

**A review of the recent literature on the
Impact of Immigration on the UK**

**Pilot research study for the European Migration Network on
“The Impact of Immigration on Europe’s Societies”:
Contribution from the UK Contact Point**

**Lauren Herlitz, Immigration Research and Statistics Service,
on behalf of the UK Contact Point**

**UK Contact Point: Victoria Richardson
Immigration Research and Statistics Service
Immigration and Nationality Directorate
Home Office
36 Wellesley Road,
Apollo House
Croydon
CR9 3RR**

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1. Executive summary

This report summarises the key findings from literature published between 2001 and 2004 that discussed the impact of immigrants on the UK economy, civil society and culture, and the political arena. It was compiled by the Immigration Research and Statistics Service as part of a pilot project for the European Migration Network (EMN). In addition to providing a contribution to the literature, an important aim of the project was to test the network's ability to collate research in each of its member states to provide an overview of migration in Europe.

The literature review is divided into five sections. The first section gives an overview of immigration history and development from 1945 to the present day. The main body of the review covers immigrants' impact on the economy, civil society and culture, and the political arena. The final section documents the factors that impact on immigrants, such as the supportive measures or restrictions.

This was not a fully systematic review: no quality check was made on the evidence that informed the literature. In some sections, where few sources of material were found, care should be taken in interpreting the findings since they may have been based on small-scale studies or lack of research might mean that no check on reliability was possible. This applies particularly to the impact section on civil society and culture. Literature has, therefore, been included in the review that is not necessarily representative of the UK immigrant or the indigenous population. Every effort has been made to mitigate this limitation by a) stating the evidence on which literature is based and b) noting in brackets the definition of migrant that has been used.

The literature found for the review is not exhaustive and covers only literature published between 2001 and 2004. This restriction was applied in order to make the pilot project manageable; it is important to recognise that different conclusions might have been reached, had the time period covered by the review been extended. In addition, there may in fact be research evidence in areas where gaps have been identified, because it

had not been captured by the method employed for the review (see section 2.2.1). Note however that the date restriction applies to when the literature was published, and it is expected that the literature would contain much evidence of impacts during earlier periods.

The introduction explains the methodology used in the review and gives a breakdown of the types of data sources and the various definitions of immigrants used in the literature.

The first section of findings reviews literature and statistics to give an overview of immigration history in the UK from 1945 onwards. What is highlighted is the change from policies that primarily encouraged immigration to policies that introduced greater restriction. The review concentrates on the current UK concern – positively managing migration while, at the same time, preventing abuse of the asylum and immigration system.

It is worth highlighting that, although economic, cultural and political impacts have been considered separately in the report, these impacts are not independent of one another. For example, employment and political participation may be linked to social inclusion. Hence, impacts in one arena will have impacts on another. Please see the introductory paragraphs at the start of each section, for an explanation of the limitations of the review.

Key findings on the economy section.

- Little or, in some sections, no literature on the impact that migrants have had on the economy. The largest body of research was found on the impact on employment.
- Where research on migrants was found, it was not helpful to consider migrants as a homogeneous group, rather they should be considered as heterogeneous, with different types of migrants having different impacts, which also varied, by sector.
- When highly skilled migrants and specific economic sectors are considered, a more positive impact on the economy was apparent.

- Generally, migrants do appear to be more entrepreneurial than their native counterparts, who were categorised as 'White'. Again, differences between groups are apparent.

Key findings on the civil society and culture section.

- Very little research was identified specifically relating to the impact that migrants have had in this area.
- Research into ethnicity suggested that participation of minority ethnic groups was more likely at the grass-roots level.
- Migrants had made a large impact on the UK's food industry – the largest amount of research was found on this area.
- The literature suggested impacts in other areas but was insufficient to provide a detailed or definitive picture.
- Minority ethnic groups differed in their participation rates in terms of volunteering and social participation.

Key findings on the political arena section.

- Little research focussed specifically on migrant population, as distinct from ethnic groups.
- Voting registration and turnout varied considerably between ethnic groups.
- Minority ethnic candidates were under-represented at the national and local level.
- Evidence was found that migrants favour participation at the grass-roots levels.
- Evidence was also found to support the view that the migrant population is a significant lobbying group.

In section five, the social position of immigrants in the UK, regulation of the labour market, the main routes of entry into the UK, entitlements to public services and political participation rights are discussed.

2. Introduction

This review presents an overview of key findings from literature published between 2001 and 2004 on the impact of immigrants on the UK economy, civil society and culture, and the political arena. The review was carried out as the UK's contribution to an EMN pilot project; the EMN intends to produce a single report, the "synthesis report", to bring together the findings from the UK and the nine other European member states that are part of the EMN and provided contributions.

This was the first study to be carried out by the EMN, which set out two objectives for the project.

- To examine a topic of interest to all European member states, in a way that allowed for comparison.
- To identify the strengths and weaknesses of the network in conducting research.

With the second objective in particular in mind, the method for collecting the literature and the difficulties encountered have been detailed in this report.

This was not a systematic review, and the findings need to be interpreted with a view to the limitations of the methods and of the literature itself. These limitations are explained in section 4.1. Literature has, therefore, have been included in the review that is not necessarily representative of the UK immigrant or the indigenous population. Every effort has been made to mitigate this limitation by a) stating the evidence on which literature is based and b) noting in brackets the definition of migrant that has been used.

The literature found for the review is not exhaustive. This restriction was applied in order to make the pilot project manageable; it is important to recognise that different conclusions might have been reached, had the time period covered by the review been extended. In addition, there may in fact be research evidence in areas where gaps have been identified, because it had not been captured by the method employed for the review. Note however that the date restriction applies to when the literature was

published, and it is expected that the literature would contain much evidence of impacts during earlier periods.

2.1 Type of material collected and analysed

All types of literature published from 2001 onwards, with the exception of press articles (which were excluded owing to time constraints on the project) were included in the review.

The review was carried out in a methodical manner using three main sources to find literature: social science electronic databases; a network of contacts made up of colleagues, other government departments, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and university academics; and websites suggested by contacts.

Databases

Three separate searches were carried out for the economic, social and cultural, and political impacts of immigration. Social science databases containing articles relating to migration, were selected from those that the Home Office (HO) library has access to (see Appendix 1 for the search terms used and a list of the databases and their profiles).

Of the nearly 1,800 articles identified using these terms (including duplications), only 50 were selected for further review based on the content of the abstracts. A further 25 were excluded when the articles were viewed in full, and three were unavailable; hence 22 articles were identified from the databases.

Contact network

Academics known to have carried out work relating to migration were selected from a list of universities, compiled by IRSS; seventeen academics were contacted in total, by

email. Sixteen NGOs involved in migration (including refugee and asylum-focussed organisations), civil society and culture were also contacted, as well as government departments involved in immigration research and policy, either by email, telephone or in person. Responses were received from the majority of those contacted. Individuals provided suggestions for relevant literature and websites, and further contacts. A second round of emails was then sent out to recommended individuals (see Appendix 2 for a full list of those who responded). Publications suggested by any of the contacts were then requested from the HO library.

In total, a further 69 pieces of literature were identified through further reading. Nine were unavailable and 12 were excluded on seeing the full publication. In total, 48 were included in the review.

Websites

The individuals contacted suggested a number of institutions and organisations where relevant literature might be found. Hence, a number of websites were searched (see Appendix 3).

Of the 15 pieces of literature identified by this route, only six were included after viewing the full documents: five were from The Institute for Public Policy Research and one was from the Trades Union Congress website.

2.2 Problems concerning the collection and analysis of material

2.2.1 Collection of material

There were a number of difficulties with the way in which literature was identified and obtained. Reviewing abstracts of the articles from the data searches was labour intensive but produced few results. The contact network was by far the most successful method for identifying relevant literature quickly, although a high level of data

management was required to keep a record of individuals contacted and their responses, with the appropriate follow up.

The majority of the literature had to be requested through the HO library, although some was provided by contacts or could be obtained from the internet. Although the library obtained most of the literature within two weeks, some literature took much longer to arrive, causing an overlap between the collection and analysis of the data and the writing of the report. Additionally, some of the literature was unavailable or could not be sent within the time constraints of the project. Hence, there were a number of pieces of literature that were identified but could not be included.

The large scope of the study meant that there was not enough time to carry out a thorough investigation for literature on every area. In particular, the section on civil society and culture would have benefited from pursuing channels of information that are not usually associated with migration studies. For example, information on migration and fashion might be obtained from fashion colleges, with which IRSS had no direct contacts.

2.2.2 Analysis of material

Direct comparison of the findings from the literature was often not possible, as many different definitions of immigrants were employed (see Box 1). The HO report by Dobson et al (2001) provides a detailed description and discussion of migrant definitions and available UK data sources for studying immigrants. This report should be referred to for a more in-depth consideration of these issues. Where the ethnic classification terms, 'Black' or 'White' etc., are referred to in this report, these are reported as defined by each study.

Box 1: Definitions of immigrants

Immigrants have been described in the following ways by the literature included in this report.

- 'Foreign-born' – all persons born outside the UK. This definition will include UK citizens born abroad and migrants who have UK citizenship. It will include EEA nationals.
- 'Foreign citizen or foreign national' – includes immigrants who have kept the nationality of their home country as well as second and third generation immigrants if they have not taken up UK citizenship (this will include EEA citizens).
- 'Foreign worker' – an individual working in the UK who does not have UK citizenship.
- Persons who have resided abroad for a year or more and, on entering, have declared the intention to stay in the UK for a year or more. This is the definition used for migrants in the International Passenger Survey (IPS).
- All non-EEA nationals entering UK ports. This includes visitors, students, au pairs, work permit holders, spouses, fiancé(e)s, dependants, refugees, asylum seekers, those granted settlement on arrival, those returning after a temporary absence, passengers in transit and some other arrivals.ⁱ This is the definition used in the HO Control of Immigration Statistics.
- Minority ethnic groups. The categorisation of these groups varies according to how broadly they have been defined. For example, Afro-Caribbean nationals may be defined as a group or they may come under Black ethnic group. Minority ethnic groups (defined where possible) will include UK-born individuals and UK citizens. The category White will not differentiate between White migrants, who make up the majority of recent immigration to the UK, and White UK nationals.

Data sources

Many different data sources were used to provide information on migration; these can be divided broadly into administrative data sources and survey data. Each data source has limitations. The main HO administrative data source on immigration is the Case Information Database (CID). CID records asylum cases through the asylum process and

most of the case events in non-asylum cases; however, it has limitations as a data source for research. No data are routinely collected on the employment, education and skills of spouses, fiancé(e)s and dependants of work permit holders or other work schemes (see section 5) or of those who have settled in the UK. Samples from the IPS and the Labour Force Survey (LFS) are too small to break down the data by migrant characteristics without a large standard error. These surveys do not collect information on immigration status. No data are collected on migrants' length of stay in the UK, only their intended length of stay (ILS).

Although it is within the remit of the report to study only legal third country nationals, some data sources do not distinguish between third country nationals (any person who is not a national of an EU Member State and who is granted legal residence in the territory of a Member State) and other migrants. There are also unknown numbers of undocumented migrants in the UK that some data sources may include.

The Office for National Statistics (ONS, 2003) considered the actual and potential use of UK existing survey and administrative data sources on population and migration. Table 1 provides a list of the main data sources that were used in the literature reviewed, along with their limitations. The list is not exhaustive; please refer to the ONS (2003) and Dobson et al. (2001) for more detailed descriptions of UK data sources.

Table 2 shows estimates for the number of immigrants in 2001 to give a simple illustration of the effect that the selection of a data source or definition has on the comparability of research.

Table 1: Available data sources for studying immigration

Name of source	Definition of immigrant	Sampling	Limitations
Labour Force Survey (LFS)	Data are available on country of birth, citizenship, and international migrants who were resident outside the UK for 1 year before entering.	A voluntary quarterly survey of about 60,000 households.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The sample size is too small to give a breakdown of the characteristics of migrants. Data collected before 1992 was surveyed differently; hence, data before and after that date are not directly comparable.
International Passenger Survey (IPS) ⁱⁱ	A person who has resided abroad for a year or more and, on entering, has declared the intention to stay in the UK for a year or more.	A voluntary sample of passengers of the main air and sea routes between the UK and overseas. The sample size of migrants is around 2,500.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The sample size is too small for detailed analysis. The definition is based on intention to stay and there is no guarantee that those recorded as migrants do stay for their intended period.
Census	Data available on country of birth and place of residence a year ago.	A nationally representative survey of households in the UK.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The census is carried out only once in every ten years.
Home Office Control of Immigration Statistics Control	All non-EEA nationals entering UK ports.	Sample of landing cards.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Variations from year to year may reflect legal changes, changes in the immigration rules, and administrative differences.
Home Office settlement statistics	Non-EEA nationals who have been granted settlement.	CID database.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limitation of CID. Variations from year to year may reflect legal changes, changes in the immigration rules, and administrative differences.
Work permits	All non-EEA nationals who have applied for a work permit.	All applications for work permits.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Since work permits are granted to employers, not workers, there is no check on whether the worker has entered the UK, or whether they have stayed for the full length of their permit.
National Insurance data	All non-UK nationals registering or re-registering for National Insurance.	Records of those who have registered for a National Insurance card.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Data only record that a card was issued and provides no indication of the length of time worked. This data source is not currently available for general migration estimation owing to data protection issues.

Table 2: Estimates of the number of immigrants in the UK in 2001

Definition	Source of data	Number in the UK	Number as a percentage of the UK population
Foreign - born	Census data	4.9M	8.3
Foreign citizen	OECD Trends in International Migration	2.6M	4.4
Non-White citizen	Census data	4.6M	7.9

3. Overview of immigration history and development

3.1 Development from the 1945s onwards

The statistics used in this section come mainly from IPS.ⁱⁱⁱ Therefore, numbers on inflows refer to those who have intended to stay in the UK for at least a year (see section 2.2.2).

Immigration policy 1945-1958: encouraging immigration

Labour was in great demand after the Second World War in order to restore Britain's economy. Between 1945 and 1949, over 100,000 workers were admitted via the European Volunteer Workers scheme; these were mainly displaced persons from Eastern Europe (Home Office records). Between 1946 and 1949 the Ministry of Labour and National Service issued approximately 101,000 permits for temporary employment to foreign workers (*ibid.*). Following active recruitment in the Caribbean, particularly for London Transport and the National Health Service (NHS) (Frow, 1997), over 400 Jamaicans arrived between 1948 and 1951, many of whom had served in the Royal Air Force during the war. The 1947 Polish Resettlement Act brought a further 121,172 from the Polish armed forces, with their families, who had served under the Allied Forces. In addition, approximately 15,000 German, 8,000 Ukrainian and 1,000 Italian former prisoners of war were allowed to remain in Britain and over 25,000 other immigrants were accepted as post-war distressed relatives, children of unknown nationality and spouses and fiancé(e)s (internal Home Office papers).

After the Second World War, various former colonies of the British Empire began to gain their independence, most notably India. In order to retain an influence over the former colonies, the British Nationality Act was passed in 1948 (Collinson, 1994), which gave colony citizens, the 'New' Commonwealth, the right to free movement in and out of Britain, hold a British passport, work, settle and vote in Britain. Thus, the Act gave Commonwealth citizens an incentive to remain linked with Britain. A substantial number

of immigrants began to arrive. Work permits were issued mainly for unskilled and semi-skilled work, particularly in regions with expanding industries and sectors with relatively unattractive working conditions (Collinson, 1994). Active recruitment began in Ireland and in countries of the New Commonwealth.

In 1956, forced migrants (around 17,000 Hungarian refugees) were also accepted into Britain following the Russian invasion (Refugee Council, 2001, numbers based on Home Office estimates).

