

Multicultural Britain of the 21st Century

Olga Chudíčková

Bachelor Thesis
2011



Tomas Bata University in Zlín
Faculty of Humanities

Univerzita Tomáše Bati ve Zlíně
Fakulta humanitních studií
Ústav anglistiky a amerikanistiky
akademický rok: 2010/2011

ZADÁNÍ BAKALÁŘSKÉ PRÁCE

(PROJEKTU, UMĚLECKÉHO DÍLA, UMĚLECKÉHO VÝKONU)

Jméno a příjmení: **Olga CHUDÍČKOVÁ**
Osobní číslo: **H080238**
Studijní program: **B 7310 Filologie**
Studijní obor: **Anglický jazyk pro manažerskou praxi**

Téma práce: **Multikulturní Británie 21.století**

Zásady pro vypracování:

**Vysvětlete, co je to multikulturalismus a objasněte další příbuzné pojmy .
Prozkoumejte historii multikulturalismu a imigrace ve Velké Británii.
Uvedte hlavní zastoupení národnostních menšin v současné Británii a jejich postavení
v rámci státu.
Zamyslete se nad budoucností a perspektivami multikulturní Británie.**

Rozsah bakalářské práce:

Rozsah příloh:

Forma zpracování bakalářské práce: **tištěná/elektronická**

Seznam odborné literatury:

Julios, Christina. *Contemporary British Identity: English Language, Migrants, and Public Discourse*. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2008.

McGhee, Derek. *The End of Multiculturalism?: Terrorism, Integration and Human Rights*. Berkshire: Open University Press, 2008.

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Runnymede Trust. *Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain*, and Bhikhu C.Parekh. *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain: The Parekh Report*. London: Profile Books, 2000.

Vedoucí bakalářské práce:

Mgr. Helena Janasová

Ústav anglistiky a amerikanistiky

Datum zadání bakalářské práce:

1. února 2011

Termín odevzdání bakalářské práce:

6. května 2011

Ve Zlíně dne 1. února 2011



prof. PhDr. Vlastimil Švec, CSc.
děkan



doc. Ing. Anežka Lengálová, Ph.D.
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ABSTRAKT

Tato práce zkoumá a objasňuje současnou situaci v tzv. multikulturní Británii, tedy situaci 21. století, kdy vláda zaujala zcela odlišný postoj, nežli tomu bylo na začátku 50. let 20. století po velké poválečné vlně imigrace. Mluví se o úpadku či zániku tohoto pojmu. Co způsobilo tento zánik a jaký je nový přístup? V této práci se rovněž zaměřuji na objasnění ostatních vládních politik či přístupů k imigraci, stručnou historii imigrace a co znamená multikulturalismus jako takový. V práci zmiňuji také život a postavení menšin v politické, ekonomické a sociální sféře.

Klíčová slova: multikulturalismus, etnické menšiny, integrace, imigrace, multikulturní Británie

ABSTRACT

This bachelor thesis examines and clarifies a current situation in so-called multicultural Britain, the situation of the 21st century where the government had taken a completely different position than the one it took in the early 1950s after the great wave of post-war immigration. It is talked about a decline or demise of the concept. What caused the extinction and what is the new approach? This work also focuses on clarifying other government policies and approaches to immigration, brief history of immigration and what the term multiculturalism means as such. The thesis also examines life and status of minorities in political, economic and social sphere.

Keywords: multiculturalism, ethnic minorities, integration, immigration, multicultural Britain

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank my bachelor thesis supervisor Mgr. Helena Janasová for her willingness to help, her great attitude, good advice, suggestions and for the assistance with the writing process. I am also very grateful to my precious family which supported me during creation of my thesis, while providing me with calm and pleasant working environment.

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INTRODUCTION

One of the biggest questions societies face today concerns how to deal with cultural diversity of different ethnic minorities and how to manage it in a society effectively. This is an ongoing question in current Britain.

The United Kingdom has always welcomed newcomers. Over the centuries Britain has accepted many immigrants from various countries and, thus, many different ethnic groups have settled there. They were needed in the labour market and the most significant wave of immigrants which influenced the structure of the contemporary British society was a large post-war immigration. The main result of immigration is the cultural diversity which transformed Britain notably. Over the time there were multiple responses to the question how to deal with the phenomenon of immigration. In this thesis two main responses are presented which tried to solve the problem of accommodating immigrants. By denying assimilation, British Islands became a multicultural society.

Multiculturalism distinctively changed the social landscape of Britain. Many people in Britain are familiar with the term, even though this topic is highly controversial and sometimes provides us with vague definitions. In fact, it is a term which is full of contradictions and it is hard to interpret its meaning precisely. There are countless lively discussions about multiculturalism in Britain, ranging from newspapers and television reports to academic papers, each offering its distinctive but mostly critical opinions.

Britain has always been a place where immigrants had the right to retain their cultural distinctiveness. In principle, multiculturalism benefits ethnic minorities. They are allowed to maintain their distinct cultures and not forced to assimilate to majority culture, as in the case of France.

The aim of this thesis is to explore how multiculturalism became a central point of criticism in response to fear of Muslims and Islam religion. Multiculturalism is blamed for encouraging segregation and extremism. The core of the problem is Islamist terrorism which resulted in an urgent need to integrate Muslims into British society. Multicultural Britain favoured different ethnic minorities, celebrated diversity, encouraged differences but completely forgot about common values and about fundamental things that hold British society together. Unfortunately, the whole society seems to experience a lack of shared values. British government found out that this freedom provided to all ethnic minorities in Britain have threatened the national unity and the sense of *Britishness*. British government have to face a tough task - how to achieve a desired balance between encouraging a

common sense of belonging and social cohesion but, at the same time, maintain some respect for cultural differences.

Since then the government talk about the failure of multiculturalism. The main focus of my bachelor thesis is to examine why multiculturalism became outdated and why British government enforced a new concept of integration.

1 MULTICULTURALISM AND RELATED TERMS

The term multiculturalism combines several different levels. On a sociological level it concerns ethnic minorities and their coexistence within a society, having their own sense of identity. This can also be viewed as a political concept. Considering the approach of the government which this thesis mainly deals with, multiculturalism was implemented as an official policy of the United Kingdom in the 1950s (lasted till the 1980s), while promoted by the previous Labour government. This policy was a very controversial one and it caused many disputes.

Multiculturalism was created as a solution of accommodating immigrants who were arriving in Britain, especially those from the post-war countries and New Commonwealth immigration. These years meant a large transformation for Britain.¹ Since then multiculturalism became an inseparable part of the political and social life of Britain.

Firstly, it is important to say that multiculturalism is a term which is rather vague and which “does not provide scientifically undisputable definition.”² One can find many definitions concerning this term which leads to the situation, where multiculturalism creates quite a confusing picture, rather hard to understand. Various authors deal with this topic differently and attitudes towards multiculturalism vary a lot. Approaches to multiculturalism are either positive or negative and we can divide them into proponents who warmly welcome multiculturalism, and their opponents who strictly resist its idea. Unfortunately, it was not politically determined what the term means, nor clarified if it is good or bad.. Further, is it effective in practice? This and many other questions about racism, citizenship or national identity are still being put about multiculturalism.

What can be said for certain is that multiculturalism involves many fields and creates various associations with e.g. politics, ideology, social science, humanities, ethnic studies, race, nation or political economy.³

¹ Christina Julios, *Contemporary British Identity: English language, Migrants, and Public Discourse* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2008), 10.

² Joachim von Meien, *The Multiculturalism vs. Integration Debate in Great Britain* (Hannover: Universität Hannover, 2006), 3, <http://www.grin.com/e-book/59366/the-multiculturalism-vs-integration-debate-in-great-britain#inside> (accessed March 31, 2011).

³ David Theo Goldberg, *Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader (Blackwell Critical Reader)* (Cambridge, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 1995), x.

Besides the term multiculturalism we can also encounter the term *cultural pluralism* or the metaphor *salad bowl* - symbolizing equal rights and peaceful existence next to each other just like different vegetables in the bowl. As the definition says: “cultural pluralism describes the equal coexistence of many cultures in a locality, without any culture dominating the region.”⁴ However, the meaning of a cultural pluralism and multiculturalism is slightly different and the main difference between the two terms will be clarified in the next chapter.

As Petrussek also implies, multiculturalism has several meanings. First of all, it indicates a state – a coexistence of cultures and ethnicities. It can also be an ideal - because multiculturalism is based on harmonious coexistence of different cultures, but also a political programme, a set of specific public policies or agenda.⁵ The truth is that many people assume that multiculturalism is in fact, an ideology or myth. Is it possible to create a society where all kinds of people from different cultures professing different values can peacefully coexist?

Either way, multiculturalism is a big phenomenon, sometimes called politics of identity, based on cultural differences and on equal dignity of individuals.⁶ This policy basically allows immigrants to preserve their cultures and cultural traditions and tells them to interact peacefully within one nation rather than expecting them to adapt. This is the main distinction compared to the assimilation. The comparison and the distinctions will be further described in the next chapter.

A principal and significant feature of multiculturalism is to tolerate and respect cultural differences among people of one country. According to professor of sociology at the Bristol University Tariq Modood, multiculturalism is a “form of political accommodation, in which differences are not eliminated, are not washed away but to some extent recognized.”⁷ By the *differences* also different ways of thinking and acting can be understood, as well as differences in terms of race, ethnicity, identity, origin, colour, culture or religion and, thus, there should be an active support for these differences.

⁴ Von Meien, *Multiculturalism vs. Integration Debate in Great Britain*, 3.

⁵ Miloslav Petrussek, *Společnosti Pozdní Doby* (Praha: Slon, 2006), 21.

