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From Diversity to Super-Diversity

The Impact of Local Neoliberal-Agenda Development on Migration-Related Diversity in the London Borough of Lewisham and the UK

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis represents my own original work. The work is not used in other published papers.

Abstract

This study describes how migration-related diversity developed in the UK between 1990 and 2023, a period known as the era of 'super-diversity'. As a representative example, it focuses on local policies with a neo-liberal agenda implemented by the London Borough of Lewisham. The term 'super-diversity' refers to a level of population diversity that has expanded significantly and thus cannot be analysed within the existing framework; it covers communities of race, ethnic-minority groups, and immigrants. In the UK context, many studies have discussed the emergence of small, scattered, legally stratified, transnationally connected, and differentiated socio-economic communities with diverse variables. These stand in contrast to an older framework of large, well-organised racial and ethnic-minority groups from new Commonwealth countries. The present study investigates underexplored local processes that include and exclude communities with a migrant background.

Local diversity policies address racial discrimination, integration, and selective immigration. In the case of integration, the 1990s served as an inflection point when integration policies were first prioritised over ethnic-group-based policies. Selective-immigration policies include restricted entry and access to services such as education. Entry restrictions include the meritocratic selection of non-EU and EU immigrants and asylum seekers and refugees. Restrictions on access to services apply to educational services and refugee-resettlement programmes.

This study outlines the development of selection and restriction policies within a neoliberal context, which targeted diversifying communities after 1990. The shift from a locally led race- and ethnic-group-based system to a more state-led legal-status and individual-based system was the common backdrop for policies involving race, integration, and immigrant-selection. Thus, the present study investigates the new super-diversity context from the perspective of Lewisham local policies.

Contents

1. Introduction

Why super-diversity?

This study uses the social-change concept of super-diversity to investigate the mechanism of local migration-related community selection from both historical and local perspectives. In the UK context, super-diversity derives from a critical reappraisal of the existing framework of diversity, based on race and ethnicity (Vertovec, 2007). The concept is used to critique and move beyond the existing 'old diversity', associated with Commonwealth communities of race, ethnicity issues, and related policies (Vertovec, 2019, Meissner and Vertovec, 2015). "Old diversity" relates to the migration of groups of people from old colonies and new Commonwealth countries between the end of WWII and 1990. As Vertovec explains, this understanding of immigration and multicultural diversity has framed government policies, social-service practices and public perceptions (Vertovec, 2007).

Super-diversity reflects changing population configurations caused by global migration flows after 1990. Super-diversity describes the historical context of later immigration patterns and communities. Before 1990, the UK had more emigrants than immigrants. Since that time, immigration to the UK has outpaced emigration (Vertovec, 2007). Immigration patterns have also transformed, moving towards cyclical, return, and seasonal migration and away from permanent migration. Thus, 'new' types of

communities have emerged, reflecting the historical development of immigration and communities.

The assumptions around 'old' Commonwealth immigration, communities of race, and ethnic diversity come from the post-war era. Race includes phenotypic characteristics, such as skin colour, whereas ethnicity also encompasses cultural factors, including nationality, tribal affiliation, religion, language, and the traditions of particular groups (Murji and Solomos, 2014, Meer, 2014, Cohen, 1974). This thesis considers both race and ethnicity in overlapping categories in relation to the development of racial and ethnic-minority groups. It argues that trends in immigration, race, and ethnicity from the end of the war to the late 1980s cannot fully explain the new demography and demographic changes in immigration, the sense of group belonging, or the ethnic-minority groups that emerged later. Elements of earlier issues surrounding race and ethnicity have been used to articulate the new characteristics of diversity in the current era. Steven Vertovec, the sociologist who coined the term 'super-diversity', has described racial and ethnic diversity as the 'diversity that used to be', while describing the new diversity as follows:

> Diversity in Britain is not what it used to be. Some thirty years of government policies, social service practices and public perceptions have been framed by a particular understanding of immigration and multicultural diversity. Britain's immigrant and ethnic-minority population has typically been characterised by large, well-organised African-Caribbean and South Asian communities of citizens originally from Commonwealth countries or former colonial territories. Policy

frameworks and public understanding and, indeed, many areas of social
science have not caught up with recently emergent demographic and
social patterns (Vertovec, 2007:1024).

Vertovec compares historical conceptions of diversity, describing the current
UK version as 'not what it used to be'. Adopting a dichotomous perspective, he
explains the concept of super-diversity by comparing new communities and patterns of
immigration with those of the post-war era. During the earlier period, the main
communities were large, well-organised African-Caribbean and South Asian
Commonwealth communities, sometimes described as 'Black ethnic-minority groups',
which developed during the post-war period. This thesis will focus on the process
through which government policies, social-service practices, and public perceptions
attempted to transform the existing framework of race and ethnicity issues, starting in
the early 1990s.

This study adopts a two-era timeframe. The 'post-war era' extends from the end
of World War II to 1990, followed by the second era (1990–2023); however, the thesis
does not impose this timeline strictly on particular issues. Prior to 1990, 'established'
forms of diversity involved communities of race, ethnicity, and immigration associated
with Commonwealth communities. The post-1990 changing society is based on a
comparison with pre-1990 data on race, ethnicity, and immigration. Across and between
these eras, 'diversity' in Britain underwent a historical transformation.

Super-diversity studies argue that ethnicity and country-of-birth variables alone
do not justify the addition of 'super' to the concept of diversity (Meissner and Vertovec,

2015, Vertovec, 2007). However, the established concept of diversity cannot fully explain the current experiences of people with a diverse sense of belonging and immigration. Since 1990, immigration patterns have encouraged a comparative perspective on Black ethnic-group diversity. The new diversity raises questions about Black ethnic-minority groups, which came mainly from Commonwealth and former British colonies between the end of the war and 1990. The conventional way of looking at diversity and policy is premised on the race narratives and ethnic-minority groups within Black communities. Diversity-related policies and services reflect the experience of those communities and the racism they have experienced. Such issues include racism directed at Commonwealth communities and the development of groups designed to tackle racism through anti-racist activities. Policies and public-service practices directed at ethnic-group communities, described as 'multicultural policies' in the UK context, developed throughout the post-war period.

The key race and ethnicity issues discussed in this thesis are post-war issues and the post-1990 question of super-diversity. After 1990, more people and groups arrived in the UK from a diverse range of countries. Perceptions of race and ethnicity have been transformed by new trends in immigration and societal diversity. As a result, older racial and ethnic-minority groups and patterns of immigration have diversified. Post-war immigration patterns and communities are defined through policy, public perceptions, and public-service practices related to race. The diverse ethnicities and countries of birth (Vertovec, 2007, Vertovec, 2006) associated with the development of large organised groups are also discussed.

Vertovec highlights new communities and immigration patterns. His seminal article describes this form of diversity as a new pattern of small, scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, and legally stratified community groups, contrasting with the large, well-organised community groups from post-war Commonwealth countries (Vertovec, 2007). After 1990, the communities included small migrant populations with changing legal statuses (Vertovec, 2007). Here, the question of legal status is an issue to explore and research. Post-1990 groups include, for example, global elites who move around the world, people with precarious legal statuses, undocumented people, and those who have experienced changing legal statuses. Such groups have attracted attention against a backdrop of global immigration that includes cyclical, return, and seasonal migration.

The concept of super-diversity makes it challenging to define a diverse society by exploring the impact of migration and ethnicity alone. Key additional variables include 'differential immigration statuses and their concomitant entitlements and restrictions of rights, divergent labour market experiences, discrete gender and age profiles, patterns of spatial distribution' and the mixed local-area responses of service providers and residents (Vertovec, 2007:1025). However, this idea cannot be captured exclusively through the lens of racial or ethnic diversity. For example, it is impossible to use the old lens to analyse newly created legal statuses, which allow or restrict settlement in the UK and access to services such as English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL). In addition, although this study does not cover this area, super-diversity also includes the study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer groups in combination with race and ethnicity. These new categories of super-diversity

have been in the spotlight since the late 2010s, emerging after the original super-diversity article. Although this thesis focuses on migration-related groups, new groups are mentioned in the chapter on diverse communities.

Thus, super-diversity includes various elements that reflect a more diverse sense of belonging, rights, and entitlements, all of which are constantly changing (Vertovec, 2022: 203–204). This diverse sense of belonging cannot be captured fully through the lens of established racial and ethnic belonging. The concept of super-diversity allows researchers to analyse a wide range of diverse communities, including post-war refugees and immigrants with non-EU and EU statuses, who have diverse legal statuses and migration origins. Immigration statuses, which define entitlements and rights, are particularly relevant to this thesis, as it explores immigration policies, social services, and access (see Chapters 6 and 7). Even people from the same ethnic backgrounds, countries of origin, and birth groups may have different levels of access to funding and services. For this reason, migration-related diversity cannot be studied from a simple race-and-ethnicity perspective. The super-diversity perspective allows researchers to explore a wide range of post-1990 immigrant communities. As such issues are highly relevant, this thesis aims to explain how the borders of migration-related diversity have been created historically.

A critical review of super-diversity

The term, 'super-diversity' has been used and interpreted in many ways to describe both new immigrants and diverse communities. Since its introduction, the concept of super-diversity has received significant attention. It has been used in law, economics, demography, business studies, urban planning, linguistics, education, social work, and healthcare studies, as well as in sociology and migration studies (Meissner and Vertovec, 2015). The range and applicability of the concept make it easy to interpret in various ways, leading to the criticism that super-diversity is an ambiguous concept. Meissner divides scholars who use the term 'super-diversity' into the following groups: '(1) those who use the term as a catchphrase without clarifying why they are using it in place of a more conventional definition of diversity; (2) those who use the term to mean heightened ethnic diversity; (3) those highlighting the need to recognise multidimensionality in diversity; and (4) those who actively employ super-diversity in empirical analyses' (Meissner, 2015:558). The present study uses super-diversity as a tool to explore multidimensionality in diversity; in the empirical analysis, its use relates to (3) and (4) in this framework.

According to one common criticism, definitions of racial and ethnic diversity in new communities lack historical perspective. It is therefore essential to clarify how new super-diverse communities of small, scattered, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated, and legally stratified individuals and groups developed after 1990. Some studies of evolving communities, including transnational communities, review societal history separately, without considering the methodological perspective used in the present study. The historical context involves issues related to race, ethnicity, and immigration statuses. Indeed, this study is less

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about quantifying diversity and more about understanding processes and patterns of diversification (Meissner, 2015:560), which are not necessarily defined by immigration and ethnicity.

Those who criticise the focus on new communities in super-diversity research point out the lack of any historical perspective on the development of diverse immigrant communities (Aptekar, 2019, Hall, 2017) . Hall, for example, criticises the concept of super-diversity and emphasises the history, nature, and ideology of immigration, arguing that super-diversity focuses too much on new patterns of immigration. The new immigration-focused perspective on diversity does not fully account for previous understandings of diversity, which are relevant to the narrative of race, ethnicity, and multicultural diversity developed before 1990. The present thesis draws on the history, nature, and ideology of Commonwealth immigration, diversity, and race and ethnicity issues. This historical perspective makes it possible to analyse the processes and patterns of diversification (Meissner, 2015, Hall, 2017), which are vital for any analysis of the dynamism of diversity.

Questions of race and ethnicity in super-diversity research have emerged in response to the criticism that super-diversity studies focus too much on new elements; super-diversity is not just about new communities – it also covers the process of diversification, including race and ethnicity issues. Critics have argued that early ideas of super-diversity downplayed race and ethnicity issues (Aptekar, 2019). In addition, the super-diversity focus on new issues of diversity moves away from a focus on problems of inequality faced by ethnic-minority populations and turns a blind eye to racialisation processes (Aptekar, 2019), which are relevant to the investigation of

welfare-access borders in this thesis. Race and ethnicity issues that reflect a White majority and Black minority are downplayed when super-diversity researchers focus exclusively on new patterns of immigration and hierarchical social positions. In addition, the processes of racialisation and structural racism can be overlooked when studies present uncritical celebrations of conviviality.

The historical perspective also applies to new communities. This thesis addresses the criticism that super-diversity studies lack historical perspective and fail to discuss how borders are created. To fill this gap in the literature, the present study investigates borders of entry, rights, and access to welfare services. New communities are viewed in relation to history and borders, a lens that is also applied to communities of race and ethnicity. This thesis also investigates how new immigrants and diverse communities increased and developed after 1990 and asks whether similar communities existed during the post-war era. Explaining the historical development of immigration statuses from the post-war era onwards can produce an interesting contrast with new diversity and immigration statuses and related issues involving race and ethnicity. The present study analyses both immigration statuses and historical perspectives constructed during the post-war era, alongside issues of race, ethnicity, and immigration statuses.

The other relevant criticism of super-diversity research is that some studies focus too much on the new diversity without incorporating a critical view of borders and inequalities (Hall, 2017), which relate to the next group of neoliberal issues. Ndhlovu harshly criticises the way in which the concept of super-diversity is used to homogenise cultural and social groups and to embrace elitist neoliberal conceptualizations of culture and identity uncritically (Ndhlovu, 2016). Some super-

diversity studies limit themselves to exploring conviviality and interactions. According to critics, borders, such as those controlling entry and access to welfare, are underexplored. While super-diversity research often focuses on new forms of diversity and interactions among diverse communities, its critics argue that ethnicity and immigration diversity alone do not constitute 'super' diversity, a position supported by the present study. In addition, super-diversity research rarely considers immigration control or access to welfare and other provisions. Thus, many critics are concerned that issues related to race and ethnicities are excluded from super-diversity research.

