Border Agency
- US – United States
- WRS – Worker Registration Scheme

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## **1 INTRODUCTION**

For the United Kingdom, immigration has been one of the most frequently discussed topics for a long time. The interest the islands have provoked in many diverse nations goes back many years B.C. and has persisted until the present times. This thesis focuses on immigration into the United Kingdom in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century, especially in context of the European Union enlargement and the effects its legal regulation has had on the development of the United Kingdom immigration.

The present thesis is structured into four main sections. The first one offers some basic definitions and terminology connected with the topic of migration as well as different theories related to general causes for migration.

The second section is then a historical outline of immigration to the United Kingdom since 1066, the last settlement of the islands by force. The country's colonial history is mentioned too and the main focus of this section is on the Commonwealth immigration, especially from India and the non-white Commonwealth. The development of immigration legislation in these times is a very important part of this section as it serves as a fundamental key to understanding the United Kingdom's attitude towards immigration and the roots of the country's public's almost xenophobic stance in that matter. This section also includes characterization of means of measuring immigration.

The third section then examines the core topic of this thesis, immigration connected with the European Union enlargement, its enumeration and characterization of a typical immigrant. The main focus is on Polish migrants as these formed a vast majority of the 2004 accession countries immigrants. The extent of these immigration waves was exceptional and something new regarding migration in modern Europe.

As has been a tradition in the United Kingdom for the past decades, great waves of public and political opposition arose towards immigration. The government has taken some steps to satisfy the angry public. However, the aim of this thesis is to question the United Kingdom's stance towards immigrants, and analyze the most frequent reasons for opposing immigration and prove these false. The fourth section thus focuses on economic and social/cultural impacts of immigration to the United

Kingdom. The main idea then is that more positive effects than the negative ones are to be expected as a consequence of immigration and that the British are only fortifying the country's nowadays image as an unwelcoming xenophobic nation which less and less foreigners are keen to become a part of.



## 2 EXPLAINING MIGRATION

To define the term migration and explicate the reasons for its happening, one can have a look at some different theories of international migration. The concept of migration can be described as a movement of people which involves the crossing of the boundary of a political or administrative unit (country border in the case of international migration) for a certain minimum amount of time. An important aspect of migration, immigration specifically, is that the receiving country must not show any sort of active refusal (e.g. military).

The term migrant is somewhat different in concept from migration. Here are some definitions of the term. According to one, a migrant is: 'any person who lives temporarily or permanently in a country where he or she was not born, and has acquired some significant social ties to this country.'<sup>1</sup> To differentiate further from other terms, such as refugee, another definition is important: 'The term 'migrant' ... should be understood as covering all cases where the decision to migrate is taken freely by the individual concerned, for reasons of 'personal convenience' and without intervention of an external compelling factor.'<sup>2</sup>

Different from the term migrant, where the free decision is important, is then the term refugee. The definition according to the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees is as follows:

Any person, who as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> UN General Assembly, "Measures to Improve the Situation and Ensure the Human Rights and Dignity of All Migrant Workers,"(1976).

<sup>2</sup> "Measures to Improve the Situation and Ensure the Human Rights and Dignity of All Migrant Workers."

<sup>3</sup> Paul Weis, "The 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees and Some Questions of the Law of Treaties," *Brit. YB Int'l L.* 42(1967): 1.

Related to the term refugee are terms asylum seeker and asylee. The former is a refugee who has not yet been granted a permit to stay in the country where they make a claim. The latter is then a refugee who has been officially granted asylum.

## **2.1 British Citizenship**

In the context of British immigration, there is a great importance of the Commonwealth of Nations. As for British citizenship and Commonwealth citizenship, these two had not been differentiated up until 1981 and the British Nationality Act. Nevertheless, it is important to distinguish between those nationalities, for later in this text, there is an important section devoted to the immigration from Commonwealth.

Commonwealth citizens are nationals of one of 53 self-governed states, mostly territories of the former British Empire, which after the World War II was undergoing the process of decolonization, as the states were gaining an increased self-governance. On the other hand, British citizens, as the term suggests, are people born in the United Kingdom, or people with a parent or grandparent born there, or naturalised foreign nationals.

## **2.2 Administration of Immigration**

Immigration in the United Kingdom is administered by the Home Office and its executive agency, the United Kingdom Border Agency (UKBA). UKBA manages UK's visa service, considers applications for British citizenship from overseas nationals who wish to settle there permanently. Moreover, it runs the asylum service and considers appeals from unsuccessful applicants.<sup>4</sup>

Controls are done by immigration officers, employees of the UKBA, and involve examination of documentation, gathering intelligence, and most importantly, have to be done in accordance with the immigration law, service standards and the United Kingdom's international obligations.

## **2.3 Causes of Migration**

There have been different theories appearing on what causes international migration which vary both in concept and in assumptions they make. Generally, they focus

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<sup>4</sup> GOV.UK, "Uk Visas and Immigration," 21. 3. 2014, <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/uk-visas-and-immigration>.

on the economical aspect of the motivation of migrants. As Massey says, the major difference between the theories is that each examines the causes for migration from a different point of view, i.e. individual, household, national and international, and that otherwise, they cannot be assumed to be mutually incompatible. There is not enough room in this thesis for a deep analysis of these theories, however, there is room for a brief comparison of their approaches.

The oldest theory, the neoclassical macro theory, assumes that international migration happens because of geographic differences in the supply and demand for labour (especially human capital, i.e. high-skilled workers). This goes in hand with the differences in wages, as the countries with high supply of labour have lower wages than countries where there is high demand for labour. To make a general assumption, the motivation to migrate is then purely economical and connected with the prospects of higher wages, and, according to the theory, if the differences in wages were to be eliminated, migration would stop.<sup>5</sup>

Another theory, the neoclassical micro theory, takes migration as an investment of rational actors in their capital. According to this theory, people choose to migrate to a place where they can be more productive. The decision involves a calculation with some barriers, or necessary investments to be done prior to, or in connection with, the movement. They have to take into account travel costs, costs of supporting themselves while in search for a job, the effort of learning a new language, or cutting some existing ties while creating new ones.<sup>6</sup>

Trying to challenge the neoclassical theory, the ‘new economics of migration’ suggests that decisions regarding migration are not made by individuals, but this theory concentrates on larger units, particularly households. Aiming to improve an economic situation of a family, decisions can be made to have some of the members of the family working in the country of their origin, while relying on an income of e.g. one member of the family (the migrant) working in a country with better employment conditions and higher wages. The reason for such a decision is

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<sup>5</sup> Douglas S. Massey et al., “Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal,” *Population and development review* 1, no. 3 (1993): 433.

<sup>6</sup> “Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal,” 434.

generally that in case of failure of the local market and deterioration of wages, the family can still rely on the income from the country with a more stable economy.<sup>7</sup>

A radically different approach is taken by the dual labour market theory. Instead of looking at the decisions of individuals or small groups of individuals, thus, the push factors in the originating country, this theory concentrates on the pull factors of the receiving countries. The major argument is that in developed economies, there is always a desire for immigrant labour force, and that this desire is chronically inherent to such developed nations.<sup>8</sup>

The world systems theory takes a significantly wider approach to the causes of international migration. It accounts migration to the phenomenon of globalisation. Companies with a large capital, in search of greater profit, enter poor countries and less developed markets with the aim of gaining access to raw materials, labour and new consumer markets. This phenomenon has been present since the times of colonisation, and according to the world systems theory, is one the driving forces of international migration.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> “Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal,” 436.

<sup>8</sup> “Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal,” 440-41.

<sup>9</sup> “Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal,” 444-45.

### **3 HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF IMMIGRATION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM**

If immigration is to be considered a movement of people from one place to another, with the immigrants wanting to assimilate with the original inhabitants who attempt no violent resistance towards this movement, then the most important date has to be 1066 and the conquest of Britain by the Normans, which was the last time anyone successfully invaded the islands.<sup>10</sup> From this point the British culture has been shaped to become what it is nowadays and in this section I shall take into consideration only immigration which took place from 1066 onwards.

#### **3.1 Immigration to the United Kingdom before the 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

Among the first immigrants after the conquest were Jews who were invited to Britain by William the Conqueror. They excelled in trade and finance and their main activity was money lending. It is possible that they helped William with financing the invasion.<sup>11</sup> However, in 1290, the Jewish community which was by that time around 5,000 was expelled from Britain by Edward I, and the absence of their finance had a great impact on English agriculture in the following century.<sup>12</sup>

In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, waves of immigrants from the “Low Counties”, today the Benelux states, came to Britain. They were mostly weavers enticed by good British wool and in the 16<sup>th</sup> century another waves arrived escaping religious persecution. The same reason forced the Huguenots, the French Protestants, to come to Britain between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Not only were they skilled, hard-working people, but along with the again rising numbers of Jews, they supported the state and army financially.<sup>13</sup>

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century Britain started to get involved in the slave trade and between 1555 and the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a large population of about 10-20,000 Africans came to England and Wales which then had a total population of 9,000,000. However, after two centuries of the expansion of the slave trade in Britain, at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century an anti-slavery feeling grew in the British society which led

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<sup>10</sup> Natálie Abrahámová, “Immigration Policy in Britain since 1962,” (Master, 2007), 11.

<sup>11</sup> Archie Baron, “Hidden Exodus,” *The Listener*, 1 November 1990, 26-27.

<sup>12</sup> Paul Johnson, *The Offshore Islanders: A History of the English People*, (London: Phoenix Paperback edition, 1992), 70.

<sup>13</sup> Abrahámová, “Immigration Policy in Britain since 1962,” 12.

to the emergence of the abolitionist movement. But this was not accounted solely to the growth of humanitarianism in England, it was suggested that it was a part of the economic development of Britain.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, the abolitionists succeeded in 1807 and all British subjects were forbidden to trade in slaves. This victory and the ban on slavery in 1833 lead to a dramatic decrease in black African immigration to Britain.

During the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, small numbers of Indians and Pakistanis came to Britain, mostly students and professionals, for a temporal stay. Their number grew later in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially after the World War II. Chinese immigrants were also in a small number before the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The 19<sup>th</sup> century was also a time of the industrial revolution, and the lack of manpower it caused was resolved by the coming of the Irish who were forced to enter Britain because of low work opportunities and poverty in Ireland, and after getting permanent jobs they eventually settled in the urban areas.<sup>15</sup>

### **3.2 The Beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

The first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and both of the World Wars, brought a significant change regarding the immigration to Britain. Many people persecuted in their home countries were forced to leave and came to Britain. During the first half of the century, creation and subsequent development of legislation and policy concerning immigration could be registered. However, immigration was only slowly becoming a problem, as between 1870-1913 there was a net emigration of 131,000 per year which meant a total loss of 5.6 million between these years. The first time immigration exceeded emigration was in the 1930s.<sup>16</sup> But even before the World Wars, after some attempts to control aliens (non-Commonwealth immigrants) in Britain, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century ideas arose to create a working system to control the entry of immigrants. The result of these ideas was the Aliens Act 1905.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Ralph A. Austen and Woodruff D. Smith, "Images of Africa and British Slave-Trade Abolition: The Transition to an Imperialist Ideology, 1787-1807," *African Historical Studies* 2, no. 1 (1969): 69.

<sup>15</sup> Abrahámová, "Immigration Policy in Britain since 1962," 13.

<sup>16</sup> Timothy Hatton, "Migration, Migrants and Policy in the United Kingdom," (1998): 1-3.

<sup>17</sup> Helena Wray, "The Aliens Act 1905 and the Immigration Dilemma," *Journal of Law & Society* 33, no. 2 (2006): 302.

### **3.2.1 Aliens Act 1905**

The reasons that led to the idea of systematic control of immigration have their roots in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the Jews coming to Britain became a serious problem. Being forced by persecution, they mostly arrived in a wretched state. Having no other choice than to take very low-paying jobs, they had to live in harsh conditions. The situation resulted in a growing anti-alien mood among the British people. Moreover the aliens' new arrivals threatened the country's economic stability.<sup>18</sup> The importance of the Aliens Act 1905, which came into effect on 1 January 1906, is that it was the first attempt to establish a complex system to control the immigrants' entry to Britain.

The Aliens Act 1905 provided the rules by which an immigration officer and a medical inspector were to decide whether an immigrant was an 'undesirable' alien. An immigrant was considered as undesirable if they could not prove to be able to decently support themselves and their dependants. If any immigrant was found to be dangerous to the public owing to any mental disease, or in the Act's words, if they happened to be a 'lunatic or an idiot', or if they 'had been sentenced in a foreign country with which there is an extradition treaty for a crime, not being an offence of a political character, which is, as respects that country, an extradition crime within the meaning of the Extradition Act, 1870; if they had an expulsion order made against him under this Act',<sup>19</sup> they were also considered undesirable aliens.