⁶ Pavel Barša, *Politická Teorie Multikulturalismu* (Brno: CDK, 2003), 7.

⁷ Tariq Modood, *Multiculturalism: A Civic Idea* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), 39.

If multiculturalism refers to governmental policy then it is a normative multiculturalism. Normative in a sense, that there is an existence of certain norms which encourage cultural diversity and these norms are supported by the government.⁸

In principle, multiculturalism involves supporting and encouraging minority differences. According to the original version of multiculturalism this diversity should enrich the whole society and the different ethnic minorities should be contributing to the future of British Empire.⁹ It is true if members of a society really do cooperate and their values are shared. What can really enrich the society are ethnic minorities with their various kinds of lifestyles, different kinds of cuisine, clothing and religious practices from which one may learn something new, and all this enables the mainstream society to see different ways of life. These things made British Islands multicultural, cosmopolitan and multi-dimensional. On the other hand, the opponents are people who reject the idea of enrichment of the British society brought by multiculturalism. They do not see the rise of the social problems connected with these ethnic differences as an enrichment of British society at all.

There is an interesting point made about the difference and diversity by Kenan Malik, an Indian-born British writer. He asked *why we should value diversity*. He implies that there is nothing good about diversity and the point he stressed the most was that it is only forcing us to compare different lifestyles and to make judgements.¹⁰ Whether or not the diversity brings benefits seems to be a slightly philosophical issue and everyone can make their own opinion about it.

Liberal-democratic defenders of multicultural approach view the respect to cultural differences as a principle of freedom, equality and mutual solidarity on which liberal-democratic institutions are based. "Liberal multiculturalism requires freedom inside of the minority group and equality among minority and majority group."¹¹ Mainly, Liberal

⁸ Sylvia Hadjetian, "Multiculturalism and Magic Realism?: Between Fiction and Reality" (master's thesis, University of Regensburg, 2005), 25, in GRIN, <http://www.grin.com/e-book/89208/multiculturalism-and-magic-realism-between-fiction-and-reality> (accessed March 31, 2011).

⁹ Jan Buryánek, "Co Zbývá z Multikulturalismu?" MF Dnes, 2007. <http://www.clovekvtsni.cz/index2.php?id=669&idArt=442> (accessed March 31, 2011).

¹⁰ Kenan Malik, "Can Multiculturalism Work?" KenanMalik.com, http://www.kenanmalik.com/lectures/multiculturalism_if.html (accessed March 31, 2011).

¹¹ Barša, *Politická Teorie Multikulturalismu*, 11.

multiculturalism focuses on universal equality which supports the argument that everybody is equal.

Multiculturalism assumes that even an exclusion of certain groups from the public sphere means that they have a kind of subordinate status, which can limit their life opportunities. It is crucial not only to tolerate them, but also publicly admit their differences.¹² At this point, it can be seen how supportive multiculturalism is concerning different ethnic minorities.

Multicultural policy, or politics of difference, includes many features and measures, for instance dual citizenship or so-called multiple nationality, equal membership, the support from the government towards newspapers, radio and television in the language of the minority. Minorities are also respected as for their festivals, holidays and other celebrations, their traditional dresses; there is also an attention to education (teaching minority languages and culture) politics, health, welfare and other public sphere matters.¹³ These practices should be respected and one should not want to change them. Members of an ethnic minority in a multicultural society have a great opportunity to practice their religion and culture and for these practices they are subsidized by the government.

The prefix *multi* does not refer only to the existence of a number of minority groups within one society, but also to an existence of different kinds of these groups. As Modood explains, groups can be defined by race, colour, language, religion, national origins and many other attributes.¹⁴ *Multi* also means different understandings, different backgrounds and different mentalities.

There are also many concepts concerning multiculturalism, for example philosophical ones. Philosophical multiculturalism is based on “development of frame, in which different cultures and religions can come to an understanding of each other and therefore to a richer understanding of humanity.”¹⁵

¹² Barša, *Politická Teorie Multikulturalismu*, 11.

¹³ Von Meien, *Multiculturalism vs. Integration Debate in Great Britain*, 6.

¹⁴ Tariq Modood, *Still Not Easy Being British: Struggles For a Multicultural Citizenship* (Staffordshire: Trentham Books, 2010), 9.

¹⁵ Modood, *Multiculturalism*, 65.

1.1 Multicultural programme

According to the vision of Bhikhu Parekh, Chair of the 2000 report *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain*, there are several points which are significant for British multicultural society. The main point Parekh emphasizes is that Britain should be viewed as a *community of communities* and only in this way multi-ethnic Britain will have a future. There are some other points discussed. Multi-ethnic Britain should also cover the following points: reinterpretation of British present identity which needs to be understood as plural dynamics; ensuring balance of equality, difference and cohesion – the concepts that should be central for governmental decision-making; elimination of racism because racial injustice may threaten people's citizenship, and an attention must be paid to all kinds of racism, such as anti-Semitism, anti-black racism or anti-Muslim racism; deepening the pluralistic educational policy in a way which provides protection and more; development of ethnic minorities and building pluralistic culture of human rights; justice by the state in policing, employment, public services, education and the law for all citizens, and rights of groups (to wear turban, pray at work etc.)¹⁶ All these terms should, in the sense of equality, be the crucial points if the creation of a cohesive and homogenous society is desired.

To develop the idea of multicultural programme in the way which concentrates primarily on welfare system, it is necessary to mention also the research of Banting and Kymlicka who listed 8 multicultural policies: parliamentary affirmation of multiculturalism, the adoption of multiculturalism in school curriculum, the inclusion of ethnic representation in public media, exemptions from dress-codes, allowing dual citizenship is also necessary, the funding of ethnic groups' cultural activities as well as of bilingual education or mother-tongue instruction in teaching, and the affirmative action for disadvantaged immigrant groups.¹⁷ For a British model, the principles are embedded in their race relation policy.

¹⁶ Bhikhu C. Parekh, *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain: Report of the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain* (London: Profile Books Ltd, 2000), 103-7.

¹⁷ Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka, "Do Multiculturalism Policies Erode the Welfare State?" *School of policy studies* (2004): 14, http://www.queensu.ca/sps/publications/working_papers/33.pdf (accessed March 31, 2011).

1.2 Types of governmental policies

Whereas multiculturalism is hierarchically on the first position, with respect to toleration and government acceptance of immigrants, there are some other approaches or models. Multiculturalism is always contrasted with assimilation, which is the strictest policy acting as a counterpart.

A suitable definition says that assimilation has been understood as a process in which immigrants give up their culture and adapt completely to the mainstream society.¹⁸ In fact, it is an approach which represents an opposite to multiculturalism requiring complete adjustment to mainstream culture. This approach assumes complete dissolution of group particularity, and ethnical and other particularities should be displaced into privacy. Teaching at schools ignores group particularities of students and everyone is obliged to adopt an identity of one nation – history, language, cultures and, furthermore, religious symbols are strictly deported to privacy, which is not a condition pursued by the British model.¹⁹ Some authors talk about *monoculturalism* or *nationalism*.²⁰ By assimilation, the host society does not accommodate the needs of ethnic minorities and does not support their differentness. Great Britain was always against this model, because a substantial point of multiculturalism is strong encouragement of differences, not their repression.

While assimilation is a kind of radical approach, there is another type which rather symbolizes individuality – integration. A simple definition would declare that integration presupposes the necessity to “become fully a member of a community, rather than remaining in a separate group.” In this case, there is a change of those immigrating but also of the society, and both are required to do something.²¹ Integration also means a crucial change in behaviour, attitudes and values, requiring basic knowledge of the national language, or the national history, or might even require an oath of allegiance.²²

¹⁸ Wolfgang Bosswick and Friedrich Heckmann, “Integration of Migrants: Contribution of Local and Regional Authorities,” *European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions* (2006): 4, <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/pubdocs/2006/22/en/1/ef0622en.pdf> (accessed March 31, 2011).

¹⁹ Barša, *Politická Teorie Multikulturalismu*, 11.

²⁰ Von Meien, *Multiculturalism vs. Integration Debate in Great Britain*, 5.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

²² Joe Devanny, “Multiculturalism Vs. Integration,” International Debate Education Association, http://www.idebate.org/debatabase/topic_details.php?topicID=152 (accessed March 31, 2011).

Integration is a two-way process where both, immigrants but also societies have important roles when interacting. This is a condition of creating a cohesive community.²³ For immigrants, not only does integration mean learning a new culture, accepting rights and obligations, and gaining access to positions and social status, but also it is important to develop a sense of belonging. On the other side, there is also the host society which has something to tell as well. For the host or major society, it means opening up institutions and providing equal opportunities for all immigrants.²⁴ Institutions, including employers, civil society, but also the government must of course take the lead.²⁵ Integration is, in fact, something that stands somewhere between those two terms - multiculturalism and assimilation.

A problem concerning integration, same as with multiculturalism, is its vagueness. The concept is not that clear. Some people mean assimilation when they talk about integration and, vice versa. Using these two terms in a synonymous relationship is not right. Unfortunately, this is another case which requires more studies for better understanding.

The next type is a melting pot policy. This policy is traditionally present in the United States and can be considered as an option to multiculturalism. It means that “all the immigrants with different cultural backgrounds are mixed and merged without state intervention.”²⁶ In other words, if a minority merges with the whole while enriching certain features, then we can talk about the melting pot. Much like multiculturalism is viewed as a salad bowl, the metaphor of melting pot is represented by a big pot in which different ingredients are mixed and by combining they can create a uniform product.²⁷

1.3 Comparison with other developed countries

Multiculturalism was not only a policy in Britain but this policy also appeared in Australia, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands or Canada. It was actually in Canada, where the term the term *multicultural policy* appeared first, supporting ethno-cultural associations and full

²³ Home Office, “Secure Borders, Safe Haven. Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain,” under “Refugee Integration,” <http://www.privacyinternational.org/issues/terrorism/library/uksecureborderssafehavens.pdf> (accessed March 31, 2011).