The present study focuses on borders, an issue associated with race and ethnicity, immigration, statuses, and migration channels. Legal statuses and migration channels are linked to entry and welfare-access controls and often discussed together (e.g., in studies of refugees and refugee-resettlement programmes). For example, there is one migration channel for EU immigrants, who have specific legal-immigration statuses. Hall has criticised the original outline of super-diversity, which incorporates an uncritical view of borders. She argues in favour of accelerated migrations, arguing that too few discussions of borders include racial borders. She points out that migrant sorting is discriminatory, multiple, stratified, and linked to the politics of immigration. Sorting processes reflect the sustained economic demand for migrant labour and the political commitment to national authenticity, which has hierarchical notions of race and ethnicity at its core (Hall, 2017). Thus, although super-diversity studies explore race, ethnicity, power, and equality issues, they focus too much on the new hierarchy, while neglecting race-related immigration and diversity.

The present study investigates immigration-related legal statuses because border issues emerge via local policies. Both entry and welfare delivery depend on legal statuses; super-diversity researchers often fail to document the control of diverse communities. Immigration controls have created various immigration-related legal statuses, which are essential elements of super-diverse new communities. While the number of new communities has increased, restrictions on entry and access to welfare benefits have also diversified since 1990. As new communities include immigrants with different legal statuses (Castles et al., 2014), this section focuses mainly on asylum seekers, refugees, and non-EU and EU communities. The thesis explains the multiplication of borders, created when migration patterns began to diversify after 1990, as well as government policies on entry restrictions. It is clear that new sources of immigration and increased migration patterns, including cyclical, return, and seasonal (as opposed to permanent) migration, can be compared to established linear patterns of migration, sources of emigration, and settlement.

Super-diversity, policy, and the neoliberal agenda

The concept of super-diversity covers changes in migrant-background community policies and services, as well as demographic change. This thesis articulates the neoliberal agenda embedded in such changes, using super-diversity as the macro social-change narrative over demographic and political changes. According to Meissner and Vertovec, super-diversity also highlights the need for policymakers and

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practitioners to recognize the new conditions created by the concurrent characteristics of global migration and population change (Meissner and Vertovec, 2015). They call on policymakers to recognize the new awareness and conditions that have influenced ethno-focal (community-based) services and policies (e.g., ethnic-group-based and integration issues) and to pay more attention to legal statuses and related matters (e.g., the selective immigration agenda) (Meissner and Vertovec, 2015: 543).

This thesis does not necessarily apply the approach to demographic change adopted by policymakers and service practitioners, which tends to be driven by migration and demography. Instead, it proposes a policy-driven perspective, which can also affect how people recognise migrants, demography, and demographic change. According to Vertovec, this complexity is part of a general trend toward broader complexification, which combines demography with the dynamics of group-based and individual categories and policies (Vertovec, 2022: 221–223).

Although the original concept of super-diversity does not explain the shift from ethnic-group-based services to individual legal-status-based services, Hall's view that super-diversity should consider the history of borders and inequalities is useful (Hall, 2017) and linked to neoliberal multiculturalism (related to integration and the shift from ethnic-group-based policies and services); it is also linked to earned citizenship, which this thesis associates with selective immigration policies and services. Such perspectives explain the post-1990 policy shift from ethnic-group-based services to a selective immigration agenda based on human capital. Various migrants discussed in this study experienced restrictive access to welfare and policies, based on labour-market needs.

Kymlicka (2013) links integration policies and issues to what he calls 'neoliberal multiculturalism', the belief that ethnic identities and attachments can benefit market actors and should be supported by the neoliberal state for this reason (Kymlicka, 2013). He sees neoliberalism, which developed during the 1980s, as an effort to create effective market actors and competitive economies, rather than to provide welfare services to various types of migrants and ethnic groups. This perspective is linked to the integration agenda articulated in Chapter 6, which sees diversity as an asset that can be used to develop new forms of multiculturalism, referred to as 'diversity', 'pluralism', 'intercultural dialogue', 'civic integration', and 'community cohesion'.

The present thesis relies primarily on the concept of integration (Joppke, 2021: 14–16), alongside Joppke's (2021) concept of 'earned citizenship' linked to neoliberal selective immigration policies. Earned citizenship, especially in the European context, conceives of citizenship as a privilege, not a right – something difficult to obtain and easier to lose. This view incorporates elements of neoliberalism and nationalism (Joppke, 2021: 1). The present thesis argues that neoliberalism has led to a selective-migration agenda, in which migrants are selected because their skills are required in the market economy. Migrant selection, which restricts access to various services, has been criticised as welfare chauvinism for its attempts to limit welfare benefits (Joppke, 2021: 10). This study explains how the selective immigration agenda created more legal statuses and categories to restrict accesses to welfare in the national and local context, underpinning a system in which the right to citizenship was difficult to obtain and easy to lose.

Thus, the neoliberal agenda is an important aspect of this research, which aims to explain super-diversity. However, it not used as a tool to criticise super-diversity. While the concept of super-diversity does not always relate to the neoliberal agenda or its elements, the neoliberal agenda has introduced policy changes related to integration, selective immigration, and the way people understand these changes.

The London Borough of Lewisham – a super-diversity case study

This research explores local approaches to policies and services for diverse communities in a historical context. Local issues involving race, ethnicity, and immigration statuses are underexplored and will be unpacked in relation to super-diversity issues. Although a wide range of studies have investigated super-diversity in other London boroughs, Lewisham has an important history of immigration and race-related issues. Various organisations, such as local government and charity organisations for migrants and ethnic-minority populations in the borough, are actively engaged in diversity policies and services (Shukra, 1998, London Borough of Lewisham, 2017a). The first section articulates the need to focus on historical aspects of super-diversity when considering race, ethnicity, and immigration statuses. The next section explains the choice of Lewisham, focusing on local policies and services.

Super-diversity can differ based on each country's historical and local context. In the present context, super-diversity reflects the unique history of the UK and perceptions of communities that differ from those in other countries. Unlike neighbouring countries, such as France, the UK has a history of capturing and changing

ethnic-group data without including ethnic or policy-related data for specific ethnic-minority groups (Bleich, 2003). Furthermore, UK community policies, government-distributed resources, and calls for equal treatment do not apply to other countries. As it is essential to consider each country's historical context, this thesis will adopt a historical perspective. According to Vertovec, super-diversity is also relevant to the European context. Due to differences between Europe and the US, the term is less widely used by American social scientists in the US context, where urban ethnic politics favour large and well-organised groups with outspoken representatives (Vertovec, 2019).

The UK is one of the most diverse countries in the world, based on its diverse immigration patterns and communities of various backgrounds; it also has a diverse range of policies for dealing with various communities. According to a UN survey, the UK is the 5th highest-ranking country for immigration, hosting one of the largest groups of international migrants. Between 1990 and 2019, it received more immigrants than the US, Germany, Saudi Arabia, or Russia (United Nations, 2019). Historically, the UK has a rich history of immigration. During the post-war era, immigrants came primarily from Commonwealth countries; since 1990, they have come from around the globe. Although the UK was once a country of emigrants, the pattern has shifted toward immigration (Katwala and Sommerville, 2016). Within this context of diversity, the present study explores the situation in Lewisham and compares it to the national context.

London is one of the most diverse cities in the world in terms of immigration and communities with diverse backgrounds. Many studies of super-diversity have used diverse areas in London as case studies. At the time of the 2021 Census, over 40.6 per

cent of London residents were foreign-born, the second-largest population of immigrants in the world after New York. Thus, London is known to have one of the world's most ethnically diverse populations, with residents from various parts of the world holding a wide range of legal statuses. It is said that over 300 languages are spoken in the city (Vertovec, 2018). The London Borough of Lewisham reflects UK and London immigration trends. Its diverse communities have attracted diverse policies, including those implemented by the national government, the Greater London Authority, the Borough of Lewisham, and non-profit organisations.

This thesis takes up the issue of diversity within the London Borough of Lewisham, an area characterised by super-diverse racial and ethnic-minority groups and immigration statuses. Lewisham was chosen as a case study to clarify the narrative of super-diversity in a local context. The borough provides extensive evidence of immigration and multicultural diversity, providing a rich source of information on the extent to which government policies, social-service practices, and public perceptions have changed the history of race, ethnicity, and equality. Given its rich history of immigration and diversity, Lewisham offers a valuable perspective on local demography and demographic change, as well as policies and public services for community groups.

Lewisham has a growing population with a diverse range of birth countries and ethnicities. The population numbers around 318,000 in the 2021 Census data (Office for National Statistics, 2023), having grown from 275,900 in 2011. This growth includes the number of births (exceeding the number of deaths), internal migration, and people who have moved to the borough from overseas (London Borough of Lewisham, 2019).

The area has experienced new immigration and become more and more demographically diverse. Lewisham Council, non-profit organisations, and ethnic-minority groups must address various issues associated with these demographic changes and the arrival of new communities. Overall, Lewisham is one of the most ethnically diverse areas in England, ranking 15th nationwide, with 130 different languages spoken (London Borough of Lewisham, 2012b).

As Lewisham also has deprived populations, the Council must develop targeted policies and deliver welfare services; these are highlighted in this study of local policies and super-diversity. In other words, there is a demand for new social-welfare services to support the communities that represent the main focus of this thesis. In the 2015 Index of Multiple Deprivations (IMD), published by the Department for Communities and Local Government, Lewisham is one of the most deprived areas in England, ranking 48th out of 326 local authority districts (London Borough of Lewisham, 2017b). The IMD, which is also used by Lewisham Council, combines seven domains to produce an overall measure of relative deprivation. The domains are combined using the following weights: Income Deprivation (22.5%), Employment Deprivation (22.5%), Education, Skills, and Training Deprivation (13.5%), Health Deprivation and Disability (13.5%), Crime (9.3%), Barriers to Housing and Services (9.3%), and Living Environment Deprivation (9.3%) (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2016).

In the context of super-diversity, Lewisham is part of a super-diverse area that has not been significantly researched, unlike other parts of London. Several London boroughs have already been the focus of super-diversity research. For instance, prior studies have explored Tower Hamlets (Mintchev and Moore, 2018), Newham

(Vertovec, 2007), and Hackney (Wessendorf, 2014). Other studies have focused on specific neighbourhoods, including the Rye Lane area, Peckham, and the London Borough of Southwark (Hall, 2013). The latter study explores many interactions between ethnic-minority groups and organisations described as super-diverse (Hall, 2013). The studies use different methodologies to explore super-diversity, focusing on the individual characteristics and interactions of specific communities.

For the present research, fieldwork was carried out in Lewisham. Interview data were collected from local government officials, councillors, and people associated with voluntary organisations, including ethnic-minority groups. The data, which involved demography and the history of immigration and communities, made it possible to identify a shift in community-based approaches. Some interviewees discussed race-based and multicultural policies. Others explained why legal and immigration statuses mattered to the process of delivering educational services. This information helped to clarify a shift in the approach of Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations toward legally based services.

The scope of super-diversity and local-policy research

Policies and services in the local context provide a focus for research on the historical transformation of race, ethnicity, legal statuses, and migration in the national context. The policies, which cover race, integration, and selective and restrictive immigration, reflect common features in the shift from old racial- and ethnic-group-

based policies toward new policies. The racial policies include approaches to Commonwealth ethnic-minority groups and the way they have changed over the years. Integration policies include the ethnic-group and migrant integration process, which has replaced ethnic-group-based policies. This paper compares such policies to multicultural, ethnic-group-based policies on the ground. It focuses on newly developed policies that embody the shift in ethnic group-based services. Selective and restrictive immigration policies, based on merit, are relevant to the shift from services based on ethnic-minority groups to services based on immigration statuses.

The policies analysed in this thesis, in a broad sense, relate a field of activity to specific proposals and intentions, government decisions, programmes, and decision-making and implementation processes, as Bochel and Bochel (2004: 9) have described. This approach to Lewisham local policies adopts a super-diversity perspective, articulating various borders involving race and ethnicity, immigration statuses, and other areas. These policies and services target ethnic and Black communities and groups with specific legal statuses, including refugees applying for resettlement.

A focus on local policies also reveals how local bodies, including authorities and organisations, deal with issues around race, ethnicity, and the various immigration statuses defined by the national government. The lens of super-diversity is also used to consider how local authorities and non-profit organisations deal with rapid changes in diversity. This paper describes the shifting views of diversity before and after 1990. In earlier decades, the issue of diversity was based on a model of majority and minority groups, which assumed a White majority and Black minority in the UK context. In addition, immigration was presumed to be permanent immigration. By contrast, super-

diversity focuses on new categories, groups with more diverse ethnic and racial elements, and their legal and other statuses.

Educational services, a common feature of these policies, are often used to examine the issue of diversity. The Lewisham chapters (5–7) describe the educational services provided for specific groups and use them to detail the diversity, integration, selection, and restriction of communities. This study uses the word 'integration' in place of 'community cohesion' or 'cohesion' because it can apply to diverse historical periods and fields of study, as opposed to specific governments and policies. Chapters 6 and 7 explore multicultural education, covering the integration of Commonwealth immigrants, efforts to reverse the academic underachievement of ethnic-minority populations, the integration of diverse communities, and the provision of restricted and enclosed educational services for specific populations. This thesis also considers whether educational services play a role in accelerating an integration and restriction agenda.

