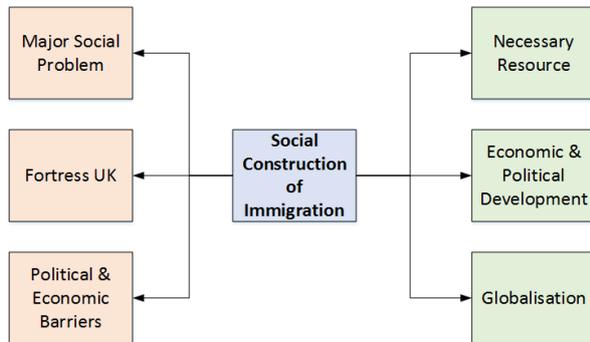
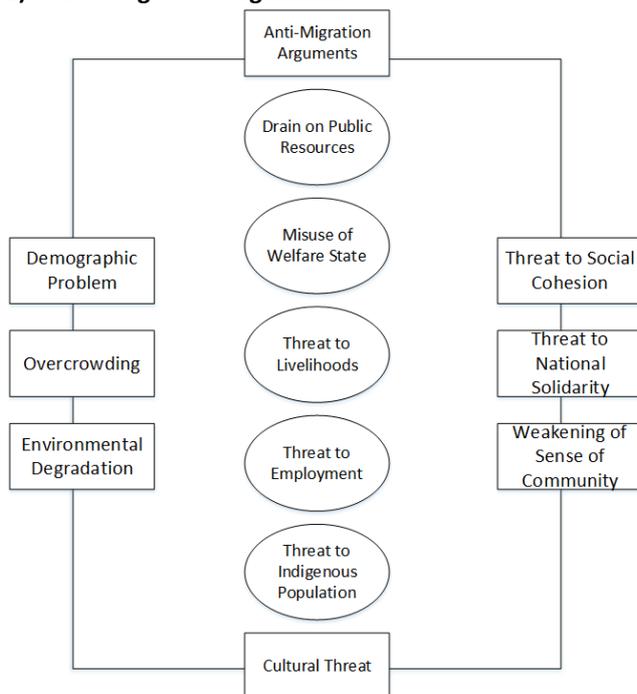


1) Migration as a Contested Discourse



“The social construction of immigration is obviously a much-contested discourse. On the one hand, there is the construction of immigration as a major social problem which can be resolved only by creating more of a fortress, ending both economic and political immigration. On the other hand, there is the construction of immigration as a necessary, even welcome feature of Britain’s embrace of economic and political globalisation. It is impossible to deal with these conflicted constructions in an unbiased neutral way” (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 93).

2) Anti-Migration Arguments



“In economic terms, immigrants are conceived as a drain on public resources and the welfare state and a threat to the livelihoods and employment prospects of the indigenous population. Immigration is portrayed as a demographic problem, making Britain too overcrowded and worsening environmental degradation. Sociologically, the presence of immigrants is seen as a threat to social cohesion and national solidarity, weakening the ties that maintain a sense of national and local community. This is linked with the notion of a cultural threat – the swamping of long-established British cultural heritage by alien elements” (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 93).

### 3) Migration Watch

“The fundamental position of MigrationWatch and Balanced Migration is rooted in concern about population growth – the overcrowded island problematic. But behind that is the issue of social cohesion, and the construction of ethnic diversity/multiculturalism as a social problem leading to political and cultural conflict” (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 95).

“MigrationWatch UK is an immigration and asylum research organisation and think-tank, which describes itself as independent and non-political, but which has been characterised by some commentators and academics as a right-wing pressure group. It was founded and is chaired by Lord Green of Deddington, a former British ambassador to Saudi Arabia. David Coleman, Professor of Demography at Oxford University, is an honorary consultant.” [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/MigrationWatch\\_UK](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/MigrationWatch_UK)  
<https://www.migrationwatchuk.org/>

“Anti-immigrationists like Goodhart, Field and the supporters of MigrationWatch are looking at the issue through the lens of the ‘native’ British, or at least a substantial swathe thereof. It is essentially a national communitarian view which seems to strike an intuitive, ‘common sense’ chord with many of the public. They would argue, nevertheless, that the pro-immigration position became dominant by default in the 1950s and again in the 1990s and 2000s” (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 96).

“There is no equivalent of MigrationWatch or Goodhart arguing a pro-immigration stance specifically for Britain. Instead there are a diversity of perspectives supporting different aspects of immigration, essentially looking at the issue either in terms of the benefits accruing to the economy and employers, or from the point of view of migrants and potential migrants” (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 96).

### 4) Pro-Immigration

“Pro-immigration social constructions are based in various interpretations of ‘liberalism’ – the free movement of workers, the freedom of employers to recruit, the human rights of migrants and potential migrants. On the biggest canvas, writers such as Legrain (2007) and Goldin et al. (2011) see immigration as an inevitable and beneficial feature of globalisation for the West and for migrants. If globalisation embraces the transnational flow of goods, services and capital, then it must also include the free flow of human beings, whether they are investment bankers, fruit pickers or fleeing persecution” (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 96).