Immigration policy 1958-1981: restricting immigration

Unease among the indigenous population of the UK began to grow with the numbers of new arrivals. In 1958, race riots in Nottingham and London were taken as evidence that restrictive measures were needed (British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) website 2004). Rumours of imminent restriction policies led to more waves of arrivals, fuelling increasing demand for control. In 1960, an estimated 96,000 people entered the UK on foreign passports or passports of overseas Commonwealth countries; in 1962, this number increased to 205,000 (The Registrar General's Statistical Review of England and Wales, 1963).

In 1962, the Commonwealth Immigrants Act was passed which revoked the right of free movement to Commonwealth citizens, who were now subject to immigration control unless they were born in the UK or held (or included on) a passport issued by the UK. A migrant could only enter and stay if they had a work voucher, were a dependant of a voucher holder or were a student. In 1965, a White Paper on immigration from the Commonwealth reduced the number of entry vouchers to 8,500 per year to be given largely to skilled and professional workers (Asians from Uganda website 2004 numbers not sourced). Fear of further restrictions motivated many immigrants to take up family reunification provisions and, in spite of the restrictions, the number of new Commonwealth and non-EU immigrants continued to grow from nearly 179,000 in 1964 to 193,000 in 1970 (House of Commons Research Note, 1982).

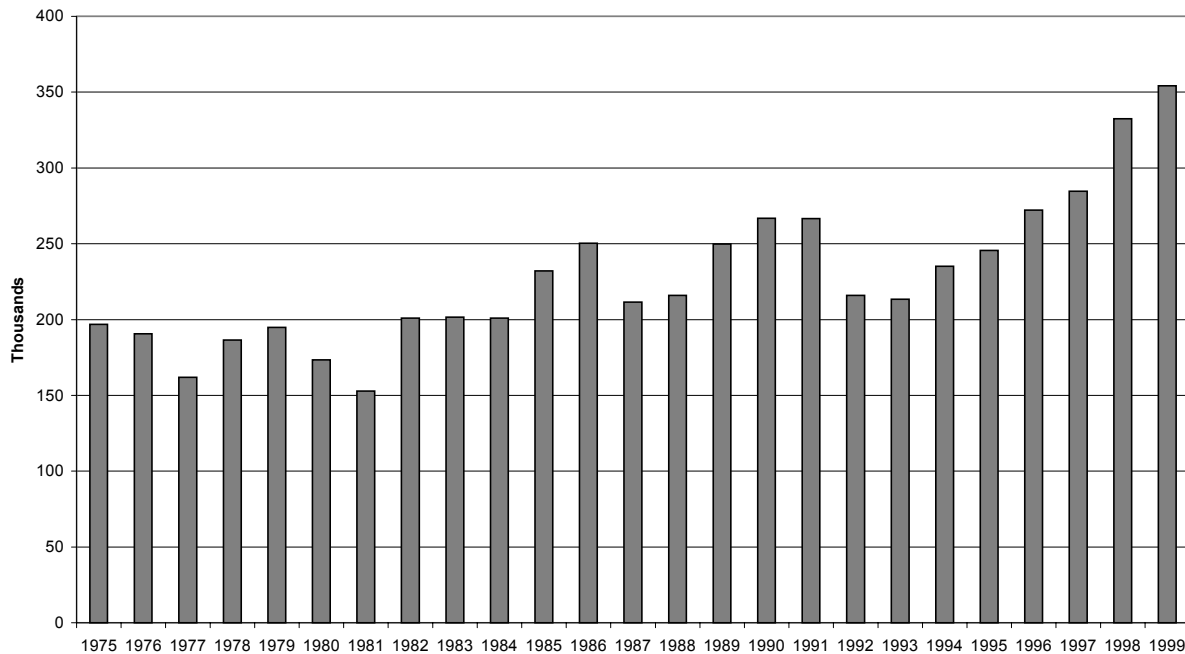
The forced emigration of many Asians with British ties from Africa following exclusion policies in a number of ex-colonies, including Kenya (1967), led many of them to exercise their right of entry into the UK on UK passports. As a result, the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968 was passed (Home Office website, 2004). The Act stated that UK and Colonies citizens would only be allowed entry if the immigrant was born in the UK, or had at least one parent or grandparent born in the UK (patriality). One consequence of this was a disproportionate decrease in immigration by non-White people. Nevertheless, 28,600 Ugandan Asians (Robinson, 2002, numbers not sourced) were accepted as refugees, as well as 5,000 Czech nationals.

The 1971 Immigration Act replaced all previous immigration legislation with a single statute. With the exception of Irish nationals, patriality was still a determining factor in making immigration decisions. The Act also imposed restrictions on immigration for family reunion. In 1972, Britain joined the European Economic Communities (EEC), giving free movement to members of EEC states. The number of immigrants from the Commonwealth dropped from nearly 126,000 in 1971 to 87,000 by 1980, although there was an increase in immigration from other countries (House of Commons Library Research Note, 1982). See figure 1 for IPS unadjusted^{iv} inflows to UK from 1975 to 1999.

During the seventies, more refugees were accepted, including around 3,000 from Chile and 19,000 from South East Asia (Refugee Council, 2001, based on Home Office estimates). Over 18,000 refugees were resettled from Vietnam (Robinson, 2003, numbers not sourced).

From 1 January 1972, work permits were not issued for unskilled and semi-skilled foreign labour from outside the EEC^v, reducing the number of work permits issued in 1969 by more than half to under 35,000 in 1973. The number of work permits issued continued to fall, reaching a low of around 12,000 in 1980, and remaining low until the mid-eighties (Clark and Salt, 2003).

Figure 1: IPS unadjusted total inflows, 1975 - 1999



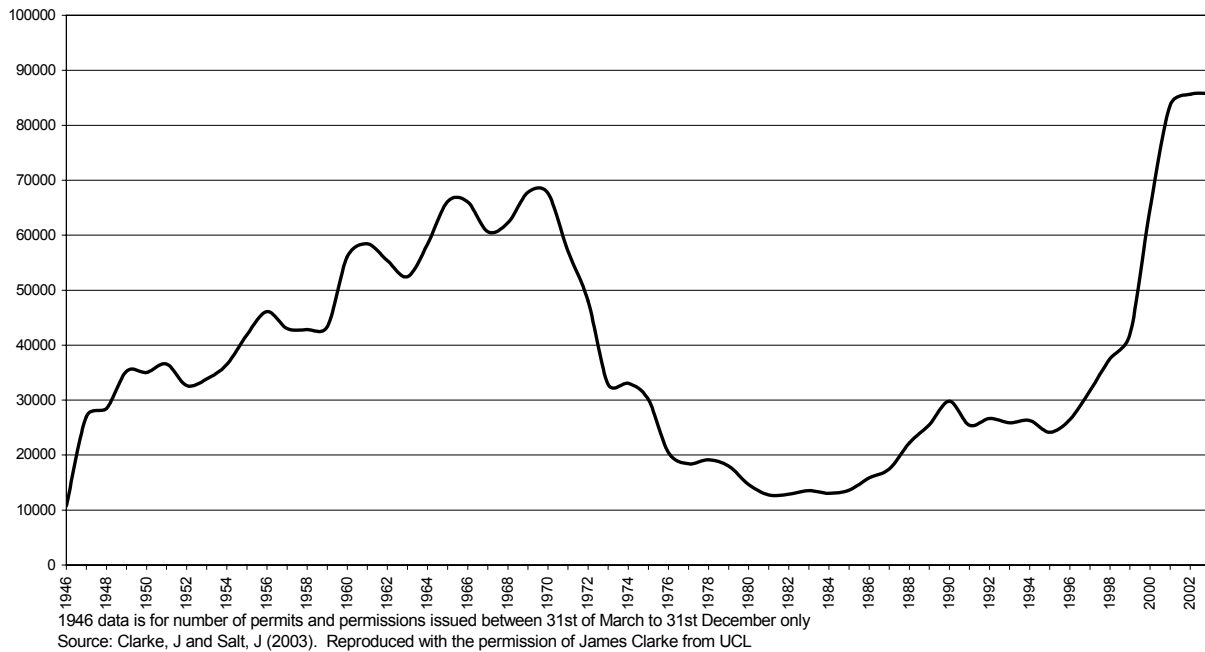
Source: Dobson, J et al. (2001). Reproduced with the permission of John Salt and Janet Dobson

Shifting concerns to asylum policy: 1980s onwards

The 1981 British Nationality Act made fundamental changes to citizenship in the UK. British citizenship was no longer an automatic right for those born in Britain but depended on the citizenship of the parents. Commonwealth citizens no longer had any right to enter.

Inflows from non-EC countries remained relatively constant at around 110,000 for the first half of the 1980s (figures taken from Dobson et al., 2001). The improving economy and a policy shift to encourage enterprise (Clark and Salt, 2003) led to a sharp increase in labour migration: the number of work permits issued doubled between 1985 and 1990 to 30,000. The boom in the information and communication technology sector contributed to further rises in work permits in the 1990s, matching the numbers issued three decades earlier (see figure 2).

Figure 2 – Number of work permits and first permissions^{vi} issued, 1946-2003



Towards the end of the 1980s, the number of asylum applications began to rise from around 5,400 in 1985 to around 11,600 in 1989. The greatest number of applications was from Somalia and Sri Lanka, around 120,000 and 46,000 respectively (Refugee Council, 2001, based on Home Office statistics). This trend continued into the 1990s, rising sharply from 1996 from around 30,000 to over 80,000 in 2000 (Home Office, 2001). The majority of asylum seekers arrived from the African continent, particularly from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Nigeria and Somalia, as well as significant arrivals from Eastern Europe, Sri Lanka, Turkey, India and Pakistan (ibid. 2001).

3.2 Development in detail from 1998 onwards

The source of data used for this section was the HO Control of Immigration annual statistical reports from 1998 to 2002. Owing to differences in the way in which migrants are defined and the way in which the data are collected (see section 2.2.2), the numbers of immigrants included here are noticeably larger than in the previous section. HO data were used instead of IPS data in order to include both short- and long-term migrants. Following a brief description of recent policy developments, general trends over the five years will be described. Data sources on the education, skills and employment of immigrants are limited (see section 2.2.2), but studies carried out on the profile of migrants will be discussed where possible.

3.2.1 Recent immigration policy

Unlike the policies of the previous four decades, which focussed on citizenship, in the 1990s concern shifted towards the number of asylum claims and changed the ways in which they were dealt with. The political focus was on preventing abusers of the asylum system and tightening immigration controls. Since the millennium, the government has instead sought to emphasise the benefits and necessity of immigration for the UK through a managed migration system, encouraging migration through legal channels while discouraging asylum claims (Home Office Press Release, 2003).

Box 2: Recent immigration legislation

Immigration and Asylum Act 1999

The Act integrated the immigration and asylum system and was designed to facilitate the speedy entry of legal immigrants into the UK, particularly UK and EU citizens, while strengthening powers to deal with those not entitled to enter or remain in the UK. Notably, the Act created the National Asylum Support Service (NASS) to administer new support arrangements for asylum seekers.

Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002

Following the proposals from the 2002 Government White Paper, “Secure borders, safe haven: integration with diversity in modern Britain,” the Act set out measures to streamline the asylum and immigration system, and expand managed migration routes. The asylum appeals process was tightened and penalties for facilitating illegal entry were increased. The Act also introduced ceremonies for those granted citizenship.

Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants, etc.) Act 2004

Building on the foundations of the previous two acts, this legislation was passed to improve the speed and finality of the appeals and removals system, and tackle organised crime and immigration offences. Other measures set out include allowing the use of new technology to keep track of migrants as an alternative to detention, raising the charge for non-asylum applications, and introducing a loan system for refugees to promote integration.

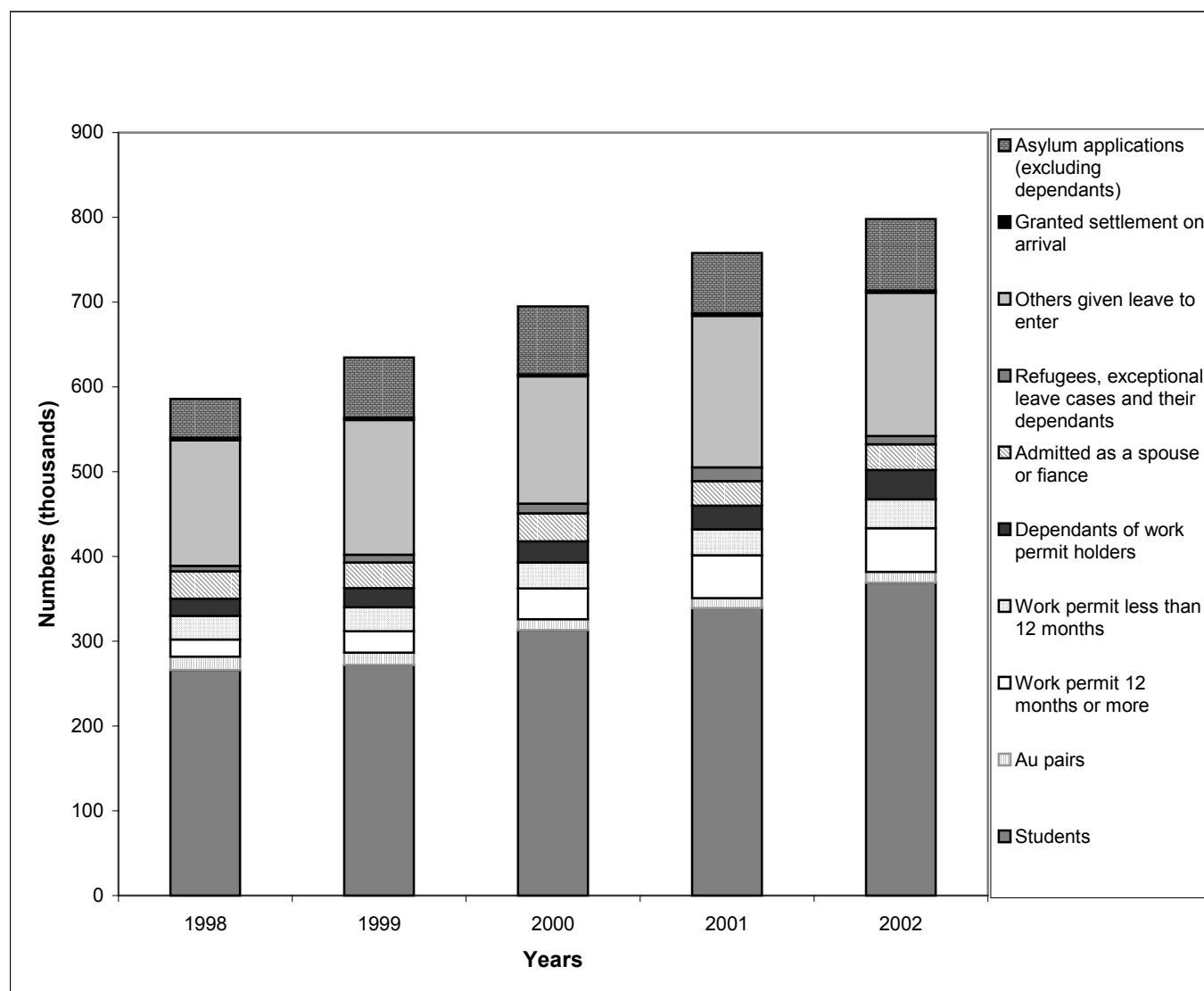
3.2.2 Recent trends in immigration

The figures in this section are from HO Control of Immigration statistics (1998-2002) for all passengers given leave to enter the UK (see section 2.2.2), excluding visitors, passengers in transit, passengers returning after a temporary absence abroad, and passengers refused entry at ports and subsequently removed. These categories have been excluded to attempt to capture both working immigrants (staying for both short and long periods) and other immigrants who are staying in the UK for more than six months.

Over the five-year period, the number of migrants entering the UK increased each year (see figure 3). There was an increase in in-flow from all global regions with the exception of ‘Other’ (see figure 4)^{vii}. Comparing 1998 figures with those of 2002, the total number of immigrants increased from around 540,000 in 1998 to just over 710,000 in 2002. Haque (2002) estimated, using 2001 LFS data, that foreign-born UK residents represented about eight percent of the total population. Immigration from Africa

increased by the most at 65 percent, followed by the Remainder of Asia and the Indian Sub-continent, both increasing by approximately 60 percent. The combined figures for the five years reveal that immigration from America made up a quarter of the total number of immigrants, closely followed by the Remainder of Asia and Europe (see figure 4).