Local policies designed for migrant-background communities capture various dynamic transitions that can help to explain diverse perspectives. The local-policy perspective reveals the role of local policies and organisations in delivering services that reflect central-government policies. This paper explores how people become aware of and classify communities, distribute resources, and restrict access to various services, such as education. It also considers links to national-government policies. It investigates a wide range of educational services in relation to local race-based, integration, and selective and restrictive immigration policies.

One key issue involves policies and services that have moved away from a focus on specific ethnic groups. This paper looks at local ethnicity-based services and

associated political processes, including the policy structure for local and national relations before and after 1990. Various studies have investigated the new questions around race; this thesis makes a contribution to the field by focusing on programmes and initiatives that create new borders and forms of access through policymaking and actual practices. Policies and services based on race and ethnicity in the local context provide a means of describing the historical transformation of communities and immigrants, highlighting the way in which borders and restrictions have changed. The local and national shift in racial- and ethnic-group-based policies and issues between the end of the war and the early 1990s signalled a change from the earlier focus on large, well-organised Black communities from Commonwealth countries. This shift reflected a new demography of immigration, race-related issues, integration and other policies that affected communities in the local context.

The other issues discussed in this thesis involve diverse immigration statuses. This paper highlights the existence of communities with diverse legal statuses after 1990, during a period of diverse migration and control policies. The multiplication of borders and forms of access has influenced locally provided policies and services. This multiplication of borders, which reflects national legal statuses and forms of access, has changed the funding and programmes that support the policies of local service providers. The present study contributes to a local historical perspective by investigating how local authorities and non-profit organisations have dealt with legal-status-based policies and services. These include refugee-resettlement programmes, ESOL, and forms of access via various statuses and channels.

This thesis also considers the role of local government and voluntary organisations and their efforts to adapt to diverse groups of immigrants with different legal statuses, rights, and forms of access. Among groups with varied legal statuses, it considers asylum seekers, refugees, and both non-EU and EU migrants. These communities have created the categories used to shape various national policies, services, and borders since the 1990s. Few studies have investigated how these categories are reflected in the local context. For this reason, they provide a model case study for research on the multiplication of borders of access to services, such as education.

Research purposes and questions

Local and historical perspectives are used to articulate the neoliberal selection process applied to local migrant communities after 1990. The shift in perspective from Commonwealth race and ethnic groups to a new framework of individual immigration-based legal statuses, based on neoliberal meritocratic values, is examined to provide a new super-diversity research perspective. The research questions are as follows:

- How has the neoliberal migrant-selection process developed historically in the national and local context?

- How has the shift from policies and services based on ethnic-minority groups to those based on individual legal statuses (described as a post-1990 system of neoliberal multicultural practice) restricted welfare services?

Chapter outline

Chapters 2 and 3 provide the historical background, looking at immigration and diversity in the national context. Chapter 4 discusses the data-collection methodology and analytical process. Chapters 5 to 7 discuss the Lewisham data, with Chapter 5 showing how Lewisham uses demographic data to define communities and cases of discrimination, and Chapter 6 articulating the transformation of the Lewisham integration programme and the shift away from ethnic-group-based services with a neoliberal multiculturalist agenda. Chapter 7 considers the development of service selection and restriction, discussing the history of public-service access restrictions, access to ESOL services, and refugee-resettlement programmes. This section details the neoliberal selection process applied to migrant-related communities in the local context. The conclusion summarises the research findings and future research areas.

2) UK Immigration before 1990

This chapter describes immigration and the methods used to control it during the post-war era. It begins by discussing the Commonwealth, African Caribbean, and South Asian communities that participated in labour and family immigration. Next, it discusses refugee immigration, including programmes designed to resettle refugees from around the world. This research describes a series of legislative attempts to control the entry and immigration of Commonwealth immigrants and refugees. Efforts to control refugee entry led to the development of the refugee-resettlement programme.

In addition, this paper discusses issues of race and support for ethnic-minority groups and multicultural activities between the end of World War II and the 1960s–1980s. In the 1960s, racists targeted Black minority groups, often in Commonwealth communities, leading to large anti-racism campaigns and the development of government race-relations legislation. In the 1970s, anti-racism campaigns attempted to stem the urban disorder caused by White right-wing racist groups and Black urban youth. This study discusses government action against racism, including race-relations legislation and support for racial and ethnic-minority groups. As the 1980s witnessed continued urban disorder, it also discusses the reaction of national and local governments to anti-racist and multicultural programmes.

3) UK immigration after 1990

After 1990, issues of immigration and control involved new refugees from EU and non-EU countries and their access to welfare. This chapter discusses restrictions on entry, welfare access for asylum seekers and refugees, and refugee-resettlement

programmes in the 1990s, 2000s, and 2010s. New restrictions were developed to control asylum applications, deportation and removal, and refugee-resettlement programmes. When considering non-EU immigration, this study explores the development of a points-based system used to select highly skilled immigrants during the 2000s and 2010s. In relation to EU immigration, it examines the increase in Eastern European immigration following EU expansion in the 2000s and the 2010s, as well as Brexit-related criticism of immigration.

This chapter also discusses racism, ethnicity, and integration. The topics include various types of hatred directed at Black and other minority communities, xenophobia against refugees and Europeans, and religious hatred of Muslim minorities in the 1990s, 2000s, and 2010s. It explores government action on diversity, including criticism of integration and the provision of welfare to multicultural ethnic groups. During the 1990s, multicultural practices shifted, and diversity became an aspect of national branding for the new Labour government. During the 2000s, there was a backlash against multiculturalism, following the introduction of an integration agenda designed to promote community cohesion. In the 2010s, funding for community cohesion was curtailed, leading to hostile-environment immigration policies, including Brexit.

4) Analytical challenges posed by Lewisham local policies and social change

This section explains the author's reasons for choosing this topic and fieldwork approach. It describes the collection of interview and statistical data and policy documents, such as Lewisham demographic data and interviews with service providers,

including community workers, local government officials, and councillors, who explain their views on gentrification and generational differences. It also explains the challenges involved in networking and connecting with interviewees, revealing the researcher's position, access to people, and target specification. Policy documents and statistical data were collected from various sources, including interviewees and websites. The statistical data include demographic information, while the policy documents cover integration, refugee resettlement, and educational programmes.

The analytical section describes the challenges associated with Lewisham's local policies and social change. It supplements the methodology discussed in Chapter 1, focusing on the issue of increased diversity. It explains why Lewisham was selected as a case study and relates the local context to the national situation. Fieldwork conducted in Lewisham reveals a research shift from ethnic-group-based policies and services to individual legal-status-based policies and services. This section also explains local and national power relations. Local policies and educational services, discussed in Chapters 5–7, are analysed in relation to the local and national context.

5) Classifying migrant-related groups in Lewisham before and after 1990

This chapter explains the transformation of migration-related demographic classification in Lewisham and the UK. It covers migration, race, and the response of ethnic-community groups to super-diversity in Lewisham. It also explains how demographic data, including census, interviewee, and interview data, reveal how Lewisham-based interviewees compare past and present levels and types of diversity.

In addition, this chapter discusses immigration and race before and after 1990, focusing on community recognition and transformation in Lewisham. It explores historical patterns of immigration during the 1970s and 1980s among African Caribbean and other communities, including refugees and European immigrants. It also investigates public attitudes toward race during the post-war and post-1990 eras, showing how local organisations dealt with racial discrimination.

6) Neoliberal multicultural and integration-policy changes

This chapter articulates the way in which multicultural and integration policies changed with the shift from ethnic-group-based policies and serivces in Lewisham context. It begins by unpacking pre-1990 support for ethnic community groups in the national and local contexts. This period saw the development of multicultural, ethnic-group-based services, such as education, in connection with local and national relationships (not covered in Chapter 2). A comparative narrative is used to explore integration issues.

Next, the local context is explored, noting the shift away from ethnic-group-based support after 1990. Issues that emerged during the 1990s, 2000s, and 2010s are explained. This section explores the perspective of Lewisham-based service providers and people involved in education. The way in which voluntary organisations and Lewisham Council responded to the shift in ethnic-community groups had an impact on integration. Various programmes were established to integrate members of ethnic-minority groups into society between the post-war era and the present. Such services

included programmes designed to integrate and support new ethnic-minority groups, austerity measures, and the impact of austerity on integration programmes.

7) Immigrant-selection policy – the development of the neoliberal agenda

This section focuses on the process of allocating and restricting access to immigration by individual legal statuses and the way this process impacted local (Lewisham) migrant-related community support. The chapter compares also compares ESOL and refugee-resettlement programmes before and after 1990.

The history of post-1990 control by individual legal immigration statuses is explored in relation to ESOL and refugee-resettlement programmes. Such issues are used as a lens through which to examine individual legal statuses, policies, and services. This chapter investigates programmes run by Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations that incorporate legal statuses. It also explores the trend for strengthening the selection and restriction processes that control access to public services, particularly in relation to refugees and non-EU and EU communities. Lastly, this chapter explains the development of new selection and restriction policies after 2010 in response to austerity and Brexit.

8) Conclusion

The conclusion summarises the thesis argument and future research prospects related to Brexit and COVID-19. It begins by discussing the consequences of super-

diversity at the local level from the vantage point of diversity, integration, service selection, and restriction. The section on community recognition covers demographic and racial changes from the end of the war onwards, focusing on local and national relations. The section on local responses to community integration, selection, and restriction also discusses the national context.

The conclusion addresses future challenges, including the impact of Brexit and COVID-19. These issues have contributed to the recent decrease in immigration and increase in emigration. Brexit and COVID-19 have also affected policies and integration selection and restriction, impacting funding for refugee-resettlement programmes through Brexit-related government policies.

2. Pre-1990 UK immigration

Introduction

Pre-1990 information provides a backdrop for the later chapters, which track the evolution of various issues throughout this period. They discuss refugees and immigration policies, highlighting Commonwealth communities, the racialised control of access to immigration and welfare, and the development of racial and ethnic-minority groups. Although pre-1990 refugee immigration and access to entry and welfare are not key issues in the core chapters, they help to explain how the past compares to the period after 1990.

This chapter includes four sections on immigration, immigration control, race, and multicultural policies and services between the end of the war and the early 1990s. It covers the arrival of Commonwealth labourers and families, as well as refugees. The issue of immigration control reveals how the government created legislation and policies designed to restrict Commonwealth immigration, introducing refugee-resettlement programmes that controlled access to immigration and welfare. Multicultural policies also delivered race-based welfare services. The later chapters cover multicultural education – including cultural and language education – and discuss the delivery of multicultural welfare programmes.

UK immigration

This section investigates Commonwealth and refugee immigration between the post-war and post-1990 periods, detailing changes in immigration from the end of the war through the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. It begins by discussing post-war New Commonwealth labour immigration, followed by 1960s labour immigration and 1970s family immigration. It then investigates various types of refugee immigration, in particular, the refugee-resettlement programmes established prior to 1990. This chapter also explores European refugee immigration between the end of the war and the 1960s. During the 1970s, refugees came from Uganda, Chile, and Vietnam. During the 1980s, some refugees submitted individual applications, while others arrived via refugee-resettlement programmes.

During the post-war era, economic conditions in Britain required industries to recruit a range of different workers. One relatively large group of labourers (although not the largest) consisted of New Commonwealth immigrants, many of whom resided in neighbouring areas (Patterson, 1969). Encouraged by the UK government, which hoped to mitigate labour shortages, many immigrants came to the UK in search of jobs. These 'coloured people' from Commonwealth countries, mainly in the West Indies and South Asia, helped to compensate for post-war labour shortages. At the time, they were referred to as 'people of colour' or 'coloured' migrants; the notion of 'immigration' was associated with 'coloured people' (Miles and Cleary, 1993: 57–58). Collectively, they were known as the 'Windrush generation', after the HMT Empire Windrush, a

passenger ship that symbolised 'coloured immigration'. The Windrush arrived in

Tilbury in 1948, bringing workers from Caribbean countries, including Jamaica,

Trinidad and Tobago, and other islands.

People from the West Indies, including Jamaica, Guyana, and Trinidad, settled

primarily in the UK. The British Transport Commission, London Transport, the British

Hotels and Restaurants Association, and the NHS employed immigrant workers to cope

with labour shortages (Adi, 2022: 411). Many African Caribbean people settled in

South London. African Caribbean people constituted a significant population, larger

than the South Asia population (Registrar General for England and Wales; General

Register Office Scotland, 2002). They worked in sectors weakened by the war,

producing raw materials such as iron, steel, coal, and food. A workforce was also

needed for essential maintenance and repair work amidst severe shortages in the

construction sector (Ramdin, 1999). In the service sector, most new immigrants worked

in public services, including London Transport and the National Health Service. The

other large Commonwealth group came from South Asian countries, such as India,

Pakistan, and Bangladesh (Peach, 2006).

In contrast to the West Indian populations, South Asians settled in various

metropolitan areas, including London and central and northern England (Peach, 2006).

After the war, Pakistani migrants who came to Britain found employment in various

industries. They worked in the textile industries of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Manchester,

and Bradford; in the automobile and engineering factories of the West Midlands and

Birmingham; and in growing light industries in places such as Luton and Slough.