Furthermore, according to the Act, an immigrant could not be refused leave to land if he proved that he had come to Britain to avoid prosecution or punishment on religious or political basis. However, the Act itself lacked coherence, as the control of immigrants applied only to third-class passengers of incoming ships, and the refused passengers could appeal to the Immigration Board.<sup>20</sup>

### **3.2.2 British Nationality and Status Aliens Act 1914**

In 1914, at the outbreak of the World War, a far more complex piece of legislation came into effect. The reason was the concern about incoming refugees, and the fear of war spies. The British Nationality and Status Aliens Act 1914 included the definition of a natural-born British subject and the rules for naturalization of aliens.

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<sup>18</sup> "The Aliens Act 1905 and the Immigration Dilemma," 309.

<sup>19</sup> *Aliens Act 1905*.

<sup>20</sup> Wray, "The Aliens Act 1905 and the Immigration Dilemma," 311-12.

The certificate of naturalization could be given to an applicant who proved<sup>21</sup> that he had either resided in His Majesty's dominions for a period of not less than five years in the manner required by the Act, or had been in the service of the Crown for not less than five years within the last eight years before the application. Another requirement was a person's good character, an adequate knowledge of the English language, and the intent if his application was granted either to reside in His Majesty's dominions or to enter or continue in the service of the Crown.

The Act also included rules for the loss of British nationality, sections about the status of immigrants' children, married women, widows, or the rules for situations when the certificate could be revoked.<sup>22</sup>

### **3.2.3 Aliens Restriction Act 1919**

An amendment to a wartime Aliens Restriction Act 1914, which obliged alien immigrants to register with the police and enabled their deportation extended the provisions of the Act to apply to the situation after the war and, furthermore, prevented aliens from getting certain jobs, mostly in civil service.

Aliens Restriction Act 1919 also restricted the former enemy aliens to land in Britain for a period of three years from the date the Act came into effect. The enemy aliens who had lived in the United Kingdom before passing of the Act were to apply to the Secretary of State for permission to stay there. For the same period of three years from passing of the Act it was impossible for former enemy aliens to acquire property such as land, interest in any industry or an interest in a company owning a British ship registered in the United Kingdom.<sup>23</sup>

## **3.3 The Situation before and after the World War II**

The Second World War can be viewed as some kind of a milestone with respect to immigration. As has been said, until the 1930s, the United Kingdom had been, similarly to other European countries, mostly a place of origin in the migration 'process'. In the pre-war decade, immigration exceeded emigration for the first time, which was a result not only of the declining emigration since the 1920s, but

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<sup>21</sup> *British Nationality and Status Aliens Act 1914*, s. 2.

<sup>22</sup> *British Nationality and Status Aliens Act 1914*, s. 2.

<sup>23</sup> "Alien Restriction (Amendment) Act, 1919 (9 and 10 Geo. 5. Ch. 92) Arrangements of Sections," *International Migration Digest* 1, no. 2 (1964).



mostly of the rising numbers of immigrants.<sup>24</sup> Many persecuted people especially from Germany sought refuge in the United Kingdom and so approximately 50,000 Jews arrived there between the years 1933 and 1939. However, the British government discouraged Jewish refugees from coming to the United Kingdom giving as reason its large population and high unemployment rate. The true reason was anti-Semitism, which represented a significant issue of the British society. The flow of Jewish immigrants halted with the beginning of the war.<sup>25</sup> It is true that racism and cultural issues were a strong force in the forming of the British immigration policy even in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The end of the World War II started an era of continuously rising immigration to the United Kingdom, which was caused primarily by the political and economic changes in Europe after the war. The flow of immigrants from Germany was renewed as a consequence of the division of the country and endured through the 1950s. However, the exceptionally high numbers of immigrants from Germany, most of them being from East Germany, began to lessen in 1952 with the closing of the inner German border up until 1961 and a halt caused by the raising of the Berlin wall.

Besides the East German immigrants, considerable amounts of immigrants came to the United Kingdom as ‘European Volunteer Workers’ recruited by the post-war Labour government to help resolve the labour shortage in production sectors. The source of this group of immigrants were primarily the Displaced Persons camps and they amounted a few hundred thousand people and at the time were more socially acceptable than non-white workers from British colonies. That matter shall be discussed later in this chapter.<sup>26</sup>

### **3.3.1 British Nationality Act 1948**

Three years after the war, the British Nationality Act was passed, establishing rules for gaining British citizenship. The status was called ‘Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies’. The fact is, that mostly the provisions only confirmed what was true before the Act, however that confirmation had certain effects regarding the

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<sup>24</sup> Hatton, “Migration, Migrants and Policy in the United Kingdom,” 3.

<sup>25</sup> Abrahámová, “Immigration Policy in Britain since 1962,” 15.

<sup>26</sup> Diana Kay and Robert Miles, *Refugees or Migrant Workers?: European Volunteer Workers in Britain, 1946-1951* (London: Routledge, 1992).

immigration flows in the next decade. If a person was born in the British Empire they had the right to claim British citizenship along with all the nationality rights. The Act made the people born anywhere in the colonies equal to those born on the British Isles. It also allowed the Irish, who had left the Commonwealth in 1947, to settle, work, and even vote in Britain.<sup>27</sup>

The Act caused that great flows of immigrants from the colonies, mostly the West Indies, came to Britain especially in the late 1950s. It formed the basis of the UK's nationality law until 1983, when the British Nationality Act 1981 came into force. Although the British Nationality Act 1948 concentrated specifically on constitutionalizing citizenship of British subjects, the impact on immigration, however unintentional, was significant.

### **3.3.2 Consequences of the Act – Political Controversy**

The provisions of the Act resulted in the fear of high numbers of African and Asian immigrants arriving in Britain. The problem with immigration most people had were not the numbers of immigrants in general, but the immigration of Europeans was viewed in a different way than that of 'coloured' British citizens. The '50s were therefore times of bad social mood and strong opposition towards non-white immigration which was significant not only in the public opinion, but there were differences between the two major political parties regarding the approach to handling migration. Generally, the problem was that without difference, the people of the United Kingdom appreciated migration flows between the Isles and the Old Commonwealth countries (Canada, Australia and New Zealand). On the other hand, the fear of the massive inflow of immigrants from the New Commonwealth, i.e. non-white, and above all, black citizens of the Empire formed a disagreement between the Conservatives and the Labour. In 1955, the conservative part of the Cabinet headed by Lord Salisbury, the Lord President of the Council, Leader of the House of Lords, wanted to apply controls over the immigration of New Commonwealth citizens while leaving the Old Commonwealth without control. Lord Salisbury was a very influential person in the Conservative Party and viewed 'coloured' immigrants as a threat to the British society and wanted their entry stopped. The Colonial Secretary, Alan Lennox-Boyd, refused to apply this sort of

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<sup>27</sup> Abrahámová, "Immigration Policy in Britain since 1962," 16.

selective, racially motivated control over immigration and gave the Cabinet two options – either control over immigrants from both the Old and New Commonwealth, or no control at all. Seeing the Old Commonwealth relations as highly important, the Cabinet chose the latter option.<sup>28</sup>

The proof of somewhat racist views of some of the Conservatives is that the problem of Asian and black immigrants was not as significant as the Government had claimed it to be. As Solomos says, the major source of immigrants between the years 1945 and 1954 were European countries, Ireland being at the top. There had been about 70,000-100,000 immigrants from Europe during these years.<sup>29</sup> The controversy of the matter prevented the Government from implementation of official policy regarding restrictions to non-white immigrants, as it would damage the international image of the United Kingdom for race-based controls of immigration were not in compliance with international laws. However, that did not mean that the effort of the Government to reduce or stop the immigration of non-white people was put aside. They continued with the effort with attempts to take administrative measures. Controls of proof of identity for the people already in the country were tightened, and there was a great pressure on the foreign governments (of the countries of origin) to help the UK in this matter by issuing lower number of passports, intervening in the transport market to raise the prices of transatlantic passages. That way, the United Kingdom remained officially clean, as there were no discriminative obstructions at entry, and at the same time the arrival of unwanted immigrants was restricted. The discrimination was happening at the point of departure by the Commonwealth countries.<sup>30</sup>

Following the unsuccessful attempt for legislation restricting the non-white immigration from 1955, there was an interesting development in the numbers of immigrants from the New Commonwealth. The peak in Asian and black immigrants coming to the United Kingdom was reached in 1956 with 46,050, a number that in three years fell by more than a half to 21,600 only to increase dramatically to 136,400 in 1961. A great role in this increase was played by the immigrants from

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<sup>28</sup> Randall Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Postwar Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 18.

<sup>29</sup> John Solomos, *Race and Racism in Contemporary Britain* (Hampshire: Macmillan, 1989), 42.

<sup>30</sup> Ian R. G. Spencer, *British Immigration Policy since 1939: The Making of Multi-Racial Britain* (London: Routledge, 1997), 24.

South Asia, whose numbers grew radically between 1959 and 1961, when the numbers of immigrants from India and Pakistan grew from 2,930 to 23,750 and from 1,860 to 25,060 respectively.<sup>31</sup>

Nevertheless, while the numbers were slowly declining in 1958, in this year the discussion on legislation was restored as a consequence of riots breaking out in Nottingham and later in Notting Hill. The riots followed the Cabinet's decision to take no action in creating the legislation based on race discrimination in the same year and their decision to just observe the situation passively. It has been argued that the riots played a certain role in later forming of legislation, although their effect at the start was counterproductive, as the Cabinet refused to respond to violence. The riots caused an increased pressure on the High Commissions of India and Pakistan and the Jamaican Government to tighten the restrictive measures and allow less people from these destinations to come to Britain. Although the numbers of 'coloured' immigrants were still considered of small significance, the real issue was that these people did not speak English, were often illiterate, and had low physique which made them hardly employable. The fact undeniably contributed to the United Kingdom's total unemployment rising from 244,000 to 412,000 between 1957 and 1958.<sup>32</sup>

### **3.4 Statistical Data – Means of Measuring Immigration**

Not directly related to the legislation concerning immigration, I include this subsection at this place for its importance regarding immigration statistics and migration statistics in general.

#### **3.4.1 International Passenger Survey**

In the era before the World War II, the numbers of travellers were a reliable source of data for the purposes of migration statistics. Because of the high costs of travel, it was not common for the people arriving in the United Kingdom to stay there only for a short period of time, recreational travellers formed only a very small portion of the total numbers. Most travellers made a one-time journey with the intent of staying in the United Kingdom (or any other country, but the UK is specific in that it is divided from other countries by sea, thus the costs of travel were higher). But

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<sup>31</sup> *British Immigration Policy since 1939: The Making of Multi-Racial Britain*, 87-90.

<sup>32</sup> *British Immigration Policy since 1939: The Making of Multi-Racial Britain*, 98-103.

this sort of statistics' reliability decreased after the World War II when the costs of travel declined significantly, and new means of transport began to be involved in travel (air travel). Thus, the numbers of recreational travellers increased and the overall number of travellers stopped being an adequate measure of migration.<sup>33</sup>

To continue to be able to measure migration, in 1961 the *International Passenger Survey* (IPS) was introduced. The aim of the survey was to collect tourism data, be it the United Kingdom residents travelling to other countries, or foreign residents travelling to the UK. Although the primary purpose of this sample survey was not migration measurement, it collects information about travellers and identifies immigrants as those, who have been at least one year abroad and now intend to stay at least one year in the United Kingdom, and vice versa as for emigrants. The information is collected at airports, sea ports and the Tunnel. At the beginning the survey covered only Heathrow, Gatwick and Dover and over time it expanded to all major air and sea ports.

There are some limitations of the survey that may lower its reliability. Firstly, the percentage of travellers interviewed is very small, only one in five hundred, which leaves quite significant room for errors. Secondly, there is a problem with migrants between the Northern Ireland (UK) and Ireland, who are excluded from the survey, as are most asylum seekers and their dependants. And the third limiting factor is that the migration estimates are based on the interviewees' initial intentions, which may differ from reality, as these intentions can change during the stay.<sup>34</sup>

However, the survey has some undeniable advantages. It is the only source of data to measure emigration from the United Kingdom, and the questions asked are so comprehensive, that it results in detailed characteristics of a migrant. The IPS remains to this day one of the major sources of data for immigration statistics in the United Kingdom.

### **3.4.2 National Insurance Numbers**

In order to provide an indication of the number of economically active foreign nationals entering the United Kingdom, National Insurance numbers (NINOs) are

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<sup>33</sup> Hatton, "Migration, Migrants and Policy in the United Kingdom," 3.

<sup>34</sup> The Migration Observatory, "International Passenger Survey," 12. 3. 2014, <http://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/data-and-resources/data-sources-and-limitations/international-passenger-survey>.

issued to all non-UK nationals above the age of 16 years entering the country in order to work legally there, or claim benefits. The intended length of stay does not matter.