Figure 3: Entry to the UK 1998-2002* by category of entry

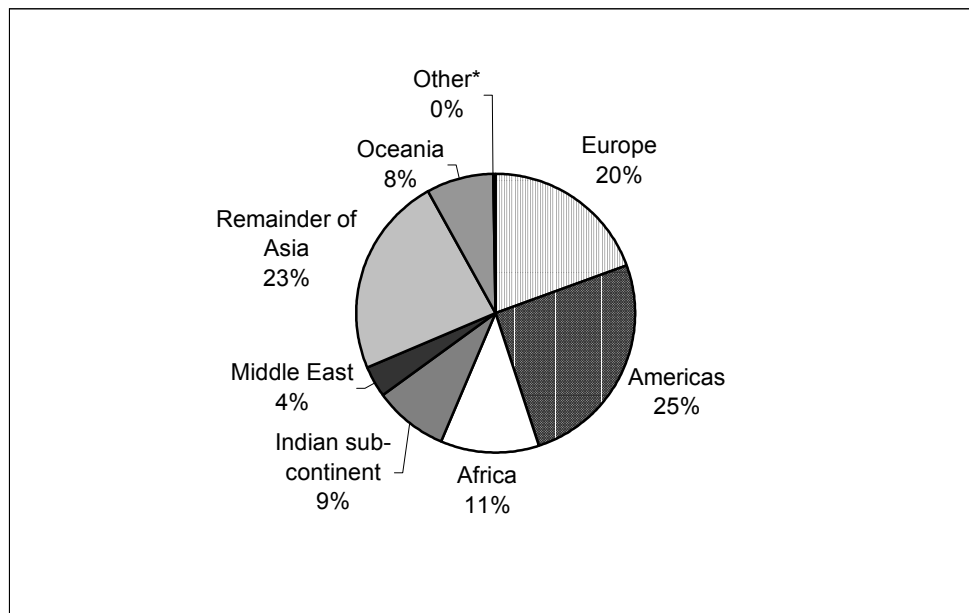


Source: Control of Immigration Statistics UK 2002

*Data up to 2002 only were used. This was because at the time of writing, the 2003 data had not been published. 2003 data are now available and can be found on the Home Office website.

Looking at UK immigration by category of entry^{viii}, the majority of immigrants were students, making up almost half of the total each year (see figure 3). The number of students increased continuously over the five-year period. The largest proportion of students was from the USA, making up nearly a fifth of students in each of the five years.

Figure 4: Entry to the UK 1998-2002 by nationality



Source: Control of Immigration Statistics UK 2002

*See footnote 5

There was a continual increase in the number of work permit holders and their dependants over the five years. The biggest percentage increase in inflow across all categories of entry was from work permit holders coming for long-term employment (over 12 months). Immigrants in this category increased by over 150 percent from 1998 to 2002. In 2002 those coming in for less than 12 months increased by 11% whilst those coming in for 12 months or longer increased by 2.5%. The USA was the most significant contributor to these numbers in both the short- and longer-term work permit categories over the five years. However, India made up an increasing proportion of both categories. The numbers of Indian migrants quadrupled in the short-term work permit category over the five-year period and overtook the USA in 2002. Immigrants from the

Philippines also featured heavily under the short-term work permit category from 2000 onwards.

Asylum seekers and refugees made up a significant proportion of migration inflows (see figure 3), just over a fifth of the total for the five-year period. The number of asylum seekers rose significantly from 1998 to 2002, although annual numbers have fluctuated. In 1998, there were just over 46,000 applications for asylum, compared to 84,000 in 2002, a large proportion of which were from nationals of Iraq. Somalia, Afghanistan, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Sri Lanka have all regularly appeared as one of the top five countries from which people have sought asylum in the UK.

3.2.3 The education, skill and employment profile of immigrants in the UK

Some research has been carried out on the employment of immigrants in comparison to the UK-born population. Four studies found that a lower proportion of the foreign-born population was economically active and their unemployment rates were consistently higher than the UK-born population (Dobson et al. 2001, Dustmann et al. 2003b and Prime Minister's Strategy Unit, 2004). These differences increased substantially after 1979 (Dustmann et al., 2003b). The employment rate among the foreign-born population was around 64 percent compared to around 75 percent for the UK-born population and this employment disadvantage exists consistently at all skill or qualification levels (Haque, 2002). Gott and Johnston (2002) noted, however, that the inclusion of international students would inflate the unemployment figures. Haque (2002) stated that the foreign-born population was polarised in its level of qualifications, with higher proportions holding degrees or no qualifications in comparison to the UK-born population. Also, a much greater proportion of the foreign-born population had other (mainly un-named) qualifications. However, the Strategy Unit (2003) report stated that the proportion of second-generation migrants from minority ethnic groups with no qualifications was at least half that of the first, for all groups and both sexes.

Some research studies have been carried out to try to assess the education, skills and employment background of refugees, although neither of the samples used were representative of the UK refugee population. The HO carried out a skills audit of almost 2,000 refugees, mainly Iraqis, Zimbabweans and Somalis (Kirk, 2004); two-thirds had been working before leaving their country of origin and one-tenth were students. Of those who provided details about their occupations, 23 percent had been in skilled trades and 22 percent were managers and senior officials. A survey by Bloch (2004) of 400 refugees found that 10 percent had been employed as teachers. According to the HO report, almost half had received ten years or more of education and over 40 percent held qualifications. Three-quarters of respondents could read and write either fluently or fairly well in their main language and about one-third of respondents rated each aspect of the English language skills as either fluent or fairly good. However, there was high variability in skills, education and employment between countries of origin and between men and women.

4. The impact of immigration on the UK: literature review

This chapter contains the findings from the literature review relating to the impact of immigration on the UK. It is divided into three sections relating to immigrants' impact on the economy, civil society and culture, and the political arena.

This was not a fully systematic review: no quality check was made on the evidence that informed the literature. In some sections, where few sources of material were found, care should be taken when interpreting the findings since they may have been based on small-scale studies, or lack of research might mean that no check on reliability was possible. Literature has, therefore, been included in the review that is not necessarily representative of the UK immigrant or the indigenous population. Every effort has been made to mitigate this limitation by a) stating the evidence on which literature is based and b) noting in brackets the definition of migrant that has been used.

The literature found for the review is not exhaustive and covers only literature published between 2001 and 2004. This restriction was applied in order to make the pilot project manageable; it is important to recognise that different conclusions might have been reached, had the time period covered by the review been extended (see section 2.2.1). In addition, there may in fact be research evidence in areas where gaps have been identified, because it had not been captured by the method employed for the review.

It is worth highlighting that although economic, cultural and political impacts have been considered separately in the report, these impacts are not exclusive of one another. For example, employment and political participation may be linked to social inclusion (for example, Strategy Unit, 2003, Campbell and McLean, 2002). Hence, impacts in one arena will have impacts on another.

4.1 Impact on the economy

It was estimated that a one percent increase in the foreign-born population in the UK is associated with an increase in Gross Domestic Product of between 1.25 percent and 1.5 percent (Glover et al., 2001). However, this estimate, based on gross immigration for 1991-1995 and GDP for 15 European countries, reveals little about the nature of immigrants' impact on the economy. This section seeks to address this issue by considering immigrants' impact in relation to the following economic areas: fiscal policy, consumption, employment, entrepreneurship, highly skilled professions, migrant-specific sectors of the economy, and trade.

In addition to the problems associated with available data sources (see section 2.2.2), other difficulties were noted in providing estimates of the impact of migration on the economy. Dustmann et al (2003a) highlighted that immigration and economic change were inter-related: differences in the stock of immigrants across regions may be correlated with persistent differences in economic prosperity and changes to the economic success of a particular region may lead to increased (or decreased) immigration and/or emigration of existing residents. Comparing findings between studies can also be problematic as different assumptions regarding the flexibility of the economy and the tradability of its output on world markets are often used (ibid.). Additionally economic performance may be measured differently (Kempton, 2002). Finally, Spencer (2002) noted that evaluating the short- and long-term impacts on the economy is difficult. For example, while providing free English classes may initially have a negative economic impact, in the long term it significantly improved migrants' employment success and was, therefore, an investment.

There were the following key findings:

- Little literature (in some areas none) on the impact that migrants have had on the economy. The largest body of research was on the impact on employment.

- Where research on migrants was found, it was not helpful to consider migrants as a homogeneous group; rather they should be considered as heterogeneous, with different types of migrants having different impacts, which vary, by sector.
- When highly skilled migrants and specific economic sectors are considered, a more positive impact on the economy was apparent.
- Generally, migrants do appear to be more entrepreneurial than their native counterparts, who were categorised as 'White'. Again, differences between groups are apparent.

4.1.1 Taxes, pensions and the welfare system

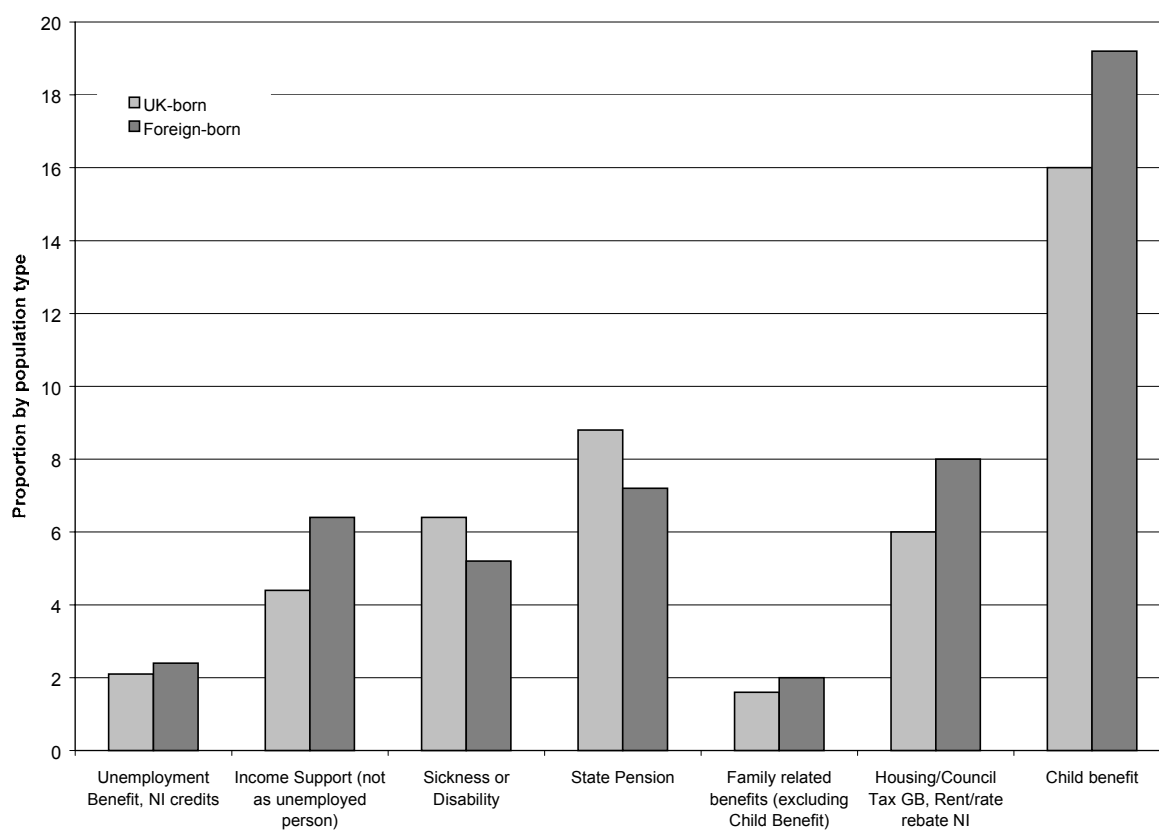
- Very little research was found specifically on migrants' fiscal contribution in the UK.
- Gott and Johnston (2002) estimated that in the years 1999–to 2000, foreign-born UK residents made a net fiscal contribution of £2.5 billion. However, there were limitations to the study, which were acknowledged by the authors. For instance, the research did not consider migrants' additional infrastructure needs or the impact of different types of migrants, which were likely to be polarised.

Only one piece of research, by Gott and Johnston (2002), was identified on foreign-born UK residents' fiscal impact on the UK, and another analysis, in the same paper, compared benefits claimed by foreign citizens and the UK working population.

Gott and Johnston (2002), in a Home Office report, analysed data from the 1999 LFS. They estimated that, in 1999–2000, migrants (foreign-born population) in the UK contributed £31.2 billion in taxes and consumed £28.8 billion in benefits and state services, making a net fiscal contribution of approximately £2.5 billion. Comparing migrants with the UK-born population, they found that a higher proportion of migrants claimed some benefits (unemployment benefits, income support, family-related benefits, council tax relief, rent or rate rebate, and child benefit), but a lower proportion claimed other benefits (for sickness or disability, and state pension see - figure 5). Overall, migrants paid just under ten percent more in taxes than they received in public services

and welfare (five percent greater than the difference for the UK-born population). This was supported by Robinson's (2002) research, based on an examination of National Insurance records, which found that 5.9 percent of migrant (foreign citizen) workers claimed a key benefit in 2001 in comparison to 14 percent of the working-age population in the UK (after the age distribution of migrant workers had been taken into account). A comparison with the UK-born population's net fiscal contribution over time showed that migrants earned and contributed less than the UK-born population in their youth, caught up in their 40s, overtook the UK-born population and reached a peak a few years after them, then declined at a slower rate (Gott and Johnston, 2002).

Figure 5: Social benefit claims by population type



Source: Gott, K and Johnston (2002).

However, Gott and Johnston acknowledged that their findings were tentative. They noted that migrants also produced indirect fiscal effects as they influenced the pre-tax income of UK-born residents through impacts on the level of production, productivity

and economic growth, which were very difficult to measure. Browne (2002), in a discursive report for the Institute for the Study of Civil Society, argued against positive net immigration. He highlighted that the figures used by Gott and Johnston were subject to a margin of error. For instance, a percentage change of 5 percent in the opposite direction would have made immigrants an overall net drain on the taxpayer. Browne noted that the year 2000, on which the study was based, was a year in which there was a budget surplus, so British people as a whole had paid more in taxes than they consumed in government services and welfare. Gott and Johnston acknowledged that their research was unable to differentiate between different types of immigrant (another criticism of Browne) although this was not part of the design of the study, which was only concerned with the overall impact.

Browne (2002) and MigrationWatch UK (2003) – an independent think tank, also criticised the report for not accounting for migrants' additional infrastructure needs, for example, English language classes and migrants' special health needs. However, Glover et al. (2001) theorised that positive impact might also have been underestimated, since migrants' skills and experience could also be used to re-generate run-down areas (see section 4.3.1).

This review found a relative scarcity of research in terms of the impact that migrants, rather than ethnic minorities, have on fiscal policy. The literature that was available proved to be inconclusive – this may be as a result of treating migrants as one homogenous group.

4.1.2 Consumption

- No research was found on migrants' impact on consumption at a national level.
- Migration had increased consumer choice in “ethnic enclaves”^{ix} (Jamal, 2003).
- Migration had contributed to creating and reinforcing places with high concentrations of ethnic minority individuals, through consumption behaviour (Molotch, 2002, and Hardill et al., 2002).

No research was found that considered migrants' contribution to the overall national consumption. One study was found on factors affecting migrants' consumer behaviour, and four qualitative pieces of research considered consumption in local ethnic communities. Literature on immigrants' impact on demand for ethnic food and food consumption can be found in section 4.2.2.