Punjabi migrants found work in the manufacturing, textile, and service sectors, with a

significant number going to work at Heathrow Airport in West London (Freeman, 1979). Many British Bangladeshi immigrants lived in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets (Gardner, 2002). Sikhs were concentrated in London, Birmingham, and Wolverhampton, while Hindus settled in London and Leicester, and Pakistanis in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Bradford, Leeds, and Luton (Peach, 2006).

During the early post-war era, most Commonwealth immigrants were men who shared common geographical, class, and ethnic backgrounds (Patterson, 1969). As in the case of other African Caribbean migrants, the first South Asians to arrive were men. This wave of immigration was visible and classified as the mass immigration of rural and largely unskilled non-elites from new Commonwealth countries. The immigrants were visible because of their colour and social and cultural backgrounds (Patterson, 1969: 17). Their communities also shared geographical backgrounds. For instance, India had two traditional areas: Punjab and Gujarat. Most Punjabis were Sikhs, while the migrants from Gujarat were generally Hindus (Patterson, 1969, Ramdin, 1999). People from the north-west frontier of Pakistan were often ex-servicemen; others came from the Mirpur border with Kashmir and the region bordering Punjab. In Bangladesh, people emigrated from the Sylhet border with Assam (Gardner, 2002). Thus, many Commonwealth communities had similar socio-economic, cultural, religious, linguistic, gender, and geographical backgrounds; however, this did not apply to all communities or later waves (Patterson, 1969).

The second wave of Commonwealth immigration in the 1970s differed from the first wave of family immigration. Despite legislation designed to restrict immigration, the families of first-wave workers immigrated to the UK. Various controls were

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established to limit the number of Commonwealth workers arriving at this time. These controls followed the Immigration Act of 1971, causing levels of immigration from Commonwealth countries to fall between the 1970s and 1990s. During this period, family members replaced workers. Census data reveal that 313,00 Indians arrived in the UK in 1971 (in comparison to 157,000 in 1961), in addition to 171,000 Jamaicans (versus 100,000 in 1961), 136,000 Pakistanis, and 58,000 Kenyans (Pakistan and Kenya were not among the top ten non-UK immigrant-producing countries in 1961) (Sooben, 1990, Registrar General for England and Wales; General Register Office Scotland, 2002). Thus, family immigration helped to diversify Commonwealth populations in the UK.

One group of post-war immigrants came from Ireland. These workers contributed to post-war economic reconstruction, although they were not related to the new Commonwealth or to refugee immigration. Irish immigrants to the UK were one of the largest groups both before and after the war; their numbers increased after the war, due to the labour shortage. Unlike new Commonwealth Black immigrants, Irish immigrants were allowed to come in unlimited numbers; between the 1960s and 1970s, these numbers remained remarkably stable: 676,000 in 1971, in comparison to 683,000 in 1961 (Latour, 2017: 2). Although these communities experienced hate crimes, they were not the target of racial discrimination. Entry restrictions were applied primarily to Black communities from the West Indies and South Asia.

The other group of post-war immigrants came from Europe for political reasons. They had access to the same immigration scheme as refugees. The post-war European Volunteer Voucher Scheme recruited 'displaced persons' from camps in Germany,

Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia (Kay and Miles, 1988). Several camps for displaced

persons on the European mainland were in areas previously controlled by the Soviet

Union, such as Poland; some immigrants were political refugees in their birth countries,

including Ukraine. The UK recruited such people through the European Volunteer

Workers Scheme, building a new workforce to aid Britain's post-war economic

recovery (Kay and Miles, 1988). UK anti-Soviet propaganda provided a justification for

this policy during the Cold War (Cohen, 1974).

The largest communities to arrive from Eastern Europe came from Poland,

followed by Ukraine, Romania, and the Balkan Peninsula, including the former

Yugoslavia (Solomos, 2003). These immigrants, who were political exiles and refugees

as well as workers, constituted one of the largest influxes of UK immigrants between

the end of the war and the 1950s. Eastern Europe had legal schemes for displaced

persons from various backgrounds. This type of immigration combined elements of

political and economic migration (Kay and Miles, 1988). It also gave people an

opportunity to migrate to the 'West'. Some immigrated to the UK from Soviet-

controlled areas. After 1956, when a popular uprising in Hungary failed to overthrow

Soviet control, 15,000 Hungarians came to Britain. In 1968, the Prague Spring rebellion

in Czechoslovakia drove another 5,000 refugees to the UK (Hitchcox, 1987, Patterson,

1969).

The early phase of each refugee-resettlement programme, whether Eastern

European – from countries such as Poland, Ukraine, Hungary, or the Czech Republic –

consisted mainly of single white, educated young men who had not experienced a

prolonged period of camp life (Hitchcox, 1987). Some fled to the UK and other

'Western countries' as refugees and tried to continue their professions and careers outside their homelands (Hitchcox, 1987). Thus, post-war immigration from Europe was related to refugee immigration.

During the 1970s, there was an increase in non-EU immigration (also related to refugee resettlement). This immigration pattern can be compared to earlier decades, when refugees came from East European communist regimes, including Ukraine, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. After 1970, refugees arrived from countries across the globe that were experiencing political unrest, including Uganda, Chile, and Vietnam. Many came to the UK came through resettlement programmes, such as the 1975–1982 Vietnamese refugee-resettlement programme (the largest during that era), rather than applying for refugee status as individuals (Kuepper et al., 1976). The arrival of large numbers of refugees of the same nationality was generally facilitated through special resettlement or 'quota' programmes.

Political and economic unrest created refugees from Uganda, Chile, and Vietnam (Panayi, 1993). The Uganda resettlement programme produced the first large-scale influx of post-war non-EU refugees. In 1972, refugee immigration was facilitated for people of South Asian descent expelled from Uganda by Idi Amin (Solomos, 2003, Hitchcox, 1987). The Uganda Resettlement programme enabled the first large-scale influx of post-war non-EU refugees, although many people came to the UK via resettlement programmes. After 1973, around 30,000 Chileans sought asylum in Britain, following the military coup in Chile (Wilkinson, 1992). The first group of Vietnamese refugees arrived through quota-based resettlement programmes between 1975 and 1982, during and after the Vietnam War (especially after the fall of Saigon in 1975). Thus, this

era introduced a more diverse range of quota-based refugee programmes from around the world, and not simply from Europe; they dominated the period between the end of the war and the 1970s.

During the 1980s, more non-quota-based refugees arrived in the UK; these included Ghanaians deported from Nigeria, Somalis escaping the Somali Civil War, Tamil people fleeing the Sri Lankan War, Vietnamese people driven out by political and economic instability after the Vietnam War, and Kurdish people escaping the Kurdish–Turkish conflict (Panayi, 1993). Their numbers, however, were relatively low and individual refugee applications stayed below 5,000 for most of the 1980s. Even Vietnamese refugees were considered non-quota refugees between 1983 and 1988. They came to the UK through boat-rescue and family-reunion cases and the Orderly Departure Programme (ODP) (Hale, 1993). The ODP was created by the UNHCR and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to manage legal emigration from Vietnam. The programme advised people to emigrate legally to prevent them from risking unsafe journeys by sea (as Vietnamese 'boat people'.) In 1989, a 2000 quota programme was launched for people in camps in Hong Kong. Thus, the 1980s saw a diversification of channels of refugee migration, which accelerated dramatically after 1990, with refugee controls and access to public funds and services.

Between the end of the war and the 1960s, Commonwealth immigration became a significant channel for migration to the UK from South Asia and the West Indies, although this was not the main or largest group of immigrants. Other groups, such as Eastern European refugees, came mainly from communist regimes. Large groups of immigrants also came from old Commonwealth countries and Ireland; in this case, race-

related restricted-entry policies applied mainly to Commonwealth communities. From the 1970s onwards, immigration diversified, followed by Commonwealth family immigration and non-EU refugee-resettlement quotas. Although the 1980s saw a slight increase in refugees making individual applications, relatively few refugees arrived in this way, in contrast to the post-1990 period and Commonwealth family immigration. Although diverse immigration did exist, the UK received far fewer immigrants than it would after 1990. Emigration still surpassed immigration between the end of the war and the early 1990s.

Immigration control and welfare policies

This section focuses on Commonwealth and refugee immigration, explaining immigration controls and the development of public-service restrictions in the national context. It shows how the UK government restricted immigration from Commonwealth countries, imposing policies designed to restrict refugee entry and access to welfare between the end of the war and the 1990s. A discussion of Commonwealth immigration details the history of legislation related to immigration and welfare access control. Chapters 5–7 also explore refugee-resettlement programmes, providing a backdrop for Lewisham immigration policies.

During the post-war era, Commonwealth citizens had the right to enter and work in the UK. As British nationals and citizens of various British dominions and colonies,

they shared the same citizenship status as 'British subjects' (Miles and Phizacklea, 1984a). Britain had the legislative power to determine whether non-British subjects could enter Britain and access the labour market. The vast majority of people in British colonies and dominions had the right to enter and settle in the UK during the post-war period. Although this issue was debated between 1940 and 1950, no legislation was enacted to control people from Commonwealth countries. The 1948 British Nationality Act followed the convention that citizens of the United Kingdom and its former colonies were all British subjects, giving Commonwealth immigrants the right to enter and work in the UK. This Act also bestowed citizenship on people from the new Commonwealth countries (Bevan, 1986, Solomos, 2003, Evans, 1983).

The control of Commonwealth immigration evolved during the 1960s, with Parliament discussing the possibility of redefining and controlling the rights of Commonwealth citizens. Legislation designed to control immigration was then enacted (Paul, 1997). Race played a role in the calculations and debates about 'appropriate' immigrants, although it was not the only factor considered (Miles, 1993). Both the Conservative and Labour parties implemented relevant legislation under the leadership of the Conservative Party in 1962, the Labour Party in 1968, and the Conservatives again in 1971.

The 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act was widely debated in Parliament and by the media. This law explicitly controlled immigrants from the new Commonwealth countries (Miles and Phizacklea, 1984b). The method used to control people from the Commonwealth was to classify them. The bill required British citizens living in the Commonwealth to hold Ministry of Labour employment vouchers. Three

types of status were issued to Commonwealth citizens: Category A allowed people with jobs to come to the UK; Category B allowed people with a recognised skill or qualification in short supply to come to the UK. Category C vouchers applied to all other applicants, with priority given to people who had served in the British Armed Forces during the war (Miles and Phizacklea, 1984b: 40–41).

Restrictions on entry to the UK for Commonwealth citizens were introduced between the 1960s and the 1980s. The 1968 Immigrants Act targeted the many Asians in East Africa (e.g., Kenya) who hoped to immigrate to Britain following political unrest and the expulsion of East African communities. At that time, East Africans were entitled to British citizenship through their ancestral links to India. The UK government targeted this Indian population, limiting their right to UK entry. The Act made it difficult for South Asians in East Africa to become British citizens, even when they feared victimisation in newly independent African countries (Bevan, 1986: 80–83).

The 1970s saw a range of legislation designed to control family migration, which affected Commonwealth communities. People whose parents and grandparents were born in the UK had the right to enter the UK. Increased family immigration accelerated in response to the restriction of labour immigration in the 1960s, as people feared that their entry to the UK would be restricted. The 1971 Immigration Act restricted entry from Commonwealth areas. Previously, Commonwealth citizens who entered Britain under the voucher system were entitled to settle there. The 1971 Act restricted their entry and right to remain, requiring a renewable annual work permit. This legislation awarded citizenship of the United Kingdom and Colonies (CUKC) based on birth, adoption, naturalisation, or registration in Britain; people with a British

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parent or grandparent were eligible to apply for this status, as were those who had

settled and lived in Britain for five or more years prior to 31 December 1982 (Home

Office, 2019).

Thus, the Act prevented many people from Commonwealth areas from settling

in the UK as family immigrants. The 1981 British Nationality Act introduced by the

Conservative government of the time removed the automatic right to citizenship of

people born in the UK, who had previously been included in the 1971 Immigration Act.

The new Act amended some confusing wording in the Immigration Act of 1971, which

implied that applicants with CUKC grandparents outside the UK had the right to settle

in Britain. This change prevented some Commonwealth citizens from entering the UK

and claiming the right to abode. The Conservative government also issued the 1988

Immigration Act, which targeted South Asian Commonwealth immigration, restricting

the right of entry of spouses in polygamous marriages. Only one wife or widow was

entitled to come to the UK (Shah, 2005:112–112).

Between the 1960s and 1980s, Britain targeted specific immigrants from or

associated with Commonwealth countries, such as Indian-origin East Africans. This

form of control began in the 1960s, when the UK began to target Commonwealth

immigration, followed by family immigration in the 1970s and 1980s. The first

immigration controls applied to Commonwealth workers. Later, controls were applied

to people with a family connection to a Commonwealth country, reducing family

immigration to the UK (Rolfe et al., 2019). This change affected both family relations

and the ancestral connections of refugees exiled from Indian communities in East

Africa. Thus, the new controls specifically targeted Black Commonwealth communities. European and other white communities were not affected.

Between 1960 and the 1980s, there were other types of migration, including post-war European and refugee immigration. These groups did not become the primary targets of control because the number of immigrants did not increase dramatically during that period. One reason for this was that fewer refugees applied as individuals. Access-to-service controls were built into each quota-based refugee programme, impacting most refugees. Between the end of the war and the 1980s, European immigration was largely associated with refugees (Miles and Cleary, 1993). Many people arrived via resettlement and other refugee-quota programmes; they included European Voucher Workers in 1945–1951, refugees from the Hungarian Uprising in 1956, and Czechs leaving home after the 1968 Prague Spring.