#### How To Smash The 6 Anti Immigrant Arguments

Immigration will be a topic at the front and centre of the European Elections, as well as a salient issue in next year’s General Election. Opponents of immigration have six common arguments at their disposal, so here’s a cut-out-and-keep guide for countering them. <http://thebackbencher.co.uk/smash-6-anti-immigrant-arguments/>

#### Immigration is essential (according to the science)

The Daily Express has started an anti-immigration petition, the latest example of ongoing propaganda against immigrants. But the actual data shows that this could be a disastrous move, because immigration is essential in many ways. <https://www.theguardian.com/science/brain-flapping/2013/nov/04/immigration-is-essential-science>

### 5) Managed Migration

“This signalled the development of a ‘managed migration’ policy, which from 2008 took the form of five entry channels or tiers, respectively for ‘highly skilled workers,’ ‘skilled workers,’ ‘low-skilled workers,’ students and temporary workers. Tier 3 (‘low-skilled workers’) has never been used – it was assumed that these needs would be filled by British or EU citizens. This ‘system’ constructs professional, managerial and skilled migrant workers as relatively unproblematic, with the implication that low-skilled/temporary migrant workers are problematic and cannot be allowed to settle. Only the first two tiers have the possibility of long-term settlement. So New Labour tried to deconstruct the holistic category of migrant into the ‘good’, the brightest and the best, and the ‘bad’, the problematic, not least, those who take jobs which allegedly could be done by indigenous people, not least, those languishing on benefits” (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 97).

“The most significant pro-immigration pressures come from within the ‘labour-market’, which is in reality a myriad of different labour markets and different types of employer, from large transnational corporations seeking skilled professionals to fruit and vegetable farmers needing workers, to families seeking a home carer for an elderly relative” (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 97).

### **How immigration came to haunt Labour: the inside story**

New Labour failed to predict a surge in immigration – and their miscalculation has shaped British politics ever since. Could they have handled it differently? As today’s generation of political leaders prepares to fight an election that is in part a contest about the mistakes, judgments and assumptions Labour made in government on immigration, it is easy to forget just how much immigration and asylum haunted Downing Street throughout New Labour’s time in office. Between 1997 and 2010, net annual immigration quadrupled, and the UK population was boosted by more than 2.2 million immigrants, more than twice the population of Birmingham. In Labour’s last term in government, 2005-2010, net migration reached on average 247,000 a year. The dramatic changes have left British politics ruptured. Immigration remains the No 1 issue on the doorstep, according to pollsters – a stream that feeds into the well of mistrust in politics. It has spawned the emergence of Ukip and helped create four- or five-party politics in the UK for the first time. <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2015/mar/24/how-immigration-came-to-haunt-labour-inside-story>

### **6) Political & Media Noise**

“Standing back from the political and media noise about immigrants and immigration, it is worth considering what kinds of social constructions are involved in conceiving the difference between migrants and citizens. This distinction is not simply a hard and fast legal and bureaucratic one. The notion of the outsider, the stranger, often involves a normative, moral, cultural (almost certainly radicalised) judgement or categorisation. The definition of ‘migrant’ is made in contrast with the definition of ‘citizen,’ and how one is defined affects the definition of the other. Yet we should also be wary of a simple binary distinction: there are many grey areas across the spectrum of ideas of what constitutes a migrant and a citizen. Even so, ‘the exclusion of migrants helps define the privileges and the limitations of citizenship’” (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 98).

### **A Decade of Immigration in the British Press**

Immigration has become one of the most salient topics in the UK public debate. Over the past decade, policy-makers and politicians have directed a lot of energy and attention to migration policies, often citing public demand for stronger action to reduce immigration levels or tackle related issues. Where do the public get their ideas about immigration? One frequently cited source – besides day-to-day contact with immigrants themselves, or what friends and work colleagues might say – is the media. UK media coverage of migration has evolved over the last decade to accommodate an array of profound changes: changing trends in the movement of people; changing governments; changing policies; changing geopolitics; and changing commentators in the debate.

This analysis looks at trends in the language used in newspaper reporting through that period, and considers how these developments relate to the current UK political context. In particular the report identifies six key trends:

- A tendency for journalists themselves to play the role of framing problems in the migration debate, rather than simply reporting on others’ (such as politicians,’ think-tanks,’ or academics’) analysis. This highlights the key role played by journalists and media organisations in shaping the UK migration debate.
- A tendency to blame politicians for the scale of EU migration, while in discourse about ‘illegal’ immigrants, migrants themselves are often blamed. Economic arguments dominated the discussion of problems related to both EU and illegality.
- A sharp increase in the volume of newspaper coverage relating to migration since the election of the Conservative-led coalition government in 2010, particularly after the introduction of measures to reduce net migration in 2011 and 2012.
- An apparent change in how immigration is discussed, with a significant decline in discussion of the legal status of migrants and an increase in the focus on the scale of migration from 2009 onwards. This was accompanied by a rise in the relative importance of discussion relating to ‘limiting’ or ‘controlling’ migration since 2010.