A study by Dustmann (2003), based on theoretical modelling of inflows and outflows in the EU, found that the consumer behaviour of migrants (foreign-born) was affected by the purchasing power of the host country currency in the migrant's home economy. Higher purchasing powers meant that migrants were likely to save money in the host country and spend on return to their home country, although this was less true of long-term migrants.

Two pieces of qualitative research considered how migrants impacted on consumption in ethnic areas of high concentration. Jamal's (2003) ethnographic research conducted in Bradford found that migration had impacted on consumer choice; every commodity available to ethnic participants in their country of origin was made available in Bradford. Clark and Drinkwater (2002) theorised that enclaves provided the opportunity to trade in niche markets for goods and services with religious or cultural significance, with less economic significance being attached to the White British community, although this was contradicted by a number of studies on ethnic food and retailing (see section 4.1.6). Clark and Drinkwater (2002) also noted that since enclaves were usually areas of higher deprivation, overall, there would be a reduced demand for products and there would be overlaps in social capital.

Two qualitative studies looked at the impact that migrants had on creating and reinforcing local ethnic communities through consumption behaviour. Molotch (2002), in a study on product design based on interviews with designers in Sydney, Milan, London, and USA, theorised that people who chose to migrate to a certain area might share a background or aspects of their personality that had led them to choose the

same area. These commonalities could impact on the local market through the choices they made as consumers. In this way, localities could become 'ethnic anchors': ethnic products introduced to the local market by migrants (undefined) signalled to local people that there was a consumer base large enough to warrant a store stocking such products, leading to further migration of people who desired those ethnic products. Hardill, Raghuram and Strange (2002), from case studies of four East Asian women who had established fashion enterprises in Leicester, found that customers went to enclaves not just to purchase goods but to 'consume' a particular social environment. This affected the way in which respondents chose to market and locate their businesses; for example, one interviewee expressed the need to locate her business in a vibrant "Asian consumption site" among other successful, exclusive Asian shops, such as jewellers and good quality restaurants.

Although little information on the impact that migrants have on consumption at the national level has been revealed by this review, this is not to say that they do not have an impact: there is simply insufficient evidence. Migrants indirectly affect consumption by broadening consumer choice in areas of high minority ethnic concentration, especially in the catering industry and this might also apply in other sectors to a greater extent than the literature identifies. In addition, it is likely that migrants keep labour costs down in several industries, for example, hotel-catering, agriculture and construction, which would effect consumption in these areas, however we did not find the literature, in this review, that would support this theory.

4.1.3 Employment

- There were no conclusive results of the impact on migrants (foreign-born) on native employment or on the wages of the indigenous population (Dustmann et al., 2003 and Glover et al., 2001).
- However, a large body of literature highlighted that migrants' employment experiences were polarised: significant differences were found between the employment and activity of migrants in relation to their country of origin, sex, level of

education, and type of migrant. Hence, any generalised findings from research will not accurately reflect the true picture of the impact of migrants on employment.

The majority of the economic literature was found in this area. Five pieces of literature examined the profile of foreign workers (different definitions were used) in the UK. Little research was found on the impact of migrants on the employment of the indigenous population, although there were a number of theoretical pieces of literature on this area. There was a large body of research on migrants and employment more generally. This research highlighted significant differences between migrants and minority ethnic groups with regard to their employment and activity levels.

In one review, it was estimated that there were 1.369m foreign nationals working in the UK in 2003 and about 63 percent of these came from outside the EU (Srisakandaram, 2004a). The review, based on a literature review and analysis of LFS and IPS data, found that as well as an overall increase in the number of foreign citizens over the last decade, the greatest proportion (62 percent) were coming to work in the UK rather than for other purposes. Haque (2002) found that foreign-born UK residents represented about 10 percent of the UK working-age population in 2001 (from LFS data). A report for the HO (Dobson et al. 2001) examined the profile of foreign nationals using IPS and LFS data. It found that migrants tended to be of working age, particularly in the 15-24 age band, which made up 45 percent of the foreign nationals in the UK between 1995 and 1999. Glover et al. (2001) found that migrants tended to work in places with unfilled job vacancies (particularly London and the South East) but were also concentrated in areas of high unemployment and deprivation. From a review of the existing literature, Spencer (2004b) found that migrants were concentrated in sectors of the labour market at greatest risk in an economic downturn.

Two research studies were identified on the impact of immigration on unemployment and wages of the indigenous population: Glover et al. (2001) and Dustmann et al. (2003a). Both were HO publications and analysed the LFS. Glover et al. found that migration had little aggregate effect on native employment, although it was stated that

immigrants could have more effect (positive or negative) on some sub-groups of natives. Dustmann et al. stated that short-term effects on employment of the indigenous population were to be expected as the economy adjusted, provided that the skill composition of native and immigrant inflows differed. Oslington (2001) found, using economic general-equilibrium modelling, that immigrants reduced unemployment of natives if they filled vacancies that natives were unwilling or unable to fill. In these circumstances they were, therefore, not competing for the same jobs. However, it was unclear whether Oslington's model was purely mathematical in theory or was based on an unstated data source. With regard to wages, Dustmann et al. (2003a) analysed a small sample of data and tentatively suggested that immigration was positively associated with higher wage growth in the currently resident population. Glover et al. found no significant impact on native wages and two reports based on literature reviews (National Opinion Poll Business and Institute for Employment Studies, 2002, and Srisankarajah, 2004a) stated that there was little evidence that immigration either increased or decreased wages.

Although the research seems to point to migrants having little impact on native employment or wages, many of the pieces of literature reviewed provided arguments to counter this in terms of both positive and negative impacts. Browne (2002) highlighted that the impacts of immigration could be perceived as either positive or negative depending on whose perspective was taken; for example, while importing skilled workers could depress the wages of the indigenous workers, the increased availability of their services would benefit the rest of the population. Browne (2002) argued that it was mainly big business employers, who benefited from labour migration, particularly employers of low-skilled workers, and those who lost out were the low- or unskilled workers competing with immigrants. Doudeijns and Dumont (2003) and Dobson et al. (2001) noted that where immigration was used to fill vacancies that were unattractive to native workers because of poor working conditions and pay, immigration could actually limit improvements to these conditions. Browne theorised that relying on immigration to increase the labour pool could reduce the incentive to increase labour productivity, for example, through developing new technology. The NOP Business, IES and the Prime

Minister's Strategy Unit (2004) reports also noted that dependency on the skills of migrants could decrease natives' incentives to seek higher skills.

More positively, Glover et al. (2001) and Sriskandarajah (2004a) highlighted that migration could contribute to the expansion of sectors and the creation of more jobs. The Strategy Unit's (2003) literature review considered the economic implications of ethnic minority disadvantage in the labour market, and highlighted that increased labour supply from the ethnic minority population could have a range of beneficial effects such as stimulating higher levels of capital investment. Sriskandarajah (2004a) highlighted the significant contribution that immigrants made to sectors in the UK suffering skill shortages, particularly in sectors such as health, business services and construction, and in occupations such as skilled trades (see section 4.1.6 for the impact of immigrants on specific sectors). Browne (2002) argued that the UK's dependence on migrants to fill these jobs was a *post facto* justification of immigration that had already happened; what might have happened without immigrants to fill these positions was unknown. Dobson et al. (2001) noted that in the longer term, training schemes and better pay structures for indigenous labour would enable skill shortages to be met by indigenous workers.

The findings of research that attempts to find a definitive answer to the overall impact of immigration on employment of the indigenous population may mask significant differences in the impacts of different types of migrants. The Strategy Unit's (2003) report highlighted huge differences in type of employment between and within ethnic minorities and the White British population. For example, 52 percent of male Bangladeshi workers in Britain were in the restaurant industry, compared with only one percent of White males, while approximately one in 20 working Indian men was a medical practitioner, almost 10 times more than the national average. Browne (2002) noted that while immigrants were twice as likely to earn over £50,000 a year as the native born, there were also far more immigrants who earned low wages. Major differences in participation and activity rates between migrants were identified by country of origin (Spencer, 2004a, Shields and Wheatley Price, 2003, Dustmann et al. 2003b, Browne, 2002); sex (Spencer 2004, Gott and Johnston, 2002), particularly for

Pakistani and Bangladeshi women (Clark and Drinkwater, 2002, Shields and Wheatley Price, 2003); between White and Black migrants (Dustmann et al., 2003b, Lindley, 2002); location (Clark and Drinkwater, 2002) and by types of migrant (Lindley 2002). Kempton (2002) identified the principal factors that influenced migrants' labour market outcomes as education, qualifications, English language fluency and years since migration.

The findings of this review in terms of the impact that migrants have had on employment, have been inconclusive. There appears to be evidence to support the view that migrants both increase and decrease unemployment. Again, specific groups of migrants may have differing effects and consequences on individual economic sectors.

4.1.4 Ethnic entrepreneurs

- No research was found on the overall impact of immigrants' entrepreneurial enterprises on the UK economy.
- In general, all minority ethnic groups, including Other White, were significantly more entrepreneurial than White British people (Dustmann et al., 2003b, Harding, 2003 and Strategy Unit, 2003).
- Self-employed immigrants were strongly concentrated in the distribution, hotel and restaurant sectors (Dustmann et al., 2003b).
- There were conflicting findings on the factors affecting minority ethnic groups' motivation and ability to start-up entrepreneurial enterprises, hence affecting their potential impact on the economy (Hardill et al., 2002, Foord and Ginsburg, 2004 and Clark and Drinkwater, 2002).

No research was found on the impact of immigrants' entrepreneurial enterprises on the UK economy. One reason may be the lack of data on migrants setting up their own businesses. Another problem is the difficulty in separating out whether entrepreneurship stems from exclusion from the labour market, or from self-selection by people who have enough drive to leave their country of origin.

The European Union established European Community Association Agreements (ECAAs) to allow certain nationals of Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia or Slovenia to enter European Member States in order to establish themselves in business prior to accession to the Union. In a report by the NAO (2004), in which Home Office data were analysed, the number of nationals from acceding countries was found to have more than doubled during the time of the agreements (from 13,056 to 27,397). It would be expected that the increase in the number of small businesses subsequently being set up would have had an impact on the UK – however the review did not find research that looked specifically into this premise.

One research study was found that compared self-employment of the foreign-born population with the UK-born population, but this study did not discuss the impact of these differences. A publication by the Refugee Council highlighted refugees' contributions to UK entrepreneurial enterprises. The rest of the literature focussed on entrepreneurship and ethnic groups; two pieces of literature looked at ethnicity and entrepreneurial activity and two pieces of research and a literature review considered areas of high ethnic minority concentration in relation to start-up businesses.

Dustmann et al. (2003b) found large variation in self-employment across minority ethnic foreign-born individuals in comparison to White UK-born individuals. People of Pakistani, Afro-Asian and Chinese origin were more likely to be self-employed, while people of Caribbean and West African origin were less likely to be self employed. This finding was supported by the Government Strategy Unit (2003) review on ethnic minorities and the labour market, which also used LFS data. Harding (2003), whose data was based on a telephone survey of 22,000 adults, found that all minority ethnic groups, including Caribbean and West African nationals, exhibited higher levels of total entrepreneurial activity^x than the UK average (with the exception of the mixed ethnic origin group). Black and Asian people from the Indian sub-continent were twice as likely as White British people to be involved in start-up activity. Activity for the Other White

category was also extremely high. Individuals from all ethnic minorities were more likely to be involved in socially oriented entrepreneurial activities than their White British counterparts. Thus, Harding concluded that minority ethnic businesses were key drivers of entrepreneurship in the UK. The Strategy Unit (2003), however, noted that despite high entrepreneurial activity from some minority ethnic groups, these groups ran only seven percent of small businesses set up in the UK.

Self-employed minority ethnic individuals were strongly concentrated in some sectors: one out of two self-employed individuals from minority ethnic communities was active in the distribution, hotel and restaurant sectors (compared to one in six of the UK-born White population) (Dustmann et al., 2003b). White immigrants (foreign-born) were concentrated in both the construction, and the distribution, hotel and restaurant sectors (ibid.). The Refugee Council publication by Teichmann (2002) listed some of Britain's wealthiest refugee entrepreneurs, whose businesses were in finance, construction, mining, engineering and publishing. See section 4.1.6 for more information on the impact of immigrants on specific sectors.

There were conflicting findings on the factors affecting minority groups' impetus and ability to start up entrepreneurial enterprises, hence affecting their potential impact on the economy. A literature review on ethnic minority enterprises by Hardill et al. (2002) found that minority ethnic enterprises were characterised by their concentration in certain geographical areas and in low-income, highly labour-intensive industries, with their customers mainly from the same ethnic group (see section 4.1.6). This was supported by Foord and Ginsburg's (2004) findings from analysis of over 130 interviews with business owners, regeneration agencies and business support in North East London. They highlighted that a lack of ties to other customer bases and business support organisations, which could have facilitated connections within local and national economies, limited the capabilities of the enterprises. However, Foord and Ginsburg suggested that areas in need of regeneration were seen as having clear economic potential, which emerged out of a mixture of under-used infrastructural resources, cultural assets (including ethnically bounded social networks), and a propensity for

creative working. In contrast, Clark and Drinkwater (2002) found that areas with the lowest concentrations of minority ethnic groups had the highest self-employment rates for both White groups and minority ethnic groups. The researchers suggested that this could be related to the economic deprivation in areas of high minority ethnic concentration, that is, while ethnic minorities in those areas may have the desire to start businesses, they may face financial constraints in doing so.

Once again, little research was found specifically on migrants. However, more generally, minority ethnic groups appear more entrepreneurial than the White population. There were differences between nationalities.

4.1.5 Highly qualified immigrants

- No research evidence was found of highly skilled migrants' impact on the economy. However, literature was found which theorised that highly skilled migrants do make a positive impact on productivity and economic growth.
- While it was clear that immigrants filled skill shortages in the UK (Dobson et al., 2001, see also section 4.1.3), the literature did not identify the extent to which migrants filled these gaps.

No research was found that looked at how highly skilled migrants (as a group) have impacted on the economy; two pieces of literature theorised on how they could impact. The identified literature discussed the number of highly skilled migrants and skill shortages, but did not consider the extent to which migrants had filled these shortages. Literature that considered sectors that employ highly skilled migrants, for example, the health sector, can be found in section 4.1.6.

Haque (2002) used the LFS and estimated the number of highly skilled migrants (foreign - born) from their qualifications. He found that the chances of finding work were better for those who spoke English regardless of the skill or qualification level. Highly skilled migrants found it easier than the low-skilled migrants to find employment,

although both groups had difficulties when competing against the indigenous population. However, those who did find work tended to earn more than the UK-born.

Gott and Johnston (2002) focussed on the impact of migrants (foreign - born) on the fiscal system and highlighted the characteristics that predicted whether the individual would be a net fiscal contributor. While the different types of migrants (high or low skilled) were not examined independently, Gott and Johnston theorised that individuals who were highly qualified and fluent in English would perform better than less skilled migrants.

Dobson et al. (2001) found that from 1994, the annual net gain of professional and managerial foreign workers was consistently above 25,000 and, in comparison to 1992, in 2000 there were higher proportions of foreign-born workers in the more skilled occupational groups. However, the report did not state the extent to which migrants were filling skill shortages, making it difficult to assess their impact. A number of theoretical pieces of literature were found on the impact of skilled migrants on the UK. A report by NOP-IES (2002), based on available literature, noted that immigration widened the UK skill pool and could boost research, innovation, competitiveness and growth via the advent of new skills. Literature that expressed possible negative impacts of skilled migrant workers was also identified; this literature can be found in section 4.1.3 on employment.

More research in this area may be forthcoming. The Highly Skilled Migrant Programme (HSMP), a scheme under the work permit system, only began in the UK in January 2002 (see section 5.2) so little time has passed in which to measure its impact. The lack of data on the skills of many migrants (see section 2.2.2), including spouses and dependants has impeded further work in this area.