By contrast, immigration from Eastern Europe, Ireland, and other areas was not significantly controlled by legislation before 1990. Other forms of immigration were already effectively controlled through various quota-based refugee-resettlement programmes that ran for specific periods of time. The European Volunteer Workers Scheme was a very early post-war resettlement programme related to welfare policy; refugees arrived before the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Some groups had access to specific immigration channels, such as refugee-resettlement programmes, which developed into a key local-welfare activity after 1990. Such programmes, which covered both labour migration and refugee resettlement, gave refugees a different status from Commonwealth immigrants. While Commonwealth

immigrants were treated as British subjects between the war and the 1960s, European immigrants were subject to formal controls.

Before 1990, welfare-based refugee-resettlement programmes expanded. After 1990, controls were imposed on refugee entry, access to welfare benefits, and the asylum process. Resettlement policies, including the European Volunteer Workers Scheme, covered welfare support: education, housing, and financial assistance for communities with particular legal statuses. Services were provided by voluntary organisations, local government, and the national government. Local authorities and voluntary organisations implemented a policy of multiculturalism, promoting tolerance and collective identities by addressing inequalities and supporting community associations and ethnic-minority groups (Grillo, 2010). By addressing inequalities, the government and other organisations influenced race relations and public-service support, improving the welfare, education, and health of ethnic-minority groups.

During the early phase of the resettlement process, European Volunteer Workers (EVSs) were strictly controlled; later, the programme evolved to have less control. Trade unions argued that giving EVWs access to employment would limit employment opportunities in specific sectors. The Trades Union Congress (TUC) and the miners' union, in particular, insisted on strict conditions, arguing that EVWs should only be employed when no British labour was available. The European volunteers were thus confined to a restricted range of 'approved industries and services' and could not leave their jobs without official consent. This issue arose during the early phase of health and immigration statuses. The welfare of European workers also involved the issue of returning sick workers to their original countries, including Germany. Such restrictions

were discontinued to avoid hostility and challenges from refugee-welfare organisations (Kay and Miles, 1988).

The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees developed a formal refugee-resettlement programme; people who came from Europe (particularly Eastern Europe) were considered refugees. In the case of Hungarian refugees, refugee resettlement and access to employment were facilitated by various organisations, including the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the UK government, and voluntary organisations, including the British Red Cross, British Council for Aid to Refugees (BCAR), and the Standing Conference on Refugees, which later became the Refugee Council (Taylor, 2016). The Ministry of Labour played an active role in seeking out work and training for refugees and counselling employees (Hitchcox, 1987: 5). In contrast to later groups, most of the Hungarian refugees were men with the skills to pursue careers outside their homeland.

Between the 1970s and 1980s, the UK refugee-resettlement programme introduced welfare services. At that point, the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees no longer assumed that all refugees came from Eastern Europe. The protocol removed the convention's geographical and temporal limitations, allowing it to be used in other parts of the world. One early case was the Ugandan resettlement programme. In 1972, when President Idi Amin forced British Asians to leave within 90 days, the British government decided to receive them after several weeks of negotiation. The Uganda Resettlement Board was set up by the government to handle the resettlement process. A national agency created to deal with the crisis on a short-term basis, it had sufficient executive power to organise the reception and resettlement of refugees from

Uganda, most of whom were Asians. The Ugandan Asians received assistance from a host of voluntary organisations. In a similar case, the government developed a Vietnamese refugee-resettlement programme, investing in various reception centres and voluntary organisations.

UK immigration rules were first extended to cover refugees in 1971. Before that time, there were no restrictions on refugees entering the UK; they were recognised as immigrants in the 1970s. In contrast to the system developed during the 1990s, the earlier legislation had no clear policy on asylum following persecution, although it did include rules on immigration (Solomos and Schuster, 1999:58). Asylum seekers and refugees who sought entry on grounds of persecution were recognised during the 1970s, when the immigration rules targeted them, restricting their right to appeal when refused entry. Persecution was cited as a valid reason for granting leave to appeal against the refusal of entry clearance. Although these immigration rules lacked statutory force, they were official regulations issued by the Home Secretary with guidance from immigration officials.

During the 1980s, the government restricted refugee immigration by checking the background of each refugee; an appeal system was developed to control the application process and restrict entry. The government changed the appeal system, visa rules, and fines for carriers that delivered people with no or incorrect papers. According to the 1984 Immigration Appeals (Procedure) Rules, appeals were heard by a single adjudicator; applicants who were refused entry did not have access to a separate appeal system. Potential claimants without UK visas were not permitted to travel to the UK. The introduction of visa requirements impacted the asylum applications of people

fleeing the Sri Lankan Civil War. The 1987 Carriers' Liability Act made carriers liable for passengers travelling without papers or with incorrect papers. Airline and shipping company ticket sellers had to refuse passage to anyone not in possession of a valid passport and visa.

This restriction of entry and access to public services targeted Commonwealth communities, in line with racialised immigration controls (Bloch et al., 2013: 54–55). Questions of immigrant human capital (e.g., education, work skills, and experience) were used to control labour immigration from Commonwealth countries. These human-capital requirements were generally used to limit Commonwealth immigration. Immigrants from other countries were not required to have the same skills. In addition, family immigration was restricted due to changes in rights and citizenship. People whose parents were born in the UK and who were themselves born in the UK were denied the automatic right to citizenship. Until the 1990s, refugees arrived through refugee-resettlement programmes. During the 1970s and 1980s, these programmes developed welfare services involving the national government, local governments, and various voluntary organisations.

Racism, anti-racist activities, and cultural/religious recognition

Racial and ethnic-minority groups and government actions that discriminated against them emerged during the post-war era. As ethnic-minority groups developed, actions were taken against them. This section also describes other factors that mobilised

ethnic-minority groups between the 1960s and 1980s, including racist and anti-racist activities. Examples of racial discrimination included racist attitudes and actions towards Commonwealth communities. These led to the development of groups that tackled racism, carrying out anti-racist activities and contributing to the atmosphere and ideology of multicultural diversity.

Between the end of the war and 1990, most cases of racial discrimination involved Black ethnic-minority communities from the Commonwealth. Racial discrimination prompted ethnic-minority groups to call for equal rights and an end to racial inequality. Racial discrimination developed in response to several waves of post-war immigration, involving the first generation of Commonwealth immigrants and their second- and third-generation descendants, who were born and raised in the UK. The first wave of post-war migration to the UK created an imbalance between the massive influx of visible minorities (both significant communities of newly arrived people and existing communities from the post-war era) and the majority White population.

Race relations passed through several stages during the post-war period. Between the end of World War II and the 1970s, racism was mainly directed toward Commonwealth immigrants. Prior to the 1970s, racism and race relations mainly targeted Black Commonwealth immigrants; British society was not culturally or ethnically diverse (Paul, 1997). Immigration, factoring in an inclusive policy towards immigrants from Commonwealth countries and former colonies, became a subject of public political debate, with some arguing in favour of restrictions (Bleich, 2003). British society was not premised on ethnic or cultural diversity. Black communities were associated with immigrants and expected to assimilate into British culture and

ways of life [4]. During the 1960s, the government tried to combat racial discrimination by enacting legislation. Its anti-racist programmes and integration agendas were expanded during the 1970s and 1980s, when various anti-racist and multicultural programmes were introduced.

In the 1950s, organisations were set up to combat racism, following a series of racist incidents and anti-racism campaigns. Race riots erupted in Notting Hill, London, and Nottingham after a Caribbean carpenter was stabbed to death in a Notting Hill street (Sooben, 1990). Tensions between White working-class residents and their African Caribbean neighbours broke into open violence in 1958 and 1959. These incidents unfolded when White youth attacked Caribbean people and properties, followed by counterattacks by members of the Caribbean community (Bloom, 2003: 351–356). The riots triggered political debates over ways to control Commonwealth immigration and the issue of integration. The anti-immigration lobby used various incidents to call for the exclusion or even repatriation of 'undesirable immigrants' (Solomos, 2003).

The 1960s saw various symbolic racial incidents, including the Smethwick election and Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' speech. During the 1964 general election, Conservative politician Peter Griffiths used a slogan that inflamed anti-immigrant sentiment in the Smethwick area of Birmingham during an election campaign against Labour politician Patrick Gordon-Walker (Yemm, 2019). The other symbolic moment was Conservative politician Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' speech in 1968. Powell described the 'apocalyptic consequences of continued immigration of people from the Commonwealth'. He received many letters of support opposing Commonwealth immigration. Right-wing politicians, activists, and the media also aroused fear of Black

immigration. They described immigrants taking jobs away from British workers; using up scarce resources, such as housing and public-welfare services; threatening the social order; and eroding national identity (Solomos, 2003, Patterson, 1969). Opponents stoked people's fear of immigrants from Commonwealth countries, ignoring European immigration.

Policymakers had to react to the racial disturbances and racist incidents that became prominent social issues during the 1950s and 1960s. The government simultaneously tried to control Commonwealth immigration and combat racism. One government action was the creation of race-relations legislation. A limited anti-discrimination law was established via the Race Relations Act of 1965, which was expanded into the Race Relations Act of 1968 (Bleich, 2003, Sooben, 1990). The 1965 Act was the first race-relations act in the UK; it was followed by a series of racist disturbances, including the 1958 race riots in Notting Hill and Nottingham. The Act outlawed discrimination in specified public places and created the offence of 'incitement to racial hatred'. However, the Race Relations Act was reviewed because it did not cover racial discrimination in employment, housing, or education. Campaign groups, such as the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination, were formed to lobby for legislation to protect Commonwealth citizens from all forms of racial discrimination.

The Race Relations Act of 1968 was considered a 'balancing act', as it stressed both immigration controls and measures to tackle racial discrimination (Sooben, 1990). The Act developed alongside the 1968 Immigration Act, which restricted the number of Commonwealth immigrants permitted to enter the UK. Community groups from Commonwealth countries were the main target of these immigration controls. One

argument was that the government had justified legislation that restricted all immigration from Commonwealth countries as necessary to ensure good race relations, although the Act was an important step, which set the future of anti-discrimination legislation in Britain (Bleich, 2003: 35). Thus, immigration controls were linked with strategies for improving race relations (Sooben, 1990, Bleich, 2003).

During the 1960s, ethnic-minority groups emerged to combat racism in the national context. This movement was the first post-war anti-racism campaign to target the government (Tomlinson, 2008). Emerging Black organisations developed welfare activities designed to promote education, employment, and housing, while addressing racial discrimination in welfare provision. Several organised groups campaigned against racism. One was the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD), which operated between 1964 and 1967, inspired by Martin Luther King's visit to London in 1964. These organisations lobbied against the Race Relations Act of 1965, which failed to address discrimination in housing or employment (Sivananden, 1976).

During this era, people in society and academia began to acknowledge the problems with welfare, education, employment, and housing; in the 1970s, policies and legislation began to include welfare delivery. Anti-racism studies focused mainly on the first generation of Commonwealth immigrants (Waters, 1997). During the 1960s, sociological studies of race relations explored racial discrimination against Commonwealth communities, as reflected in housing- and education-related structural inequalities and cultural differences (Leach, 1966, Rex and Moore, 1967, Patterson, 1969). One early study of race relations by Rex and Moore described the problems facing the minority Black population of Birmingham in relation to education,

employment, and housing (Rex and Moore, 1967). Their study also explored structural

inequalities from the perspective of the labour market, arguing that ethnic-minority

groups tended to be concentrated in secondary labour-market jobs, such as metal-goods

manufacturing.

During the 1970s, Commonwealth communities tackled racial discrimination in

both national and local contexts. Such initiatives expanded as far-right parties promoted

racism and Black communities led anti-racist activities. People from Commonwealth

countries were generally considered immigrants who would ultimately leave the UK,

even when their communities were composed not of first-wave immigrants but of

second- or third-generation British citizens. This era was premised on the recognition of

differences in an ethnically and culturally diverse society – and it remained so (Block et

al., 2013). The focus of younger (mainly working or lower-middle class) people in

Black communities was unemployment, a problem their parents had not experienced

(Shukra, 1998). This situation therefore differed from the broader racially

discriminatory policies and movements of the 1960s.

Young second- and third-generation Black youths took action to counter racial

discrimination. Their opposition to racism and racial violence was fuelled by a series of

urban race riots and disturbances between the 1970s and 1980s. Racial disturbances

were associated with urban deprivation (Holdaway, 1981). From the 1970s onwards,

first-generation Black and Asian immigrants were not the target of immigration

controls. Instead, settled second- and third-generation communities were targeted.

Debates centred around the younger descendants of Commonwealth immigrants in

communities that struggled to access social-welfare resources. The main access-related

issues were the economic, educational, housing, and employment barriers experienced by second- and third-generation members of Commonwealth communities (Cain and Sadigh, 1982). The politics surrounding Black anti-racist activities and ethnic-minority support impacted access to welfare.