- A sharp increase in the frequency of discussion of migrants from the EU/Europe after 2013, with a particular spike in 2014 when migrants from Romania and Bulgaria achieved full access to the UK labour market.
- A notable change in depictions of refugees between 2006 and 2015, with a sharp increase in references to Syrians coinciding with the escalating Syrian refugee crisis.

The report suggests that press depictions of migrants have focused on concern about high levels of net migration, and particularly EU migration. This numerical focus has eclipsed a waning focus on 'illegal' migration and become the leading migration frame in UK national newspapers. <http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/reports/decade-immigration-british-press/>

### **British press 'most right-wing' in Europe**

New YouGov research across seven European countries reveals British people are the most likely to say their media is biased in its reporting when asked about five key areas. At most 32% of British people say the media gets the right balance (on crime), falling behind the European average on housing, health, immigration and economics. <https://yougov.co.uk/news/2016/02/07/british-press-most-right-wing-europe/>

### **7) The Casey Review: a review into opportunity and integration**

An independent review by Dame Louise Casey into opportunity and integration. <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-casey-review-a-review-into-opportunity-and-integration>

### **8) Casey review raises alarm over social integration in the UK**

Governments have failed for more than a decade to ensure that social integration in the UK has kept up with the "unprecedented pace and scale of immigration" and have allowed some local communities to become increasingly divided, a major review has found. At the end of a year-long study of community cohesion in Britain, Dame [Louise Casey](#) has branded ministerial attempts to boost integration of ethnic minorities as amounting to little more than "saris, samosas and steel drums for the already well-intentioned". Accusing the government of serious failings in its approach to social cohesion, the government's integration tsar said efforts had been squeezed since 2010, with leaders "falling well below the stated ambition to 'do more than any other government before us to promote integration'". "The problem has not been a lack of knowledge but a failure of collective, consistent and persistent will to do something about it or give it the priority it deserves at both a national and local level," Casey concluded, who said there had been failures in each administration.

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/04/social-integration-louise-casey-uk-report-condemns-failings>

### **9) Segregation at 'worrying levels' in parts of Britain, Dame Louise Casey warns**

Segregation and social exclusion are at "worrying levels" and are fuelling inequality in some areas of Britain, a report has found. Women in some communities are denied "even their basic rights as British residents", the Casey Review said. Dame Louise Casey accused public bodies of ignoring or condoning divisive or harmful religious practices for fear of being called racist. Communities Secretary Sajid Javid said he would study the findings "closely". Dame Louise's review into the integration of minorities was commissioned by former Prime Minister David Cameron as part of the government's efforts to tackle extremism. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-38200989>

### **10) Louise Casey's review into opportunity and integration**

Louise Casey has been at the centre of government attempts to tackle tough social issues, including inequality, worklessness and homelessness for more than a decade. On the day her independent review into opportunity and integration was published, Dame Louise Casey presents a personal film from Manchester for the Daily Politics about discrimination, sexism and inequality. She said: "We are much more diverse than we used to be and significantly less segregated. But the report I am releasing today shows those in Muslim communities are actually somewhat of an exception to that." <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-38209285>

### **11) On the front line of segregation UK:**

#### **NEIL TWEEDIE visits a Blackburn dominated by hilltop mosques and afflicted by 'worrying levels' of division**

- In borough of Blackburn with Darwen, 1/4 of its 150,000 people are Muslim
- There is one street, Bastwell Road, with only one remaining white family
- There are more than 40 mosques in the borough haunted by segregation

- These districts are unrecognisable from the Blackburn of 50 years ago

What a strange thing it is to stand in a street in Britain asking someone if they know of a white family living in the neighbourhood. This is liberal, multi-cultural Britain of the early 21st century, after all, not apartheid South Africa. One would imagine that people of all races in this country mix, to some extent at least, in all towns and cities. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4003670/On-line-segregation-UK-NEIL-TWEEDIE-visits-Blackburn-dominated-hilltop-mosques-afflicted-worrying-levels-division.html>

## 12) 'I feel like a foreigner in my own country':

**Inside the 'British GHETTOS' where 21-year-old says he barely sees a white face and Muslim taxi driver blames Eastern Europeans for 'ruining' his home**

- Downing Street report says British towns have changed 'out of all recognition'
- Towns have become ghettoised because of a failure to handle mass immigration
- Northern cities such as Sheffield and Bradford are named by Dame Louise Casey
- Page Hall, Sheffield, has high population of Eastern Europeans and Romany
- MailOnline spoke to residents in Page Hall and in 'Muslim areas' of Bradford
- Taxi driver attacked influx of Eastern Europeans for being 'too lazy' to work