4.1.6 Specific economic sectors

- Migrant workers were numerous in the health and medical, information technology and education sectors. However, literature did not identify the extent to which migrants impacted on these sectors.
- A significant proportion of minority ethnic businesses were in the retailing, catering and clothing manufacture sectors (Foord and Ginsburg, 2004, Ram and Smallbone, 2002). These sectors had a propensity for market saturation and businesses tended to have a limited (primarily minority ethnic) customer base, restricting their impact.

Literature was identified on numbers of migrants (various definitions used) in the health and medical, information technology and education sectors. However, the extent of the impact which migrants had on each sector was not identified and the proportion of migrants in a given sector does not equate to their impact. Five pieces of qualitative research were found on minority ethnic groups' contribution to the catering, clothing and food-retailing sector. More in-depth consideration of migrants' impact on the food industry can be found in section 4.2.2.

More than a quarter (25.1 percent) of work permits issued in 2002 related to health and medical services (Clark and Salt, 2003), a sector in which there had been great skill shortages (Dobson et al., 2001). Nearly one in three doctors was foreign - born (Glover et al., 2001, TUC, 2002), 13 percent of nurses were foreign - born (Glover et al., 2001) and in 2003, 35 percent of hospital medical staff (excluding nurses) working in the NHS in England had qualified overseas (Sriskandarajah 2004a). Obstetrics and gynaecology, and psychiatry had the highest proportion of doctors who had qualified outside the UK and the specialities with the highest recruitment figures of migrant doctors were anaesthetics, psychiatry, and general medicine (Department of Health, 2001). The Refugee Council (2003) highlighted the fact that a significant number of refugees, who were doctors, nurses and dentists in their country of origin, remained unemployed in the UK. They considered that possible reasons for their unemployment included lack of recognition of overseas qualifications, inadequate English skills, and discrimination by

employers. Thus, there is potential for an even greater impact of migrants on the health sector.

After health and medical services, the largest industries for which work permits were issued were in computer services (14.1 percent) and administration, business and managerial services (12.6 percent) (Clark and Salt, 2003). Dobson et al. (2001) and the Trade Union Congress (TUC) (2002) highlighted migrants' contribution to the information technology (IT) sector; between 1992 and 2000, computer analysts and programmers were the occupational group with the largest increase in inflow (110 percent) (Dobson et al., 2001).

Migrants continued to play an important role in education: nine percent of teaching professionals in 2000 were foreign - born (Kempton, 2002, and Dobson et al., 2001). More than one in eight academic and research staff in the universities and colleges came from abroad, according to statistics published in 2001 (TUC, 2002). Migrants were also noted for their contributions to agricultural and construction work (TUC, 2002). Raghuram and Kofman (2002) highlighted the particular contribution of migrant women (definition unknown) to education, health, and welfare: 40 percent of women migrants on long-term work permits were employed in these categories in comparison to only seven percent of men. The TUC (2002) also noted that domestic work in private households was one of the largest employment sectors for migrant (definition unknown) women.

Literature on minority ethnic groups highlighted their contribution to catering, clothing and food retailing sectors (for example, Ram and Smallbone, 2002, Foord and Ginsburg, 2004). Ram et al. (2002) interviewed owners and employees of Indian-owned restaurants; their report described how the impact of minority ethnic groups on the food retailing market had changed over time. According to Ram et al., until the 1990s, small South Asian food retailers had enjoyed market niches protected by time, Sunday opening, and space in inner city and other low-income markets deemed unprofitable by the corporate retailers. However, since then, all retailers have been able to open on

Sundays and late evenings, with spatial niches being entered by cut-price multiples operating an increasing number of small and medium-sized outlets. Fierce competition from supermarkets exacerbated trading problems (Ram and Smallbone, 2002). Two pieces of research highlighted factors that restricted the impact of migrants on these sectors. Hardhill et al. (2002) noted that the most obvious niche for minority ethnic businesses was the specific needs of the ethnic population itself, such as specialist foods or fashions. However, Foord and Ginsburg (2004) highlighted that the retailing and catering sectors had a propensity for market saturation. Problems faced by their respondents in these sectors were reinforced by a lack of ties that could have facilitated connections within local and national economies (see section 4.1.4 on entrepreneurship). Respondents in a study on Indian restaurants in Birmingham (Jones et al. 2004) found that rapid growth in the sector had led to intense competition for an inadequate customer base, causing a large number of restaurants to operate below viable margins. Balti firms tended to be characterised by low aspirations, being oriented towards basic survival rather than profit maximisation. See section 4.2.2 for further information on the impact of migrants on the food and retailing sector.

In this section, further weight has been given to the conclusions in past sections that a homogenised view of migrants does not help in understanding what impact migrants have actually had. It is clear that different nationalities have different impacts on different sectors. Research has tended to focus on minority ethnic groups rather than migrants as such. Generally, migrants have impacted positively on specific economic sectors.

4.1.7 Exports and imports

- Immigration from non-Commonwealth countries had significant positive effects on both imports and exports: a 10 percent increase in the stock of immigrants was associated with an increase in UK exports to those countries of 1.6 percent (Girma and Yu, 2002).

- Immigration from Commonwealth countries had no significant effect on exports and appeared to reduce imports (Girma and Yu, 2002).
- From the limited information found in the review, immigration was generally seen as having a positive impact on exports and imports. However, care is needed in interpreting the findings, some of which were based on small case studies.

One piece of quantitative research was found on this subject. One qualitative study on fashion enterprises discussed the production of materials in both countries of origin and of settlement. Two other pieces of theoretical literature were identified.

Girma and Yu (2002) examined trade between the UK and 48 trading partners, 26 of which were Commonwealth and 22 non-Commonwealth. They looked at the link between immigration and trade and found that the UK had a higher propensity to trade with Commonwealth countries. Immigration from non-Commonwealth countries had a significant association with exports: a 10 percent increase in the stock of immigrants increased UK exports to those countries by 1.6 percent. However, immigration from Commonwealth countries had no significant impact on exports. The authors suggested that this may be because immigrants from the UK's former colonies do not bring with them any new information that could help to substantially reduce the transaction cost of trade between their home countries and host nation. 'Non-individual-specific' factors - additional knowledge brought by immigrants about foreign markets and different social institutions - were found to be more important in reducing costs than 'individual-specific' factors - business connections or personal contacts with his or her home country. Immigration from non-Commonwealth countries was associated with increased imports, whereas immigration from the Commonwealth appeared to be reducing imports. The authors suggested that as there was a larger, more well-established immigrant population in the UK from Commonwealth countries relative to non-Commonwealth, it could be that it was easier to manufacture some goods in the UK rather than importing them from the source country.

Hardhill et al. (2002) highlighted the opportunities of local minority ethnic businesses in making trading links with their countries of origin or their parents' origin, using their understanding of the areas and regions that they came from and their attitudes and behavioural patterns ('non-individual-specific' factors). This paper also identified a need to enter international trade formally in order to gain recognition as minority ethnic firms in a competitive environment, suggesting that the impact of minority ethnic business on trade had not been properly acknowledged. Four East Asian women studied by Hardhill et al. (2002) had established businesses in the fashion sector in Leicester; all purchased or produced their products in India. The respondents' firms had greater production links with India than with the ethnic community in Leicester. All firms sourced 80 percent or more of their raw materials from India, with some design input from Indian designers. The products were also manufactured in India, albeit under strict supervision from the entrepreneurs themselves (see section 4.2.2). One interviewee also exported to countries with significant Asian populations, notably South Africa and the USA. Therefore, migration networks had encouraged both imports from countries of origin and exports to new markets.

NOP-IES (2002) noted that there was potentially a negative impact of importing from abroad if technology was consequently transferred to foreign competitors. However, this could still benefit the UK if foreign competitors could produce the technology more cheaply to sell in the UK, allowing UK resources to be transferred into other productive uses.

From the limited information found in the review, immigration was generally seen as having a positive impact on exports and imports. However, care is needed in interpreting the findings, some of which were based on small case studies.

4.2 The impact on civil society and culture

This section considers the impact of immigrants' involvement in and impact on UK civil society and culture, specifically food, fashion, sport, and arts and the media. It is important to note that literature used on this area rarely differentiated between minority ethnic groups and migrants. Another important aspect that should be taken into consideration when evaluating the literature is the lack of material on the impact of Western migration (migration from more economically developed countries) on UK civil society and culture.

One of the main difficulties with conducting research on migrants' impact on UK culture is establishing a valid measurement for migrants' contribution. Even if such a measure existed, it would still need to be recognised that culture is not just the sum of individual contributions but is, by definition, a phenomenon of social interaction. Culture develops in a complex way that cannot be simply related to the number of immigrants settling over time. Migrants are a heterogeneous group from very different cultural backgrounds, who have different histories of migration to and from the UK. Hence, their impact on UK culture is likely to vary greatly according to their countries of origin. Since migrants are heavily concentrated in certain regions of the UK, their impact is also likely to differ between areas.

Unlike migrants' impact on the economy, it is very difficult to put a definitive value on cultural contribution, since the indigenous population's views about immigrants may vary greatly. A 2002 poll for the BBC found that 47 percent of White people, and 22 percent of Black and Asian people, thought that immigration had damaged British society over the last 50 years (MORI, 2002). In contrast, 28 percent of White people thought it had benefited British society, compared to 43 percent of Black and 50 percent of Asian people (ibid.).

Key findings from the review.

- Very little research was identified specifically relating to the impact that migrants have had on this area.
- Research into ethnicity suggested that participation of minority ethnic groups was more likely at the grass-roots level.
- Migrants had made a large impact on the UK's food industry – the largest amount of research was found on this area.
- Minority ethnic groups differed in their participation rates in terms of volunteering and social participation.

In general, popular observation in this area might suggest a greater impact than could be demonstrated from the literature.

4.2.1 Civil society

- No research was found on the impact of migrants on indigenous civil society.
- Civic participation and volunteering varied by ethnicity (Attwood et al., 2003, Campbell and McLean, 2002).
- Minority group participation with grass roots community organisations was much higher than involvement in the mainstream voluntary sector (Foord and Ginsburg, 2004, Stopforth, 2001).

Attempts were made to assess the extent to which migrants participated in civil society and to analyse the impacts this had on the indigenous population.

No research was found that considered the impact of migrants on indigenous civil society. Two pieces of literature put forward explanations for the research gap on migrants' social outcomes. Home Office research studied ethnicity in relation to civic participation and volunteering, although the impact of participation was not considered. One qualitative research study looked at ethnicity in relation to volunteering, and one

literature review focussed on refugees and volunteering. Migrants' involvement in trades unions can be found in section 4.3.2.

Glover et al. (2001) and Spencer (2004) highlighted that little was known about migrants' social outcomes: there were no data on many key outcomes, no definitive comparators at national level, and no differentiation was made between long- and short-term, or micro and macro benefits. While there was no shortage of local initiatives that brought new and established communities together, most of these did not result from systematic and coherent efforts at policy or programme level, but were driven by local needs as they arose (Spencer, 2004). It was not always clear how migrants' experience differed from the experience of minority groups generally, with regard to building relationships with mainstream society (ibid.).

Attwood et al. (2003) interviewed over 15,000 people in England and Wales for the Home Office citizenship survey. They found that White people were more likely than Black people and Asian people to be involved in civic participation.^{xi} Black people and White people were more likely than Asian people to be involved in social participation (involved in groups, clubs or organisations), as well as both informal and formal volunteering.^{xii} Campbell and McLean (2002), found from their qualitative research that involvement in local community networks varied with ethnicity, gender and age.

Two pieces of literature looked respectively at minority ethnic groups' and refugees' participation in voluntary organisations and found that impact was high at grass roots level but low at a national level. Foord and Ginsburg (2004) conducted interviews with workers, activists and users in 48 organisations providing welfare and advocacy services for visible minorities in North East London. The researchers estimated that about 350,000 people accessed their services over the course of a year. In most cases, strong formal and informal ties existed between the organisations studied and other co-ethnic and local community organisations and many organisations participated in the same community forums, regeneration and local authority meetings. However, Black organisations were under-represented in local regeneration bodies and felt excluded

from key decision-making forums. Lack of involvement with boroughs (i.e. at local government level), meant that the organisations were under-funded, limiting their capabilities to impact at the national level. However, it was exactly this lack of participation that earned them trust within their communities. Stopforth's (2001) literature review also found a high impact at a local level: refugees performed a wide range of voluntary tasks in their own communities, from governance and management functions to direct service delivery, as well as advocacy and interpretation. However, refugees appeared to find it hard to become involved in voluntary work outside refugee community organisations.

Although this project has found no direct information on the overall impact of migrant participation on the indigenous population, it is possible that more information exists at the grass roots level.

4.2.2 Culture

The remit of the project required a review of literature concerning the impact that migrants have had on UK culture, specifically food, sport, fashion, and arts and the media.

Food

- The availability of ethnic food has increased dramatically over the last 50 years (Panayi, 2002, Menu2Menu, 2004).
- The British Indian food sector had a turnover greater than the UK coal, steel and shipbuilding industries combined (Cook and Crang, 2002). In 2001, the annual turnover of the Indian restaurant industry, including drink, was approximately £2.4Bn, giving an Indian food and drink sector an annual turnover of approximately £2.8Bn (Menu2Menu, 2004).
- From 1989 to 2001, there was an annual growth in retail ethnic food sales of about 10 percent, from £175m to approximately £920m (Menu2Menu). While ethnic food shops catered primarily for members of the same ethnic group, the indigenous

population tended to go to supermarkets for their Indian food (Panayi, 2002, and Cook and Harrison, 2003).

Attempts were made to identify literature on the impact that migrants have had on UK food, by considering the food consumption of the indigenous population, the emergence of new products and recipes, and developments in the catering sector.

The vast majority of the research identified on the cultural context related to immigrants' impact on food, particularly the Indian food industry. The literature revealed no clear distinction between migrants and minority ethnic groups. Six pieces of literature were found in total: three were qualitative pieces of research, one piece was from market research, and two were literature reviews. Literature identified looked at the introduction and growth of Indian cuisine in the UK, immigrants' impact on the diet of the indigenous population through greater consumer choice, and factors that may have affected the uptake of cuisine originating outside the UK.

Two pieces of literature were found that focussed predominantly on the introduction and growth of Indian food in the UK. According to Panayi's (2002) literature review, imports in food products began to take off after the Second World War with most of the trade in London. One of the first provincial Indian grocers opened in Birmingham in 1949, followed by five more by 1961. Asian grocery stores began to open after the arrival of Ugandan refugees in the 1970s. Statistics from Panayi (2002) and Menu2Menu (2004), based on market research, showed that Indian restaurants in Britain increased greatly in number in the second half of the twentieth century, creating many employment opportunities (see section 4.1.3). There were six Indian restaurants in 1948, 500 in 1960, 3,000 in 1980, and numbers continued to increase up until 1995, reaching a plateau of about 8,000. In 1997, Indian food's closest ethnic competitor was Chinese food, which had a market value £1.1bn (£0.56bn below Indian food), with takeaway sales dominating (Panayi, 2002). The annual turnover of the Indian restaurant industry, including drink, in 2001 was approximately £2.4bn, giving an Indian food and drink sector an annual turnover of about £2.8bn (Menu2Menu, 2004). Cook and Crang (2002)

highlighted that the British Indian food sector had a turnover greater than the UK coal, steel and shipbuilding industries combined.

The increasing availability of ethnic foods has effected the diet of the indigenous population. In the middle of the 1980s, minority ethnic groups was consuming 90 percent of foreign foods, but by 1993 the White indigenous population was consuming over 50 percent (Panayi, 2002). The consumption of rice increased dramatically among the British population: by 1990, Tilda - a company created by a Ugandan refugee - commanded over 50 percent of the market for rice (Panayi, 2002). From 1989 to 2001, there was an annual growth in retail ethnic food sales of about 10 percent, from £175m to approximately £920m (Menu2Menu, 2004). Panayi (2002), Jamal (2003) and Cook and Crang (2002) highlighted that the White indigenous population had integrated ethnic foods into their cooking, and adapted products and recipes to suit their tastes. This increased familiarity and usage led to a more knowledgeable and discerning customer (Ram et al. 2002). While ethnic food shops catered primarily for members of the same ethnic group, the indigenous population tended to go to supermarkets for their Indian food (Panayi, 2002, Cook and Harrison, 2003).