²⁴ Bosswick and Heckmann, “Integration of Migrants”, 11.

²⁵ Modood, *Multiculturalism*, 48.

²⁶ Von Meien, *Multiculturalism vs. Integration debate*, 6.

²⁷ Ibid.

participation of immigrants.²⁸ Canadian multiculturalism was also based on education directed against discrimination, an access to employment, etc. This policy appeared in Canada at the beginning of the 1970s and was created in response to difficulties of ethnic minorities in the country.²⁹ From Canada, the term multiculturalism spread into other countries with ethnical and cultural heterogeneity.³⁰ In addition, also Australia can be considered a multicultural society, but its policy is less formal than in the case of Canadian multiculturalism as the latter is implemented in the constitution. Nevertheless, in Australia we can also find many policies devoted to the issue.³¹

Comparing Britain and France, the latter is associated with assimilation, while the former represents a culture that always saved some room for other cultures and identities. France defines itself as *one and indivisible nation* (nation une et indivisible) and sometimes the term itself can be considered as a discrimination. There is no support from public institutions, considering that development of ethnic identities and their cultural differences are tolerated only as a private issue.³² An interesting fact is that although France applies the strictest policy (this also relates to the recent ban on typical Muslim clothing - hijab - in public, covering entire face), there is a distinction between Muslims living in France and British Muslims. The latter are treating non-Muslim residents with contempt, while French Muslims treat non-Muslims in a more friendly way.³³

The German model, applied especially to the wave of Turks in the past, is symbolized by the word *Gastarbeiter*. It represented the denial of political citizenship to migrant workers. This term practically meant that there was no way for incomers to become immigrants fully because they were foreigners (Ausländer) and they are to remain like that. In principle, sooner or later they will return to a place where they come from. To get the German citizenship is much more complicated and immigrants have only fundamental human rights. In the government program of the 1973 a special expression for this kind of

²⁸ Julios, *Contemporary British Identity*, 157.

²⁹ Michel Wieviorka, "Is multiculturalism the solution?" in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 21 (London: Routledge, 1998), 884.

³⁰ Sylvia Hadjetian, "Multiculturalism and Magic Realism?: Between Fiction and Reality" (master's thesis, University of Regensburg, 2005), 27, in GRIN, <http://www.grin.com/e-book/89208/multiculturalism-and-magic-realism-between-fiction-and-reality> (accessed March 31, 2011).

³¹ Michel Wieviorka, "Is multiculturalism the solution?", 885.

³² Barša, *Politická Teorie Multikulturalismu*, 11.

relationship was created - *transitional integration* (Integration auf Zeit).³⁴ However, there were some attempts to build a multicultural society in Germany. But these attempts, with so called *multikulti* concept, as German Chancellor Angela Merkel said, “utterly failed”. As she said, to allow people of different cultural backgrounds to live close to each other without a duty to integrate was a big mistake.³⁵

To those who immigrated to the United States a civic participation was offered and they could merge with members of the US nation. The society of the United States has a great potential to absorb one immigration wave after another and mix and melt all ethnical and cultural pertinences into one US identity. As mentioned before, this approach stands for the model of melting pot whose metaphorical expression originated in Israel Zangwill’s play *The Melting Pot* (1908). In fact, every other immigration and every ethnical and cultural group is somehow contributing to the US identity and the US lifestyle.³⁶ Interestingly, what is positive about The United States is that even if it has absorbed so many immigrants, it still stays unique and preserves its American identity.³⁷ This is something, what the USA can be admired for.

³³ Tomáš Tatranský “Politika Multikulturalismu Je Cestou Do Pekel,” tatransky.blog.idnes.cz, entry posted March 02, 2009, <http://tatransky.blog.idnes.cz/c/72868/Politika-multikulturalismu-je-cestou-do-pekkel.html> (accessed March 31, 2011).

³⁴ Barša, *Politická Teorie Multikulturalismu*, 30.

³⁵ BBC, “Merkel Says German Multicultural Society Has Failed,” BBC News, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11559451> (accessed March 31, 2011).

³⁶ Barša, *Politická Teorie Multikulturalismu*, 30.

³⁷ Joe Devanny, “Multiculturalism Vs. Integration,” International Debate Education Association, http://www.idebate.org/debatabase/topic_details.php?topicID=152 (accessed March 31, 2011).

2 BRIEF HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION IN BRITAIN

Thinking about the multicultural society in Britain and how it all was created; firstly, we need to think about immigration as such. Immigration changed the British society notably, so it is important to know the historical background of immigration to get more complete picture. There are some significant milestones in history that influenced the accommodation of immigrants, entering from other countries.

Over the centuries Britain absorbed a large number of immigrants from various countries. The flow of different ethnic groups from which present British society originates has a long history. The United Kingdom has always been a magnet for other nations and migrants. Romans, Vikings, Anglo-Saxons, Jutes, French Huguenots or Dutch Protestants added a multi-ethnic dimension to the British nation.³⁸ Such diverse people have brought with them their cultural heritage and by this the population of Great Britain dramatically increased.

At the time of Queen Elizabeth I there was a very small number of black people (black Africans) living in the UK. We can start thinking about the history of mass immigration to Britain dated from the early nineteenth century when Britain experienced a large-scale immigration.³⁹ It was due to Industrial Revolution that many unemployed workers were coming to Britain from other countries. These economic migrants were concentrated mostly in Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow. Due to the potato famine in Ireland, approximately 800 000 Irish people arrived in the UK. This Irish migration dates back to the period of 1800-1861.

Another wave of immigration was represented by Jews who were coming in significantly large numbers. It was between 1875 and 1914 when they wanted to escape persecution. Then a series of demonstrations started against immigration because of the fear of it. This led to a limitation of immigration in the form of *The Aliens Act* (1905) and the *Aliens Restriction Act* (1914) in order to keep Britain *British*.

Significant immigration of non-white people had begun during the First World War (1914-1918). The situation after the Second World War (known as a post-war massive

³⁸ Dawn Denmar, "Immigration to UK - A Brief History of Migrants: Migration to Britain of Romans, Irish, Italians, Jews to Eu Visitors," Suite 101, <http://www.suite101.com/content/immigration-to-uk-a-brief-history-of-migrants-a158397> (accessed March 31, 2011).

³⁹ Julios, *Contemporary British Identity*, 16.

immigration or New Commonwealth migration) and the rapid economic development allured many migrant workers. There was a recruitment of people from India, Caribbean Islands and Africa to work in the army, chemical industries and factories. These workers actually formed the basis of the great immigration of the 1950s. Between 1946 and 1951 approximately 460 000 people from the New Commonwealth countries (including Pakistan) arrived in Britain. These were mostly people from the Caribbean islands, people from the Indian sub-continent (Punjabi, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, etc.) and the West Indies. In the early years of the 1950s the immigration flattened. *The Nationality Act 1948* created the immigrants' legal framework, they acquired British citizenship and full rights to work and permanently settle in the United Kingdom.⁴⁰ This open door policy was primarily created as a progressive measure which could solve the problem of a labour shortage.⁴¹

Dramatic increase appeared in 1957 and 1960, when the average number of migrants was 200 000 per year. But in 1958 racial-motivated riots took place in London, known as *The Notting Hill Riots*, instigated by whites against blacks and established the ugly mood of the public.⁴² Until the acceptance of the new regime introduced by *Commonwealth Immigration Act* in 1962, people from former British colonies in Asia, Africa or Caribbean area were allowed to migrate to Britain as *British subjects* and had an unrestricted right of access to the UK. They could form their own communities, which were respected by the local and national public authorities. The new regime substantially restricted immigration and their rights.⁴³ The influx of immigrants was further significantly reduced by the *Immigration Act 1971*. The purpose of the Act, which was to slow down the immigration, especially concerned those who were coming from the Indian subcontinent. According to a recent study this was the cause of establishment of the fully settled migrant communities and development of multiculturalism in Britain.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Julios, *Contemporary British Identity*, 80-81.

⁴¹ Ellis Wasson, *Dějiny Moderní Británie: Od roku 1714 po dnešek*, trans. Tomáš Znamenáček (Praha: Grada Publishing, a.s., 2010), 345.

⁴² Christian Joppke, "The empire strikes back: The British case," in *Multiculturalism and Immigration: A Comparison of the United States, Germany, and Britain* (Florence: European University Institute, 1995), 478.

⁴³ Barša, *Politická Teorie Multikulturalismu*, 224.

⁴⁴ Richard Jones and Welhengama Gnanapala, *Ethnic Minorities in English Law (Gems (Series), No. 5.)* (London: Trentham Books, 2000), 2.

From the late 1960s, thanks to the policy of the Labour Party, the toleration of diversity of groups was completed with the focus on the *equality of individuals*.⁴⁵ In 1965 the first *Race Relations Act* was issued, directed particularly against racially motivated discrimination in places and institutions like pubs, shops, theatres etc. The second Race Relations Act, issued in 1968, focused on reduction of discrimination in employment or housing, and the third one, released in 1976, established the *Commission for Racial Equality* focusing on promoting racial equality.⁴⁶ The Race Relation Acts significantly changed attitudes and behavior.