A third generation British-born Muslim blames an influx of 'lazy benefit scroungers' from Eastern Europe for ruining his once desirable inner city suburb - while a 21-year-old says he wants more 'British people' as neighbours. Taxi driver Imran Khan, who now lives in a multi-cultural 'melting pot' in Sheffield with littered streets and complaints over noise, said: 'It's turned into ghetto land. 'There's nothing wrong with immigration as long as it's controlled. The problem is it's not.' Father-of-one Imran, 38, said ultimately it was the fault of the Government and individual councils across the country. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4002300/I-feel-like-foreigner-country-Inside-British-GHETTOS-21-year-old-says-barely-sees-white-face-Muslim-taxi-driver-blames-Eastern-Europeans-ruining-home.html>

## 13) Muslim backlash at 'divisive' race report:

**But author slams 'right-on' critics for turning blind eye to truth**

Angry Muslim groups hit back last night after a government report said deepening segregation along race and religious lines had fuelled extremism and child sex abuse. The report accused public bodies of ignoring or condoning 'regressive, divisive and harmful' cultural and religious practices for fear of being called racist. Public institutions have 'swept problems under the carpet' rather than confronting them – scuppering opportunities to tackle terror sympathisers, hate preachers, criminal gangs and paedophiles. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4003902/Muslim-backlash-divisive-race-report-author-slams-right-critics-turning-blind-eye-truth.html>

## 14) Ted Cattle on the Casey Review

However, just last week a new report 'Unsettled Belonging' by Policy Exchange suggested that a strong focus on Muslim communities may no longer be justified. The largest opinion poll of British Muslims found an "essentially secular character of most Muslim lifestyles. In terms of their everyday concerns and priorities, British Muslims answer no differently from their non-Muslim neighbours". In other words, their main concerns were the 'normal' issues facing Britain today: NHS/hospitals/healthcare, unemployment second and immigration. <https://policyexchange.org.uk/ted-cattle-on-the-casey-review/>

## 15) Unsettled Belonging: A survey of Britain's Muslim communities

In the most extensive research of British Muslims ever conducted, Policy Exchange in conjunction with the polling company ICM surveyed more than 3,000 British Muslims and held a number of focus groups across the UK to understand their attitudes towards a range of issues. The report, 'Unsettled Belonging: Britain's Muslim Communities', finds they broadly share the same views as the rest of the population. Despite the greater religiosity and social conservatism of British Muslims, their life-styles are largely secular with only limited interest in sharia finance or separate religious education. However, the report also highlights a mentality of victimhood in Muslim communities and a belief in conspiracy theories about 9/11. It also finds that some of the best known organisations, such as the Muslim Council of Britain, have very little support among British Muslims. They are also much more comfortable than is commonly believed with government-led initiatives against radicalisation and almost half believe that Muslims should do more to combat extremism in their own communities.

<https://policyexchange.org.uk/publication/unsettled-belonging-a-survey-of-britains-muslim-communities/>

### **16) Judging the Casey review: 'I'm sick of being told I don't get on with people'**

“What reports like this don’t take into account is our culture – most Muslim women want to be at home with their children. Nobody is making them do this, this is what they want. Many are also carers for elderly relatives as we do not put them in homes. “If a white woman, or even somebody like me who is Muslim but relatively westernised, said we want to stay at home with our kids it would be fine. We would be doing the best for our children. Yet when a woman who has poor English says it then she is all of a sudden trying not to integrate and she is doing something wrong.” <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/dec/04/im-sick-of-being-told-im-not-getting-on-with-people>

### **17) Louise Casey's integration plan is behind the times**

Casey is right to identify those towns and cities that have experienced the most rapid population changes without sufficient work being done to cope with its impact as at the centre of the integration problem. But it is odd that her inquiry focuses almost totally on Britain’s Muslim communities, largely from Pakistan, and who mostly came to the UK more than 20 years ago. She has far less to say about the new Polish, Romanian or eastern European communities who have made up the bulk of Britain’s immigrants over the past 15 years. She mentions Muslims 249 times in her report, but there are only 14 references to Polish communities. The “separate lives, separate communities” narrative certainly had some force behind it at the time of the riots in the northern cities of Burnley, Oldham and Bradford in 2001. But Britain has not seen a repeat of such communal riots since. <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/dec/05/louise-caseys-integration-plan-is-behind-the-times>

### **18) Motivations?**

“So why do migrants come to Britain? This is not at all an easy question to answer, as the particular motivations and situations of individuals are almost always complex and diverse. The principle ‘motivations’ are to engage in formal paid employment, to engage in ‘irregular work’ (e.g. as a slave, trafficked, indentured or otherwise unpaid worker), to study, to join other family members and/or to seek refuge from persecution. These may well overlap and generate different perceptions of both sympathy and deservingness. Here we look at five common categories: ‘economic migration;’ ‘political imagination;’ students; family migration; irregular migration” (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 99).