Cook and Crang (2002) studied the food habits of 12 British households from 1996-1998, interviewing them on an ongoing basis, and followed through the networks that produced their food, interviewing retailers, manufacturers and importers. They proposed two ways in which migrants impacted on the imports of foreign cuisine, including the way in which migrants catered for their fellow nationals, giving them a taste of their home foods and diets, which could then attract other individuals from the indigenous population (finding supported by Panayi, 2002).

Cook and Harrison (2003) identified other factors that affected the impact of foreign cuisine on the indigenous population through considering the relative lack of impact of Caribbean food on UK cuisine. They conducted a literature review and studied the corporate histories of two Jamaica-based food manufacturers. From 1993-1995, Caribbean food sales doubled from £10.1m to £20.4m. However, between 1995 and

1997 sales grew by only five percent and by the end of the decade, the region's food was not discussed as a separate category in market reports. The authors concluded that Caribbean food had not made a great impact for a number of reasons: it took a long time to prepare (which did not fit the lifestyle of many in the UK); it did not occupy a recognisable niche in the market; and companies could not compete with supermarkets or afford to pay for shelf space, advertising and in-store promotions. Where Caribbean food did get listed by the supermarkets, it was with a small range of distinctive and authentically Caribbean products, which were largely dependent on impulse buying.

Cook and Crang (2003) made the point that migration had always played a role in determining global cuisines and discussed the notion that regional cuisines were invented traditions. Many of the most basic and traditional ingredients in European dishes, including tomatoes, potatoes and English tea, were discovered overseas and brought back to Europe by Europeans. They suggested that regional cuisines were not factually recorded but were created through discursive construction of how places were imagined to be. Hence, the impact of immigration on food culture in the UK should not be considered as an event but as a process that has occurred throughout history, albeit not at the rate of the last 50 years.

To conclude, immigration has significantly impacted on the indigenous population's consumption of ethnic food. Although much literature was identified on ethnic food, no literature was found on the impact of the spread of culture from other Western countries on UK food consumption (e.g. fast food) or whether this would be attributable to migration. See section 2.2.1 for the limitations of this review.

Sports

- One piece of literature was identified on sport migration as a means of inter-cultural exchange (Maguire et al., 2002).

One piece of literature was identified that focussed specifically on migrants and sport. One other piece of literature was found relating to this subject, which focussed on minority ethnic groups.

Maguire et al. (2002) discussed the impact that the migration of sports people (mainly from the USA), had had on the development of sports expertise within the indigenous population. He highlighted the fact that by the mid-1990s, more than 400 American citizens were playing in Europe's professional basketball teams. In addition, 87 percent of the football players in Conferdacion Sudamericana De Futbol (the South American branch of the Fédération Internationale de Football Association - FIFA) played outside South America. In contrast the equivalent European branch, UEFA, kept the majority of its members within Europe.

Maguire et al. discussed the impact of introducing foreign players. Those migrants identified as pioneers, e.g. Canadian ice hockey players in the UK, could potentially be seen as raising the profile of the sport and encouraging interest in it by the indigenous population. However, Maguire et al. highlighted that this could lead to the de-skilling of the donor countries and the underdevelopment of national talent in the receiving countries (see section 4.1.3 on employment). Issues of national and self-identity were also discussed.

Maguire at al. also argued that the desire for success, measured by spectator numbers, media attention and sponsorship had caused other problems. Within the English Basketball Association (EBBA), American players were brought in to improve the playing standards and attract greater audiences, to the detriment of the British players and the EBBA, who found themselves increasingly sidelined (Maguire et al. 2002). It

may also be the case that, in time, the standards and salaries were pushed up on the native player side as a result of the influx of American players.

Factsheets produced by Sporting Equals (2004), a branch of the Commission for Racial Equality, state that participation of minority ethnic groups (it was not specified whether this was all groups) in all sports is lower than the national average, and they have low representation on sports decision-making boards and committees, both in national governing bodies and other sports organisations.

Within the context of this literature review, little research was found that looked specifically at the impact that migrants have had on sport within the host country, Maguire et al.'s work being an exception.

Fashion

- No research was identified specifically on the way in which immigration has influenced UK fashion.
- Asian fashion may not have directly transferred into UK fashion, rather Asian design and textiles have been adapted for UK consumption, impacting on creative processes for design (Sharma and Sharma, 2003, and Dwyer and Jackson, 2003).

Migration's impact on UK fashion, including design and the use of textiles, is considered in this section.

No research was found that specifically looked at the ways in which immigration had influenced UK fashion. Literature in this area focussed mainly on Asian fashion. One piece of qualitative research and two theoretical pieces of literature considered ways in which Asian fashion had been reproduced and marketed in the UK fashion industry. One piece of qualitative research noted that the impact of immigration on fashion varied by area in the UK. Two pieces of research were identified which briefly referred to the influence of Black culture on UK youth culture.

Nagrath (2003) noted that the most visible presence of India in UK fashion came in the 'hippie' styles and ethnic decorations of the 1970s. Indian fashion elements reappeared again in 2000 both on the catwalk and the high street: short tops, jeans and trousers with decorative zari borders, mehndis, bindis, and T-shirts with images of gods and goddesses.

Sharma and Sharma (2003) argued that Asian fashion had not been directly transferred into UK fashion, rather ethnic fashion was adapted for White consumption. Dwyer and Jackson's (2003) qualitative research provided support for Sharma and Sharma's view. The researchers studied two UK stores, EAST and Anokhi, which produce ethnic clothing. While Anokhi was established 'to preserve and revitalise traditional textile skills' using hand-block printed textiles characteristic of the Jaipur area, their new label 'Anokhi Designer Collection' and EAST were design led and sought to emphasise a fusion of East and West rather than notions of cultural authenticity or ethnic tradition. EAST used ethnic or exotic locations for fashion shoots that were not place-specific and emphasised the use of natural fabrics, colour and handwork. Fashion became more eclectic, owing to the introduction of new styles into Western fashion.

Hardhill et al. (2002) noted that, in areas where there were many shops and restaurants selling Asian products, members of the indigenous population visiting these sites adapted their clothing to reinforce the ethnic identity of the location. Therefore, the impact of immigration on fashion varied by area.

Nayak (2003) ethnographic research on young people in the town of Nailton, and Campbell and McLean's (2002) qualitative research, referred briefly to the synthesis of White and Black youth styles in fashion, for example, the popularity of dreadlocks and braids.

The review has found evidence that migrants from the East have had an influence on UK fashion. However, no literature was identified on the prevalence of American and Australian fashion in the UK, such as 'rap' or 'surf' culture which, anecdotally, is thought

to have had a significant impact on UK youth culture in recent years. See section 2.2.1 for limitations of collection of material for the review.

Arts and the media

- A very limited amount of mainly anecdotal literature was found on the impact of migrants on arts and the media.

Attempts were made to assess the impacts that migrants have had on production, presentation and performance in the arts and the media.

No research was found that attempted to quantify migrants' impact on UK arts and the media. The research found was limited and mainly anecdotal. There were a few pieces of literature that considered the impact of migration on music. One piece of research highlighted immigrant Booker and Turner prize winners; one theoretical piece of literature looked at the portrayal of Indian culture in the arts and the media; and two pieces of literature referred to minority ethnic groups and migrants in the media.

Pandit et al. (2003) discussed migration and music at a conference on globalisation organised by the Arts Council and The British Council. They described the way in which melodies, beats and rhythms continually moved back and forth between countries, changing and merging influences. Pandit et al. described how traditional Bengali music had been fused with 'drum 'n' bass' by young people in Southall, West London. Campbell and McLean (2002) and Nayak (2003) noted the popularity of Black music (and Black slang) among British young people.

Glover et al. (2001) highlighted that many winners of the Booker literary prize over the last 30 years were first- or second-generation immigrants, notably Kazuo Ishiguro, Salman Rushdie, Timothy Mo, Micheal Ondaatje and Michael Ignatieff. Similarly, three of the artists shortlisted for the 2000 Turner prize were born outside the UK.

Sharma and Sharma (2003) discussed the recent obsession in the UK with Indian culture, including Bollywood cinema, Indian music, comedy, design and visual art. They proposed that this ethnic marking was a fabrication, idealising and authenticating Asian culture as an exotic commodity, while concealing negative aspects of diasporic Asians' history (they cite colonialism, racial violence and cultural hybridisation). Hence, they argue that Asians' impact on UK culture was determined by what Asian culture symbolised to the indigenous population.

With regard to migrants' impact on the media, Cross and Moore (2002) noted that the existence of strong transnational networks of migrants (immigrants and emigrants) had significantly contributed to the internationalisation of the national media. Purdam and Fieldhouse (2002) carried out a limited review of Black and minority ethnic media and suggested that the vernacular ethnic media, that is, newspapers from migrants' home countries, were not subject to the same levels of mobilisation as the English-language press.

The literature identified on this topic was limited. It is worth taking into consideration the very recent impacts that migrants have had on the media. For example, this year the BBC launched an Asian Network of television and radio programmes, and Channel Four commissioned the television programme 'Search for a Bollywood Star' as a mainstream TV programme.

4.3 Impact on the political arena

This section looks at immigrants' participation in, and impact on, various political arenas. It is divided into immigrants' participation in national and local politics, trades unions and workers' associations, and engagement with politics in home countries through UK politics.

What is not discussed, but is flagged as a very important area, is the overarching impact of immigration within the political arena. The fact that immigration features highly on both the political and press agendas should not be ignored. However, owing to time constraints, a decision was made to exclude press articles and, hence, little is made of this area within the following text.

The vast majority of the literature in this section considered minority ethnic groups' participation in the national and local politics and trades unions. The fact that migrants' voting rights are limited obviously plays a part here (see section 5.4). Some literature was identified that considered immigrants' involvement with the politics of their home country through participation in UK domestic politics.

Key findings.

- Little research focussed specifically on migrant populations.
- Voting registration and turnout varied considerably between ethnic groups.
- Minority ethnic candidates were under-represented at the national and local levels.
- Evidence was found that migrants favour participation at the grass-roots level.
- Evidence was found to support the view that the migrant population is a significant lobbying group.

4.3.1 Participation in national and local politics

- Voting registration and turnout varied considerably between ethnic groups in the 1997 General Election, with Black people the least likely to participate (Anwar, 2002, Purdam and Fieldhouse, 2002).
- Although the number of minority ethnic candidates at local and national levels was increasing, they were still significantly under-represented by this measure (Anwar, 2002).
- The majority of minority ethnic groups voted for the Labour Party in the 1997 General Election, although there were area variations (Anwar, 2001, Joly, 2001).
- The socio-economic circumstances and geographical arrangement of minority ethnic groups affected their political behaviour and their impact on local politics (Purdam and Fieldhouse, 2002, Joly, 2001, Crowley, 2001, Garbaye, 2002, Back et al. 2004).
- Political participation is complex and extends beyond voting and standing as candidates to involvement in grass roots, community and other political organisations. It is affected by history of migration and political involvement in the home and host country. Hence, literature has not considered the full extent of political participation (Back et al., 2004, Shukra et al., 2004, Solomos et al., 2004)
- Literature had focussed on race issues in relation to participation, which may no longer be applicable to migrant political participation, with the increasing numbers of White migrants (Solomos et al., 2004)

Migrants' impact on national and local politics depends, firstly, on whether they are eligible to participate and, secondly, on the ways in which they participate. One form of participation is voting and standing as candidates in local and national elections. Five pieces of literature were identified on this subject, but all of these discussed minority ethnic group participation rather than migrant participation. Three pieces of qualitative research (two of which came from the same research programme) discussed other forms of minority ethnic and migrant political participation and historical changes in participation.

Anwar's (2001) study of empirical data from the 1997 General Election and the 1998 local elections found that a higher proportion (26 percent) of Black people were not registered to vote in comparison to Asian people (19 percent) and White people (18 percent). A report for the Electoral Commission (Purdam and Fieldhouse, 2002) supported these findings: Indian nationals were more likely to vote than White people, while people of Black Caribbean and Black African ethnicity were the least likely to vote.

The number of minority ethnic MPs increased in Britain from six in 1992 to 12 following the 2001 General Election (Purdam and Fieldhouse, 2002, Anwar, 2002). However, representation in proportion to population would result in 42 ethnic minority MPs (Anwar, 2001). Minority ethnic groups were proportionally under-represented in the House of Lords^{xiii}, and no minority ethnic candidates (refers to non-White British ethnic minorities) were elected to the Scottish Parliament or the Welsh Assembly in 2001 (Purdam and Fieldhouse, 2002). At local level, in 1996 it was estimated that there were around 600 local councillors of minority ethnic background in Britain, out of a total of around 25,000 (Garbaye, 2002). Anwar (2002) noted that minority ethnic Labour Party MPs improved their share of the vote significantly in the 1997 General Election, although it was not known whether the gain in votes was from minority ethnic participation or an increase in votes from all ethnic groups. Where efforts had been made by the Conservative Party and Liberal Democrats to support minority ethnic candidates, they received a substantial share of the vote (ibid.).

Minority ethnic groups have historically voted for and been linked to the Labour Party; in the 1980s an unofficial Labour Party Black Section was formed (Anwar, 2001). More recently, in the 1997 General Election, a significant majority of minority ethnic groups voted for the Labour Party, although there were area variations (Anwar, 2001, Joly, 2001). The Labour Party had a particularly strong following in Manchester, Wolverhampton, Coventry, Bradford, Leicester and many boroughs of London (Joly, 2001). Garbaye (2002) found that the number of minority ethnic independent candidates in Birmingham was increasing towards the end of the 1990s.

Purdam and Fieldhouse (2002) stated that political parties that exclusively represented minority ethnic groups have had little electoral impact. This was supported by a study of minority ethnic politics in Birmingham. Crowley's 2001 study attempts to involve minority ethnic groups in specific advisory and consultative bodies were broadly unsuccessful. However, minority ethnic groups were more likely to participate when consultative bodies and interest groups focussed on specific community issues rather than on ethnic issues *per se* (ibid.). For example, over the years, many large ethnic minority organisations had become actively associated with Birmingham City Council's urban regeneration programmes (ibid.).

The literature identified other factors related to minority ethnic participation. Purdam and Fieldhouse (2002) and Crowley (2001) highlighted the fact that similarities in minority ethnic groups' socio-economic circumstances may be equally, if not more, important than their ethnicity in determining their political behaviour, particularly at a local level (Garbaye, 2002). Minority ethnic groups experienced higher levels of social and economic deprivation, lived in predominantly urban areas where turnout rates tended to be lower than the average, and tended to have a younger profile (Purdam and Fieldhouse, 2002). However, Joly (2001), Crowley (2001), Garbaye (2002) and Back et al. (2004) highlighted that high concentrations of minority ethnic groups in certain geographical areas, increased their political clout, as they quite often represented a majority of the electorate in inner-city wards and a substantial minority in some parliamentary constituencies.

Back et al. (2004), Shukra et al. (2004) and Solomos et al. (2004) highlighted that political participation was complex and extended beyond participation in local and national elections. Back et al. carried out qualitative research on engagement in local politics, interviewing individuals in education, welfare, voluntary and community institutions and organisations. Shukra et al. and Solomos et al. conducted qualitative research for the Economic and Social Research Council, involving case studies of political involvement in Lewisham, Tower Hamlets and Birmingham. Back et al. and Solomos et al. discussed the links between community involvement (which was related

to religious activities) and political participation. For example, Solomos et al. found that key political actors in mainstream politics came through other political channels at a more grass roots level, for example, as community leaders or members of trades unions (see section 4.3.2). Thus, immigrants participated in politics at grass roots level, which also impacted on politics at a national level (see section 4.2.1 for similar findings on participation in civil society). Back et al. interviewed respondents who felt that involvement in faith communities was more effective and ethical than involvement in party politics or conventional political institutions. Similarly, Solomos et al. found that all the Black and minority ethnic communities were disillusioned with mainstream political institutions, which had prompted their involvement in grass roots and other political organisations.