The statistics provide data from January 2002. The limitations are that the numbers provided are representative only of the number of immigrants coming each year to the United Kingdom, but do not give a picture of the number of immigrants present in the country at a certain point in time. This is due to the fact that when leaving a job, or leaving the United Kingdom there is no de-registration of the NINO, or an expiration date. Such imperfections of the statistics can bring problems when there is a high fluctuation regarding migration, i.e. when a lot of people come to the United Kingdom for a short period of time and then return back to their country of origin. Another problem is that the statistics cover only the number of NINO registrations, not taking into account already existing NINOs.<sup>35</sup>

### **3.4.3 Worker Registration Scheme**

Another source of data regarding immigration is the Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) which was introduced in 2004 in order to regulate the immigration from the A8 (May 2004 EU accession) countries. It was planned to terminate in 2009, but was extended until 2011, reaching the maximum of 7 years for any restrictions to be applied regarding the A8 immigrants to EU15 countries.

The statistics include data as nationality, date of birth, gender, occupation and basic information about the initial employer. However, although it can serve a good source of data regarding working immigrants from the A8 countries, there are some flaws. Firstly, self-employed immigrants are not included in the statistics, and secondly, as in the case of National Insurance Numbers, there is no requirement for de-registration, hence the actual length of stay remains unknown.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> The Migration Observatory, “National Insurance Numbers,” 13. 4. 2014  
<http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/data-and-resources/data-sources-and-limitations/national-insurance-numbers>.

<sup>36</sup> The Migration Observatory, “Worker Registration Scheme,” 13. 4. 2014  
<http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/data-and-resources/data-sources-and-limitations/worker-registration-scheme>.

## 3.5 Racially Motivated Bills of the 1960s

### 3.5.1 Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962

Following the increased numbers of Commonwealth immigrants, Conservatives finally managed to pass a restrictive legislation. The pressure from the public was very strong at the beginning of the 1960s, caused by an extensive media campaign which made the issue seem more serious than it actually was. The passing of the Act did not go without problems. One of the questions was how to prepare a legislation restricting immigration from Commonwealth and at the same time leave the immigration from Ireland as it was. The issue was solved in the bill by including random controls of Irish immigrants at certain ports, procedures which, of course, were not supposed to be carried out in real life. The opposition of the Act saw that as a clear sign of racist discrimination. The truth was that the Irish were much more desirable as immigrants, especially for the common history and ease of assimilation.<sup>37</sup>

The provisions of the Act concentrated on three main points and were set for a trial period of five years. Firstly, it enforced controls of Commonwealth immigrants, secondly, it authorized deportation of certain Commonwealth citizens, and thirdly, it amended the qualifications of Commonwealth citizens applying for citizenship under the British Nationality Act 1948. Under the new Act, only holders of employment vouchers, students, members of the armed forces and people able to support themselves without a job were qualified to apply for British citizenship.

A system for issuance of the employment vouchers was set by the Ministry of Labour, which contained three categories of vouchers depending on the reason for immigration. The applicants could get a voucher if they were coming to the United Kingdom to get a specific arranged job, or they could get a voucher of the second category if they possessed some special skills that were in short supply, or there was a third category of vouchers for those who were part of a large undifferentiated group whose numbers would be set according to the labour needs of the United Kingdom economy.<sup>38</sup> Immigration officers were empowered to refuse any person who did not satisfy the conditions for gaining a voucher, except wives and children under 16 years of age accompanying a Commonwealth citizen who qualified for a

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<sup>37</sup> Abrahámová, "Immigration Policy in Britain since 1962," 23-25.

<sup>38</sup> Spencer, *British Immigration Policy since 1939: The Making of Multi-Racial Britain*, 129.

voucher, or wives and children of a Commonwealth citizen who had already resided in the United Kingdom.

The second part of the Act authorized deportation of Commonwealth citizens convicted of an offence punishable by imprisonment. Such a person could be recommended for deportation by the court before which they were convicted.<sup>39</sup>

Although the numbers of voucher holders in the next years averaged above 20,000 a year, often reaching 30,000 (which were numbers that would be considered very high at the end 1950s), the importance and the effect of the Act should be seen in that it stabilized the Commonwealth immigration. Later statistical data also show that the numbers of Asian and black immigrants before the Act were not as alarming as the media were trying to convince the public in the United Kingdom. In 1982, less than a fifth of South Asian immigrants were people that had come before the 1962 Act, and of those, most came in the time period between the announcement and the implementation of the Act.<sup>40</sup>

### **3.5.2 Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968**

When in 1962 the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962 came into force, the Labour opposition criticized the bill for being racially motivated, but when in 1964 they became the governing party, no effort was made to change the provisions of the Act for the law to fit non-racist standards. There was pressure from the public which was not welcoming towards the Asian and black immigrants, and as the Labour won the election only with a small majority, their mandate was not strong enough to ignore that pressure. The fact that a Conservative politician Peter Griffiths was elected was a sign of the anti-immigrant mood among the United Kingdom's society. His election campaign carried a slogan 'If you want a nigger for neighbour vote Liberal or Labour'.<sup>41</sup> That strong a sign from the public forced the governing Labour Cabinet to take populist measures and maintain the policy of restricted immigration. In the end, the legislation made by this Cabinet ended up

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<sup>39</sup> *Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962.*

<sup>40</sup> Spencer, *British Immigration Policy since 1939: The Making of Multi-Racial Britain*, 130.

<sup>41</sup> Telegraph Blogs, "Peter Griffiths and the Ugly Tory Racism of the 1960s Killed Rational Debate About Immigration," 12. 4. 2014, <http://blogs.telegraph.co.uk/news/timstanley/100248091/peter-griffiths-and-the-tory-racism-of-the-1960s-killed-rational-debate-about-immigration/>.



being even more racially motivated than the previous Commonwealth Immigrants Act.

The 1968 Act amended the first and second part of the principal Act and set further arrangements to the admission of Commonwealth citizens immigrating in the United Kingdom. The newly added provisions meant that ‘citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies’ had to supply a proof that one of their parents or grandparents was born in the United Kingdom in case they wanted to land in the UK. Such people that would satisfy the criteria were called ‘belonging’ and the others were called ‘non-belonging’.<sup>42</sup> While this requirement was not a problem for the Old Commonwealth citizens, it disqualified practically all citizens of the New Commonwealth because these countries had no such connection to the United Kingdom.

### **3.6 1970s-1980s: a Shift from the Commonwealth to Europe**

The trend of gradually cutting the Commonwealth citizens off continued in the 1970s. Although the recent bills had certain effect on immigration of these people, the 1948 British Nationality Act was still in force, and there had been about 1 billion British subjects around the world. At the beginning of the 1970s and ten years later, two bills were passed in the parliament which had a significant impact on immigration a redefinition of British citizenship.

#### **3.6.1 Immigration Act 1971**

Only four months before signing the Treaty of Accession to the European Economic Community (EEC, which would later evolve into the European Union), the Government managed to pass yet another bill concerning immigration that amended and replaced the previous Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968. The aim was again to further restrict immigration from the New Commonwealth countries.

Drafted from a large part by the Labour Government and passed by the successive Conservative Government, the bill bade no distinction between Commonwealth immigrants and immigrants from other countries of the world. It introduced the concept of the *right to abode*, which was held only by *patrials*, i.e. people born, adopted or naturalised in the United Kingdom, or people that could provide

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<sup>42</sup> *Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968.*

evidence that one of their parents or grandparents was such a person. The characteristics of the term *patrial* was more or less the same as the definition of 'belonging' people from the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968, however it was subject to much more criticism.<sup>43</sup> The *right to abode* meant that they were free to live in, and to come and go into and from, the United Kingdom without any hindrance. Those who did not fit the definition of a *patrial* could live, work and settle in the United Kingdom only with a permission which could be given in accordance with the Act. Commonwealth citizens already resident on the isles kept their status without being forced to leave the UK, they could enjoy the same right to come to and leave freely as *patrials*. Moreover, the *right to abode* was held by Commonwealth citizens who at any time in the past had settled in the United Kingdom for at least five years. The leave to enter the UK was given either for a limited or indefinite time period and the controls were carried out by immigration officers. If a person was already in the UK and applied for a leave to remain there or if any kind of change in the conditions or duration of a person's leave was to be done, it was exercised by the Secretary of State.<sup>44</sup>

Another issue the bill was concerned with was deportation. According to the Act, a person who had a limited leave to enter or remain in the United Kingdom, and remained there beyond the limited time, was liable to deportation. Moreover, if the Secretary of State deemed a person's deportation to be conducive to the public good, he could make the person liable. The third case, in which a person could be liable to deportation was when a member of their family was to be deported.

The Act also created the Immigration Appeal Tribunal, to which a person could appeal in cases regarding: exclusion from the United Kingdom; conditions of the leave to enter, or remain in the United Kingdom; deportation or directions for removal from the United Kingdom. Part III of the bill was concerned with criminal acts connected with immigration such as illegal entry and helping in illegal entry, and set forth the proceedings in cases of such criminal activity.<sup>45</sup>

The bill did not enjoy a warm reception, for it had been argued that such legislation was no longer necessary, with the previous Acts having already solved the issues

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<sup>43</sup> Abrahámová, "Immigration Policy in Britain since 1962," 53.

<sup>44</sup> *Immigration Act 1971*.

<sup>45</sup> *Immigration Act 1971*.

with Asian and black immigration, and that it only served as an insult to the Commonwealth, being again (like the previous immigration Acts) racist. On the other hand, the members of the Cabinet defended the bill saying that it was only racist for those who were looking for racial discrimination. As Spencer says, the timing of the Act, and its contents were strongly associated with the United Kingdom's moves towards Europe, and it is so particularly in the case of practically erasing the difference between Commonwealth migrants and aliens. At the same day the Act became law, the United Kingdom entered the EEC and with that accepted the free movement of labour. Thus, since then, citizens of the EEC could freely enter Britain with the purpose to settle there.<sup>46</sup>

### **3.6.2 British Nationality Act 1981**

At the end of the 1970s, the debate on treatment of different groups of citizens arose again. The issue discussed was that until then, there had not been a clearly defined British citizenship. The British Nationality Act 1948 provided that there were almost 1 billion people in the world who were British subjects. The aim was to make the legislation regarding citizenship more compatible with immigration laws. Thus, the British Nationality Act 1981 introduced three categories of citizenship.<sup>47</sup>

The first group were British citizens and it consisted of people born after the Act took effect, with at least one of the parents being a British citizen, or settled in the United Kingdom. Another group of people that was granted the British citizenship were new-born infants born after the Act took effect, who were found to be abandoned. People born after the Act took effect who did not fit the previous two requirements, after an application for British citizenship made at any time after their tenth year of age, received it, if during those ten years they were not outside the UK for more than 90 days in each year. The last group to be granted with British citizenship were people, who at the time the Act took effect had the right to abode in the United Kingdom.<sup>48</sup>

British citizens were the only group to have the right to freely enter the United Kingdom. Two more groups were created to fully separate the United Kingdom from Commonwealth as for citizenship and the rights connected with it. One of

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<sup>46</sup> Spencer, *British Immigration Policy since 1939: The Making of Multi-Racial Britain*, 144.

<sup>47</sup> *British Nationality Act 1981*.

<sup>48</sup> *British Nationality Act 1981*.

them was the British Dependent Territories citizens. Rules of gaining the British Dependent Territories citizenship were the same as with the British citizenship, only with the United Kingdom being replaced by the Dependent Territories (dependent territories were: Anguilla, Bermuda, British Antarctic Territory, British Indian Ocean Territory, Cayman Islands, Falkland Islands and Dependencies, Gibraltar, Hong Kong, Montserrat Pitcairn, Henderson, Ducie and Oeno Islands, St Christopher and Nevis, St. Helena and Dependencies, The Sovereign Base Areas of Akrotiri and Dhekelia, Turks and Caicos Islands, Virgin Islands).<sup>49</sup> Moreover, a person could hold both the British citizenship and the British Dependent Territories citizenship, if they had one parent with British citizenship and were born e.g. in the British Indian Ocean Territory before 1983 (when the Act took effect).

The last citizenship class were the British Overseas citizens. It was entitled to any person who immediately before the Act took effect was a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies, and who did not at commencement become either of the two first categories of citizens.

Apart from these basic rules, this very complex bill contained a wide range of conditions to be fulfilled in order to acquire one of the different types of citizenship. In many ways it was authored by Enoch Powell, a controversial politician, who gained the most publicity with his ‘Rivers of Blood’ speech from 1968 in which he criticised Commonwealth immigration.<sup>50</sup>

The Act fulfilled its role and became the final step in cutting the formal and legal ties of the United Kingdom to the Commonwealth regarding migration. Commonwealth citizens became practically equal to aliens and the United Kingdom continued in the trend of abandoning its position as a head of an empire to tightening the relations with European countries.