### **19) Employment Displacement?**

“A ‘common-sense’ view might suggest that migrant workers bring negative outcomes for indigenous workers. Thus it might seem that if an employer recruits a migrant worker this removes an employment opportunity for a British person. It might also seem that migrants are prepared to work for lower wages, with poorer employment rights and working conditions. Such negative common-sense perceptions inform much of the popular perspectives on migration, reflected in political and media discussion” (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 100).

“The reality is that such common-sense views are misconceived – the labour market is much more complex and more stratified than it may first appear. There is no such thing as an indigenous pool of workers willing and able to fill vacancies. This is known as the ‘lump of labour’ thesis, which conceives supply and demand in the labour market in a holistic way. It is widely recognised by economists as fallacious” (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 100).

### **Did soaring immigration under the last Labour government cost British workers their jobs?**

That was the message from Iain Duncan Smith and Theresa May when they unveiled on Monday a decision to ban EU jobseekers from claiming housing benefit. In a joint article in the Daily Mail, the cabinet ministers wrote: “In just five years between 2005 and 2010, for every British person who fell out of work, almost two foreign nationals gained employment.” Jonathan Portes, director of the National Institute for Social and Economic Research and former Cabinet Office chief economist during that period, disagrees. “The period of high immigration that began in the late 1990s actually coincided with historically very high employment rates for British-born workers,” he told HuffPostUK. “The mid-2000s saw the highest sustained employment rates in recorded history, and in late 2007, the chances that a Briton of working age was in employment was considerably higher than 10 years earlier.” NIESR’s Portes argues employment “fell as a result of the financial crisis and resulting recession, but this had little or nothing to do with immigration.” [http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2014/01/21/immigration-ids-may\\_n\\_4632089.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2014/01/21/immigration-ids-may_n_4632089.html)

## 20) British Jobs?

"In taking jobs for which there are no appropriate British candidates, migrant workers contribute to the expansion of British businesses, thereby creating the likelihood of further job creation, a ripple (or multiplier) effect benefiting indigenous workers too. Research on the British labour market suggest that 'it is hard to find evidence of much displacement of incumbent workers or lower wages on average as a consequence of the heightened immigration of recent years. Nevertheless, the prominence of foreign workers in some occupations throws into sharp relief the difficulties faced by British-born unemployed people – the mismatch between their capabilities and availability and the needs of employers'" (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 100).

### British workers for British jobs says Brown

Gordon Brown promised yesterday to launch a drive to train thousands of unemployed workers for jobs currently being filled by immigrants flocking to Britain. The Chancellor put a new emphasis on "Britishness" at the heart of his programme for government when he takes over from Tony Blair in three weeks' time. "It is time to train British workers for the British jobs that will be available over the coming few years and to make sure that people who are inactive and unemployed are able to get the new jobs on offer in our country," Mr Brown told the GMB union. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1553710/British-workers-for-British-jobs-says-Brown.html>

### Gordon Brown's "British Jobs" speech 2007

<https://youtu.be/E6J2QUw0A-0>

## 21) Great Displacement

"Someone escaping long-term unemployment, ethnic discrimination or the effects of climate change may be severely oppressed economically and politically, though such infringements of human rights are not internationally recognised as constituting a 'well-founded fear of persecution,' which is the criterion for refugee status" (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 102).

### Global forced displacement hits record high

UNHCR Global Trends report finds 65.3 million people, or one person in 113, were displaced from their homes by conflict and persecution in 2015. Wars and persecution have driven more people from their homes than at any time since UNHCR records began, according to a new report released today by the UN Refugee Agency. The report, entitled Global Trends, noted that on average 24 people were forced to flee each minute in 2015, four times more than a decade earlier, when six people fled every 60 seconds. The detailed study, which tracks forced displacement worldwide based on data from governments, partner agencies and UNHCR's own reporting, found a total 65.3 million people were displaced at the end of 2015, compared to 59.5 million just 12 months earlier. <http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/6/5763b65a4/global-forced-displacement-hits-record-high.html>

## 22) Somali Diaspora

"People of Somalian origin are often regarded as Britain's largest 'refugee community.' Somalis have lived in Britain for over a century, but most trace their origins to the flight from the collapse of Somali civil society in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Ordinary Somalis were 'the targets of violence, looting, banditry and rape,' with 'mass displacement of populations, lack of property rights, gross violations of human rights and a war economy... organised and controlled through violence' (Aspinal and Mitton 2010: 16)" (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 102).

"Somalis in Britain have experienced severe economic deprivation, i.e. poverty and unemployment, linked to poor English-language skills and educational underachievement. There have been relatively high levels of lone motherhood, low levels of female participation in paid employment, and unemployed men sometimes resorting to chewing khat, a mild stimulant leaf, which has now been banned by the government on health grounds. It is all too easy to stereotype them as a Muslim community which is failing to integrate. In reality the past decade has seen much productive effort by Somali people to improve their situation, not least as the hope of returning home has receded and permanent settlement has been accepted" (Ginsburg, 2015).