Shukra et al. (2004) and Solomos et al. (2004) considered in particular the impact of minority ethnic groups' involvement in the transitional public sphere. They defined this sphere as organisations that defended or advanced the interests of minority ethnic communities and which, unlike grass roots organisations, considered strategy and policy rather than service delivery or single issues. Shukra et al. (2004) provided a history of minority ethnic participation in the transitional public sphere. Particularly noted were the National Black Caucus (NBC), the 1990 Trust, Operation Black Vote (OBV) and the National Civil Rights Movement (NCRM). Set up in 1986, the NBC was the first umbrella organisation to form outside the Labour Party and state institutions that moved beyond single-issue campaigns, and the 1990 Trust provided the research and policy elements that the NBC was missing. OBV, set up in 1996, aimed initially to encourage greater participation of Black communities in the 1997 General Election through greater registration and has since expanded its activities. NCRM was established in March 1999 in the wake of the Macpherson Report into a high profile legal case - the murder of a black youth, Stephen Lawrence. The NCRM is linked to law and advice agencies, and campaigns to enable people to use political and administrative processes in their favour and to give cases a higher profile through media publicity. Thus, the impact of minority ethnic groups on the political arena is directly linked to social and political events that have occurred in the UK and in home countries (see section 4.3.3).

Shukra et al. (2004) and Solomos et al. (2004) discussed the way in which migrants' involvement in, and impact on, politics had changed over time, with political power changing over from grass roots organisations to organisations in the transitional sphere. They noted the increasing professionalism of social movement actors with regard to their jobs, involvement in mainstream political institutions, communication skills, funds and staffing of organisations, ability to work with the media and the organisation of high-profile activities. The researchers found that political participation was intricately linked with histories of political involvement both before and after migration. Solomos et al. suggested that there was a difference between the political involvement of post-war citizen migrants from former British colonies and new political formations on the rights of asylum seekers and refugees. They also highlighted that literature on the political participation of minority ethnic groups had focussed on racial issues, which was no longer applicable to current trends in migration with increasing numbers of White migrants.

The literature reviewed here indicates that ethnic groups' socio-economic status affects political participation among migrants. Younger members of the UK electorate have a much lower participation rate than older members. In addition, differences in participation were found at the local or grass roots level as compared to the mainstream level.

4.3.2 Participation in trades unions and workers' associations

- No research was found on the impact of migrants' involvement in trades unions.
- Migrants tended to make up a significant proportion of union membership and, as a result, specific policies have been developed in the Trades Union Congress (TUC) to support migrant workers.

No research was found specifically on the impact of migrants' involvement in trades unions. Two pieces of literature were identified on this area: a report by the TUC on

migrants in trades unions, written primarily for trade union representatives, and a literature review that referred briefly to trades unions.

The TUC (2002) guide on migrant workers (definition not stated) in the UK described some of the impacts that migrants had on union policies and practices. Migrant workers made up a significant proportion of union membership and unions that had high numbers of migrants had developed specific policies to support them. For example, in support of migrant teachers the National Union of Teachers (NUT) was keen to ensure that local education authorities provided guidance to schools on race equality issues; it was the public services' union, UNISON's policy that work permits should not be needed for nursing, in light of nursing shortages. Unions were encouraged to translate literature into migrants' languages and to contact migrant NGOs for advice and support, and maintain links with migrant communities, for example, by linking meetings with other activities common to the group. Trades unions had also consulted with, campaigned and lobbied the Government on policies that affected migrant workers. In the past, the Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU) had campaigned for the regularisation of undocumented domestic workers. The TUC supported government policies to stop the exploitation of migrant workers, make them aware of their rights and challenge race discrimination at work. Joly (2001) also highlighted worker associations' role in challenging racial discrimination.

According to the TUC (2002), unions also assisted migrant workers on an individual basis, for example, making sure they had the necessary documents to work. Unions could assist with issues of qualification and training recognition. Unions had been actively involved in speaking to existing and prospective employers and immigration authorities if migrants on work permits were unhappy with their employer. They had also intervened on some occasions when immigration authorities had given a negative decision on allowing an individual to stay.

Migrant workers had also impacted on trades unions' involvement and relationship with international unions. For example, if membership of a UK union depended on a migrant

having a particular recognised qualification, some unions took the view that they would accept any qualifications that were acceptable to sister international unions. One issue that a number of unions addressed was whether they were able to offer reciprocal agreements with unions in other countries, so that migrant workers who were already members of a union in another country could have immediate access to the union's services in the UK.

Although little information regarding the impact which migrants have on trades unions was uncovered within this review, it is apparent that migrants have had an impact, for example, trades unions now pay attention to the rights and conditions of work of the migrant workforce.

4.3.3 Engagement with politics in home countries through UK politics

- Events in migrants' home countries can prompt political action in the host country (Back et al., 2004).
- Migrants can choose to vote for UK political parties whose foreign policy supports their home country politics (Ostergaard-Nielson, 2003).

An additional dynamic of political engagement in Britain is migrants' engagement with politics and political parties in their country of origin (Purdam and Fieldhouse, 2002). Three pieces of research were identified on this subject.

Back et al. (2004) noted that events in migrants' home countries could prompt action in the host country. For example, several Islamic groups joined national coalitions in the UK to mobilise against the 2003 war in Iraq.

Ostergaard-Nielson (2003) carried out a qualitative research on the Turkish Cypriot community in London, which is at least half the size of the 164,000 population in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). The researcher interviewed leaders of key Turkish Cypriot organisations in London, policy makers in Britain, policy makers and

representatives from trades unions, NGOs and business associations and journalists in the TRNC, supplemented with archival research in parliamentary proceedings and the press in both countries. Political parties in the TRNC attempted to tap into the political and economic resources of the London-based Turkish Cypriots through information campaigns directed at UK-based Turkish Cypriots, the wider British population and politicians. However, Ostergaard-Nielson stated that it was difficult to assess the impact of Turkish Cypriot lobbying on British foreign policy attitudes to the Cyprus issue. They concluded that the greatest influence that Turkish Cypriots have had on British foreign policy was through their vote in domestic politics (see Garbaye's comments in section 4.3.1). Thus, the conflict in Cyprus featured in the election campaign in North London during the last two general elections.

In contrast to the above literature, Koopmans (2004) studied public political debate, or 'claims-making'^{xiv} through content coding of the Guardian (left of centre) newspaper; UK migrants' claims making was highly focussed on integration and citizenship rights, rather than on issues relating to their country of origin. This suggested, perhaps, that migrants had a greater impact on domestic rather than foreign policy.

Although not an area covered by this project's specification, research into the potential of migrants to influence foreign policy was discovered and should be taken into consideration. The migrant population is potentially a significant lobbying group and, as such, may be able to exert a certain degree of pressure on political parties.

5. Factors impacting on immigrants: provision of support and restrictions

Reception and support measures adopted by the Government, NGOs and welfare institutions may affect the extent and nature of immigrants' impact on the UK. In this section, the social position of immigrants in the UK, regulation of the labour and housing markets, entitlements to public services and political participation rights are discussed.

5.1 The social position of immigrants in the UK

Spencer's (2004) findings, from reviewing public attitude surveys, were that British attitudes towards immigrants were consistently more negative than the EU average, while being more positive than other Europeans about racial and cultural diversity. MORI (2002) carried out a nationally representative survey and a booster minority ethnic group survey and found that, among the overall population, 61 percent felt that there were too many immigrants in Britain, and 46 percent of minority ethnic groups agreed with this statement. Both MORI (2002) and Spencer (2004) found that asylum seekers were the group about whom people were most likely to hold negative attitudes and opinion polls confirmed that people perceived the press coverage of asylum seekers as overwhelmingly negative (Spencer, 2004). There were mixed findings with regard to racial prejudice. MORI (2002) found that 15 percent highlighted race relations as a major issue facing the country, rising to 26 percent among minority ethnic groups. However, when thinking about problems in their local area, only five percent said that poor race relations was a negative feature. Similarly, findings from the Home Office Citizenship Survey 2001 (Attwood et al. 2003) were that two in every five respondents felt that there was more racial prejudice in Britain today than five years ago, one in six felt there was less, and one in three people thought that there was about the same amount.

5.2 Regulation of the labour market and other entitlements

Labour market

There are many routes through which non-EEA nationals have been able to apply to work in the UK. Each route has different requirements and each category of employment has different employment rights. These rights are further complicated by the fact that some third country nationals are in employment situations that entitle them to benefit from some aspects of the European law. The majority of documented labour migrants arrive under work permit schemes.

Box 3: The main routes of entry into the UK, requirements and restrictions (as at 31st January, 2005).

Route of entry	Entry requirements and restrictions
Work permits	A UK employer must apply for the permit from Work Permits (UK). If the job is not in a category that is listed as having labour shortages, the application is subject to a labour market test. Special provisions are made for entertainers and sports people. After four years, migrants under the main scheme can apply for settlement in the UK. Dependants are permitted to join the applicant. Sectors-based scheme form part of the work permit scheme (see below).
Sectors-based scheme (SBS)	Workers aged 18-30 from outside the EEA can apply for low-skilled jobs in the hospitality and food manufacturing industries. An employer in the UK must apply initially for the permit. In 2003-2004 there were 20,000 places available. Permission to work is given for 12 months. An extension of a further 12 months is possible. Switching to another employment area is allowed and, again, the UK employer has to apply. Dependants are not allowed.

Route of entry	Entry requirements and restrictions
Highly Skilled Migrants Programme (HSMP)	HSMP is a separate scheme within the work permit system, designed to attract entrepreneurs and high-flyers. Applicants apply themselves and do not need to have employment before arriving. Successful applicants must demonstrate that they have a sufficient number of labour market points (75 or more). Highly skilled migrants are granted leave to enter for one year and can remain in the UK if they find a position that is appropriate for their skill level. They may apply for settlement after four years.
Seasonal agricultural workers scheme (SAWS)	Students aged 18 or over who are from outside the EEA can apply. The work is low-skilled. Employers in the UK must apply for the permit. In 2003-2004 there were 25,000 places available, but in light of the expansion of the European Union the SAWS quota for 2005 has been reduced by 35% to 16,250 places. This reduction directly reflects the percentage of SAWS participants originating from the accession states prior to 1 May 2004. Applicants take part for a minimum of five weeks and a maximum of six months at a time. They are expected to leave the UK when the permission to stay terminates. Applicants may apply for the scheme again after three months outside the UK if they continue to satisfy Home Office rules. Switching into another area of employment is not allowed. An extension of up to six months is possible. Dependants are not allowed.
Business men/women, innovators and investors	<p>Business men/women and innovators must provide a detailed business plan of the full-time business they are intending to run in the UK. They must provide evidence that the business will create at least two full-time jobs for people in the UK. Investors are people who have at least £1m to invest in the UK and who wish to make the UK their main home. Investors are not permitted to work in the UK as an employee but may be self-employed or hold a non-executive directorship. For more information on the criteria, see www.workingintheuk.gov.uk</p> <p>Business men/women, innovators and investors can stay in the UK for up to four years, after which they can apply for permanent settlement as long as the UK has been their permanent home for the previous four years. Spouses and dependants are permitted under all these schemes.</p>

Route of entry	Entry requirements and restrictions
Au pairs	Young, single people between 17 and 27 years of age can apply to come to the UK to study English as au pairs. They are required to help in the home of a native family for up to five hours a day, with a suggested allowance of £55 per week. Applicants must be from one of the following countries: Andorra, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Republic of Bulgaria, Croatia, Faroe Islands, Greenland, Macedonia, Monaco, Romania, San Marino or Turkey. Au pairs can stay in the UK for a maximum of two years. Dependants are not permitted.
Working holidaymakers	Young people between 17 and 30 years of age can apply to come to the UK under this scheme, for a maximum of two years. The main purpose of their visit must be holidaying but they are allowed to take up paid work, for a maximum of 12 months. Working holidaymakers are not permitted to bring dependants over five years of age. Switching is restricted to occupations on the shortage occupations list.
UK ancestry	Commonwealth citizens with a grandparent born in the UK can come to take or seek employment without restrictions. Dependants are permitted under this scheme and migrants can apply for permanent settlement after four years.
Permit-free categories of employment	<p>Some third country nationals are able to work in the UK without a permit, provided that they have UK entry clearance from abroad. These are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • representatives of overseas newspapers, news agencies, broadcasting organisations, and overseas firms that have no branch, subsidiary or other representative in the UK; • private servants in diplomatic households; • overseas government employees; • ministers of religions, missionaries and members of religious orders; and • Airport-based operational ground staff of overseas-owned airlines. <p>Workers are granted leave to remain for a period of four years. Dependants are permitted and spouses can work on an unrestricted basis. After four years, permit-free workers can apply for permanent settlement.</p>

Route of entry	Entry requirements and restrictions
Labour market access for students	Students are allowed to take up part-time employment during term time (not exceeding 20 hours a week) and full-time employment in holidays if requested and granted on entry to the UK. Students are allowed to apply for a work permit after they graduate. Non-visa nationals admitted in another category are no longer permitted to switch into the student category to study on courses below degree level.
Asylum seekers	Asylum seekers are not allowed to seek employment unless they apply under exceptional circumstances. Once they have refugee status, there are no restrictions on their access to the labour market.
Refugees and dependants	Spouses of those on the main work permit scheme are permitted to work without a permit if they are in the UK for over 12 months. Spouses admitted prior to, or for, settlement are permitted to work. Spouses and children of investors are permitted to work in the UK while they are dependants. Those granted entry as fiancé(e)s are not allowed to work in the period before they are married.

There are several other narrower labour routes:

- domestic work;
- entertainers;
- film crew on location;
- gap year entrants;
- Japan youth exchange;
- postgraduate doctors and dentists;
- sports people;
- voluntary workers.

For information on these, please refer to the website:

http://www.workingintheuk.gov.uk/working_in_the_uk/en/homepage/schemes_and_programmes.html.

5.3 Entitlement to public services

Rules on migrants' access to public services and benefits are complex. There are different rules depending on the category of migrant and that of any accompanying dependants. Factors affecting entitlement, other than the grounds of entry (see section 5.2), include length of residence, whether their country of origin has a reciprocal arrangement for providing services, the nature of any illness requiring treatment, and the nature of the course of study which a student is undertaking.

Health

Working migrants, those with indefinite leave to remain (ILR), refugee status and asylum seekers have access to full NHS hospital treatment. Migrants may have to pay for NHS hospital treatment if they are not 'ordinarily resident' or are not exempt from charges. The regulations exempt certain services from charges, including emergency treatment, treatment for communicable diseases and treatment under the Mental Health Act. A number of inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations provide health and mental health services specifically for refugees and asylum seekers.

Benefits

Migrants coming to the UK to work, dependants of work permit holders, students, and fiancé(e)s are not entitled to any form of assistance from public funds; that is, they cannot be housed in social housing as a homeless person, cannot receive support from social services, and do not have access to non-contributory benefits such as Child Benefit. If paying National Insurance (NI) contributions, migrant workers can gain entitlement to certain contributory benefits, provided that they have the necessary contributions record.

Refugees have the same welfare entitlements as the indigenous population. Asylum seekers can apply to the National Asylum Support Service (NASS) for support with

living costs, subject to restrictions on when the application was made and the needs of individuals. NASS supports refugees for 28 days after being granted refugee status (or humanitarian protection or discretionary leave). A growing number of people are receiving an NI number along with the letter informing them of the positive decision with regard to their asylum claim. Alternatively, the individual is entitled to apply to the Department for Work and Pensions for a NI number. Absence of an NI number does not preclude the applicant from claiming benefit or from working as long as they can produce other supporting documents.

Housing

Migrants who are not allowed assistance from public funds (see section 5.3.2) are not eligible to access social housing provided by local authorities. Otherwise, migrants go through the same housing routes as the indigenous population. Au pairs are offered a room with a native family in return for their services.