### **3.7 The Effects of Commonwealth Immigration**

Although the era of large-scale Asian and black immigration was one of a great dispute in the political and public field, there is surprisingly low amount of evidence on how it affected the British society other than creating bad mood.

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<sup>49</sup> *British Nationality Act 1981*, Schedule 6.

<sup>50</sup> Imogen Tyler, “Designed to Fail: A Biopolitics of British Citizenship,” *Citizenship Studies* 14, no. 1 (2010): 64.

Economic effects regarding the labour market are arguable, because during most of the relevant time period, immigration had been out-weighted by emigration with the emigrants being very similar demographical groups as the immigrants. In the post-war period, immigration contributed the British labour market by supplying workers who took ‘inferior’ low-paying jobs otherwise avoided by the British. However, in the 1970s, in such low-paying sectors, London Transport being one of them, the presence of New Commonwealth immigrants created certain amount of hostility from the British-born workers. One of the reasons was that they were supposed to threaten the wages and weaken the bargaining power of the unions.<sup>51</sup>

In the 1960s, there was a major shortage in professional, high-skilled labour force, but there is no evidence that it was caused by emigration, nor that the emigrants were more skilled than the immigrants. However, it is true that particularly non-white immigrants were discriminated by means of worse access to jobs and lower earnings than the British.

All in all, this time period can be labelled as the dark times of British immigration, as the immigrants and the legislation restricting them from entry had been subject to controversy and it remains unknown, whether without the legislation, the effects of unrestricted immigration would be as disastrous as the proponents of the restrictions had thought. The most significant effect the immigration from the New Commonwealth had, was a social one, partially provoked by the media and some politicians. But they are not the only ones to be blamed, for the racial intolerance in the United Kingdom is closely related to its colonial history.

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<sup>51</sup> Hatton, “Migration, Migrants and Policy in the United Kingdom,” 44.

#### **4 EU ENLARGEMENT IN 2004**

The enlargement in 2004 was anticipated with a certain amount of fear by the EU15 (the member states before 2004). That fear was due to expected inflows of immigrants from the acceding countries from the Central and Eastern Europe (referred to as A8; Cyprus and Malta, the two other acceding countries from 2004 are not included in this term). Therefore, most of the member states introduced a transition period of 7 years during which restrictions of free movement of workers were applied with some rules.<sup>52</sup> Firstly, the restrictions applied only to the right to work in another country, not the general freedom to travel. Secondly, during the transition period, national laws of the countries that were already members of the EU applied on accepting immigrants from the new members; i.e. they might have needed a work permit. The initial period for restrictions was two years, and could be extended by three years only after informing the Commission, and after the extended period, only in the case of serious disturbances in the labour market, the restrictions could continue for another two years, hence the maximum of seven years in total. In order to leave the accession countries at least with some advantage, the subjects of new member states were given priority over non-EU citizens in applying for work. And lastly, countries facing such restrictions could apply the same restrictions on workers from the restricting countries.

However, not all of the member states decided to introduce these restrictions. Ireland, Sweden and the United Kingdom were the only three countries that decided to allow immigrants from the new member states more or less without restriction. This meant that citizens of the accession countries gained access to labour markets of three developed countries and the flow of immigrants could start. The exceptionally high number of immigrants in the following years is partly due to the restrictions of the other countries, as it can be presumed that they would spread all over Europe instead of concentrating in the countries without restrictions. However, in the five years following the 2004 enlargement, most of the countries followed the UK, Sweden and Ireland to open their labour markets for the 2004 accession countries. The only exceptions were Germany and Austria, which were most

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<sup>52</sup> European Commission, "Enlargement - Transitional Provisions," 4. 4. 2014, <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=466&langId=en>.

probable destinations for the A8 migrants (due to geographical location and highly developed economies).<sup>53</sup>

The truth is that such pro-migration policy of the United Kingdom started at the end of the 1990s along with the coming of the new Labour Government which replaced the Conservative Government in 1997. Since then, migration was promoted as being social, economic and cultural contribution for the UK. The main arguments were that immigrants are more entrepreneurial and resourceful than British citizens at the average, and that they contribute to solving the issue of population ageing. Although the shift in the opinion about immigration was evident, it was still controlled migration that was desirable and supposedly the only way to maintain the United Kingdom's prosperity and international competitiveness of its economy. On the other hand, some of the arguments for supporting immigration were debatable or even untrue, e.g. that the United Kingdom has been a traditional country of immigration, which was not true, as the UK had been a country of emigration until recent decades. The new stance enjoyed great support of the broadcast media, most importantly the BBC, and some economic press such as *The Financial Times* or *The Economist*. Generally, the supporting voices came from liberal (especially left-liberal) politicians, metropolitan and business commentators, and, logically, some pressure groups standing for the rights of immigrants, asylum seekers and racial equality.<sup>54</sup>

It is undoubtable that the 2004 EU enlargement was a breaking point as for the immigration to the United Kingdom. It seems that some countries had been waiting for the opportunity of free movement and the right to work in a more developed country. Although there has been an increase in immigration from most of the Central and East-European countries into the United Kingdom, the most significant change was in the case of Poland. Using the UK's National insurance data which give a realistic picture of immigration as not only employees, but self-employed people too are included in the statistics, the change can be clearly observed. In the years before the enlargement, immigration from Poland accounted for only a minor part of the total number, particularly 4,744 in 2002 and 9,459 in 2003. These were

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<sup>53</sup> Klára Fóti, "Trends and Reasons for East-European Labour Migration to Ireland and the UK in the First Years of Enlargement," *Revista de Economía Mundial*, no. 22 (2009): 29.

<sup>54</sup> David Coleman and Robert Rowthorn, "The Economic Effects of Immigration into the United Kingdom," *Population and Development Review* 30, no. 4 (2004): 583.

numbers outside the top ten countries, but in 2004, Poland suddenly became number one country as to the amount of immigrants per year keeping its position (2010 being the only exception) with a significant difference compared to the other countries.

Given the significance of the numbers of Polish immigrants, they will be the group of my major interest in this section of the thesis because they comprise the majority of the immigrants from A8 countries. The concentration will be on the reason for the grow in numbers of immigrants of this particular nationality, especially in comparison with other accession countries, the push/pull factors involved in their decisions, the prospects of the Central and East-European immigrants in the United Kingdom in general and the outcomes of A8 (and A2 in later years) immigration in terms of the economic, social and cultural effects on the receiving country, i.e. the United Kingdom.

#### **4.1 Post-enlargement Immigration in Numbers**

The data in this chapter are taken from statistics of the National Insurance Number registrations which include employees and self-employed people. It has to be noted that I will operate with labour migration only which is the most important regarding the economic and social effects.

In the years directly preceding the EU enlargement India was a country with the highest numbers of immigrants to the United Kingdom with 20,717 National Insurance Number registrations in 2002 and 29,274 in 2003. Other countries that participated significantly in immigration were Australia, South Africa and Pakistan, all of which kept the numbers per year at almost constant levels of 17,552 (17,574 in 2003), 17,005 (18,372) and 15,707 (15,245) respectively. These number show that the Commonwealth was still the main source of immigrants forming a major portion of the total numbers of National Insurance Number registrations which were 311,288 in 2002 and 362,152 in 2003. In the case of Europe, the only states that were in the top ten countries for both of the years were France (with 13,116 registrations in 2002 and 12,902 in 2003) and Spain (with 10,392 registrations in 2002 and 12,088 in 2003), while Germany, the Republic of Ireland and Portugal were in the top ten only in one of the years. The countries of our interest, i.e. A8 and A2 countries were far down the list with Poland ranking 23<sup>rd</sup> in 2002 and 12<sup>th</sup>



in 2003. In general, the pre-enlargement immigration came from the Commonwealth and some of the most populated (and developed) EU15 member states. The situation after the EU enlargement and the policy the United Kingdom decided to introduce affected not only the national composition of immigrants, but in a large scale also their total numbers.

| 2004         |        | 2005         |        | 2006         |        | 2007      |        | 2008      |        |
|--------------|--------|--------------|--------|--------------|--------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|
| Total        | 412740 | 618692       |        | 632937       |        | 797090    |        | 669660    |        |
| Poland       | 38418  | Poland       | 144798 | Poland       | 192111 | Poland    | 242575 | Poland    | 152277 |
| India        | 32925  | India        | 43361  | India        | 43352  | India     | 53854  | India     | 52156  |
| Pakistan     | 20650  | Lithuania    | 29097  | Slovakia     | 26219  | Slovakia  | 32059  | Slovakia  | 27006  |
| South Africa | 19151  | Slovakia     | 24672  | Lithuania    | 24202  | Pakistan  | 27937  | Romania   | 23471  |
| Australia    | 16625  | South Africa | 23698  | Australia    | 22515  | Australia | 25743  | Pakistan  | 22704  |
| Portugal     | 13867  | Australia    | 22670  | Pakistan     | 21017  | France    | 22962  | France    | 22238  |
| France       | 13449  | Pakistan     | 21933  | South Africa | 17626  | Lithuania | 22219  | Australia | 21275  |
| China        | 13316  | France       | 16300  | France       | 17456  | Romania   | 19152  | Lithuania | 16501  |
| Lithuania    | 10729  | Latvia       | 13516  | Germany      | 13465  | Germany   | 16813  | Italy     | 16462  |
| Spain        | 10478  | China        | 13149  | China        | 11459  | Italy     | 15742  | Bulgaria  | 15884  |
| 2009         |        | 2010         |        | 2011         |        | 2012      |        | 2013      |        |
| Total        | 613237 | 667486       |        | 671219       |        | 518954    |        | 617237    |        |
| Poland       | 85859  | India        | 79754  | Poland       | 84146  | Poland    | 80467  | Poland    | 111449 |
| India        | 69123  | Poland       | 74826  | India        | 59848  | Spain     | 38075  | Spain     | 51729  |
| Pakistan     | 21864  | Lithuania    | 37752  | Pakistan     | 46843  | India     | 31616  | Italy     | 44113  |
| Lithuania    | 21760  | Pakistan     | 35483  | Lithuania    | 37563  | Italy     | 26605  | India     | 30620  |
| Latvia       | 20107  | Latvia       | 28293  | Spain        | 30020  | Lithuania | 26239  | Portugal  | 30121  |
| Romania      | 20065  | Spain        | 19858  | Romania      | 25813  | Hungary   | 21760  | Hungary   | 26770  |
| France       | 19895  | France       | 19681  | Italy        | 24891  | Portugal  | 20443  | Lithuania | 25826  |
| Nigeria      | 17951  | Romania      | 18934  | France       | 23461  | France    | 19624  | France    | 24201  |
| Italy        | 16876  | Bangladesh   | 18799  | Latvia       | 21602  | Pakistan  | 16943  | Romania   | 17870  |
| Australia    | 16368  | Italy        | 18464  | Hungary      | 17925  | Romania   | 16309  | Ireland   | 17412  |

Table 1: National Insurance Number registrations to adult overseas nationals entering the UK by nationality and calendar year of registration (top 10 countries). (Source: Department of Work and Pensions)<sup>55</sup>

Concentrating on Poland, the most populated country of the A8, the extent to which the numbers had changed is enormous. As can be seen in Table 1, in 2004, there have been 38,418 National Insurance Number registrations of Polish immigrants which is four times the number of 2003. Moreover, the fact that the accession happened on May 1, 2004 has to be taken into account. The next year the number of registrations grew four times (144,798) compared to the 2004 number and the raising trend remained up until the peak of 242,575 in 2007 when Polish immigrants formed almost one third of the total number of 797,090. It is not without interest that number of Poles in 2007 is not very much lower than the total numbers of immigrants in 2002 and 2003, and in 2006 and 2007 the Polish numbers were more than four times higher than the numbers of India, the country which ranked second

<sup>55</sup> GOV.UK, "National Insurance Number Allocations to Adult Overseas Nationals Entering the UK to December 2013," 25. 3. 2014, <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/national-insurance-number-allocations-to-adult-overseas-nationals-entering-the-uk-to-december-2013>.

in the list. The general decline apparent from Table 1 which happened in 2008 can be ascribed to the economic recession during which immigration mostly from the A8 countries dropped only to rise slowly in the following years (however, there are some discrepancies in the development of the numbers of immigrants from individual countries after 2008, i.e. some continued to fall for another few years, while some started rising again in 2009). It is also noticeable that the depression did not have any significant effect on immigration from the Asian Commonwealth countries, India and Pakistan, as these countries did not encounter a dramatic drop in the number of immigrants to the United Kingdom until 2012.