## Identity and belonging

As one respondent in the research process described: “Somali residents in the UK are balancing a number of factors in their identities —Somali heritage and origin, Western culture, Muslim faith and black colour.” There was a range of views expressed about identity, with generational difference, some identifying predominantly as Somalis, others as European and others as British. A majority of respondents spoke positively about the city and felt a strong sense of belonging to it, though concerns were also raised about the negative portrayal of Somalis. Positive aspects of living in the city were identified as multiculturalism, tolerance and diversity, religious freedom and a strong Somali community. Negative areas included housing problems, crime and safety, and lack of employment. <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/reports/somalis-leicester>

### **23) Asylum Seeking**

“The number of people seeking asylum in the UK has generally been much less than the number of economic migrants, but in 1991 and 1996 annual applications jumped to over 40,000, and in the early 2000s to over 80,000. By the late 2000s this had fallen back to around 25,000, not least because of popular hostility whipped up by conservative newspapers and by government measures to deter and prevent the phenomenon. The mid 1990s through to the mid 2000s witnessed a virulent wave of anti-asylum-seeker sentiment, bolstered by and reflected in repressive government policies. Asylum seekers seemed to be public enemy number one in the early 2000s” (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 102).

#### **Asylum seeker dispersal**

Tuesday, 7 August, 2001: The UK has been dispersing asylum seekers around the country for 18 months. But, amid allegations of racism in some areas and chaotic arrangements for the asylum seekers in others, does the system work both for the people involved and the cities receiving them? What is the national dispersal scheme?

The national dispersal scheme is one of the major measures introduced to tackle the rise in asylum seeker applications which has sparked political controversy. The 1999 Asylum and Immigration Act (see internet links) aimed to:

- Stop the massive influx of applicants
- Ease councils of the financial burden
- Relieve the housing and social pressures in London and south-east England

The National Asylum Seekers Support Service (Nass) began work in April 2000. It centrally manages the controversial voucher scheme and the workings of national dispersal.

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/1477491.stm>

### **24) Moral Panics**

“Social scientists and journalists produced much solid research documenting and exposing the role of the media in constructing the anti-asylum-seeker, anti-migrant sentiment of the early 2000s” (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 103).

“The stereotype of the ‘migrant’ is of a single young adult, perhaps male, which is certainly at odds with the diversity of migrants in reality. ‘Family migration’ covers a number of processes – unification (bringing family members subsequent to first migration), marriage (bringing a spouse from abroad) and whole family migration (more common among refugees). The numbers involved in the 2000s were much smaller than those coming to work, but when the labour migration door is more firmly closed, as in earlier decades, this is a significant channel” (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 105).

“British governments have a long history of constructing family migration as a problem and, therefore, of trying to deter it” (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 105).

#### **Immigration: The Perennial Moral Panic**

Immigration is at the heart of the American identity and has been going on for nearly 400 years. Obviously America’s past can put restrictionists in a tough bind. This history makes it difficult for anyone to castigate immigration or immigrants in general. Thus a mythology has to be built up. If we are going to oppose immigrants

– for the stock reasons they have always been opposed – then we must convince ourselves that today’s immigrants and today’s immigration represent totally new problems that are just so unlike the problems of yesterday. This time, we are told, the panic is real. Once this myth takes hold, an American citizen of Irish, Sicilian and Polish background can repeat the old canards without a hint of irony as he opposes Hispanic and Asian immigration to the United States. For instance the recently disgraced Jason Richwine once wrote;

“They’re not just like the Irish—or the Italians or the Poles, for that matter. The large influx of Hispanic immigrants after 1965 represents a unique assimilation challenge for the United States.”

Is that true? In reality when we examine the history of immigration to the United States, we find that the common concerns are repeated over and over again, and each time they found to be demonstrably false.

<http://www.cafeconlecherepublicans.com/immigration-perennial-moral-panic/>

**25) Family of EU official's teenage daughter who was raped and killed:**

**'by Afghan migrant' ask for well-wishers to donate money to refugee charity as teenage 'killer' is revealed**

- Maria Ladenburger was raped and murdered in Freiburg, Germany in October
- Hussein K., 17 and from Afghanistan, has been linked by his DNA to the murder
- He came to Germany as an illegal unaccompanied minor in November 2015
- In online posts, he liked to present himself in the guise of a 'gangster rapper'