Destitute asylum seekers can apply to NASS for support. Support provided is in the form of 'subsistence only' or 'accommodation and subsistence'. If the latter is required, then the asylum seeker will be offered accommodation on a no-choice basis and provided with weekly subsistence. If the applicant already has somewhere to live (with family or friends), subsistence only will be provided, i.e. no money will be provided to help to pay for the accommodation. Support is subject to restrictions based on when the application for asylum was made and the needs of the individual. Once asylum seekers are given refugee status, they have 28 days in which to find new accommodation.

Education

All migrant children are entitled to attend state schools. Restrictions on access to higher and further education relate to migrants' ability to pay overseas student fees or home fees. Refugees, au pairs, working holidaymakers, work permit holders and their

dependants, spouses, UK ancestry migrants, and business and self-employed migrants are accepted as home students.

There is as yet no national provision of language classes with citizenship programmes for new migrants, although these are being piloted with effect from October 2004. General language classes are provided by a number of local organisations: NGOs, schools, colleges, employers and local authorities, often with funding from the Learning and Skills Council. The Department for Education and Skills (DfES) is conducting a capacity review of English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) provision with a view to ensuring that resources are properly targeted.

5.4 Political participation rights

Third country migrants with UK citizenship are permitted to vote in local and national elections. Commonwealth citizens (and Irish nationals) who are resident in the UK are also eligible to vote. Other migrants are not permitted to vote.

Migrants can also participate in UK politics through their involvement in other political arenas (see section 4.3).

6. Conclusion

This review on the impact of immigration on UK society has been limited by time and remit. Only articles published from 2001 onwards and immediately accessible from databases subscribed to by the Home Office or from contacts known to IRSS, were reviewed. Some more innovative potential lines of enquiry were not pursued; for example, regarding the impact on civil society and culture, fashion schools were not contacted about the impact on fashion. Therefore, research pertinent to this review may exist without having been identified by the literature search.

Despite the limitations to this review, immigration can be said to have had a substantial impact on the UK.

6.1 General research gaps and problems

The research reviewed in this paper has been unable to provide detailed conclusive evidence on the impact that migration has had on the UK. However, on the whole, a positive impact is detectable in the chapters. The review may be criticised for not finding papers with more negative findings, perhaps a result of the methodology employed to find literature, but the approach was suitable for the purpose, and has been clearly documented to assist anyone who may wish to extend the review. The positive findings are in contrast to the apparently negative feelings exhibited towards migrants by the British public, the most negative in the EU, according to section 5.1. The remit of the project was limited to the sections outlined in this conclusion section; however, the largest gap in this review is a study of the impact of immigration on the attitudes of the British public. It may be that with an understanding of such attitudes, we can better appreciate the impact of migration on the UK in terms of its economy and society.

The review highlighted the fact that, while there is a large body of research on the impact that minority ethnic groups have had, there is, for some sections, little or no literature specifically on the impact that migrants have had.

A further complication is that studies that have focussed on migrants have found that different types of migrants have had different impacts (for example, highly skilled migrants on work permits as compared to asylum seekers). Therefore, more specific information on the range of migrant groups is needed to understand more fully the impact that migrants have had on the UK.

Small-scale studies provide valuable qualitative information about specific groups but cannot be generalised to the experiences of all migrants. These qualitative studies are resource-intensive but provide a more holistic understanding of the experiences of migrants. Some sections of the review, particularly the section on the impact on civil society and culture, rely on these smaller scale studies.

Equally, although large-scale surveys and administrative sources that collect data on migrants have the potential for providing quantitative information on different types of migrants, they also have substantial limitations, for example, due to poor data quality and small sample sizes (see section 2.2.2).

In addition, many of the arguments found in the literature were theoretical rather than based on empirical evidence.

6.2 Research gaps in the specific sections of the review

Impact on the economy

The largest body of research was found on migrants and employment in the UK, the impact of highly skilled migrants and how migrants have impacted on specific economic sectors. However, there were many research gaps as far as other sections of the economy were concerned, including migrants' fiscal impact, consumption and the impact on export and import. Research in these areas has not been helped by the lack of data on the skills of migrants.

Impact on civil society and culture

The largest body of research was found on the impact that migrants have had on the food industry, particularly in terms of the diet of the indigenous population. Little evidence was found on the impact on civil society, sport, fashion and music; however, one of the main difficulties with this area was establishing a valid measurement for migrants' contribution. This is an area, which could be explored further. While literature was identified on minority ethnic groups, little was found on the impact of migrants.

Impact on the political arena

Again, research in this area has been focussed on minority ethnic groups rather than on migrants; this may be because migrants' voting rights are limited unless they acquire citizenship. The largest body of research was on participation of minority ethnic groups in local and national politics. In addition, in some literature, evidence was found that suggested that in the UK, the migrant population is potentially a significant lobbying group – an area perhaps for more research. Little research was found on participation in trade union and workers' associations.

The research reviewed in this paper has explored many of the impacts that immigration has had on the UK, both positive and negative. The term 'migrants' encompasses a huge range of individuals from numerous countries, with different skills, who arrive in the UK under varying circumstances and for different purposes. Migrants have been coming to the UK in significant numbers since World War II. As a result, migrants have become part of UK society and have contributed to the changes in its economy and society that have taken place over the past 60 years. Quantifying the impact that migrants have had on the UK is extremely difficult and, when discussing this topic, one must define which migrants are being discussed, the ways in which they are impacting, and over what period of time. Further research on the areas outlined above would present us with a more comprehensive understanding of how migrants have contributed, and continue to contribute, to the UK.

ⁱPersons granted asylum, excluding persons granted indefinite leave to remain (ILR) and their dependants, persons granted exceptional leave to remain (ELR) after an asylum application and their dependants, port asylum seekers given ILR immediately following a grant of asylum and their dependants, port asylum seekers who had applied prior to July 1993 and were given ILE under the backlog criteria in the 1998 White Paper without their claim being considered, agricultural workers, domestic workers, ministers of religion, investors, retired persons of independent means, common-law spouses admitted for a probationary year, common-law spouses of diplomats, dependants of persons with UK grandparents, postgraduate doctors or dentists and their dependants, same sex partner of diplomats, same sex partner admitted for a probationary year, children given leave to enter for a probationary year as dependants or parents settled in the UK, diplomats, consular officers or persons on Foreign and Commonwealth Government mission, dependants of students and student nurses, other passengers given leave to enter who are not included in any other category, au pair adjustment and non-controlled category.

ⁱⁱONS produces adjusted and unadjusted figures from the IPS. The adjusted figures take account of the fact that IPS data are unlikely to include persons seeking asylum after they have entered the country and other persons admitted as short-term visitors who are subsequently granted an extension to stay for a year or longer.

ⁱⁱⁱLFS was not started until 1973, and Home Office Control of Immigration statistics were collected from 1979.

^{iv}*Ibid.* ii.

^v With the exception of hotel and catering, for which there was a quota.

^{vi} First permission – similar to the work permit, but granted for foreign workers who are already living in the UK who do not already have a permit to work.

^{vii} ‘Other’ refers to British Overseas Citizens and nationality unknown.

^{viii} Because of rounding, the figures showing the number of immigrants by purpose of journey are larger than those by nationality. The numbers of immigrants by nationality are a more accurate representation of the raw data, and should be referred to for an approximation of the inflow to the UK.

^{ix} A residential district where there is a concentration of ethnic minority individuals.

^x The phrase ‘activity or venture’ was used to capture as much social entrepreneurial activity as possible and distinguish small-scale ‘charity-type’ organisations from social enterprises that fund their activities through revenue.

^{xi} Civic participation was defined as engaging in at least one of a range of nine activities. These are: signing a petition, contacting a public official working for a local council, contacting a public official working for the Greater London Assembly or the National Assembly for Wales (where appropriate), contacting a public official working for part of central government, contacting a local councillor, contacting a member of the Greater London Assembly or the National Assembly for Wales (where appropriate), contacting a Member of Parliament, attending a public meeting or rally, and taking part in a public demonstration or protest.

^{xii} Informal volunteering was defined as giving unpaid help to others who are not members of the family. Formal volunteering was defined as giving unpaid help through groups, clubs or organisations to benefit other people or the environment.

^{xiii} As the House of Lords consists partly of hereditary peers, minority ethnic groups are less likely to be represented.

^{xiv} Claims-making is defined as “the collective and public articulation of political demands, calls to action, proposals, criticisms, or physical attacks, which, actually or potentially, affect the interests or integrity of the claimants or other collective actors” (Koopmans 2004).

Appendix 1: Search terms and electronic databases

Search terms

Impact on the economy

1. (migr* OR immigr* OR ethnic* OR "asylum seeker" OR refugee OR "guest worker*" OR "seasonal worker*" OR resettle*) AND (impact OR effect OR influence) AND (econom* OR labour OR tax OR pension OR welfare OR benefit OR trade OR employ* OR entrepreneur OR skill OR fiscal OR consum* OR growth OR imports OR exports) AND (UK OR "United Kingdom" OR Scotland OR "Northern Ireland" OR Wales)

Impact on the civil society and the cultural context

2. (migr* OR immigr* OR ethnic* OR "asylum seeker" OR refugee OR "guest worker*" OR "seasonal worker*" OR resettle*) AND (impact OR effect OR influence) AND ("civil society" OR cultur* OR media OR arts OR sport* OR fashion OR food OR cuisine) AND (UK OR "United Kingdom" OR Scotland OR "Northern Ireland" OR Wales)

Impact on political arenas

3. (migr* OR immigr* OR ethnic* OR "asylum seeker" OR refugee OR "guest worker*" OR "seasonal worker*" OR resettle*) AND (involve* OR participat*) AND (volunt* OR elect* NOT electronic OR politic* OR community OR "NGO" OR "non-governmental organi*ation*" OR grass-root* OR non-profit* OR relig*) AND (UK OR "United Kingdom" OR Scotland OR "Northern Ireland" OR Wales)

Databases

Name	Description
ASSIA	Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts is an abstracting and indexing tool, updated monthly, covering health, social services, psychology, sociology, economics, politics, race relations and education. Accessed via Cambridge Scientific Abstracts.
British Library Inside Web	An indexing service containing article level information from more than 20,000 of the world's research journals, in all subjects, and over 100,000 conference proceedings. Covers the years 1993 to date.
IBSS	The International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS) is an online resource for social science and interdisciplinary research. It includes references to journal articles, books and reviews back to 1951.
PAIS international	Public Affairs Information Services is a bibliographic database covering the social sciences with emphasis on contemporary public issues and the making and evaluating of public policy.
Social services abstracts	Social services abstracts provides bibliographic coverage of current research focused on social work, human services, and related areas, including social welfare, social policy, and community development.
Sociological abstracts	Covers an international selection of journals, conference papers, books and dissertations in the social and behavioural sciences. Contains citations only from 1963, with abstracts from 1974.
Sociology: a SAGE full text collection	Includes the full-text of 28 journals published by SAGE and participating societies. It covers such subjects as Childhood, Contemporary Sociology, Comparative Sociology, Consumer Culture, Classical Sociology, Ethnic Studies, Gender Studies, Leisure Studies, Social Theory, Sociology of Sport, and Sociology of Work and Employment.
EconLit	Comprehensive, indexed bibliography with selected abstracts of the world's economic literature produced by the American Economic Association. Accessed through SilverPlatter.
Index to These	A comprehensive listing of theses with abstracts accepted for higher degrees by universities in Great Britain and Ireland since 1716.
Lexis Nexis	This service provides access to 11,000 News publications & sources offering local / regional / national / European / international coverage from the 1980s to today, Includes full text access to UK national newspapers and many UK local newspapers. This database is expensive which means library staff will do the searching on the user's behalf.
SIGLE	System for Information on Grey Literature in Europe provides access to reports and other grey literature produced in Europe.
Social SciSearch	International, multidisciplinary index to the literature of the social, behavioural and related sciences. Social SciSearch contains all the records published in the Social Sciences Citation Index.

Appendix 2: List of individuals contacted from whom a response was received

Academics

Dr Tony Morgan, Anglia Polytechnic
Dr Tahir Abbas, Birmingham University
Prof Tariq Modood, Bristol University
Dr Alice Bloch, London Metropolitan University
Dr Matloob Piracha, University of Kent
Prof Panikos Panyani, De Montford University
Dr Pontus Odmalm, Sussex University
Dr Ben Rogaly, Sussex University
Dr Ken Lunn, Portsmouth University
Dr Parvati Raghuram, Nottingham Trent University
Mr David Stead, Loughborough University
Dr Liza Schuster, London School of Economics
Dr Mark Johnson, De Montford and Warwick University
Prof John Solomos, City University
Dr Anne Kershen, Queen Mary University of London
Prof Ian Henry, Loughborough University
Prof Joseph Maguire, Loughborough University

NGOs

Mr Don Flynn, Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants
Ms Sanja Potnar, World University Service
Ms Ana Fonseca, International Organisation for Migration
Ms Nicola Hemmings, International Organisation for Migration
Ms Anna Reisenberger, Refugee Council
Mr Patrick Wintour, Employability Forum
Mr Sandy Buchan, Refugee Action

Mr Tesfaye Gojjie, Refugee Action

Ms Francesca Hopwood, Institute for Public Policy Research

Mr Danny Sriskandarajah, Institute for Public Policy Research

Dr Heaven Crawley, Asylum Migration Race and Equalities Consulting

Ms Ludmilla Jordanova, Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities

Mr Nick Rowe, Sport England

Dr Martin Ruhs, Centre on Migration, Policy and Society

Ms Nikki Crane, Arts Council

Government departments

Dr Elaine Wedlock, Home Office Communities Research Group

Dr Gurchand Singh, Home Office Communities Research Group

Ms Meta Zimmeck, Home Office Communities Research Group

Ms Rakshita Patel, Home Office Communities Research Group

Mr Jeremy Kempton, Home Office Economic and Resource Analysis Programme

Mr Tim Wyndham, Home Office Economic and Resource Analysis Programme

Mr James Noble, Home Office Immigration Research and Statistics Service

Mr David Halpern, Cabinet Office

Mr David Purdy, Small Businesses Service

Ms Luisa Zenobi-Bird, Department for Culture, Media and Sports

Mr Rae Whittaker, Department for Culture, Media and Sports

Ms Jane Rushton, Department for Work and Pensions

Appendix 3: Websites searched

- Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) www.ippr.org
- National Institute for Economic and Social Research (NIESR) www.niesr.ac.uk
- Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) www.cre.gov.uk
- Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees (ICAR) www.icar.org.uk
- London School of Economics Centre for Civil Society www.lse.ac.uk/collections/ccs/
- Sussex Centre for Migration Studies www.sussex.ac.uk/migration/publications/
- Trade Union Councils (TUC) www.tuc.org.uk
- Migration Policy Institute (MPI) www.migrationpolicy.org
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) www.oecd.org
- Economic and Social Research Centre (ESRC) www.esrc.org

Appendix 4: Glossary

CID - Case Information Database

DfES - Department for Education and Skills

EBBA - English basketball association

ECAA – European Community Association Agreements

EEA - European Economic Area

EEC - European Economic Community

ESOL - English for Speakers of Other Languages.

ILR - Indefinite Leave to Remain

IPS - International Passenger Survey

GDP - Gross Domestic Product

HO - Home Office

HSMP - Highly skilled migrant programme

IRSS - Immigration Research and Statistics Service

LFS - Labour Force Survey

NASS - National Asylum Support Service

NBC - National Black Caucus

NCRM – National Civil Rights Movement

NGO - Non Governmental Organisation

NHS - National Health Service

N.I. Number - National Insurance Number

OBV - Operation Black Vote

OECD - Organisation for Economic co-ordination and development

ONS - Office for National Statistics

RAF - Royal Air Force

TRNC - Turkish republic northern Cyprus

TUC - Trade Union Congress

Appendix 5: Bibliography

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