In 1985 almost 16 million people were immigrants from countries like India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Turkey, Africa, Spain, Portugal, Indonesia, and also immigrants from other Third World countries. The reasons why they migrated could be various, e.g. because of religion, from political reasons, but mostly it was from economic reasons of people hoping to find a better place to live and improve the quality of their lives. After the 1980s the migration to the UK increased rapidly by immigrants coming from countries such as the rest of the European Union and non-commonwealth countries, which indicated rapid economic growth in Britain.⁴⁷

Between the 1970s and 1980s Britain accepted immigrants from East Africa or Vietnam, and Eastern European refugees arriving from war-afflicted Romania and the former Yugoslavia. The shift from *subjectship* to *citizenship* was accomplished by the *British Nationality Act of 1981* and immigrants gained the right of entry and residence for British citizens only.⁴⁸

Since 2000 many migrants who primarily wanted to be visitors of the European Union have stayed in Britain permanently. The year 2000 is also associated with the *Race Relation Amendment Act* which made institutional racism unlawful.⁴⁹ It is important to add that the number of current asylum applicants for residency in Britain is still increasing. Many immigrants now identify themselves with many different cultures, thus, choosing

⁴⁵ Barša, *Politická Teorie Multikulturalismu*, 224.

⁴⁶ Joppke, "The empire strikes back: The British case", 481.

⁴⁷ James Y. Nazroo, ed., *Health and Social Research in Multi-Ethnic Societies* (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), 3.

⁴⁸ Joppke, "The empire strikes back: The British case", 477-478.

⁴⁹ June-Bam Hutchinson, "Race, Faith, and UK Policy," Institute for the public understanding of the past, <http://www.york.ac.uk/ipup/projects/raceandfaith/discussion/bam-hutchison.html> (accessed March 31, 2011).

multiple identities. Then we can encounter Black-British, British Indian, Glaswegian Muslim or Welsh Jew identities.⁵⁰

2.1 History of multiculturalism in Britain: integration processes over the years

Britain has accepted numbers of immigrants and many times it has had to deal with accommodation of all their needs, practices, interests and customs. Multiculturalism was not always the only way of how to answer the large wave of immigration with which Britain was forced to deal with. This chapter provides a comparison of two different points of view in history.

The first response to presence of immigrants was the *assimilationist* one. In 1964, the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council released a statement saying that “it cannot be expected from the national system, that the various values of the immigrants groups will be supported.” Later in 1968 the discussions resulted in the formulation of two opposing responses to immigrant groups. Enoch Powell’s *nationalistic* response (The Conservative Party) was focused on the cultural assimilation as a condition for integration.⁵¹ The base of his speech *Rivers of Blood* was actually a warning that there might be potential consequences if the government let the immigration into Britain continue and that it would be mad to allow 50 000 immigrants to come every year. To him, immigrants were a threat, fear and a problem.⁵² But sooner than other countries of the West, Britain rejected the idea of assimilation of immigrants. By denying this policy, British politics wanted to save some space for other ethnic minorities.

By this speech the political career of Powell unfortunately ended and he himself was even dismissed from the Shadow Cabinet when he was trying to enforce active repatriation of Commonwealth immigrants.⁵³ Apart from Powell, it was also Margaret Thatcher, the former Prime Minister, who expressed a fear of immigrants. In 1978 she publicly expressed her fearful attitude towards the flood of people from different cultures.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Rheinische Friedrich Wilhelms, “Multiculturalism and Ethnic Minorities,” *Center for European Integration Studies* (2001): 15, http://www.zei.de/download/zei_dp/dp_c87_ronge.pdf (accessed March 31, 2011).

⁵¹ Barša, *Politická Teorie Multikulturalismu*, 224.

⁵² Julios, *Contemporary British Identity*, 17.

⁵³ Randal Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-War Britain: The Institutional Origins of a Multicultural Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 15.

⁵⁴ Wasson, *Dějiny Moderní Británie*, 345.

The second response - a *culturally pluralistic* one, was formulated by former Labour Home Secretary Roy Jenkins. In contrast with the previous claim, Jenkins expressed that integration should not be based on a *flattening process of uniformity*, but on the cultural diversity, mutual tolerance and equal opportunities. This presumes no discrimination, legal equality and equality of the rights and opportunities, in connection with the protection of their cultural membership. The pluralistic approach tolerates public visibility of groups even with respect to politics. According to Lord Parekh, Jenkins' cultural pluralism is not exactly multiculturalism yet, but acts like its weaker form. Parekh complains about Jenkins' carefulness to cultural diversity and about his fear that this diversity might threaten the equality of opportunities. Parekh says that it is important to change a public culture; to be more precise - to create a *cultural pluralism of a public sphere*. Ethnical features should be pulled out of the privacy and by gradual acceptance British society should be able to transform itself so that there is an adjustment on both sites.⁵⁵

To make this problematic issue clearer, here is a brief clarification of what the main difference between cultural-pluralistic integration and multiculturalism is. Cultural-pluralistic integration holds if the minority retains its cultural diversity, but it is politically and economically inserted into the surrounding society. In the case of multiculturalism, this cultural diversity is elevated onto a desirable level and it is politically promoted as a feature of a given society.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Barša, *Politická Teorie Multikulturalismu*, 224-225.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

3 THE MAIN REPRESENTATION OF CONTEMPORARY ETHNIC MINORITIES

According to the Census 2001, Britain is viewed as multiethnic and multicultural nation, which means that there are lot of communities and individuals who coexist. Britain is a land of many different ethnic groups and these ethnic minorities are an integral part of British society. Together with France, Britain shares the largest representation of ethnic minorities in Europe.

The number of international migrants increased highly – from 75 million to 120 million (between the years 1965-1990), and this increased the migration proportion to 2.8 per cent.⁵⁷ Total number of these ethnic minorities other than white forms about 7.9 per cent of the total population of the UK, which is not so far from Powell's prediction when he stated that by the year 2000, there would have been a portion of 10 per cent of the UK population consisting of ethnic minorities. If this growth goes further with the trend, it is forecasted by the next Census that there would be nearly 7 million non-white Britons, which is about 12 per cent of the total population in 2011.⁵⁸

Nearly 45 per cent of ethnic minorities live in London. These figures were predicted by the Census 2001; these days the current number is without any doubt increased. Ethnic minorities mostly live in areas like Wembley, Hyde Park, East Ham or Kensington. Referring to these areas, sometimes it is talked about a formation of many ghettos. There are also many immigrants living outside London - Birmingham or Leicester (almost 30 per cent). Pakistani and Bangladeshi live in deprived areas of Oldham and Bradford. Many of these ethnic minority members are descendents from the Commonwealth immigrants who arrived from the Second World War onwards.

Leicester is known for being a real multicultural city, where ethnic minorities (36 per cent) coexist peacefully. In Scotland and Wales ethnic minorities form about 2.3 per cent of their population and in Northern Ireland the figure is 0.75 per cent.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Home Office, "Secure Borders, Safe Haven. Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain," under "The challenge of globalisation," <http://www.privacyinternational.org/issues/terrorism/library/uksecureborderssafehavens.pdf> (accessed March 31, 2011).

⁵⁸ Ben Smith, "Ethnic Minorities in Politics, Government and Public Life," *House of Commons Library* (2008): 2, <http://www.parliament.uk/documents/commons/lib/research/briefings/snsg-01156.pdf> (accessed March 31, 2011).

⁵⁹ Von Meien, *Multiculturalism vs. Integration debate*, 10-11.

The portion of ethnic population in the UK is as follows: about half is of Asian descent – Indians (1.0 million), Pakistani – the second largest ethnic group (747 285), Bangladeshi (283 063), other Asians (247 664), blacks form about 1.1 million (a quarter), mixed background (677 117) – they form about 15 per cent, 247 403 - 5 percent is of Chinese origin and people of other ethnic groups form 5 per cent (230 615).⁶⁰

3.1 Religious representation

One of the multicultural aspects is also a religious freedom and religious equality, which implies an existence of different religions, faiths, beliefs, and religious discrimination, should not occur. Religion should not be only tolerated and to some extent recognized, but it should also become a part of a public space. The main religion is Christianity – 76.1 per cent (that is about 40 million people). In Britain we can find a religious diverse, because it is a multi-faith society. For instance Islam – 2.7 per cent (1,6 million), Hinduism (1.5 per cent, 0,5 million), Sikhism (0.6 per cent, 336 179), Judaism (0.5 per cent, 267 373), Buddhism (0.3 per cent, 149 157). People with no religion form about 8 million – approximately 15 percent of the population.⁶¹ Muslim's religion, the largest ethnic faith group in Britain, also known as Islamophobia, has very negative connotations all over the United Kingdom.

Religious diversity can be found in various areas of life. Numbers of state schools are run by religious groups, TV and radio stations and many internet websites are engaged in promoting particular faiths.⁶² The main purpose is to make people aware of such variety of religious groups and, therefore, develop a better understanding.

⁶⁰ Census, April 1991 and 2001, "Ethnicity," Office for National Statistics, <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cpi/nugget.asp?id=455> (accessed March 31, 2011).

⁶¹ Census, April 2001, "Religion," Office for National Statistics, <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cpi/nugget.asp?id=954> (accessed March 31, 2011).

⁶² British Embassy Bratislava, "Multicultural Britain," UK in Slovakia, <http://ukinslovakia.fco.gov.uk/en/visiting-uk/about-uk/people-politics/multicultural-britain> (accessed March 31, 2011).