However, Poland is not the only A8 country with dramatic raise in the numbers of immigrants to the UK, the extreme supply of labour immigrants is due to its population of 38 million. Looking at the table with the top ten countries of immigrants into the United Kingdom, at first glance, only Poland stands out. But after analysing the numbers of Slovakia, Lithuania or Latvia, and comparing them to their populations, the inflow from these countries is quite interesting. Although it may not be alarming from the United Kingdom's as a destination country's perspective, from the perspective of the countries' emigration, the numbers are enormously high. Slovakia, with its 5.4 million inhabitants in 2004, supplied a similar number of immigrants per population as Poland in the years 2005-2008. As for the Baltic countries (with Lithuania's population of 3.3 million in 2009 and 2010, and Latvia's population of 2.2 million in both years), in 2010 and 2011 the immigrant-to-UK/population ratio was even double to that of Poland in 2007, with more than 1% of Lithuania's and Latvia's population being the immigrants to the United Kingdom during each of the two years.

The quantitative outcomes of the 2004 EU enlargement regarding immigration to the UK can be summarized as being significant. The peak in 2007, just before the economic depression, brought two and a half times more immigrants to the UK than each of the two years directly preceding the enlargement. The following subsection will concentrate on explaining the motivation of the major national groups of migrants and the factors that played a role in deciding for the United Kingdom to be the destination country.

## 4.2 Motives of the A8 Immigrants to the United Kingdom

It is impossible to describe the category ‘A8 migrant worker’ as a homogenous group of immigrants. Although they all take part in the migration movements to the United Kingdom in the last decade, the term stands for a group of people from diverse cultures, backgrounds, with different levels of education, of various age groups, both genders, and with different motivation to migrate and employing various strategies in this process. While some statistics<sup>56</sup> by the UK’s Home Office (using data from the Worker Registration Scheme which includes only employee applicants, and might not be a perfectly exact representation of the overall immigrant numbers) lead us to describing a typical Central and East-European immigrant as a young Polish male coming to the United Kingdom for a limited time period to make money and return back home later, the issue of characterizing A8 immigrants is far more complex. For example, the male/female ratio of immigrants arriving between May 2004 and March 2009 was 56:44 which makes the previous characterisation a bit misleading. However, as for the age of the immigrants, it is true that 81% of them were aged between 18 and 34 years. Taking the temporariness and permanence of stay in the United Kingdom into consideration, the data are taken from planned length of stay at the time of arrival and the responses are not verified later. Thus, although 62% of respondents (arriving during April 2008-March 2009) claimed to stay less than 3 months in the United Kingdom, the real numbers are not there in the statistics.

It is true that for the A8 immigrants, the predominant motivation for making an initial decision to migrate was the prospect of improving their economic situation. While other reasons often influence the decision, it remains to be the major driving force of immigration to the United Kingdom. During a research done by Cook, Dwyer and Waite in a major city in north England which was completed in 2008, respondents stated that the main reason for their immigration to the United Kingdom were low wages and a bad situation in the labour market of the country of origin. Among the A8 immigrants there is a quite significant group of Roma from some of the countries. In the study, Slovak Roma immigrants stated their main

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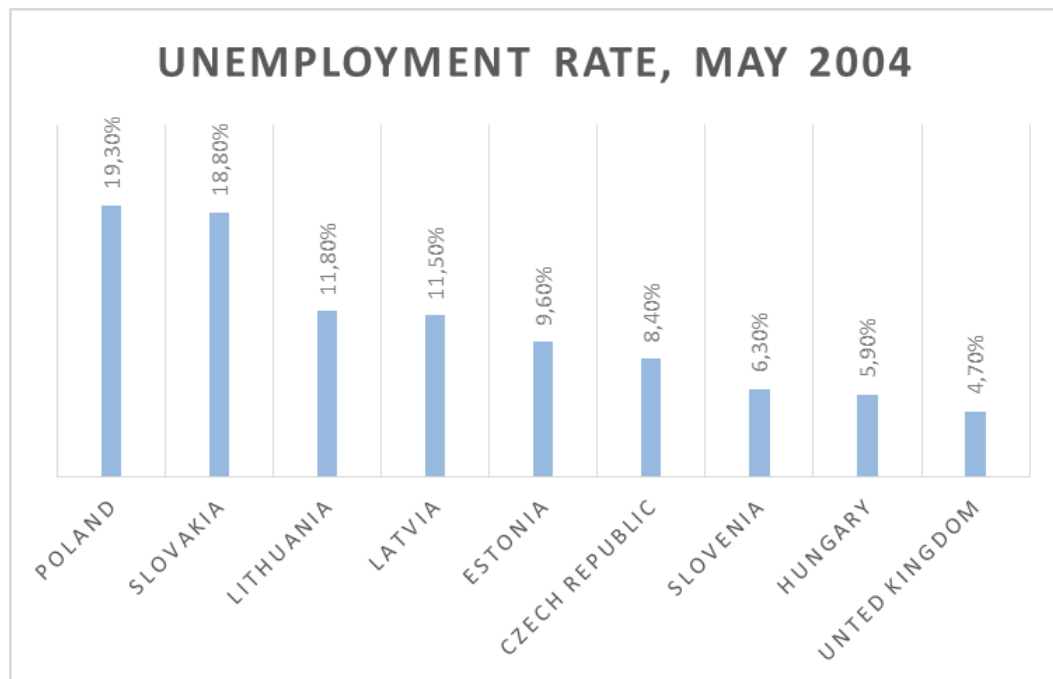
<sup>56</sup> Home Office, *Accession Monitoring Report May 2004 – March 2009* (London: Crown Copyright, 2009).

reason for migration to be an escape from persecution and racial discrimination.<sup>57</sup> To illustrate the importance of the aim to improve one's economic situation, one factor is very important and evident from the statistics of Eurostat. The bigger the difference in GDP per capita between the United Kingdom and the country of origin, the more people make decisions to migrate to the UK. As Slovenia and the Czech Republic were the two countries with the highest purchasing power standard relative to the UK's (70% and 61%), there have not been as many immigrants from these countries. On the other hand, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Slovakia, the countries with the most immigrants to the UK, had roughly 40% of the United Kingdom's GDP per capita in 2004 (41%, 41%, 37% and 46%). Thus, the relative income level of the A8 countries as compared to the UK is an indicator that is closely related to the numbers of immigrants from these countries.

Another fact supporting the economic reason for migration of the A8 nationals is the unemployment rate in comparison with the United Kingdom. In average, the unemployment rate of the A8 countries was higher than that of the UK in May 2004. As the data in Graph 1 show, the numbers correlate with migration from the countries, as Poland and Slovakia with about 19% unemployment rate were also the countries with the highest numbers of immigrants to the United Kingdom between 2006 and 2008. Lithuania and Latvia other two countries with a two-digit unemployment rate in May 2004 were too highly represented among the immigrants after the accession. The other 4 countries which at the date of accession all had an unemployment rate of less than 10%, did not supply as many immigrants, which is particularly true about Slovenia which had an unemployment rate of only 6.3% and was the least represented country of the A8 among the immigrants in the UK. Therefore, there is a tangible proof of the connection between the unemployment rates of the A8 countries and their migration to the UK, which with an unemployment rate of only 4.7% in May 2004 was an attractive destination, where they believed to improve their economic situation.

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<sup>57</sup> Joanne Cook, Peter Dwyer, and Louise Waite, "The Experiences of Accession 8 Migrants in England: Motivations, Work and Agency," *International Migration* 49, no. 2 (2011): 58-60.



*Graph 1: Unemployment rate in A8 countries and the UK in May 2004 (Source: Eurostat)*

Regarding the decision-making in connection with migration, a significant importance has been attributed to social and kinship networks. The existence of such networks influences the decisions of migrants in that they are likely to get different sorts of support from people in the network. Moreover, kinship networks are connected with high commitment and thus can be a source of pressure in the decision-making. In the case of Poland, an involvement in complex social networks in Britain and back in Poland is typical. While the majority of migrants are young, single people with no dependents in the host country, there are many migrants who come to the United Kingdom to bring family members along with themselves, or to join family members already in the UK. Other cases involve a decision of a migrant to come alone to the United Kingdom to support their family back in Poland. Although the primary motivation to migrate can be of a different sort (e.g. economic situation), these social networks can play a deciding role in the choice of the destination country. This is undeniably a factor that influenced the rate with which the numbers of Polish immigrants in the United Kingdom grew between the years 2004 and 2007. Where there are existing relationships through which migrants can get support, be it informational and instrumental support from people with knowledge of the local environment, or emotional support from close persons living at a distant location. So the importance of social network is not only in the context

of the destination country, but also in retaining relationships and keeping in touch with people living in the country of origin.<sup>58</sup>

A study was carried out by Ryan et al. in 2009 that concentrated on the decisions of Polish migrants made in connection with these complex networks, i.e. decisions made by families, and tried to prove their importance to be greater than the one that tends to be ascribed to them in comparison with the decisions of individuals. Considering the enormously large scale of Polish immigration to the United Kingdom, it is undoubtable that it involved a great deal of decisions made by families, and that it is impossible to think of it as an aggregate of individual decisions. Furthermore, the influence of various family relationships in different life stages was analysed.<sup>59</sup>

According to the study where Polish immigrant respondents were interviewed, there were two frequent strategies employed in the family decision-making regarding immigration to the United Kingdom. These strategies are connected with the lifestyle of the immigrants when in Britain. Some of them, especially those who supported their families back in Poland, were living in a very modest way, often sharing a place to live with other people, buying the cheapest goods, all in order to save as much money as possible to send it to their families in Poland. The savings and the improved living standard of their families came at the price of separation of the family for several years with only infrequent visits back to Poland. But the savings that came with the modest way of living enabled the family to build a house, or buy a car after a few years working in Britain. The other strategy was that of settling in the United Kingdom for a long time period. These people tended to assimilate and enjoy every possibility that living in Britain gave them. They behaved like ordinary citizens and the possible downside of this strategy was that they could not save as much money as the other group of immigrants.

In connection with these two types of strategies employed, it has to be noted (as has been said before) that the first one, i.e. the maximised savings strategy, not infrequently changes, as the initial aim of one family member staying in the United Kingdom for a year or two may result in the remaining family members (partner ad

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<sup>58</sup> B. Jordan and F. Duvell, *Migration: The Boundaries of Equality and Justice* (Wiley, 2003), 63.

<sup>59</sup> Louise Ryan et al., "Family Strategies and Transnational Migration: Recent Polish Migrants in London," *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies* 35, no. 1 (2009): 65.

children) moving to the UK to join the one already there. This often happens after the initial immigrant experiences the advantages of living in Britain and realizes the opportunities they encounter there are much greater than in the country of origin. Thus, many immigrants instead of returning home after a few years are accompanied by their families and settle permanently in the United Kingdom in order to secure a better future for their children.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Cook, Dwyer, and Waite, "The Experiences of Accession 8 Migrants in England: Motivations, Work and Agency," 59.

## **5 IMPACTS OF IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED KINGDOM**

After the previous section's enumeration of the reasons and motives for immigration to the United Kingdom and its quantification, in this final section the main focus is on the effects and impacts of the A8 immigration to the United Kingdom. These are divided into subsections, the first being the economic effects as these form the basis for most of the other effects, which are strongly patterned on the state of the host country's economy. In practice, concerning the effects on economy, the area most significantly affected by immigration is the labour market. Therefore, the issues to discuss are the changes concerning employment/unemployment and wages. The second subsection evaluates some less exact factors affected by immigration – the social impacts. However, these result from concrete and tangible issues people encounter in their everyday lives. The first subsection focuses on the public opinion of the United Kingdom residents on immigration and the second is concerned with the United Kingdom's image abroad regarding its openness to migrants.

The major source of information in this section is the Migration Observatory based at the University of Oxford at the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) as it provides independent information on migration and public policy issues from various perspectives while the research is carried out by experts in their given fields<sup>61</sup> using only official sources of data and statistics.

### **5.1 Economic Impacts**

In this subsection there are four issues to be discussed. The first two are connected with employment and unemployment. Firstly, the impact of A8 immigrants on non-migrant employment and unemployment is to be argued, and, secondly the employment and unemployment of A8 immigrants is to be analysed. The other two questions to be answered are the impacts of A8 immigration on the wages of non-migrant UK residents and on the wages of A8 immigrants.