One key issue was employment. Between the 1970s and 1980s, the UK experienced an economic recession, with high unemployment in the Black population. Community groups were formed to tackle racism and unemployment and to investigate important issues, including academic underachievement among young people. Debates about the social exclusion of Black community groups focused attention on the interrelationship between unemployment and crime (Solomos, 2003), pointing out the lack of adequately paid, secure jobs. The issue of unemployment in younger, deprived Black communities caused local government and community groups to take action for equality.

Black youth, mainly from Asian, Black Caribbean, and African backgrounds, launched a movement to combat local inequalities. Racial discrimination expanded, transitioning from a relatively focused issue in the 1950s and 1960s (race and employment in industrial relations) to the larger social problem of nationwide racial violence and police harassment involving various local communities from the 1970s to the 1980s. Younger people developed local campaigns and groups, some of which were described as militant organisations. Some expressed their anger by marching to a police station and stoning a police van along the way (Sivananden, 1976).

Another issue in the 1970s was the rise of White, far-right groups that caused racial disturbances. Far-right political parties, such as the National Front, actively

participated in the politics of racism. The policy platform of the National Front focused on immigration and racial identity (Harrop et al., 2006), with the issue of Black immigration central to its political rhetoric and propaganda from the start. The National Front used immigration and race at both the local and national levels to mobilise electoral support and attract new members (Solomos, 2003: 179). White far-right activists targeted Black community groups, which developed during the late 1960s and engaged more actively in politics in the 1970s. The far-right National Front incited a fear of Black people, reaching its highest level of electoral support in the mid-1970s (Renton, 2018). After a fierce anti-racism campaign, its influence waned and some National Front voters switched their allegiance to the Conservative Party, which had a tough stance on immigration (Renton, 2018: 169–172).

Race riots took place, triggered by attacks on Black people and the development of a strong anti-racist movement. Black Labour Party members and supporters joined national alliances against the far-right movement, establishing anti-racist organisations and media (Shukra, 1998: 70–71). These included the Campaign Against Racism and Fascism (CARF) and an anti-fascist journal, as well as local anti-fascist initiatives (Bloom, 2003). Black organisations developed anti-racist political activities in response to far-right groups in the 1970s (Shukra, 1998: 57–58). One example of a clash between far-right and anti-racist campaigns was the Battle of Lewisham in 1977 (see Chapter 5 150–155). The anti-fascist All-Lewisham Campaign Against Racism and Fascism (ALCARAF) was created in response (Shukra, 1998: 57). Anti-racism campaigns also developed in the cultural arena. Rock Against Racism (RAR), for example, was a

campaign that used rock, pop, punk, and reggae musicians to influence young people, including white youth (Higgs, 2016).

In this context, the Race Relations Act of 1976 was enacted to strengthen the original Race Relations Act. The new Act included several new duties: eliminating racial discrimination, promoting equality of opportunity, and promoting good relations amongst various ethnic-minority groups. The group-, rather than individual-based, equality introduced by this Act has been described as a soft form of Affirmative Action, known in the UK as 'decisive action' (Bleich, 2003). Individuals gained the right to take cases directly into litigation, represented by industrial tribunals (in employment cases) or county courts. The 1976 Act also gave local authorities the duty of vigilance in the struggle to eliminate discrimination and promote equality of opportunity and good relations between people of different races (Solomos, 2003: 82–87). When the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) was established, it was responsible for promoting good inter-ethnic relations and racial equality while eliminating racial discrimination. The CRE had the power to challenge racial discrimination and promote equality, both through its own practices and also through organisations working in the legal arena. In addition, the CRE was able to provide legal representation in any case.

The Race Relations Act of 1976 impacted the way in which national and local governments interacted with ethnic-minority community groups by eliminating racial discrimination, promoting equality of opportunity, and promoting good relations between different ethnic-minority groups in local-authority areas (Latour, 2017). This thesis views the effort to promote good relations between ethnic-minority communities as an early phase of multicultural policy development. Many national and local

authorities took the significant step of monitoring group inequalities (known as 'racial disadvantages') between Whites and non-Whites in employment, housing, and education (Bleich, 2003). It can therefore be said that the Act contributed to national and local anti-racist activities and supported ethnic-minority groups.

During the 1980s, an anti-racism campaign and action against racism developed nationwide, with the urban deprivation of Black youth leading to riots. Urban disorders in 1981 and 1985 triggered a nationwide movement of ethnic-minority groups determined to combat racism, promote cultural identity, and gain recognition from government and local authorities. The violent Brixton riots in the south London Borough of Lambeth in April 1981 led the Thatcher government to set up the Scarman Inquiry. For three days, rioters – predominately young, Black men – fought the police, attacked buildings, and set fire to vehicles. For many people, the violence was unexpected, as Black people seemed well-integrated into the fabric of UK society (John, 2006). Similar riots spread across other parts of England, including Handsworth in Birmingham and Toxteth and Moss Side in Liverpool. In 1985, riots broke out in other parts of England, including Brixton and Leeds. In various cases, people were confronted by the police for mistreating Black community groups.

Following the 1981 Brixton riots, the UK government commissioned the Scarman report, which highlighted the racial disadvantage, inner-city decline, police misconduct, and urban deprivation affecting Black youth. The report noted the disproportionate and indiscriminate use of stop-and-search powers by police against Black people (Neal, 2003); this led to the introduction of police training in community and race relations. The report also argued in favour of community consultative

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committees designed to strengthen community voices. Community activities reflected a protest society, in which deprived residents faced social and economic disadvantages. Black residents, particularly young people, were found to suffer social and economic disadvantages (Scarman, 1981).

This action against racism tackled police discrimination in the 1980s, following public disturbances. The urban uprisings in 1981 and the 1985 race riots marked a turning point for post-war race relations in the political and social arenas, impacting ideas of race, immigration, and communities. Having called for equality during the 1970s, Black communities began to participate more in mainstream politics in the 1980s; (Solomos and Back, 1996). Black protests and political rallies addressed racism and called for access to education, employment, and welfare, reflecting the post-war development of racial and ethnic-minority groups. During this era, such groups became increasingly involved in anti-racist activities. Organised groups impacted local politics and perceptions of multicultural diversity. In the Lewisham area, such actions against racism provided a backdrop for the development of race relations, ethnicity, and equality. The super-diversity literature describes the groups that spearheaded these changes as large, well-organised community groups from Commonwealth countries, most of which were former colonies. This section will discuss their development (Vertovec, 2007).

So far, this paper has described racial issues; it is equally important to explain the cultural/religious recognition activities that took place during the 1970s and 1980s. The 1970s saw early attempts to appeal to cultural identity and recognition through group activities, although this campaign was smaller than the nationwide movement that

emerged in the 1980s. Ethnic-minority groups, including Sikhs and Asians, launched targeted campaigns, such as the Sikh turban campaign, which called for action to allow Sikh motorcyclists to wear turbans, opposing a 1973 law that made it compulsory to wear crash helmets. In 1976–1978, the Grunwick dispute received widespread support from the labour movement. Asian women, mainly from Kenya and Uganda, campaigned to improve their deteriorating work conditions, which included compulsory overtime during the sweltering summer of 1976 (Bloom, 2003: 387–395). A public enquiry by the Labour government found that unions should be recognised and fired employees re-instated. This employment dispute over working conditions was the first in the UK in which non-White people received widespread support from the labour movement. Later, however, the Thatcher government rejected the recommendations of the public inquiry in 1979 (McGowan, 2008)

Both cultural and religious groups bought legal cases. In 1978, when a Sikh student, Gurinder Singh Mandla, sought admission to the Park Grove School in Edgbaston, Birmingham, the headmaster refused to admit him on the grounds that his turban would violate student dress codes. Although his father launched a legal challenge, the case was eventually dismissed because Sikhs did not constitute a 'racial group', as defined by the Race Relations Act (in 1982, they were considered indistinguishable from other Punjabis). Sikhs campaigned on this issue in the 1980s and eventually won the right to be recognised as an ethnic-minority group with its own identity (Singh, 2005: 162). The Sikh campaign influenced anti-discrimination legislation, prompting the House of Lords to call for a law in 1983 (Singh, 2005: 161). The Employment Act of 1989 exempted turbaned Sikhs from a rule that made it

compulsory for workers to wear safety helmets on construction sites (Joppke, 1999: 234–235).

Muslims were the other key group campaigning for the recognition of their identity and culture. In 1977, the Union of Muslim Organisations wrote to the Home Secretary to request that halal food be served in schools and canteens with a significant number of Muslims. Other demands included prayer time for employees and the adoption of elements of Islamic law (Turner, 2008: 218–219). During the 1980s, Muslims developed a national-level unified group to call for a ban on Salman Rushdie's novel, *The Satanic Verses*, while accusing Rushdie of blasphemy and unbelief. At the local level, cities with large Muslim populations, such as Bradford and Birmingham, campaigned for suitable schooling, religious observance, and social-service provision, realising their key demands (Joppke, 1999: 250–254). In this way, a new political alignment developed, extending beyond Black ethnic-minority groups.

Cultural awareness and minority-population initiatives developed during the 1980s. Research on communities explored new identities and activities, in particular, the cultural activities of second- and third-generation Black youth. The political reaction to racism led to the development of Black identities and actions to combat inequality. New cultural forms drew on the culture of Black youth instead of older generations. Ethnic communities developed a sense of belonging and political participation that resembled the community formation and political participation of 1970s radical Black youth.

Thus, post-war racism and anti-racist activities contributed to the development of ethnic-minority groups. Between the early 1950s and the 1960s, Black communities

fought racial discrimination. Their shared experience of racism and marginalisation taught Black community groups better ways to combat racism. During the 1970s, ethnic-minority-group activities promoted cultural recognition. To combat racism, community protests entered the mainstream, engaging with the civil rights movement, mediated through left-wing politics. In the context of UK race relations, racial and ethnic-minority groups tackled racism and cultural practices. Groups developed to combat inequalities in areas such as education and employment by appealing to shared cultural values and identities.

Multicultural ethnic-group-based policies and educational practices

This section discusses community relations, multicultural policies, and educational services for ethnic-minority groups in the national context. Large, well-organised Commonwealth, South Asian, and African Caribbean community groups influenced government policy, public services, and social perceptions after the war. As described above, immigration controls were imposed on Commonwealth countries and racism affected Black communities. In addition, various ethnic-group and other organisations worked to address racism and provide access to education and employment (Bloch et al., 2013).

This section focuses on welfare support; it engages in a multicultural discourse by addressing educational welfare issues that affected ethnic-minority groups. The development of ethnic-minority community relations can be traced back to the 1960s,

when the government took action against racism and promoted the integration of Commonwealth immigrants. The Race Relations Acts of 1965 and 1968 contributed to the discussion. The Race Relations Act of 1968 established several organisations, including the Race Relations Board and the National Committee of Commonwealth Immigrants; these were followed by the 1965 Race Relations Act, which was later replaced by the Community Relations Commission (Solomos, 2003: 82–83). The Community Relations Commission promoted harmonious community relations, coordinating national action through local Community-Relations Councils, disseminating information on matters affecting minority groups, and advising the Home Secretary (Peppard, 1987). The Commission was established to complement the work of the Race Relations Board. As these bodies were both educational and advisory, their roles tended to overlap (Sivananden, 1976). The Commission and Race Relations Board were responsible for taking individual complaints to court if they found discrimination.

During the 1960s, government ministers gave speeches related to the discourse of multiculturalism and integration. When Roy Jenkins was Home Secretary, he gave a speech that incorporated the first discourse on multiculturalism, acknowledging that government and society needed to promote tolerance and to recognise immigrant identities and ethnic-minority groups while also addressing inequalities (Jenkins, 1967). He introduced the theme of tolerance and the need to recognise cultural identities in 1966 when he spoke about race-relations policy in the UK at the National Committee of Commonwealth Immigrants:

'I do not regard it [integration] as meaning the loss, by immigrants, of their own national characteristics and culture. I do not think that we need in this country a 'melting pot', which will turn everybody out in a common mould, as one of a series of carbon copies of someone's misplaced vision of the stereotyped Englishman. I define integration, therefore, not as a flattening process of assimilation but as equal opportunity, accompanied by cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance' (Favell, 2001: 104).

Ethnic groups developed collective identities during this era through anti-racist protests. The study of racial politics in the UK highlights the people's experience of racism and marginalisation in the 1960s and 1970s, which led to the development of communities of race and ethnicity (Rex and Moore, 1967, Hall, 1988). Ethnic-minority groups emerged in various areas (including labour unions) to call for equality. In the 1960s, communities needed educational support; this led to the development of Black supplementary schools, which taught various subjects, including English and mathematics (Gerrard, 2013). These schools educated children about the culture and history of their own groups and provided subjects designed to address underachievement. For instance, African Caribbean supplementary schools provided educational facilities and encouraged students to study by teaching African culture and history, as well as English and mathematics. In this way, they addressed the problem of academic underachievement.

The government developed funding opportunities for Commonwealth communities. This funding was linked to local-government programmes and given out at the discretion of local authorities, rather than via a mandate. Government funding of

Section 11 of the Grand Scheme (Section 11 funding) and the Urban Programme was developed to support ethnic-minority groups and immigrants. The 1966 Local Government Act made funds available to meet the special needs of people of Commonwealth origin whose languages or customs were different from those of the rest of the community (Young, 1983: 293). The fund paid local authorities for staff expenses incurred while educating and providing services to immigrants, most of whom were adults and children from Commonwealth countries, who had lived in the UK for less than ten years. Initially, Section 11 funding helped local governments achieve immigrant integration, rather than helping community associations promote tolerance or collective identities. This government funding was used to establish English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) programmes for adults and children.