4 TO BE THE CITIZEN OF BRITISH MULTUCULTURAL SOCIETY

It is necessary to form a society where not only citizens, but also communities feel valued and live their lives while enjoying equal opportunities. Multi-ethnic Britain, also called *community of communities*, offers equal rights to all ethnic minorities.⁶³ In the UK many services including housing, healthcare, arts, policing, voluntary support or public broadcasting have been converted to accommodate the needs of all ethnic minorities. A wide range of dedicated ethnic housing associations, arts centres, radio channels, and policing units can be found.⁶⁴ Such opening of institutions to which every ethnic minority in Britain has an access is a condition necessary for recognition of diversity. It is substantial to fully involve all ethnic minorities in British public life without racial disadvantaging or racial discrimination. However, the representation of ethnic groups in many parts of public space is still very low, racial discrimination is still visible, and even though ethnic minorities have to struggle with racial threats, they are playing a crucial role in British life. This chapter provides appropriate information about the life of ethnic minority members.

4.1 Ethnic minorities and their position in political, economic and social sphere

4.1.1 Political sphere

Regarding the political sphere, the government has had to acknowledge the rights and the needs of ethnic minorities, living in contemporary Britain. Ethnic minorities in Britain have the right to vote either as citizens of the UK or they can choose to vote as citizens of Commonwealth. It is crucial to ensure equality and provide them full opportunities. This allows ethnic minorities to express their views of various policies of various political parties and they feel free to articulate their needs. To involve ethnic minority members into the political sphere may be a great opportunity for integration into the mainstream of

⁶³ Parekh, *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain*, ix.

⁶⁴ Munira Mirza, Abi Senthilkumaran and Zein Ja'far, "Living Apart Together: British Muslims and the Paradox of Multiculturalism," *Policy Exchange* (2007): 24.

political life of a country.⁶⁵ Each British political party has ethnic minority sections, with separate budget, meetings and conferences.

The proportion of ethnic minority electors is very small. The question is, how to get many Asian and black people more interested in politics, how to induce them to vote, how to ensure that they are represented not only in elected bodies, but also ensure that they are appointed. No Asian or black people were elected to the Welsh Assembly or Scottish Parliament or were directly elected to London Assembly in 1999. National bodies such as House of Lords or local committees should be aware of the importance of blacks and Asians and should take it seriously.⁶⁶ In House of Commons there are only 9 people of ethnic minority background; concerning the House of Lords there are only 20 of them.⁶⁷ Without any doubt such underrepresentation is connected with a poor sense of belonging of ethnic minority members who should be more involved as elected representatives or party activists. This involvement may have a good effect on race relations and also through this an equal-opportunity society may be achieved.

4.1.2 Economic sphere

The reality is often different, from what politics and the governments say. This is the case of ethnic minorities in economic sphere. Even if a multicultural society provides equal rights for all, there is still an obvious distinction. Generally, we can say that it is harder for a member of ethnic minority to find a job or be employed than it is for a non-minority member, and if so, it is usually with lower income.⁶⁸ Certain black and Asian communities (Bangladeshi and Pakistani) live in deprived areas (over 60 per cent of Pakistani and Bangladeshi households live in poverty), are unemployed or with low incomes, low educational qualifications and are victims of many crimes. The post-war migration demanded labour in specific economic sectors. Those from the Caribbean, Ireland and Africa worked in textile mills in the North or transport industries. Workers were mostly seen as *these of the last resort* and many (but not all) of their descendants continue being employed in these kinds of areas, but have low wages (mostly lower than the national

⁶⁵ Muhammad Anwar, *Race and Politics: Ethnic Minorities and the British Political System* (London: Routledge, 1986), 2.

⁶⁶ Parekh, *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain*, 223-233.

⁶⁷ Rheinische Friedrich Wilhelms, "Multiculturalism and Ethnic Minorities," *Center for European Integration Studies* (2001): 59, http://www.zei.de/download/zei_dp/dp_c87_ronge.pdf (accessed March 31, 2011).

⁶⁸ Von Meien, *Multiculturalism vs. Integration debate*, 11.

average is). Indian, African or Chinese people have more difficulties to get a prestigious job than whites, even if they have better qualifications. It can be generally claimed that there is still substantial discrimination of a kind and racist stereotyping concerning the labour market. The role of the government is to reduce unemployment and underemployment, and they should eliminate differences in current rates.⁶⁹ Unemployment rate among different ethnic minorities also tends to be higher. The highest unemployment rate is among Bangladeshi; Pakistani and Chinese groups are more likely to be self-employed.⁷⁰ Even though the racial discrimination is outlawed, which could be a significant factor of unemployment, in practice it can be very difficult to avoid. And we can also state that if the racial underclass exists, then this is the case.

4.1.3 Social sphere - education, health and cultural life

The main feature of multiculturalism has been the educational system, focused on multicultural education. In other words, what was primarily meant by the term multiculturalism was a focus on schooling.⁷¹

Consequently, there were changes in curriculum of institutions. Students in multicultural Britain need to be explained principles of human rights and ready to cooperate on the basis of equality with those who feel to be different.⁷² In 1988, the National Curriculum Council issued that the curriculum should “take account of the ethnic and cultural diversity of British society and the importance of the curriculum in promoting equal opportunity for all pupils, regardless of ethnic origin or gender.”⁷³ As a result, the curriculum expanded – they started to teach minority languages (mother-tongue teaching), their history and cultures. The most remarkable was the liberal approach. They supported common prayer sessions of various beliefs (for example in many schools the education started with a prayer every day). The Liberals also supported keeping up the non-English

⁶⁹ Parekh, *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain*, 194.

⁷⁰ National Statistics, “Minority Ethnic Groups in the UK,” *National Statistics* (2002): 2, http://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&q=cache:UYJNwd335h4J:www.statistics.gov.uk/pdfdir/meg1202.pdf+Minority+Ethnic+Groups+in+the+UK&hl=cs&gl=cz&pid=bl&srcid=ADGEESgS9cikH14AGGZ9oFwEukYTxzuFyeyVIOtOL83CLUQkdIL3edQ0Gru84x4HIvP5wA64O_H9SbykndiqIHms_rdSDVGwykCB5 (accessed March 31, 2011).

⁷¹ Modood, *Still Not Easy Being British*, 77.

⁷² Audrey Osler, “Multiculturalism is working,” *Centre for Citizenship and Human Rights Education* (2006): 3, <http://www.education.leeds.ac.uk/research/files/30.pdf> (accessed March 31, 2011).

⁷³ Parekh, *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain*, 142.

festivals, respect for minority particularities in clothing or food, and there was a punishment for racist insults, etc.⁷⁴ As multicultural education should be for all, also non-minority children have to learn the history of minorities, such as history of blacks or Indians; some were also taught to speak Creol or Urdu.⁷⁵ It certainly helps to enrich all children at schools.

Unfortunately, considering the education, the truth of the matter is that ethnic minorities in Britain are mostly associated with poor performance and educational underachievement, rather than with success. In fact, higher education of non-white ethnic minority members can be considered as a major success of theirs. A similar situation is seen as regards universities - ethnic minorities are less likely to enter prestigious universities and less likely to get a high degree. Only a few universities can truly claim to be multi-ethnic.⁷⁶ Reasons why the situation is like that vary, but in general it is due to disadvantages of working-class, where in most cases the parents are manual workers or unemployed, or many other (which is beyond the scope of this thesis).

There is also distinction in health of ethnic minorities. As a rule, poverty is associated with poor health. There are many cases when poverty is linked with health problems, for example Irish communities who battle with bad health (especially after the migration). It has also been proved that racism, harassment or violence are also connected with undermining of health. Immigrants may suffer from stress of living in a hostile society, increased blood pressure, and mental health disorders were also detected as direct and negative impacts on their health.⁷⁷

But not all about ethnic minorities is so negatively tuned. Concerning the social sphere, ethnic minority people contribute highly to sports (especially in England - football teams, cricket, boxing or athletics) as well as music, fashion, literature and arts. British culture is a hybrid body and we can find creativity originated in many different groups - White, Black, Asian and other minorities.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Barša, *Politická Teorie Multikulturalismu*, 84.

⁷⁵ Joppke, "The empire strikes back: The British case", 482.

⁷⁶ Modood, *Still Not Easy Being British*, 69-71.

⁷⁷ Parekh, *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain*, 178.

⁷⁸ Rheinische Friedrich Wilhelms, "Multiculturalism and Ethnic Minorities," *Center for European Integration Studies* (2001): 14, http://www.zei.de/download/zei_dp/dp_c87_ronge.pdf (accessed March 31, 2011).

What also makes Britain quite multicultural is the range of various cuisines brought by ethnic minorities. British culture is also variegated with different dishes and exotic spices which became a part of a British cultural life and many of them are available in supermarkets or restaurants. Unique lifestyles can also be found all over the Britain including various kinds of clothes appearing especially among young people of ethnic minority backgrounds.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ British Embassy Bratislava, "Multicultural Britain," UK in Slovakia, <http://ukinslovakia.fco.gov.uk/en/visiting-uk/about-uk/people-politics/multicultural-britain> (accessed March 31, 2011).

5 THE FUTURE OF MULTICULTURALISM IN BRITAIN

As stated earlier, multicultural politics in Britain fostered many discussions and became a very controversial topic and the one of the twenty-first century. Many politicians and academic writers from the government made their own speeches concerning this policy, there appeared many opinions and critics of this approach, and public debates were taking for a very long time, practically lasting - until today. Numerous discussions and national debates are also *multi* and are especially focused on limits of tolerance and the future of the nation-state.

5.1 A crisis of multiculturalism and the decline of the concept

“The year 2001 was a turning point for the idea of multiculturalism.”⁸⁰ It was a turning point for the Labour Government who came to power in 1997 (when David Blunkett became Home Secretary) and is also known as a New Labour, with *Cool Britannia* agenda (the idea of celebrating cultural diversity).⁸¹ Many politicians started to talk about a crisis of multiculturalism and claim that the whole multicultural model practically *failed*.