#### **5.1.1 Worldwide Evidence**

While there have been many outcries criticising the extent of immigration to the United Kingdom based on increasing unemployment of non-immigrants and

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<sup>61</sup> The Migration Observatory, "More About the Migration Observatory," 5. 10. 2014, 2014 <http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/about-us/more>.



negative effects on their wages, the evidence from all over the world suggests otherwise. Empirical evidence shows that even those natives who are the closest substitutes with immigrant workers have not been subject to any significant negative effects of increased immigration. No evidence of economically significant reduction in native employment has been found, and the maximum impact of a 10% increase in immigration on native wages was only a 1% decrease.<sup>62</sup>

Most studies of immigration impacts suggest that the EU10 (which includes A8) migration within the European Union plays a complementary role regarding the EU15 countries' labour markets, and that its effects are small but mostly positive reducing labour shortages in some areas, thus supporting the overall employment in the given countries. Of those involved, the migrants and capital-owners benefit from migration the most, while the negative effects on the similarly skilled natives are insignificant. However, the United Kingdom's immigration is of a different nature than a one-off permanent movement. There is a major trend (at least regarding the recent A8 migration) of back and forth movements between the countries of origin and the United Kingdom (similar to that of Mexican immigrants to the United States).<sup>63</sup>

### **5.1.2 A8 Immigrants and the UK Labour Market**

Based on the Labour Force Survey data from 2004–2006<sup>64 65</sup> with respondents aged 16–70, one gets a general overview of employment and unemployment of various groups of residents. The statistics show that compared to A8 non-immigrants, i.e. A8 nationals living in their countries of origin, the A8 immigrants in the United Kingdom have much higher employment rates but also slightly higher unemployment rates. Specifically, then recent male migrants from A8 countries had an 86.8% employment rate compared to a 74% employment rate of A8 non-immigrants. The numbers for females were lower with approximately the same difference – 74.8% for immigrants and 62.9% for non-immigrants. However, the differences might be influenced by the fact that with the average age of 28 the recent A8 immigrants were considerably younger than non-immigrants with the average

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<sup>62</sup> Rachel M. Friedberg and Jennifer Hunt, "The Impact of Immigrants on Host Country Wages, Employment and Growth," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 9, no. 2 (1995): 42.

<sup>63</sup> David Blanchflower, "The Impact of the Recent Migration from Eastern Europe on the UK Economy," *Bank of England Quarterly Bulletin Q 1*(2007): 18.

<sup>64</sup> Office for National Statistics, *Labour Market Review* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006).

<sup>65</sup> Blanchflower, "The Impact of the Recent Migration from Eastern Europe on the UK Economy."

age of 43. The reason is that considering the average age, there are more people who do not belong to the productive age among non-immigrants than among the A8 immigrants. The unemployment rates support this fact with 6.8% rate for male immigrants compared to 5.1% rate for male non-immigrants, and even higher difference regarding females – 8.5% rate for immigrants and only 3.9% rate for non-immigrants. However, a more reliable comparison of employment and unemployment rates is available for recent non-A8 immigrants who have an average age of 30, similar to that of A8 immigrants. The non-A8 immigrants have even lower employment rates than the A8 non-immigrants and with only 67.3% for males and 50.7% for females the numbers are 19.5% and 24.1% lower than the rates of A8 immigrants. The same trend is observable with unemployment rates which are 2% and 3.4% lower (for males and females respectively) in the case of A8 immigrants.

After comparing the numbers of A8 and non-A8 immigrants, it is clear that A8 immigrants are far more successful in finding and keeping jobs in the United Kingdom. The statistics regarding the A8 non-immigrants have a small value, as there is a gap between the examined groups that allows no reliable analysis.

But the major issue which is a source of concern for British non-immigrants is the impact on their own employment and unemployment. To be able to evaluate this aspect, it is important to know whether A8 immigrants really serve as a complementary labour force or as a substitution for non-immigrant labour force. Based on the Labour Force Survey from 2004–2006, the then recent immigrants were employed mostly in two industries – the manufacturing industry, and distribution and hotels, the former accounting for 25% and the latter accounting for 26% of the total number of respondents. This is a different trend than in the case non-A8 immigrants who tend to work in the public sector – mostly as nurses and carers.<sup>66</sup> There is little reliable data regarding education of A8 migrants, as most foreign qualifications are classified as ‘other’ by the Labour Force Survey making 65% of then recent A8 immigrants belonging to that group. Together with 20% being people with no qualification, the remaining 15% form only an insignificant portion of all of the A8 immigrants.<sup>67</sup> However, reading from the immigrants’

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<sup>66</sup> “The Impact of the Recent Migration from Eastern Europe on the Uk Economy,” 12.

<sup>67</sup> “The Impact of the Recent Migration from Eastern Europe on the Uk Economy,” 41.

representation in particular industries, the majority of them can be defined as less skilled workers. As the majority of earlier immigrants was of a similar sort, i.e. less skilled, the A8 immigrants form a substitutive competition for the existing migrants, rather than native people in the United Kingdom's labour market.

To analyse correlations between A8 immigrants and native British people's unemployment, it is necessary to look at any changes regarding the United Kingdom's unemployment rate in the industries most occupied by the A8 migrants between the years of interest.

Looking at the Labour Force Survey's statistics<sup>68</sup> of the United Kingdom's labour market in years 2004 and 2005, there is some key information regarding vacancies in different industries. As has been already said, approximately one quarter of the A8 immigrants took up jobs in distribution, hotels and restaurants. In May 2005 there were 188,100 vacancies there, making it the industry with the highest number of vacancies out of the total number of 639,100 in the whole labour market. The other most often occupied industry by the A8 immigrants, manufacturing, had at the time approximately 55,000 vacancies. These numbers indicate that the A8 immigrants focused on industries which had a high demand for labour, which is true especially in the case of distribution, hotels and restaurants. Therefore, there is no evidence that their labour force would be a threat to native residents of the United Kingdom. The case of the manufacturing industry is similar, as it is about half the size of distribution, hotels and restaurants industry regarding the total number of employees in the whole United Kingdom. However, as approximately the same portion of A8 immigrants took up jobs in both of these industries, the great difference in vacancies indicates that the manufacturing industry was affected more significantly by this additional labour force than the other one. The reason for that can be found in the United Kingdom's (and other developed countries) major shift from manufacturing to service-based economy in past decades (which also had consequences in the direction of the education specialisations), resulting in a lack of qualified labour force in manufacturing, which the A8 immigrants could have partially solved. In that case, they really served as a complementary labour force satisfying an unmet demand.

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<sup>68</sup> Office for National Statistics, *Labour Market Review*.

It has to be said, that the above statistics give us an overview of the situation in the United Kingdom's labour market in the early period after the 2004 accession. However, with the coming of the economic crisis in 2008, the situation changed. While at the beginning of 2008 the unemployment rate was 5.2%, i.e. even lower than in 2006 (5.6%), it then started to quickly rise before reaching 8.0% in July 2009.<sup>69</sup> In such a situation, it is quite possible that immigrant labour force is a greater threat to native labour force if the numbers of immigrants do not change. But there was a drop in the immigrant numbers in 2009, at least in the case of A8 countries, especially Poland. As can be seen in table 1 in section 3.1, Polish immigrant numbers fell from 152,277 in 2008 to 85,859 in 2009. Slovakia got out of the top 10 immigration countries in that year and only Latvia's and Lithuania's numbers slightly rose. The overall immigration numbers however decreased only insignificantly (from 669,660 in 2008 to 613,237 in 2009) because there was a rise in the numbers of Indian immigrants. The important fact is that the rising unemployment rate was due to the economic recession and its effect of decreasing number of vacancies rather than it being affected by the A8 immigrant labour force as their number decreased quite significantly. Moreover, it has to be noted that there is a correlation between the unemployment rate and the total number of immigrants, which can be noticed in 2012 when the unemployment rate reached its peak of 8.4% and the total number of immigrants fell to the lowest figure since 2004, 518,954 only to rise next year when the unemployment rate fell below 8%. Especially the number of Polish immigrants rose, to 111,449, with the unemployment rate dropping as low as 7.2% at the end of 2013.

There have been some studies carried out exploring the impact of immigration on unemployment rate in the United Kingdom. Two of the recent ones have also included the latest recession period. Focusing on the period 2002–2011, Lucchino, Rosazza-Bondibene and Portes<sup>70</sup> used National Insurance Number registrations to determine immigration's impact on claimant count rates (measurement of people

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<sup>69</sup> Trading Economics, "United Kingdom Unemployment Rate 1971-2014," 12. 7. 2014, 2014 <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/united-kingdom/unemployment-rate>.

<sup>70</sup> Paolo Lucchino, Chiara Rosazza Bondibene, and Jonathan Portes, "Examining the Relationship between Immigration and Unemployment Using National Insurance Number Registration Data," (National Institute of Economic and Social Research, 2012).

who claim unemployment benefits but actively seek work<sup>71</sup>). They reached a conclusion that there is no impact of immigration on claimant count rates which holds even during low economic growth or recession.<sup>72</sup> The other study was carried out by Migration Advisory Committee (MAC) and explored the impact of migration on native United Kingdom unemployment while using data from the Labour Force Survey. The analysed time period was 1975–2010 and the result of the research was that on the whole, immigration has no effect on United Kingdom-born people’s unemployment. To be more specific, the study distinguished non-EU and EU immigrants and divided its results into two time periods. The findings were that between 1995 and 2010 the non-EU immigration did have some impact on the reduction of employment of United Kingdom natives while no association was found regarding EU immigrants. The study’s conclusion suggests that the greatest impact of immigration on native employment/unemployment can be encountered during economic recession.<sup>73</sup>

### **5.1.3 Immigration Impact on Wages**

Having reached a conclusion that there is no proof that the A8 immigration has had any significant impact on the United Kingdom’s natives’ unemployment, this subsection focuses on the impact of immigration on natives’ wages. The other issue to be analysed are the wages of A8 immigrants in the United Kingdom and their economic situation compared to their past situation in their countries of origin.

As is stated in the Migration Observatory’s briefing document on immigration effects on the United Kingdom’s labour market, based on the results of UK research, there is a common conclusion that immigration has only a small effect on average wages and that its effects are found on the scale of wage distribution. Low-wage workers are among those negatively affected by immigration as their wages decrease, and the wages of high-paid workers are more probable to rise. Related to that fact, as most of the immigrants belong to the group of lower-paid workers, it has to be said that new immigrants are the greatest threat to the existing immigrants. This is because, similarly to unemployment rates, the effects on wages strongly

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<sup>71</sup> FX Words, “Claimant Count – Uk,” 12. 7. 2014, 2007 <http://fxwords.com/c/claimant-count-uk.html>.

<sup>72</sup> The Migration Observatory, “The Labour Market Effects of Immigration,” 12. 7. 2014, 2014 <http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/briefings/labour-market-effects-immigration>.

<sup>73</sup> Migration Advisory Committee, “Analisis of the Impacts of Migration,” (2012).

depend on the extent to which the new immigrants' skills are substitutes or complements to the skills of existing residents.<sup>74</sup> It has been already said that new waves of immigrant form a competition especially for the residents who are immigrants themselves, therefore, these two groups affect each other the most.

Based on the above stated, it can be said that regarding native workers, immigration has an overall positive effect on their wages, as proportionally, the lower-paid people are more frequently immigrants, whereas the high-paid workers are more often the United Kingdom natives.

Although not directly related to wages, there is another area affected by immigration – relative price levels of some goods and services (affecting the consumption bundles of natives). A study<sup>75</sup> found that a 10% increase in the share of immigrants in low-skilled labour force led to a 2% decrease in some immigrant-intensive services prices. The wage issue is hidden in the fact that e.g. in house-keeping and gardening, lots of immigrants were employed, and they were lower-paid than natives. Although this research was conducted in the US, Frattini<sup>76</sup> provides comparable evidence from the United Kingdom.

It is important to note that in the labour markets where immigrants are substitutes to natives the negative wage effects of immigration are only in the short-run when immigrants are willing to work for lower wages which are not suitable for their skills and qualification. In the long-run, the effects on average wages are positive because skill competition is present which has as its effect a rise of average wages in the given sector.<sup>77</sup>

#### **5.1.4 Wages of Immigrants**

As in the case of employment rates, there are some similar factors determining the wages of immigrants in the United Kingdom. Most of these are related to their human capital, e.g. host country language fluency, education, experience etc. It is very important whether the immigrants' human capital is obtained in the host

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<sup>74</sup> George J. Borjas, "The Economic Benefits from Immigration," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 9(2), no. 4955 (1995): 14-15.

<sup>75</sup> Sari Pekkala Kerr and William R Kerr, "Economic Impacts of Immigration: A Survey," (National Bureau of Economic Research, 2011), 12.

<sup>76</sup> Christian Dustmann, Tommaso Frattini, and Ian Preston, "The Effect of Immigration Along the Distribution of Wages," (2008).

<sup>77</sup> "The Effect of Immigration Along the Distribution of Wages."

country and if not, whether it is valued the same way as if it was. The quality of education systems varies across the countries of origin and it can happen that one's qualification, skills and experience may not match the employer's requirements.<sup>78</sup> Based on this fact, it is found that immigrants with comparable measured skill levels earn around a quarter less than natives, which is caused predominantly by the different valuation of obtained human capital. However, the differences are more prominent in the case of African and Asian immigrants and less significant for European and other Western immigrants. Apart from education and experience, one of the key factors determining the chances of employment and the subsequent earnings is proficiency in the host country's language. Nowadays more than ever are knowledge of language and good communication skills necessary because modern economies are predominantly service and knowledge based.