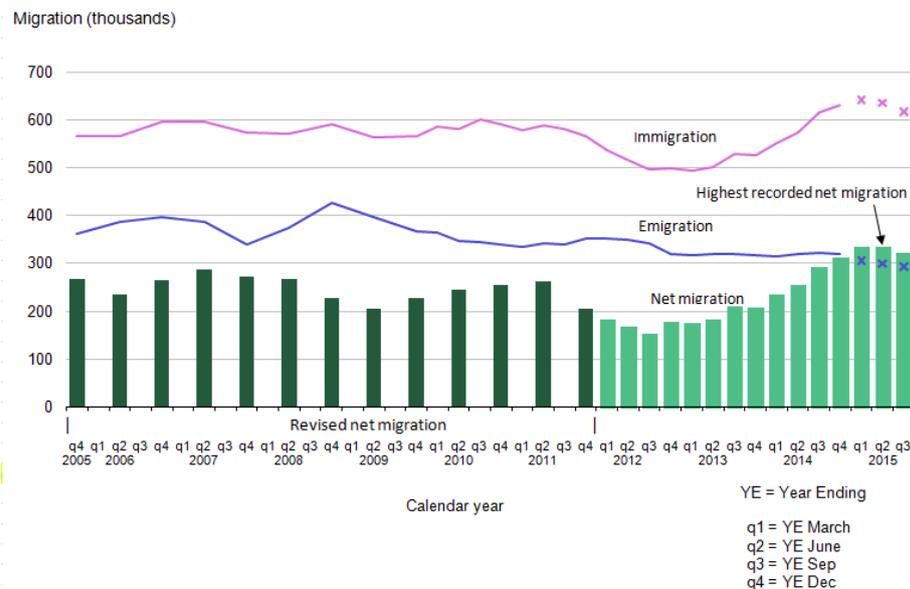
<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4004480/Pictured-Afghan-migrant-17-modelled-gangsta-rappers-raped-murdered-EU-official-s-daughter-met-work-refugees.html>

**26) Family Resettlement**

“Family migration lies at the heart of the social construction of migration as a problem, because by trying to prevent it, government and society are actively hoping to deter permanent settlement, particularly of those with only modest economic resources. In effect, anti-family migration measures attempt to restore the guest worker model – the notion that migrant workers should stay for only a short period of time and then return to their country of origin” (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 106).

**Migration Statistics Quarterly Report: February 2016**

Immigration to the UK and emigration from the UK, including net migration (the difference between immigra-



tion and emigration).

<http://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/migrationstatisticsquarterlyreport/february2016>

## 27) Racialisation

“Racism lurks not too far from the surface of the social construction of migration as a social problem. The long and continuing histories of racialized immigration policy and racialized media hostility to migrants are the two most prominent areas in which this is played out. The great majority of migrants are by definition ‘Others’ in terms of ethnicity and often of ‘race.’ So in the 2000s and 2010s the ‘problem’ of migration quickly becomes associated in mainstream political and media discourses with the ‘problem’ of multiculturalism, defined as the alleged failure of minorities to integrate into British society” (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 109).

“Racialisation of migrants can be viewed through two lenses. Racialisation can be understood as embracing not only differentiation by skin colour or physiognomic features, but also differentiation by ethnicity and be ‘culture’ (first language, national origins, food, music, etc.)” (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 109).

### THE WINDRUSH YEARS 1948 1998 7 of 23

[https://youtu.be/5u\\_ynsn\\_tqo](https://youtu.be/5u_ynsn_tqo)

## 28) Welfare Tourism

“One of the most pernicious constructions of migration as a social problem is the notion that migrants, both economic and political, have come with the intention of claiming benefits and using public services, to live off the welfare state at the taxpayer’s expense” (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 109).

“A major research project commissioned by the European Commission ICF-GHK (2013) found very little evidence to support the notion that ‘the main motivation of EU citizens to migrate and reside in a different Member State is benefit-related as opposed to work or family-related’” (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 110).

“Despite many requests, the British government has been unable to supply evidence of significant intra-EU welfare tourism to the European Commission” (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 110).

### Should recent EU migrants be denied entitlement to welfare?

The British government is currently pushing for EU rules on freedom of movement to be changed. Prime Minister David Cameron worries that generous welfare systems are being abused by workers travelling from poorer countries to wealthier ones, bringing along their families and draining public finances. The specific details of EU reform are vague, but are rumoured to at least partially strip welfare entitlements from recent EU migrants. But do the figures add up?

The available research suggests that EU migration is overall economically positive for host countries. EU migrants are more likely to be in employment than nationals living in the same country, and economically non-active EU migrants represent an average of less than 1% of the population in each EU Member State.

<http://www.debatingeurope.eu/2015/06/15/should-recent-eu-migrants-be-denied-entitlement-to-welfare/#.WEfwpFziM4Q>

## 29) Public Perception

“Migration or, more specifically, immigration to Britain has long been constructed as a social problem by large swathes of the media, the political class and the wider public” (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 110).

## 30) Localised Lessons

“For rather than finding a timeless relationship to a stable nature expressed in and through buildings and cities, it is rather in the processes and practices of adaptive design and (re)development that we might localise some lessons for sustainability. By contrasting the search for an exotic essence, the ‘other’ of Western rational planning, with an exploration of more situated, pragmatic strategies of Japanese urban design, we might usefully identify some transferable tactics in the search for sustainable urban futures” (Guy, 2016, p. 120).