The critique of multiculturalism started in 1970s but it was most evident in the 1990s. It was not criticized just by the countries that had never accepted this model, but also by those that had accepted it, such as the Netherlands or Britain.⁸² Recently, multiculturalism has been undermined by social unrest. Much attention was paid to multicultural model in the connection with the series of coordinated terrorist attacks caused by the Islamic terrorists, not only in the United Kingdom. The attacks are related to the following cities: New York City – The World trade Centre (11 September 2001), Madrid (11 March 2004), and the most crucially - London (7 July 2005) and subsequent attacks in Britain. Since that time, the real value of multiculturalism has been in danger. In the political area, multiculturalism has been blamed for promoting fragmentation of ethnic communities in

⁸⁰ Modood, *Multiculturalism*, 10.

⁸¹ Gurharpal Singh, “Multiculturalism and Political Integration in Modern Nation States: Multiculturalism in Contemporary Britain: Reflections On the Leicester Model,” *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 5, no. 1 (2003): 40, http://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&q=cache:49oEKUje2JAJ:unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001387/138796e.pdf+Multiculturalism+in+Contemporary+Britain:&hl=cs&gl=cz&pid=bl&srcid=ADGEESgLr6yIt9MIUS1KsLMhU8sH8IW49Ni_genI6vLAqz503DuhSc-u6FlpU7GEGMXj7rXDY9GOcf0z7hy (accessed March 31, 2011).

⁸² Modood, *Still Not Easy Being British*, 11.

Britain.⁸³ It seems that cultural diversity provides a base for terrorist attacks and that multiculturalism and its policy creates a space for radical extremism and religious movements.⁸⁴ Since then, a fear of terrorism emerged, referring especially to Muslims, who do not want to integrate with the common British values. However, what lead to such extremism is not quite clear. The question is to what extent a multicultural society may be accepting immigrants who despise the rules of a host country, so that the society is not ruined. If ethnic minorities arrive in the society, looking for better life, it is expected that there must be some respect shown, even if they have values different from those of the host country. This is a big problem in contemporary Britain.

Over the past years, a remarkable and steady decline in a public support could be seen, concerning the multicultural model. This recession is due to some very serious reasons, for instance the urban riots during the spring and summer of 2001 (English northern towns - cities such as Bradford, Oldham and Burnley, Pakistani and Bangladeshi were involved), showing ethnic intolerance in Britain. It is true, that such level of diversity and tolerance simply cannot be persisted in a society. There has also been a considerable increase in social unrest, and series of clashes and attacks between inner-city whites or Muslim youths and activists, and ghetto-isation emerged.⁸⁵ The existence of so many ghettos is another big problem. Being a member of a ghetto is always connected with unrest and general discomfort, where tensions are growing. Such ghetto-isation may lead to social fragmentation and that is what, unfortunately happened in the case of Britain.

The situation became worse along with a creation of isolated islands of people who do not want to communicate outside their communities, who practically despise rules of the majority, are not loyal to the state, and have a very poor sense of belonging. The sense of

⁸³ Joanna Herbert, "Multiculturalism at Work: The Experiences of Ghanaians in London," *Department of Geography Queen Mary, University of London* (2006): 4,

<http://www.geog.qmul.ac.uk/globalcities/reports/docs/workingpaper7.pdf> (accessed March 31, 2011).

⁸⁴ Gurharpal Singh and John Rex, "Multiculturalism and Political Integration in Modern Nation-States: Multiculturalism and Political Integration in Modern Nation-States - Thematic Introduction," *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 5, no. 1 (2003): 14,

http://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&q=cache:49oEKUje2JAJ:unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001387/138796e.pdf+Multiculturalism+in+Contemporary+Britain:&hl=cs&gl=cz&pid=bl&srcid=ADGEESgLr6yIt9MIUS1KsLMhU8sH8IW49Ni_genI6vLAqz503DuhSc-u6FlpU7GEGMXj7rXDY9GOcf0z7hy (accessed March 31, 2011).

⁸⁵ Julios, *Contemporary British Identity*, 115.

belonging is necessary to make a big success of a multicultural society.⁸⁶ All the mentioned conditions and also the problems of illegal migration, international terrorism, a focus on the rights of separate groups, and dissociating western democratic values (the case of Muslims) put the government in a bit different position with respect to migrant communities. All that raised a question of the effectiveness and long-term sustainability of multiculturalism.⁸⁷ In this way, British society became very vulnerable and unsure about the security of British citizens. This might have happened because Britain became too tolerant. Even if Britain is a home to many identities, no one should be allowed to threaten it.

The above described events presented controversy about multiculturalism which led to a large wave of its criticism, particularly coming from the centre-left who criticized the multicultural approach since its beginning. Nevertheless, there were some critics from the Right as well. Many publications, books and papers were published trying to prove that this model is out of date, e.g.: *Beyond Multiculturalism, Is Multiculturalism Dead?*, or *The End of Multiculturalism*.⁸⁸ Many other negativity expressing papers and opinions of public commentators appeared. None of these works actually claim the end of multiculturalism because it was not officially stated anywhere, these are just points of view of different critics, who fundamentally oppose it. It is also true that these critics, as a matter of fact, quote each other over and over again.

There is also another view of multiculturalism, which is more positive in criticism. These are especially coming from the left, claiming, that multiculturalism “was right for its time, but that time is over.”⁸⁹ Trevor Phillips added that multiculturalism is not useful anymore.

⁸⁶ Jan Buryánek, “Co Zbývá z Multikulturalismu?” MF Dnes, 2007.

<http://www.clovekvtsni.cz/index2.php?id=669&idArt=442> (accessed March 31, 2011).

⁸⁷ Julios, *Contemporary British Identity*, 116.

⁸⁸ Modood, *Multiculturalism*, 11.

⁸⁹ Trevor Phillips, quoted in Tariq Modood, *Still Not Easy Being British: Struggles For a Multicultural Citizenship* (Staffordshire: Trentham Books, 2010), 120.

5.2 Muslim disloyalty

The Rushdie Affair began to hint at the definition of ethnic groups.⁹⁰ During this affair, the negative consequences of official multiculturalism became dramatically revealed. It started with British novelist Salman Rushdie who wrote a novel called *The Satanic Verses*, published in September 1988. He was accused of insulting Islam religion, which resulted in Muslim protests and Fatwa (an official religious order concerning Islamic law) calling for his death. As a result, British Muslims were frustrated, which led to the first cultural conflict and riots in Britain.

Doubts about functionality of multicultural policy were then raised after London Bombings in July 2005, the attack on London's public transport system - made by UK-born radicalized extremist Muslims (these UK-born Muslims are also known as the children of multicultural Britain). There were 52 people killed and almost 700 injured. In fact, it is true that these individuals were born in Britain, the country that practically saved them from persecution and poverty. And all they have performed as an act of gratitude were these bombings. Then it is no wonder that they are blamed for being a "consequence of a misguided and catastrophic pursuit of multiculturalism", as William Pfaff concludes.⁹¹ This attack can be also considered as a consequence of social fragmentation and permission of difference, which became uncontrollable.⁹² They created their isolated enclaves and separate groups, which led to fragmentation of British society, instead of harmonious co-existence in peace. Such division of the society is definitely not a precondition for the multicultural model because the politics of multiculturalism is based on unity of certain society.

From that time, Muslims have been perceived with antagonism throughout Britain and they also became a focus of national concern. After 2005 bombings, a poll for the BBC showed that 32 per cent of British population thought that multiculturalism threatened the way of British life; however, 62 per cent still believed that multiculturalism made Britain a

⁹⁰ Andrea Baršová and Pavel Barša, *Přistěhovalectví a liberální stát, Imigrační a integrační politiky v USA, západní Evropě a Česku*, (Brno: Mezinárodní politologický ústav, 2005), under "Přistěhovalecké politiky," <http://www.iir.cz/upload/Publikace/Pristehovalectvi.pdf> (accessed March 31, 2011).

⁹¹ W. Pfaff, quoted in Modood, *Multiculturalism*, 12.

⁹² Julios, *Contemporary British Identity*, 116.

better place to live.⁹³ These numbers are very interesting. Although British people were threatened by the extremists, the popularity of multiculturalism among public was still very large in 2005.

Tariq Modood expressed an interesting opinion regarding blaming Muslims. The fact, that they are blamed for terrorism and for not integrating is, according to him, unfair. Therefore, British society will not achieve much-sought after integration.⁹⁴ There may be some truth in this fact, because the national unity is Britain's major preference. But the difference, different values and different religion certainly are not reasons for choosing terrorism, attacking and performing extremism.

Since then, much criticism of Muslims and other waves of Islamophobia and anti-multiculturalism appeared. Muslims were apparently unwilling to integrate into British society and the overall fear of ethnic minority values has been referring mainly to Islamic values. Their practices are, in fact, incompatible with British (Western Europe) ones; especially their beliefs, sexual repression, forced marriages, treatment of women (and their suppression) and overall political violence.⁹⁵ Was it a lack of identity in Britain which pushed resisting Muslims to extremism? And how did they become so alienated from the society? Unfortunately, these questions still remain unanswered.

Thus, Muslims are generally perceived and considered to be disloyal; they seem to have a lack of sympathy and they are blamed for ruining British traditional values. That is another reason for the retreat from multiculturalism.