Length of stay and the type of migration are another factors affecting the level of immigrants' earnings. There are some differences between temporary immigrants and permanent immigrants. Temporary migrants often support their families back in their home countries which brings some benefits. They enjoy higher earnings of the United Kingdom and have a greater purchasing power in their country of origin. These migrants are more likely to have lower reservation wages, i.e. are willing to accept lower wages for a particular type of job simply based on their lower expenses.

Moving on to some tangible evidence, data from the Labour Force Survey show some interesting facts. Clark<sup>79</sup> compares immigrants from two time periods, the first being 2000–2003, and the second being 2004–2007. The data show that there had been a falling percentage of then recent migrants in professional and managerial jobs with an increase in routine jobs. In the earlier period, 19.4% of immigrants were employed in professional occupations and 30.9% in managerial occupations, while in the 2004–2007 period only 11.8% and 18.6% respectively. The percentage of immigrants employed in routine occupations increased from 18.7% in the earlier period to 42.6% in the later period. The reason of this trend is found in the lower reservation wages mentioned above meaning that despite their relatively high levels

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<sup>78</sup> Rachel M Friedberg, "You Can't Take It with You? Immigrant Assimilation and the Portability of Human Capital," *Journal of Labor Economics* 18, no. 2 (2000): 225-6.

<sup>79</sup> Ken Clark and Stephen Drinkwater, "The Labour-Market Performance of Recent Migrants," *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* 24, no. 3 (2008).

of education, the A8 immigrants (especially the temporary ones) are willing to be employed in routine jobs which are generally low-paid. The fact that the percentage of immigrants employed in routine and semi-routine jobs rose from 33.7% in 2000–2003 to 55.5% in 2004–2007 had as a consequence a decrease in gross hourly earnings of immigrants from £10.75 to £8.63 (the numbers are arithmetic mean values, i.e. all numbers added up and divided by the number of numbers). It is not without interest that in the pre-accession three-year period the average hourly earnings of immigrants were higher than £10.21 of the natives. However, unlike the immigrants' wages, the mean hourly earnings of the United Kingdom-born increased to £10.95 in the three-year post-accession period. This fact serves as another evidence that the effect of immigration on the natives' wages was very insignificant and by no means negative. If anything, in the long run the impact on the natives' wages can be considered slightly positive.

## **5.2 Social Impacts**

This subsection is concerned with social impacts of immigration to the United Kingdom and two aspects are taken into account. Firstly, the public opinion of British natives on the matter of immigration to their country, and secondly, the United Kingdom's image abroad regarding its openness towards foreigners coming to live there. These two aspects are very closely interconnected and one affects the other, as a negative public opinion will also damage the country's reputation as an immigration country.

### **5.2.1 Public Opinion on Immigration in the United Kingdom**

Although public opinion is quite difficult to evaluate accurately, Migration Observatory offers some comprehensive evidence based on professional polls, academic survey data or the British government data.

Some of the statistics offer data on public opinion going back to 1960s. In 1964, the British Election Study (BES) observed a very high percentage (85%) of British population agreeing that there were too many immigrants in the United Kingdom. It has to be noted that such high numbers in the 1960s have to be put in connection with the racially motivated anti-immigration bills of that decade when the public opinion was strongly affected by the government's restrictive immigration policy. A similar trend continued through 1970s until 1983 when there is a slight drop in



the percentage of people with negative stance towards immigration. This drop was caused by a changed question people were asked in the surveys. In 1983 people were asked whether they think 'immigration had gone too far'. The drop and the subsequent slightly decreasing trend thus cannot be fully accounted to a changing public opinion.<sup>80</sup>

Given that the negative mood surrounding immigration is relatively long lived, there have to be some reasons for its persistence. Populism of some governments over the years was a supportive force for people's negative stance toward immigration. Starting with the racially motivated bills, the British society received a signal that their concerns were justifiable (however true it was). As a result, most people in the United Kingdom see immigration as one of the greatest issues. In a monthly poll conducted by Ipsos MORI, respondents are given an open question to name the most important issue of public concern and further state some more serious issues facing the nation. While in the 1990s race relations and immigration accounted for only a single digit percentage in this poll, there has been a significant rising trend starting in 2000 and peaking in 2007 with 46% of the respondents viewing immigration and race among the most important issues. In the following years the numbers fell to 21% in 2009 only to rise again to 38% in 2010.<sup>81</sup>

As immigration became a renewed topic over the past ten years, there have been attempts to solve the problem of too many immigrants. In 2010, the newly established government came up with an idea of a net migration cut. The main target was to cut net migration to below 100,000 by 2015. There is probably a connection between this project (and the election in general) and immigration rising again to 38% in the Ipsos MORI poll. As such, setting a single numerical target is an international novelty in managing immigration and there have been some serious doubts about its usefulness and the effects it can have. Critics of this approach point out that there would be more sense in trying to maximize the social and economic outcomes of immigration and minimize its risks rather than setting a single target number.

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<sup>80</sup> The Migration Observatory, "Uk Public Opinion toward Immigration: Overall Attitudes and Level of Concern," 15. 7. 2014, <http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/briefings/uk-public-opinion-toward-immigration-overall-attitudes-and-level-concern>.

<sup>81</sup> "Uk Public Opinion toward Immigration: Overall Attitudes and Level of Concern".

Strong public opposition towards immigration in the United Kingdom is evident especially when put in comparison with the rest of Europe and North America. Transatlantic Trends composes a cross-national survey examining public opinion towards immigration. In 2013, among comparable countries, the United Kingdom was the one with the strongest opposition. The questions asked in the survey are whether people think there are too many immigrants in their country and whether they think immigration is a problem rather than opportunity. In both cases the United Kingdom was the only one with more than 50% of respondents that agreed with the statements. Specifically, 55% of British respondents thought that there were too many immigrants and 64% viewed immigration as a problem, not an opportunity.

However, these findings regarding public opinion towards immigration root in confusion and misinformation of large portion of the respondents and public in general. The fact that many respondents based their answers on poor knowledge of the actual situation and real numbers of immigrants is a self-explanatory reason for such a negative attitude among the public. In a 2009 British Social Attitudes (BSA) survey, a typical respondent would think that non-western immigrants form up to 25% of British population when in fact the total percentage of immigrants from all over the world was only 11%.<sup>82</sup> It has to be said that non-western immigrants are appreciated significantly less than immigrants from the EU and North America. Another evidence gap can be noticed in the fact that there is very little correlation between people's own experience with immigrants and their opinion on immigration. In an Ipsos MORI poll from 2007<sup>83</sup> only 15% of respondents claimed that immigrants were a source of problems in their own neighbourhood. On the other hand 69% stated that immigrants had little impact, either positive or negative, on their lives. Keeping in mind that these numbers are from the same year when 46% of respondents viewed immigration among the most important issues, it seems that many of these respondents were basing their answers on misinformation or bearing in mind Britain as a whole rather than their own negative experience with immigrants. It is not without interest that people from London, the area with the highest concentration of migrants, get along well with people from diverse

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<sup>82</sup> "Uk Public Opinion toward Immigration: Overall Attitudes and Level of Concern".

<sup>83</sup> Ipsos MORI, "Immigration Poll," 25. 7. 2014, 2007 <https://www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/researcharchive/243/Immigration-Poll.aspx>.

backgrounds and generally view migration positively, it having favourable impact on both economy and culture of the United Kingdom. In a BSA survey from 2014 it was found that there is a correlation between education and attitude towards immigration. As can be expected, 60% of graduates can see the advantages it has while only 17% of people with no qualifications think it has benefited the United Kingdom economically.<sup>84</sup>

Reading from the previous paragraph, it is obvious that public opinion does not correspond with the actual state of things and with the situation in the labour market which was described in the previous sub-section. While people who are in contact with immigrants most often usually have no problems with them and can see both cultural and economic advantages of immigration, there are far too many people who see it as a threat for the United Kingdom.

### **5.2.2 The United Kingdom's Image as an Immigration Country**

As a follow-up to an increasingly hostile tone from the public and the government towards immigration, there have been concerns about the image the country has abroad regarding openness to hypothetical immigrants. Cambridge's vice-chancellor Leszek Borysiewicz expressed<sup>85</sup> his worries of how the immigration 'problem' is being solved. He disagrees with the government's idea of setting a single net migration target and states that the United Kingdom's strength has always been in its ability to assimilate so many people from different backgrounds. Instead, the recent call for more 'Britishness' of the country has had some worrying consequences. Number of foreign students coming to the United Kingdom to study has fallen significantly (especially from India and Pakistan) as they feel they are unwelcome. And they are right to think so, as, regardless of the opposition of universities, non-EU students are included in the net migration target. As a side effect of the British-centred 'propaganda' there has been a dramatic decline in second language learning among British children.

In 2014, a new immigration bill has been under discussion in the British parliament. The Immigration Act 2014 seeks to 'impose requirements for private landlords,

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<sup>84</sup> British Social Attitudes, "Immigration," 1. 11. 2014, 2014 <http://www.bsa-31.natcen.ac.uk/read-the-report/immigration/introduction.aspx>.

<sup>85</sup> The Guardian, "Cambridge Vice-Chancellor Leszek Borysiewicz Attacks Immigration Curbs," 1. 11. 2014, 2014 <http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/jun/02/cambridge-vice-chancellor-leszek-borysiewicz>.

banks and the DVLA to carry out immigration checks on customers and to deny housing, bank accounts and driving licences to irregular migrants; severely restrict access to appeals for many migrants; and impose immigration checks and a ‘health charge’ for temporary migrants from outside the European Economic Area.<sup>86</sup> It is without doubt that such a kind of strict regulation of immigration will harm the United Kingdom’s image as an immigration country. As a response to the bill, academics have united to express their disapproval with the aims of the government in an open letter. The greatest problem they saw was that the bill suggests that immigration is the main reason for the United Kingdom’s people’s insecurity about their future. They further criticised the assumptions the bill is based on, that if migrants are not excluded from the society they will take the British workers’ jobs and put a burden on state finances and services. What the government aims to achieve with the bill is creating a ‘hostile environment’ for illegal immigrants to decrease irregular migration, but according to the authors of the letter, the hostile environment may in fact increase irregular migration as many immigrants will go underground.<sup>87</sup> Moreover, the government does not realize that creating such a hostile environment for illegal migration may have negative side effects on the country’s image among legal migrants.

### **5.3 The United Kingdom – EU Relationship**

The United Kingdom has always been a rather individualistic member of the European Union. It seems, however, that the gap between Britain and the rest of the member states is widening even further. The European Union summit in Vilnius in 2013 only confirmed the not so ideal relationship between the United Kingdom and some of the A8 countries. David Cameron’s call for tougher rules regarding immigration was criticised by some of the A8 countries, specifically Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary, opposing the commonly held opinion in Britain that immigrants are a burden for the United Kingdom’s economy and that they only exploit its benefit system.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> openDemocracy, “Academics Speak out against the Uk Immigration Bill,” 10. 11. 2014, 2014 <https://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/tom-vickers/academics-speak-out-against-uk-immigration-bill>.

<sup>87</sup> “Academics Speak out against the Uk Immigration Bill”.

<sup>88</sup> The Guardian, “Is Britain Sleepwalking Towards a European Exit?,” 24. 11. 2014, 2013 <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/30/britain-european-exit-poll-gulf-eu-attitudes>.

As a consequence of these British isolation tendencies, there have been strengthening ideas about whether the country should at all be a part of the European Union. A cross-country poll carried out by Opinion explored the views of German, French, British and Polish respondents on the matter of (among some others) the relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union.<sup>89</sup> The survey has revealed that there are significant differences between the views of the British and the others (especially Poland and Germany). Only 26% of the British respondents find the EU generally as a good thing, while 42% think the opposite. On the other hand, 62% of Polish respondents think of EU as a good thing and only 13% consider it bad. Roughly similar is the case of Germany. Even more unfavourable are the percentages of people who think that the United Kingdom is a positive influence on the EU – only 9% of the Germans, 15% of the French and 33% of the Polish think so. However, there is one topic where there is a similar public opinion in the United Kingdom and in France – the EU immigration policies. 64% of the British and 59% of the French voters think they have a negative effect.

It is undoubtable that the United Kingdom is facing a difficult decision. Too big a part of the British public are against the European Union and the current government is supporting that stance. It seems likely that the upcoming 2015 general election will have a central topic of a great importance and it remains to be seen whether the United Kingdom will remain a part of the European Union. But it is true that immigration and the EU immigration policies have played a major role in the development of the current stance of the country.

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<sup>89</sup> The Guardian, “Shock Four-Country Poll Reveals Widening Gulf between Britain and Eu,” 25. 11. 2014, 2013 <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/30/shock-poll-reveals-gulf-britain-eu-france-germany-poland-hostile>.