## 31) Pragmatic Approaches

“For Ballantyne, a pragmatic aesthetic implies: ‘a move away from trying to determine the ‘real’ innermost significance of an object by trying to contemplate it in isolation, but seeing it always in relation to other things

(involved in processes) which can in turn generate a plurality of interpretations and experience' (Ballantyne 2004: 34)" (Guy, 2016, p. 124).

"For Dewey, we need to shift identities from that of the 'cold spectator' to an impassioned participant in the drama of urbanism. As Dewey put it, productive pragmatism calls not so much for a 'planned' society as for one that is continually planning" (Guy, 2016, p. 125).

### **32) Timelessness?**

"From this pragmatic perspective, a focus on timelessness essences distracts from the urgent need to tackle immediate challenges in particular circumstances. Similarly, focusing on the identification of cultural absolutes (such a unique Japanese design sensibility rooted in tradition) tends to result in strategic intransigence and a lack of tactical flexibility in design responses" (Guy, 2016, p. 125).

"For Dewey, technology (or for our purposes, design) is a rich blend of theory and practice that eventuates in new and improved tools for living and out of which new norms develop. A Hickman points out, such an approach 'dictates strategies of design and implementation that remain flexible by maximizing options and creating redundancies wherever possible' (Hickman 2001: 62)" (Guy, 2016, p. 125).

### **33) Re-Reading Neighbourhoods**

"Tokyo can be re-read less as a chaotic mess and more productively as a restless state of experimentation in which architects accept, even celebrate their fate of impermanence, and are freed to explore new design solutions in a variety of stylistic approaches" (Guy, 2016, p. 126).

"Sarah Chaplin describes this as a 'makeshift aesthetic' that refuses to acknowledge the Western definition of the term as limited and compromised and instead celebrates 'the fleeting, temporary, the impermanent, the imperfect, the irregular, the perishable' (Chaplin 2005, 79). As Bognar puts it: 'In Japan today we find an ephemerality that, at its best, can paradoxically yield 'lasting' or enduring achievements in urban as well as architectural design – regardless of how short their material existence' (Bognar 1997)" (Guy, 2016, p. 126).

### **34) Getting to Street-Level**

"Atelier Bow-Wow reject the semiotic analysis of cities as images, which they argue is the root of urban analysis which represents Tokyo as visually cluttered and chaotic. Instead, Tokyo pictured from above will always evade interpretation or simply result in confusion and criticism. To understand Tokyo, they claim, the researcher must come down to street level and travel across the city experiencing it as a piece of theatre in which distinctions between architecture and engineering become meaningless" (Guy, 2016, p. 129).

### **Leicester VLOG | Diwali Shopping | A Day in my Life | Happiness24 | Radhika Sharma**

Published on 6 Nov 2016 - Hey guys, This is the last video related to Diwali. I went to leicester for shopping.  
<https://youtu.be/h-iTFgHzg3A>

### **35) New Tools**

"A Hickman explains, Dewey thought that the 'history of human progress is a history of men and women coming together to form communities of discussion, inquiry, and activity and then constructing new tools: new ideas and new habits of action that are based upon careful experimentation' (Hickman 2001: 52)" (Guy, 2016, p. 130).

### **36) Holistic Views**

"Perhaps first that we need to look beyond the architectural object in glorious isolation... Second, we might helpfully develop a more critical position on the issues of durability... Third, a 'flexibility' to a range of design options – whether high-tech or low-tech – and an appetite to mix these where it makes sense" (Guy, 2016, pp. 130-131).

### **37) Interpretive Flexibility**

“Echoing the emphasis on ‘interpretive flexibility’ found in Science and Technology Studies, the point here is not to abandon judgement but to avoid closing down the evaluative process prematurely, to always be open to other design possibilities” (Guy, 2016, p. 131).

“See this way we do not need to characterise the work of Atelier Bow-Wow as a ‘green’ practice, but rather one dedicated to satisfying changing human needs, intensifying use of urban space with great economy and efficiency, and focussing on recycling and reusing space” (Guy, 2016, p. 131).

### **38) Summary**

“The most vocal discourse constructs the problem around alleged overcrowding, increased pressure on public services, reduced employment opportunities for British workers and so on. While many of these arguments do not stand up to critical scrutiny, perhaps the root of the ‘problem’ lies in the portrayal of migration as a threat to British culture or nationhood, which evokes a visceral, patriotic conservatism and hostility to strangers. Yet the reality on the ground is that the new migrants have often experienced a reasonably tolerant and friendly reception from locals, as well as being welcomed by employers” (Ginsburg, 2015, p. 110).

### **39) References**

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- Guy, S. (2016). Beyond Japonism - The Adaptive Pragmatism of Japanese Urbanism. In S. A. Moore (Ed.), *Pragmatic Sustainability - Dispositions for Critical Adaptation* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.