Furthermore, it is a matter of behavior - Muslims are completely different and obviously not interested in non-Muslims, so the values of the non-Muslims and Muslims are, as a matter of fact, incompatible with each other.⁹⁶ Out of all these reasons, the major one is resulting from the attacks – they are a big threat of a global extent, and this lead to certain moral panic over Muslims, but also over other ethnic minorities. According to certain studies, it has also been proven that the second-generation Muslims are even more

⁹³ BBC Press Releases, "Muslims in Britain - Findings of BBC News Poll," BBC Press Releases, http://www.bbc.co.uk/print/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2005/08_august/10/poll.shtml (accessed March 31, 2011).

⁹⁴ Modood, *Still Not Easy Being British*, 112.

⁹⁵ Julios, *Contemporary British Identity*, 19.

⁹⁶ Modood, *Contemporary British Identity*, 12.

radical and more strongly opposed to the integration than their parents has been.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, many British want Muslims to integrate and engage in their society. The question is, whether Muslims really want to.

Muslims are, as stated earlier, quite different. The conflicts mostly stem from their cultural difference. Four fifths of the British think that it would be useful and beneficial if Muslims integrated more into British culture and society.⁹⁸ All this requires more negotiation and cooperation, so that they become equal in some way. British government has found necessary to increase group consultations with ethnic minorities, especially with Muslims. To be British does also require adapting the rules of British society.

Finally, it seems that the situation of Muslim loyalty is slowly getting under control. According to the poll in 2007, sixty per cent of Muslims in Britain said they would prefer living under British law and were willing to support Western values.⁹⁹

5.3 Claims about the crisis

The current state of multiculturalism has not overwhelmed many politicians and scientists. Many peculiar statements can be found on this issue, each of them providing either positive or negative attitude towards the crisis of multiculturalism because multiculturalism (and its decline) has become a focus of many social debates.

In his words: “time is becoming our enemy in the fight for an integrated society”, Trevor Phillips uttered the urgent need for integration of British society.¹⁰⁰ This very controversial speech concerning multiculturalism in Britain, made by the head of the Commission for Racial Equality Trevor Phillips, was held in 2004. He is one of the critics of British multicultural project. “By encouraging ethnic minorities to live in their own communities in the name of multiculturalism, is slowly evolving towards a segregationist society.” This was a warning that Britain tends to mount to segregation and ethnically separated areas (fragmentation) which may be a big catastrophe for Britain, causing with potential conflicts. This is a big paradox because instead of peaceful coexistence,

⁹⁷ Bill Muehlenberg, “Islam and the Failure of Multiculturalism,” Culture Watch, <http://www.billmuehlenberg.com/2010/10/18/islam-and-the-failure-of-multiculturalism/> (accessed March 31, 2011).

⁹⁸ Wasson, *Dějiny Moderní Británie*, 369.

⁹⁹ Stephen Bates, “More Young Muslims Back Sharia, Says Poll,” *The Guardian* (2007) <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2007/jan/29/thinktanks.religion> (accessed March 31, 2011).

¹⁰⁰ Trevor Phillips, quoted in Christina Julios, *Contemporary British Identity*, 149.

multiculturalism leads to isolated segregation of some non-white minorities. He implied that focusing too much on ethnic minorities and promoting their needs rather than their own British culture and common values, was a mistake. His speech is also connected with the fact that the number of Pakistani ghettos increased three times between the years 1991 and 2001.¹⁰¹ Phillips also mentioned that “without realizing it, British society is becoming divided by race and religion.”¹⁰² As a result of his theories, he proposes integration to be the core governmental policy, instead of multiculturalism. His speech was discussed many times and plenty of reactions appeared.

For instance, Lord Parekh, is in opposition concerning this issue. According to his political philosophy, he says that multiculturalism is not about a claim that any culture has the right to say what would be the best way to live, and that Britain should remain a multicultural society with respect to diversity.¹⁰³ He believes that groups can coexist together where racial discriminations and oppressions are prevented, and this state of multiculturalism should be celebrated.¹⁰⁴

Certain kind of hope for multiculturalism is expressed by Tariq Modood, who says “we need more not less”, in the case if the crisis does not deepen.¹⁰⁵ Another view of the state of multiculturalism was presented by Italian political scientist Giovanni Sartori, who said, that “multiculturalism, with regard to a degree of aggressiveness, tendency towards separation and intolerance directly denies pluralism.”¹⁰⁶ In his analysis Sartori wanted to add that things like separation or fragmentation are definitely negative consequences of the British multiculturalism.

¹⁰¹ Von Meien, *Multiculturalism vs. Integration Debate*, 9.

¹⁰² Trevor Phillips, quoted in Christina Julios, *Contemporary British Identity*, 149.

¹⁰³ Von Meien, *Multiculturalism vs. Integration Debate*, 13.

¹⁰⁴ Gurharpal Singh and John Rex, “Multiculturalism and Political Integration in Modern Nation-States: Multiculturalism and Political Integration in Modern Nation-States -Thematic Introduction,” *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 5, no. 1 (2003): 4, http://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&q=cache:49oEKUje2JAJ:unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001387/138796e.pdf+Multiculturalism+in+Contemporary+Britain:&hl=cs&gl=cz&pid=bl&srcid=ADGEESgLr6ylt9MIUS1KsLMhU8sH8IW49Ni_genI6vLAqz503DuhSc-u6FlpU7GEGMXj7rXDY9GOcf0z7hy (accessed March 31, 2011).

¹⁰⁵ Modood, *Multiculturalism*, 20.

¹⁰⁶ Jan Buryánek, “Co Zbývá z Multikulturalismu?” MF Dnes, 2007.

<http://www.clovekvtisni.cz/index2.php?id=669&idArt=442> (accessed March 31, 2011).

5.4 The shift towards integration

It seems that negative sites of multiculturalism definitely prevail and the things are not as good as it had been expected by the original vision of multiculturalism. At the turn of the twenty-first century (1990) all the continuous problems were signalling a shift in British national consciousness, and the New Millennium has been connected with a change from multicultural model to integrationist one. The key point of multiculturalism was to provide a balance between diversity and shared values, but now, in practice, it is obvious that it did not work. What should be mainly strengthened is apparently a focus on these shared values.

Many questions such as “Where did we go wrong?” started to be asked. “It seems to be, that multiculturalism is more about encouraging of various identities, rather than promotion of common values”, says David Davis, former shadow Deputy Prime Minister.¹⁰⁷ From the critical point of view it can be claimed, that this is a kind of nonsense - to encourage strong multicultural identities instead of encouraging common and national identities. Primarily, these national identities should be re-valued and commonalities discussed. In addition, it is not just about listing British shared values, but about real discussion of it. For Britain this realization means not to stay too laissez-faire, considering the commonalities. Multiculturalism should insist on scrutiny of these national values and identities more.

A rise in illegal immigration and refugees, extremism, social inequalities, fear of cultural fragmentation, interracial tension connected with growing Islamophobia (fear towards Muslims and their religion), inter-ethnic intolerance, sectarianism, the lack of interaction between minority and majority and self-confidence of British society, raised doubts about multicultural ideological process and a paradigm shift towards integration. Not all of the critiques believe that multiculturalism is responsible for the bombings when blaming this political theory became fashionable. There is no evidence of linkage between multiculturalism and terrorism cited or claimed by any book. Many of them think that it failed in order to emphasize commonalities.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ ČTK, “Britský Multikulturalismus Nefunguje, Tvrdí Stínový Ministr Vnitřní,” *Hospodářské noviny*, 2005. <http://zahranicni.ihned.cz/c1-16614050-britsky-multikulturalismus-nefunguje-tvrdi-stinovy-ministr-vnitra> (accessed March 31, 2011).

¹⁰⁸ Modood, *Still Not Easy Being British*, 106.

Regarding the integration model, there are several goals to achieve concerning successful integration. There should be a transition of immigration, citizenship, education with emphasis on *Britishness* - sense of British nationality, and common values.¹⁰⁹ To strengthen the national identity might be the way to prevent Britain from other kinds of extremisms and attacks.

An integrated society is based on four principles resulting from the report *Our shared future* by the *Commission on Integration and Cohesion*. These principles include the sense of shared values, emphasis on new rights and responsibilities, civility and mutual respect and the need to make a social justice visible which means to be aware of equality.¹¹⁰

To these core values of freedom, democracy and tolerance, ethnic minorities should be committed. Also being a member of ethnic minority today is then no longer seen as something which needs to be tolerated, but as a part of what it is to be British.¹¹¹

The discussions about multiculturalism quickly changed to discussions about Britishness and what it means to be British. Monitoring recent years, there is a slight decline concerning this issue as viewed by the public. The cause of this decline is mostly the arrival of large number of immigrants, coming to Britain over the years.¹¹² Due to these immigrants, Britishness is harder and harder to define. It is also said that trying to describe the Britishness is indeed an approach somehow racist towards ethnic minorities.

The rise in moral pluralism and not managing ethnic minorities properly can be considered as the main causes as well.¹¹³ Also Modood puts emphasis on the nature of Britishness, which, as he says, should be significantly re-examined. National identity, common citizenship and the sense of Britishness should be revived, and thus, only in this way a cohesive society can be created. But first, there must be an explanation to what citizenship really means and, in addition, people have to realize what connects and holds them together. Furthermore, there is an important addition - first, there must be a change in

¹⁰⁹ Julios, *Contemporary British Identity*, 149.

¹¹⁰ Commission on Integration and Cohesion, "Our Shared Future," *The Guardian* (2007): 43, <http://image.guardian.co.uk/sys-files/Education/documents/2007/06/14/oursharedfuture.pdf> (accessed March 31, 2011).

¹¹¹ Modood, *Still Not Easy Being British*, 111.