The Urban Programme, which was later referred to as the 'Urban Aid' programme, was also supported by ethnic-minority funding. The programme was established in 1968 to fund urban areas of social need, including racial and ethnic-minority groups. Although the programme avoided referring to any particular group, it focused on Black communities coping with racism after Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' speech (Joppke, 1999: 227), as well as immigration and race. Civil servants effectively shaped the Urban Programme, which was announced in the Local Government Grants Act of 1969. Initially, 34 local authorities were invited to submit projects for funding (Young, 1983). The target areas included overcrowding, large families, unemployment, poor environments, and immigrants and children in trouble or in need of care. The 34 areas selected were characterised by high household density or large immigrant populations. The initial scheme was limited to the provision of

nurseries and children's homes. During the second year, attempts to identify qualifying authorities were abandoned, and applicants had to make a case for their own 'special social needs' (Young, 1983: 289).

Ethnic-minority groups themselves developed educational practices designed to maintain learners' mother tongues. One example involved Black supplementary schools, originally established by African Caribbean communities in the 1960s. These schools addressed the lack of language support and a national school curriculum that ignored the Black experience of the Empire. They taught Black history, alongside mathematics and English. Parents, community members, and university students established Black Supplementary Schools, providing education on weeknights, weekends, and after school at any available premises, including lounge rooms, community and church halls, and community centres (Gerrard, 2013). Thus, it can be said that various ethnic-minority-related programmes developed during the 1960s.

During the 1970s, younger, second-generation immigrants were the main groups targeted by such programmes. These younger people from ethnic-minority groups developed various activities and campaigns to challenge employment inequalities. Youth unemployment was a common issue for all groups and ethnic-minority populations, as the unemployment rate for ethnic-minority populations was significantly higher than the rate for majority-White groups. This led younger people to develop various campaigns focused on Asian populations and ideological attempts to link race with class (Shukra, 1998: 43–44). Unemployment was triggered by the 1973 economic recession, which followed the first oil shock and predominantly affected ethnic-minority

groups. High unemployment among ethnic-minority youth triggered various actions, including calls for employment, educational opportunities, and equal rights.

The academic underachievement of ethnic-minority pupils was a concern that contributed to youth unemployment during this era. In 1978, the Department of Education began to ask about the educational performance and achievement of minority children. Efforts to improve the academic achievement of ethnic-minority children informed the development of various national and local-government educational organisations, alongside community educators and Black supplementary schools.

The 1976 Race Relations Act focused on education and employment. To develop support for ethnic-minority groups, the government took action to ensure equal opportunities for ethnic-minority groups. The government also introduced positive initiatives to support race-based and ethnic-minority groups, as permitted within the 1976 Act. Such positive actions, which were aimed at minority populations and facilitated by local government, aimed to promote equality of opportunity and good relations, compensating for minority underrepresentation by providing encouragement and training opportunities (Dhami et al., 2006). One initiative facilitated job training for underrepresented minority employees. Another placed special job advertisements in ethnic-community newspapers. The legislation also gave community members access to needed facilities and services.

This positive support for racial and ethnic-minority groups has sometimes been compared to 'Affirmative Action' in the US (Sooben, 1990). However, positive action was not the same as US Affirmative Action, which included 'equality of outcome' as a target. The Guide to the Race Relations Act clarified that it was 'unlawful to

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discriminate in favour of a particular racial group in recruitment or promotion because members of the group have in the past suffered from adverse discrimination and should be given a chance to "catch up"' (Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1977: 30). It was also unlawful for any educational establishment to discriminate by allowing or providing education tailored to meet the particular needs of pupils from 'any' racial, ethnic, or national group.

This action also influenced educational practices. Section 11 and other funds originally intended for first-generation immigrant communities shifted toward the second and third generations. In this way, multicultural policies were developed to support racial and ethnic-minority groups. For instance, Section 11 funding allowed some local authorities to develop anti-racist, multicultural initiatives and to maintain the mother tongues of learners who qualified for funding (Rosenberg, 2008). Anti-racist and multicultural initiatives also took place at the local level. In 1977, the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) introduced the first multicultural ILEA education programme to address racial inequalities and the academic underachievement of ethnic-minority populations. During the 1970s and 1980s, local governments intervened with local voluntary organisations to address racism, assisted by the government's race-relations agenda.

The Urban Programme also extended its targets to include more communities, programmes, and social areas (e.g., regeneration projects) in the 1970s (Home, 2013). However, local authorities were apparently unwilling to sponsor applications for distinctively ethnic projects at that time. Ethnic-minority populations also raised awareness of urban deprivation. Responsibility for the Urban Programme was

transferred from the Home Office to the Department of the Environment, which placed more emphasis on industrial and commercial projects than on community projects (Young, 1983: 290–291). However, the enhanced programme made more money available to communities. Thus, the economic development of deprived urban areas was prioritised over the needs of ethnic-minority populations, although total funds increased to address issues caused by the economic crisis of the 1970s.

During the 1980s, the discourse of multiculturalism developed both anti-racist and cultural political positions involving various ethnic-minority groups. Local multicultural practices were introduced to help ethnic-minority groups address inequalities and racism by fostering multicultural tolerance. The 1981 urban uprisings also produced a more subtle and indirect discourse about cultural differences (Barker, 1981). Thus, the era advanced an informal multicultural agenda, which aimed to improve the welfare of ethnic-minority groups and develop respect for cultural differences. Both attempts to address racial inequality and multicultural tolerance helped ethnic-minority groups develop their own cultural and educational practices.

This discourse on race and multiculturalism increased staff diversity in public bodies, including local authorities. One anti-racism initiative delivered racism-awareness training to particular local authorities and other public bodies, allowing them to counter racist ideologies and institutionalised racism (Solomos and Back, 1996: 116–117). The new multicultural discourse increased cultural sensitivity in various community groups and local governments (Joppke, 1999). The community-group movement shaped policies and public perceptions in ways that supported ethnic-minority groups. It also helped to frame a particular understanding of ethnic-minority

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communities as vast, well-organised African Caribbean and South Asian communities from Commonwealth countries.

In the field of education at the national level, multicultural and anti-racist agendas were incorporated into the national curriculum. The 1985 Swann Report on Education for All recommended a multicultural agenda, advising all educators to help develop a pluralistic society with equal opportunities for all. This report described the UK as a multicultural society and argued that multicultural understanding should permeate all aspects of a school's work. It highlighted the need to address the academic underachievement of West Indian children and to integrate Asian ethnic minorities with distinct languages and cultures (National Council for Mother Tongue, 1985). It depicted individuals primarily as members of ethnic-minority groups and only secondarily as part of the wider society (Joppke, 1999: 236). Thus, the report discussed both multicultural and anti-racist agendas.

During the 1980s, local and national governments supported and funded ethnic-minority groups and projects. Local authorities developed educational programmes to teach children about their native languages and cultures, as well as English and other cultural and academic subjects. The primary funding sources were Section 11 funding and the Urban Programme. Many 'ethnic projects' were supported through these funds, especially after the 1981 race riots. These riots produced a dramatic reawakening of interest in the Urban Programme, which delivered funding to various ethnic-minority groups (Young, 1983: 291). Ethnic associations, including African Caribbean and South Asian Commonwealth groups, and refugee organisations, including Vietnamese and Chinese groups, applied for Urban Aid grants, competing for the same resources

(Young, 1983: 291). The funding was distributed by local authorities in deprived urban areas and used to support educational and cultural activities developed by ethnic-minority groups.

Section 11 funded a range of local multicultural projects developed by local authorities and other organisations during the early 1980s. The ILEA and Greater London Council promoted multicultural and anti-racist policies, curricula, and professional-development opportunities at the national level after the race riots of 1981. For instance, the ILEA funded the African Caribbean Educational Resource Project (ACER) between 1977 and 1989. This project produced anti-racist textbooks, multicultural curricula, cultural resources, and teacher-training opportunities (Johnson and Caraballo, 2019). The ILEA also helped to establish the Primary Curriculum Development Project, with reading programmes focused on African Caribbean children. Black History Month, which offered educational and cultural opportunities, was introduced in 1987, assisted by the Greater London Council. One of few surviving initiatives, Black History Month is discussed further below.

Support for adults also improved during the 1980s throughout the UK. Adult education, introduced during the 1970s, began to include adult literacy campaigns. These led to the creation of the following non-departmental government bodies: the Adult Literacy Resource Agency 1975–1978, the Adult Literacy Unit 1978–1980, and the Adult Literacy Basic Unit 1980–1995 (ALBSU); ESOL was introduced later (Hamilton and Merrifield, 2000).

There was growing interest in educational programmes for adults, immigrants, and ethnic-minority groups. The arrival of refugees in the 1980s increased the demand

for adult English education. ESOL came under the remit of the ALBSU, positioning English as a 'basic skill' and linking it with adult literacy and numeracy. Several funding programmes supported English educational services. One was the Urban Aid Programme, which provided the funds. The Industrial Language Training Programme offered ESOL and multicultural-awareness training to managers and employees throughout the 1970s and 1980s (Hamilton and Hillier, 2009).

Other relevant educational policies for specific groups involved the refugee issue. From the 1970s onwards, the refugee-resettlement programme focused on the English language. As it was designed primarily to help people settle in the UK and integrate into society, it did not offer multicultural training in any native tongue. English and related education were introduced to the resettlement programme and taught in Refugee Resettlement Centres. Thus, integration-related education differed from multicultural education, which aimed to address inequalities in welfare and cultural education in the 1970s and 1980s.

This section provides an overview of multicultural policymaking and the historical practices of government and voluntary organisations. During the 1950s and 1960s, people developed racist attitudes towards Commonwealth immigrants and communities. Racial and ethnic-minority groups responded by developing anti-racist policies. The government tried to address race-related issues by developing legislation and funding, including the Race Relations Act, Section 11 funding, and the Urban Programme. The Race Relations Law of 1976 was created in response to racism and anti-racist activities. Policymaking and public services for ethnic-minority groups were designed to improve education and expand employment. To negotiate and oppose

racism in employment and education, communities established well-organised groups. In the 1980s, racial and ethnic group-based welfare policies were described as state multiculturalism in a local context. Thus, local areas played an important role in developing multicultural activities. Various multicultural programmes tried to combat racism and inequality by coordinating with local government and voluntary organisations to help ethnic-minority groups address inequalities and strengthen their cultural identities.

Conclusion

Before 1990, African, Caribbean, and South Asian immigration to the UK increased and became the target of immigration controls. At this time, immigration was associated with 'coloured people' even when more immigrants were arriving from Europe and Ireland. Refugee immigration had not yet become large-scale and was not controlled. At the same time, refugee-resettlement programmes gradually developed to accommodate various communities. Welfare delivery, which developed throughout the post-war era, was not controlled, even though refugee immigration gradually diversified after the war.

Prior to the 1990s, issues of race led to the growth of ethnic-minority groups and multicultural agendas. Large, well-organised Commonwealth community groups undertook anti-racist activities during the post-war era. Studies of Black politics focused on the development of organised community groups, which negotiated access to services in the context of anti-racist activities, clarifying discussions of multicultural diversity. A new government agenda was developed to address race. As discussed in the previous chapter, multiculturalism developed between the end of the war and 1990, with ethnic groups collaborating to address racial inequality. The multicultural agenda was shared locally and expanded to address ethnic-minority-group disadvantages related to education, employment, housing, and identity.

3. UK immigration after 1990

Introduction

This section describes immigration-related issues, racial and ethnic diversity, and multiculturalism from 1990 onwards, comparing new developments with the earlier issues described in the last chapter. It questions the way in which post-war immigration, race, and multicultural policies transformed, leading to a new era of immigration and multicultural policies. Racial issues shaped post-war immigration and migration control, which were premised upon new Commonwealth immigration. Post-1990 immigration encompassed immigration and integration issues that were not necessarily premised upon White majority and Black minority racial issues. The communities involved were diverse, including refugees and non-EU and EU groups affected by immigration and control policies. In relation to race and ethnic origin, Black communities, refugees, EU and other foreign nationals, and religious groups began to constitute new UK communities. Their situation is compared to those of pre-1990 Black and ethnic-minority groups and Commonwealth immigrants.

This chapter explores immigration and immigration-related policies after 1990. The first section discusses new types of refugees, EU and non-EU immigrants, and the policies that shaped these categories. The second part investigates how the welfare benefits of refugees and immigrants were controlled during different historical periods. One new policy can help to explain how local-government and voluntary organisations

approach diversifying communities after 1990. While the first section discusses the diversification of immigration and communities and the creation of various legal statuses to restrict entry and welfare, the third section explores racism and anti-racist activities in diverse communities. Lastly, this chapter analyses the shift from ethnic-group-based policies and welfare delivery to state multiculturalism and the integration agenda.

New forms of immigration and communities

After 1990, immigration increased and immigration patterns grew more diverse, reflecting the mobile global environment, the UK social context, and the government's stance on immigration control. UK immigration exceeded emigration in the 1980s and increased further during the mid-1990s. Both immigration and emigration subsequently rose to historically high levels, with immigration exceeding emigration by more than 100,000 every year since 1998 (Hawkins, 2018). Since the 1990s, immigrants have always exceeded emigrants, with the UK ranked 5th by the UN in 1990–2019, followed by the US, Germany, Saudi Arabia, and Russia (United Nations, 2019).