## 6 CONCLUSION

The United Kingdom is one of the countries with the longest immigration history in Europe and for a very long time it has been one of the central topics of public interest and concern. A crucial point in the history of British immigration was the era after World War II when significant numbers of New Commonwealth citizens started coming to Britain. As a consequence, a public dispute regarding regulation of immigrants revealed that there had been a certain amount of prejudice towards 'coloured' people embedded in the British society. Since then, a persisting trend of public opposition regarding immigration has been present in the country which it seems is hard to get rid of. With the 2004 accession of Central and Eastern European countries to the European Union, the United Kingdom became a desired immigration destination for migrants from yet another part of the world. The concentration of migrants was especially high for Britain given the fact that most of the EU countries utilized restrictions to the free movement of labour. The UK was one of the exceptions, thus the migration waves could not spread all over Europe for a few years and most of them chose Britain as their destination. It is not a great surprise that the public opposition toward these immigrants has strengthened over the years since the accession with the major concerns in the threatened jobs of the British natives.

This thesis has set as a target to examine the effects of immigration from the A8 countries and prove the concerns of the United Kingdom false. To make it possible, a historical outline of immigration to the UK containing some of the most important legal acts had to be done in order to understand the development of the country's handling of the matter. Enjoying a warm relationship with the states of the Old Commonwealth but being concerned with immigrants from the New Commonwealth, the United Kingdom implemented a series of bills provoking a great controversy regarding racial prejudice expressed implicitly in these. In the 1970s and 1980s was further cutting ties with the Commonwealth and redirected its interest in Europe, entering the European Economic Community in 1973 which meant free movement of labour between the member states. The individualistic tradition of the United Kingdom was beginning to be affected by shared policies with other member states and not all of these suited the country's ideas. And it all got even more inconvenient for the UK with the 2004 accession.

The exceptional numbers of mostly Polish immigrants started to worry the country, the main concern being the British's wages and rising unemployment rate. But the statistical data have mostly disproved these concerns, as a vast majority of the A8 immigrants turned out to be a complementary labour force which in fact contributed to resolving the country's labour shortages in certain sectors where the native British with their higher reservation wages would not be willing to take up jobs. The effect on the natives' wages was, if anything, slightly positive in the long run. However, despite these undeniable facts, immigrants have not been enjoying a warm reception from the British public, in fact, quite the opposite is true. Most of the opposition toward immigrants roots in misinterpreted information. It is true, that the unemployment rate peaked at 9% in 2009, however, people tend to blame immigrants (whose numbers dropped significantly in that year) rather than attribute this fact to the economic recession which negatively affected the number of vacancies. Of course not all of the public shares the negative stance towards immigrants and many voices from the academic sphere have spoken out against the government's targets in that matter, afraid that losing such valuable assets, as immigrants undoubtedly are, might have negative consequences.

To conclude, the United Kingdom has arrived at a crossroads where it has to be decided whether the current direction within the European Union is the right one, or whether not to continue being a part of this institution. Now it seems that the public's opposition to the EU and its policies, immigration policy being one them, will play one of the major roles in that decision. The current conservative government appears to be of a similar opinion as the broad public and the next year's general election will be one of the key moments in the deciding of the British future.

## SUMMARY

Tématem této diplomové práce je imigrace ve Spojeném království, a to zejména v souvislosti s rozšiřováním Evropské unie o státy střední a východní Evropy v roce 2004. Spojené království, do té doby země s bohatou imigrační historií převážně ze zemí Commonwealthu, se stalo cílovou destinací početných vln imigrantů z některých nových členských států Evropské unie. Obecným názorem většiny obyvatel Spojeného království je, že imigrace by měla být regulována větší měrou, jelikož má značně negativní (nejen) ekonomické dopady na rodilé Brity. Cílem práce je zhodnotit právě dopady imigrace hlavně z ekonomického, ale i ze sociálního hlediska, protože odbornou veřejností jsou obavy z imigrantů velice často vyvraceny.

K získání komplexnějšího chápání imigrační politiky a britské mentality v souvislosti s imigrací je součástí práce kapitola zaměřená na stručnou historii imigrace ve Spojeném království s detailnějším rozbohem situace ve 20. století, kdy vznikaly kontroverzní zákony omezující imigraci. Co bylo na těchto zákonech kontroverzní, je fakt, že jejich cílem bylo omezit imigraci lidí z tzv. Nového Commonwealthu, tedy Indie, Pákistánu, karibských zemí atp. Šlo tedy o zákony rasově diskriminující, přestože tento podtext obsahovaly pouze implicitně.

Stěžejní částí práce jsou kapitoly věnující se imigraci do Spojeného království ze zemí tzv. A8 (tedy států, které v roce 2004 vstoupily do Evropské unie). Ve čtvrté kapitole je imigrace kvantifikována a jsou analyzovány důvody imigrantů k přesunu do Spojeného království. Středem pozornosti jsou občané Polska, ale i Litvy, Lotyšska či Slovenska. Od roku 2004 se Polsko drží na prvním místě mezi státy s nejvyšším počtem imigrantů ve Spojeném království. V roce 2004 se totiž počet registrací *National Insurance Number* (registrační číslo pro osoby v sociálním systému Spojeného království) polských imigrantů zvýšil na 38 418, tedy přibližně čtyřnásobek oproti roku 2002. V roce 2007 pak toto číslo činilo 242 575, což byla téměř třetina všech imigrantů v tom roce. Co se týče Slovenska, Litvy a Lotyšska, absolutní čísla nehrají významnou roli, ale v poměru k počtu obyvatel těchto zemí jsou ještě výraznější, než v případě Polska. Nicméně, prototypem imigranta z východní a střední Evropy (dle studie zahrnující roky 2004-2009) byl mladý muž polského původu s plánem strávit ve Velké Británii méně než 3 měsíce. Tento popis však není úplně vypovídající, a proto typy imigrantů práce rozebírá podrobněji,



hlavně tedy důvody k imigraci a způsob života ve Spojeném království. Obecně lze rozlišovat mezi dvěma druhy imigrantů, kdy spjitost lze najít i v délce pobytu v Británii. Prvním typem jsou lidé, kteří do země přicházejí s cílem zajistit co nejvyšší množství finančních prostředků, které posílají rodinám žijícím ve svých zemích původu. Tito imigranti často žijí ve skromných podmínkách a nijak výrazně se nesnaží asimilovat do britské společnosti. Druhým typem jsou lidé, kteří do Spojeného království přicházejí s cílem usadit se zde trvale a užívat ekonomické výhody vyspělého státu přímo v Británii, kde se snaží začlenit do společnosti a žít plnohodnotný život.

Skutečnost, že některé přistupující státy se na počtu imigrantů ve Spojeném království podílely mnohem výrazněji než jiné, lze vysvětlit vesměs ekonomickými faktory. Prvním kritériem je hodnota hrubého domácího produktu na obyvatele vypovídající o ekonomickém rozvoji a výkonnosti ekonomiky dané země. Státy jako Slovinsko a Česká republika, které v době vstupu do EU měly hodnotu HDP na obyvatele v poměru se Spojeným královstvím relativně vysokou (70 % a 61 %), měly velice nízká čísla, co se počtu imigrantů týče. Naopak, Polsko, Litva, Lotyšsko a Slovensko, tedy státy s nejvyššími počty imigrantů, měly v poměru ke Spojenému království výrazně nižší HDP na obyvatele (41 %, 41 %, 37 % a 46 %). Druhým faktorem je míra nezaměstnanosti, kdy platí, že čím vyšší nezaměstnanost byla v daném státě době vstupu do EU, tím více se lidí rozhodlo k emigraci do Spojeného království, kde v květnu 2004 byla míra nezaměstnanosti pouhých 4,7 %. Slovinsko a Česká republika na tom v této statistice nebyly výrazně hůř (6,3 % a 8,4 %), alespoň tedy v porovnání Polskem (19,3 %), Slovenskem (18,8 %) a částečně s Litvou (11,8 %) a Lotyšskem (11,5 %).

V poslední kapitole jsou vyhodnoceny dopady imigrace z přistupujících zemí, a to jak z ekonomického, tak ze sociálního hlediska. K vyhodnocení ekonomických dopadů jsou srovnány dva dílčí faktory, míra nezaměstnanosti a výše mezd, a to ve dvou obdobích, tedy v letech těsně před vstupem nových členských států a v letech těsně po jejich vstupu. Co se týče míry nezaměstnanosti rodilých Britů, k určení toho, jaký vliv na ni imigrace má, pomůže zjištění, zda tyto dvě skupiny (tedy Britové a imigranti ze střední a východní Evropy) fungují jako substituční nebo komplementární pracovní síla. Data z *Labour Force Survey* naznačují, že noví imigranti patří převážně do skupiny méně kvalifikovaných pracovníků, ale hlavní

je zjištění faktu, že na trhu práce plní komplementární funkci a jsou zaměstnávání v odvětvích s nejvyšší poptávkou práce jako např. distribuce, hotelnictví a restaurace nebo odvětví výroby. Je sice pravdou, že nezaměstnanost ve Spojeném království stoupla, ale tento fakt je přičítán na vrub ekonomické krizi, která Evropu zasáhla právě ve stejnou dobu. Pokud tedy lze o A8 imigrantech hovořit jako o konkurenční pracovní síle, pak tuto roli plní v naprosté většině vůči jiným imigrantům, nikoliv Britům. S tím souvisí i druhý faktor, tedy výše mezd. Imigranti všeobecně mají nižší mezní hodnotu mzdy, tedy jsou ochotní za určitý typ práce brát méně peněz. Právě z tohoto důvodu „okupují“ pozice, které by rodilí Britové za stejné peníze odmítli. Pokud lze hovořit o nějakém efektu imigrace na výši mezd rodilých Britů, pak je téměř nulová až lehce pozitivní. Pozitivní vliv na průměrnou výši jejich mezd má skutečnost, že tolik neobsazují hůře placené pozice, které jsou zaplňovány z řad imigrantů.

V porovnání s ověřitelnými dopady, které jsou neutrální či mírně pozitivní, je až překvapivé, jak moc se liší veřejné mínění o problematice imigrace. Již od 60. let se ve Spojeném království drží trend vysokého procenta populace, které považuje množství imigrantů za příliš vysoké. Počet lidí s negativním pohledem na imigraci je dokonce ve srovnání s podobnými státy (evropskými a severoamerickými) nejvyšší. Od konce 90. let navíc rostoucí počet lidí vnímá imigraci jako jedno z nejdůležitějších společenských témat. Z výsledků průzkumu veřejného mínění ale vyplývá, že velká část lidí zakládá své názory na desinformaci a nedobré znalosti skutečných dat. Zarážející je vysoké procento lidí negativně vnímajících imigraci ve srovnání s vyjádřeními lidí, kteří do styku s imigranty přicházejí denně. Pouhých 15 % má negativní zkušenosti s imigranty, zatímco 69 % tvrdí, že imigranti v jejich sousedství nemají ani negativní ani pozitivní dopad na každodenní život. V jiném průzkumu bylo zjištěno, že 69 % respondentů je přesvědčeno, že lidé s imigranty v jejich okolí vycházejí dobře. Obavy z imigrace jsou tedy z velké části v globálním měřítku, kdy lidé mají strach o budoucnost své země jako takové.

Silně negativní postoje vůči imigrantům ve Spojeném království vzbudily obavy části (nejen) odborné veřejnosti o mezinárodní obraz Británie jako imigrační země. Plány vlády o zavedení imigračního limitu, jehož cílem je snížit roční počty imigrantů ze statisíců na desetitisíce, prý mají nepříznivý vliv pověst země. Potenciální imigranti se tak zde necítí vítáni a sebestřednost Británie prý má

negativní dopady i v jiných společenských oblastech, jako např. klesající počet dětí studujících cizí jazyky. Pochybnosti o imigrační politice Evropské unie (mimo jiné) tak mají za následek oboustranné přehodnocování vztahu mezi Spojeným královstvím a Evropskou unií a mezi současná velká společenská témata tak patří i otázka, zda v tomto svazku pokračovat. Parlamentní volby v roce 2015 mohou v tomto ohledu mnohé prozradit, a pokud by opravdu došlo k vystoupení Británie z EU, byla by to pro obě strany nepředstavitelná ztráta.

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## **ANNOTATION**

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In May 2004, 10 states became new members of the European Union, most of these from Central and Eastern Europe. With this accession and the EU policy of free movement of labour, the United Kingdom became a destination country for great numbers of immigrants from these new member states. The thesis aims to evaluate economic and social effects the immigration from these countries had on the United Kingdom.



## **ANOTACE**

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V květnu roku 2004 byla Evropská unie rozšířena o 10 států převážně ze střední a východní Evropy. Jelikož jednou ze svobod EU je volný pohyb osob, toto rozšíření přitáhlo do Spojeného království vlny imigrantů právě z nově přijatých států. Tato diplomová práce se bude zabývat ekonomickými a společenskými dopady této migrace na Spojené království a na samotné imigranty.