¹¹² Commission for Racial Equality, *The Decline of Britishness: A Research Study* (London: Commission for Racial Equality, 2006), 4.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

thinking of people from ethnic minority backgrounds, because a thing like the sense of belonging really needs to be developed by the people themselves.

The *Human Right Act 1998* is considered to be a key source of these values, where many of them are described - they should be able to speak common language (English language proficiency requirement) and to be active in political, social and economic life.¹¹⁴ That means to adopt British norms in order to be accepted. And what should be crucial about all the requirements is that ethnic minorities should at least know the language of a country where they are migrating to.

According to the *Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002*, newcomers whose traditions have recently been celebrated now have to integrate into mainstream society, but also know the life and culture of the United Kingdom and as it was already said, be able to speak English, which is an important condition for successful integration.¹¹⁵ Those coming to Britain have duties and they have to understand them in order to be accepted and integrated. Currently, the government is trying to create a lot of *mentoring schemes* to help immigrants in many areas to be successful citizens of the UK. These schemes can be very useful and can help them learn about British society, improve their language skills, understand the culture of the host country and also find employment. These mentoring schemes can, without any doubt, contribute to the process of integration.¹¹⁶

The new official integration strategy was introduced in 2005 by the governmental strategy for integration of ethnic minorities: *Improving Opportunity, Strengthening Society: The Government's Strategy to Increase Race Equality and Community Cohesion*. The main point of this strategy was to strengthen British identity and the sense of belonging. Additionally, an inclusive sense of Britishness is not inconsistent with cultural diversity and, furthermore, the concept of Britishness is not an exclusive identity. While all the citizens should have the sense of British identity, it does not mean that they have to choose

¹¹⁴ Home Office, "Secure Borders, Safe Haven. Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain," under "Citizenship and Nationality," <http://www.privacyinternational.org/issues/terrorism/library/uksecureborderssafehavens.pdf> (accessed March 31, 2011).

¹¹⁵ Julios, *Contemporary British Identity*, 120.

¹¹⁶ Home Office, "Secure Borders, Safe Haven. Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain," under "Refugee Integration," <http://www.privacyinternational.org/issues/terrorism/library/uksecureborderssafehavens.pdf> (accessed March 31, 2011).

between British and other cultural identities and sacrifice their own lifestyles, traditions or beliefs – but they should be proud of both. Ethnic communities build up highly heterogeneous population and it should be clear, that the society does not expect them to assimilate, but adopt the British identity. The knowledge of the language, ceremonial oath of allegiance, introduction of ID cards, a reservation on certain religious clothing are just a few of the main conditions. This strategy abandons multiculturalism as a word, but emphasizes its principle of dual identity.¹¹⁷

In December 2006, Tony Blair, the former British Prime Minister, held an interesting speech about multiculturalism, signalling the end of multiculturalism. In his words, Britain is a country that provides protection to ethnic minorities and is willing to welcome difference, support and accept them in many ways, including e.g. ethnic minority reporters etc. He also mentioned 7/7 bombings. Through this example he stressed that Britain is a home to many cultures and it was used against them by growing terrorism. He outlines that it must be clear that it is all about common values and duty to integrate. “So it is not that we need to dispense with multicultural Britain. On the contrary, we should continue celebrating it. But we need – in the face of the challenge to our values – to reassert also the duty to integrate, to stress what we hold in common.”¹¹⁸ Basically, he mentioned that people should appreciate that Britain is multicultural and diverse, but there is a need for some changes.

Blair stresses that newcomers are welcome and British society is willing to be open to them. He literally claimed: “If you come here lawfully, we welcome you. If you are permitted to stay here permanently, you become an equal member of our community and become one of us.”¹¹⁹ But equality requires complete cooperation of both sides.

“So we have duty to integrate. That is what being British means. And neither racists nor extremists should be allowed to destroy it. Our society is multicultural, and is shaped by its diverse peoples”.¹²⁰ “We want British citizenship positively to embrace the diversity

¹¹⁷ Home Office, “Secure Borders, Safe Haven. Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain,” under “Celebrating the acquisition of citizenship,” <http://www.privacyinternational.org/issues/terrorism/library/uksecureborderssafehavens.pdf> (accessed March 31, 2011).

¹¹⁸ BBC, “Conform to Our Society, Says Pm,” BBC News, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/6219626.stm (accessed April 6, 2011).

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

of background, culture and faiths that is one of the hallmarks of Britain in the 21st century.”¹²¹ Ultimately, Blair concluded that what is now the official policy is integration rather than multi-cultural separatism.

Integration is a very new concept for the UK and they are at the beginning of its process, but the government tries to provide as many opportunities as needed for immigrants to become full citizens of the UK. Nowadays, multiculturalism is not about minority identities and their toleration, but about realizing British sense of “we” and thereby making some space for others; it needs to create a new sense of “we”, in the plural way. This is what integration practically means and this is what should be a national goal of the current British society.¹²² Government policy pursues a focus on social cohesion and even the adjective *multicultural* has ceased to be used so frequently.

Currently, a similar theory was also expressed at the 47th Munich Security Conference, which took place from 4 to 6 February 2011, when the leader of the Conservative Party and Prime minister, David Cameron presented his speech about the current situation in Britain, considering multiculturalism, Muslim integration and fear of terrorism and extremism. Cameron made it quite clear in his speech: “State multiculturalism has failed.” What he was trying to imply was that they “encouraged different cultures to live their separate lives apart from each other and apart from the mainstream.” He also argued that Britain needs a stronger national identity and focus on collective and shared values.¹²³

These values are, for instance, freedom of speech, freedom of worship, democracy, civil society, the rule of law and, equal rights regardless of race, sex or sexuality. If the common values are going to be kept, because these values are, what every public culture should have, and the sense of belonging is going to be realized and developed by the newcomers, even though it might be very hard to achieve, Britain might become successful in the integration process.

¹²¹ Home Office, “Secure Borders, Safe Haven. Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain,” under “Citizenship and Nationality,” <http://www.privacyinternational.org/issues/terrorism/library/uksecureborderssafehavens.pdf> (accessed March 31, 2011).

¹²² Modood, *Still Not Easy Being British*, 112.

¹²³ BBC, “State multiculturalism has failed, says David Cameron” BBC News, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-12371994> (accessed March 31, 2011).

The current failure of multiculturalism is not only the case of current society in Britain, but also of other heads of states who expressed the negativity towards the concept. A similar observation was recently expressed by German Chancellor Angela Merkel and her implication that “multiculturalism in Germany totally failed.”¹²⁴ Also John Howard (ex-prime minister of Australia) or French President Nicolas Sarkozy declared alike opinions.

¹²⁴ BBC, “Merkel Says German Multicultural Society Has Failed,” BBC News, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11559451> (accessed March 31, 2011).

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this bachelor thesis was to clarify the issue of multiculturalism in contemporary Britain and to show how British government changed attitudes towards multiculturalism which was implemented as an official policy.

Firstly, it demonstrates some basic definitions of terms which need to be clarified in order to understand the matter in question. It describes a difference between assimilation and multiculturalism, terms which are always being contrasted. Then, in comparison, it shows other types of government policies towards accommodating immigrants in other countries such as France, Germany or the United States.

As an inseparable part of this thesis, it was necessary to mention history of immigration and explore a flow of different ethnic minorities entering Britain over the years which shaped the multi-ethnic nature of Britain. Ethnic minorities dramatically influenced today's cultural, social, economic and ethnical diversity in Britain. For a more thorough understanding of the topic of multiculturalism in Britain, it was necessary to inform about the current representation of ethnic minorities in Britain, while providing exact figures according to the last Census.

Multiculturalism and its principles stem from equality of people. As described in this thesis, multicultural approach is based on harmonious coexistence of different ethnic minorities in a host country. The first sphere where multiculturalism was implemented was the national curriculum focusing on involvement of ethnic minority teachers and on teaching about new cultures appearing in Britain. Multicultural programme ensured all ethnic minorities' full involvement in British public space, including politics, media, economy or culture, while they are fully supported and respected with every distinction of theirs. The celebration of diversity was the main point of multicultural model in Britain.

Multiculturalism experienced plenty of discussions and controversies across the political spectrum in Britain and became a concern of many debates also in public space. Many negative consequences revealed themselves during the time of multiculturalism in Britain. Civil unrest in Burnley, Oldham and Bradford 2001, terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001 or bombings on 7 July 2005 along with the lack of British shared values showed a failure of the multicultural model. A reason for the retreat from multiculturalism stems from variety of factors such as growing social disorder in cities, attacks and clashes among immigrants, extremism or unwillingness of Muslims to integrate into British society. As was proved by this thesis, especially Muslim communities in Britain began to

be perceived negatively. Their different value-system seems to be incompatible with British values. Through the time, many started to claim that multiculturalism encourages separatism, fragmentation of society, puts Britishness under threat. Questions about who British really are have become an important part of the debate.

Recently, as a solution to these problems, politicians have proposed pro-integration policy instead multiculturalism. This shift away from it towards a demand for integration focuses mainly on social cohesion. In fact, it was proved by the politics of multiculturalism that it is actually dividing people instead of uniting them. This bachelor thesis also examines the core features of integration, including that all citizens should have a sense of belonging to a country; focus on fostering social cohesion; the need to assert national and shared values which need to be fully promoted. The stress put on building cohesive communities and on re-valued Britishness is important because of multi-ethnic nature of Britain where Britishness seemed to be under a threat. The current debates show that the new concept of integration does not mean establishment of assimilation as it is often incorrectly assumed, but it is about focusing on social cohesion. Ethnic minorities were given an opportunity to integrate and it is up to them how they take the advantage so as to benefit the whole society.

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