In recent years, migration patterns have diversified to include cyclical, return, and seasonal migration, as well as permanent migration, creating new challenges. These migration patterns can be compared to the relatively simple pattern of permanent migration from Commonwealth countries. While the source of emigration was clear in the older linear pattern of migration, new migration patterns involve multiple countries

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and diverse choices, making it difficult to distinguish between people from different backgrounds. Recent studies have explored the new sense of belonging, multiple-origin groups, and transnational belonging to more than one country (Castles and Miller, 1993).

The rise of refugees is a new immigration pattern. Both the number of asylum seekers and individual refugee applications increased after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, creating unstable political and economic conditions in regions that produced both asylum seekers and refugees (Vertovec, 2007). Throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, there were fewer than 5,000 asylum applications per year. This figure rose from 5,300 in 1988 to 15,600 in 1989, reaching 44,800 in 1991 (Solomos and Schuster, 1999). The numbers continued to rise during the 1990s, peaking in early 2002 at around 80,000 (Solomos and Schuster, 1999). The 1995 Mandate Refugee Scheme was launched to resettle refugees with close family members living in the UK; this programme had no annual quota.

Asylum applicants were geographically and religiously diverse. The war in former Yugoslavia, which included the Bosnian-Kosovo crisis, produced many asylum seekers. People from Bosnia and Albania applied for asylum in the UK, both as individuals and through refugee-resettlement programmes. Immigration also increased after the collapse of socialist regimes in Eastern Europe, which created unstable societies (Kaczmarczyk and Okólski, 2005). Non-European countries, including Sri Lanka, Somalia, and Iraq, were likewise the source of asylum applications. In addition, diverse ethnic-minority groups, including the Tamils in Sri Lanka, Kurds in Turkey, and Albanians and Bosnians in the former Yugoslavia, applied to enter the UK as refugees.

Refugee-resettlement programmes emerged and expanded to cater for a diverse range of immigrants. Examples include the 1995 Mandate Refugee Programme, the 2004–2020 Gateway Protection Programme, the 2014–2020 Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme (VPRS), the 2016–2020 Vulnerable Children's Resettlement Scheme (VCRS), and the 2016–2017 Dubs Relocation Scheme for unaccompanied children arriving in Europe, based on Section 67 of the Immigration Act of 2016. The 1995 Mandate Refugee Programme allowed individuals living overseas to claim asylum if a close family member in the UK was willing to accommodate them. Although there was no annual commitment to this scheme, the programme assisted approximately 300 people per year. It was coordinated by the UNHCR from various regions, including the former Yugoslavia and Africa. The Gateway Protection Programme, launched in 2004, aimed to process 750 individuals per year.

Syrian refugees also contributed to the European migration crisis. In 2015, the UK began to accept Syrian refugees fleeing the European migration crisis. A photograph of a 3-year-old Syrian child drowned off the coast of Turkey was published on media front pages, leading to a petition that called on the UK to welcome refugees. This led to the Syrian Resettlement Programme, an expanded version of the VPRS; the UK decided to accept 20,000 additional refugees (Katwala and Sommerville, 2016). Although many were Syrians, the programme grew to include people of other nationalities, accepting very vulnerable refugees fleeing the Syrian conflict from Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey. The Dubs Relocation Scheme and VCRS were established to support vulnerable children, including unaccompanied refugees. The Dubs Scheme was named after Lord Alf Dubs, based on the Immigration Act of 2016,

which brought unaccompanied child refugees from Europe to the UK (Home Office, 2020).

After 1990, migrants came from a wider range of birth countries in Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia. During the 1990s, Sri Lanka, Somalia, and the former Yugoslavia became the top countries for asylum seekers. In the 2000s, Somalia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Eritrea, and Zimbabwe were the main sources of refugees, followed by Afghanistan, Iran, Syria, and Eritrea in the 2010s. The second-largest group of asylum seekers were Sudanese people in 2015 and Albanians in 2020 (Sturge, 2019). This chapter focuses primarily on Syrian refugees arriving through refugee-resettlement programmes. Thus, asylum seekers and refugees arrived from different regions via different channels after 1990.

Non-EU immigration and the selective immigration process developed during the 2000s. The UK also created a new immigration system for non-EU immigrants. The legal statuses of non-EU immigrants reflect both positive and negative immigration narratives. Skilled immigrants bring benefits, while unskilled immigrants are associated with the narrative of scant public resources. In 2002, The Highly Skilled Migrant Programme was established to encourage highly skilled migrants to come to the UK to work; they did not need to have jobs before they arrived. Human capital, including work skills, competencies, income, education, occupation, and labour-market needs, became an immigration issue in the UK, influencing policy-making and public-service practices. Skills and competencies were a factor in awarding legal status.

Although the countries of birth of non-EU immigrants diversified, some Commonwealth countries, such as India, continued to send large numbers of immigrants

to the UK. According to the 2021 UK Census (Office for National Statistics, 2021), India continues to be the most common non-UK country of birth, although many immigrants have British passports. According to a 2019 study, the most common reason for moving to the UK is family, selected by 49% of non-EU immigrants, followed by 21 per cent of EU immigrants (Vargas-Silva and Rienzo, 2020). The high proportion of non-EU family migrants suggests that people who come to the UK on family visas are more likely to settle permanently than those with work or student visas (Vargas-Silva and Rienzo, 2020). In addition, 2011 passport data from non-UK countries indicate that 55 per cent of Indian immigrants and 73 per cent of Jamaican immigrants have UK passports. The trend for Indian citizens to have several passports is expected to continue, following an increase in the number of Indian citizens in the 2021 Census data.

After 2000, the UK experienced increased immigration from Europe, in particular, Eastern Europe. In 2004, the EU was enlarged to include eight Central and Eastern European countries (the EU-8 countries): the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia. The UK proved to be a popular destination for these new European citizens. The fact that most EU Member States restricted access to low-paid markets influenced many potential Eastern European immigrants. The UK was one of only three of the fifteen EU member states (with Ireland and Sweden) to grant EU-8 migrants immediate access to a paid labour market. For this reason, most A8 migrants took poorly paid, low-skilled jobs in various sectors, often in workplaces populated by fellow A8 migrants. Work was a significant reason for

EU-8 migrants to come to Britain, in contrast to non-EU family immigrants (Vargas-Silva and Rienzo, 2020).

The number of EU immigrants (mainly from EU-8 countries) remained high in 2020, although the increasing EU-immigration trend began to be controlled between 2018 and 2020, due to the Brexit transition and the 2019 COVID crisis. A study has shown that roughly 100,000 Poles left the UK between 2018 and 2020 (Vargas-Silva and Rienzo, 2020). This trend has continued to strengthen, due to the Brexit transition, coronavirus lockdowns, and an economic downturn. However, the number of EU-8 immigrants has stayed relatively high, despite the decline. In the 2021 Census data, Poles remained the largest group of non-UK nationals (Office for National Statistics, 2021).

Immigration control of diverse communities

This section clarifies the national context for the post-1990 diversification of legal statuses used to control new immigration. The national context provides the background context for Chapter 7, which explains the diversification of legal statuses in local practice. New immigration patterns have further restricted entry and access to welfare and rights after 1990. Among various issues and groups, a critical aspect of the new immigration was entry restrictions and access to public services. Non-EU and EU immigrants, asylum seekers, and refugees were large categories associated with legal statuses. These categories were developed after immigration was controlled and access to funds and services restricted. Government policymaking, social-service practice, and

statistical data are often based on the following categories: refugees, non-EU immigrants, and EU immigrants.

Between the 1990s and 2000s, the government set targets designed to control and reduce the number of refugees and asylum seekers, following a dramatic increase in asylum applications in the late 1980s, caused by Cold War political and economic instability. After 1990, the number of asylum applications increased significantly, stimulating discussions about the best way to restrict the asylum process. Negative views of migration as an economic and security threat were associated with the discriminatory sorting of immigrants (Hall, 2017). Until the 1990s, the UK had no domestic asylum legislation. Although the Geneva Convention was ratified in 1954, no domestic laws were enacted (Solomos and Schuster, 1999).

Both Conservative and Labour governments introduced legislation that imposed various conditions on asylum seekers, restricting applications and specifying different refugee statuses. The process began during the Conservative administration of John Major and continued under Tony Blair and the Labour Party. The new legislation controlled entry to the UK and restricted the rights and benefits of asylum seekers. Illegal immigrants were apprehended. The new legislation included the 1993 Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act, the 1996 Asylum and Immigration Act, and the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act. The Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act controlled migration by creating new 'fast-track' procedures for asylum applications, which allowed the government to detain asylum seekers while their claims were being processed. While held in detention, they were not entitled to benefits. The Immigration and Asylum Act imposed further restrictions on claims, restricted welfare provisions,

and sanctioned employers who hired people not entitled to work. The maximum penalty stipulated in the legislation was a fine of £5,000 for employers (Bloch et al., 2013, Stevens, 1998). The Immigration and Asylum Act defined those who were subject to immigration controls by introducing the No Recourse to Public Funds restriction, which limited access to welfare provisions. The Act 'imposed a duty on marriage registrars to report suspicious marriages, strengthened the powers of immigration officers in enforcing controls, extended carrier sanctions, and imposed regulation of immigration advice' (Sales, 2007: 134–137).

Government discussions about ways to restrict UK entry and public welfare also imposed borders on refugees and asylum seekers. A diverse range of legal statuses and asylum-application procedures were created after 1990; the human rights of refugees and communities were also discussed. The borders (associated with various legal statuses) criminalised immigration for some asylum seekers and refugees, who were viewed as bogus migrants. Multiplying borders were used to restrict immigrants' access to welfare benefits, the labour market, and settlement processes. Certain legal statuses could prevent people from forming relationships with those from other backgrounds, impacting interactions between people. Some applicants were isolated from society, forced to deal with poorly informed public institutions, or even afraid to enter such places (Sigona, 2012, Wessendorf, 2013).

The UK continued to introduce legislation to control asylum procedures after 2000. More sanctions against organisations (e.g., employees) were introduced and additional deportation and removal processes were developed. During this decade, the UK enacted new legislation to control asylum, rights, and entitlements. The Nationality,

Immigration and Asylum Act of 2002, the Asylum and Immigration Act of 2004, and the Immigration, Asylum, and Nationality Act of 2006 restricted the right to appeal asylum decisions and sanctioned some companies for employing illegal migrants. The 2002 Act prevented asylum seekers from working or undertaking vocational training, while the 2004 Act introduced the criminal offence of entering the UK with no travel documents without a reasonable excuse. This legislation also developed the process of removing illegal immigrants. One sanction made the failure to cooperate with removal without a reasonable excuse a criminal offence. Other sanctions, introduced in 2006, targeted illegal employees with civil and criminal penalties (Clayton, 2014: 43–44). As a consequence of these controls, the number of asylum applications dropped in 2003. Although applications have increased since 2010, they have remained well below early 2000 levels (Blinder, 2017).

While restricting asylum-seeking processes, the UK cooperated with international refugee-resettlement programmes. As the number of asylum seekers increased globally from 2000 onwards, refugee-resettlement programmes became a ring-fenced way of imposing specific legal statuses on asylum seekers and refugees. The Mandate Programme resettlement schemes were established in 1995 and the Gateway Protection Programmes in 2004. Applicants to the Mandate Programme had to have family members or other close ties in the UK; they were not bound by a specific annual target. The refugee-resettlement programmes introduced annual refugee targets, aiming to admit 750 refugees per year.

Another trend that influenced local authorities was the introduction of strategies for dispersing refugees, discussed in Chapter 7. Refugees applied as individuals, while

refugee-resettlement programmes, such as Gateway, used dispersal strategies to ease the burden on local authorities required to accommodate refugees. The Immigration and Asylum Act of 1999 confirmed the policy of dispersing asylum seekers who needed accommodation in the UK. Most refugees who passed through the Gateway resettlement programmes were resettled outside London and southeast England. Most local authorities involved in the programmes were in northern England. Of the 18 local authorities involved in the programme, eight were in the northwest and a further three were in Yorkshire and Humberside (Sim and Laughlin, 2014).

In 2012, Theresa May, who was then Home Secretary, told an interviewer from the Telegraph that she wanted to create a 'really hostile environment' for irregular migrants. The Immigration Acts of 2014 and 2016 focused on monitoring legal statuses, sanctions, and penalties. One issue that followed on from the 2014 Act was the Windrush scandal. The Act required people to 'prove their right to be in the UK' in order to access essential services. This impacted the Windrush generations, who had arrived in the UK in the 1950s and 1960s before the Immigration Act of 1971 came into force, confirming that immigrants who were already in the UK were entitled to stay indefinitely. The Immigration Acts expanded the hostile environment into new areas, impacting landlords, banks, building societies, and the Driver and Vehicle Licensing Agency (DVLA). These organisations were told to check the immigration papers of all people born outside the UK unless civil penalties were introduced (Yeo, 2020).

This hostile environment created the Windrush scandal, which shed light on racism and the issue of legal statuses. The Windrush scandal was a 2018 British political scandal concerning first-generation people from the Caribbean and other

Commonwealth countries who were wrongly detained, denied legal rights, and threatened with deportation. Some were even wrongly deported. People in the Windrush generation were born as British subjects before they came to the UK; they were named after the HMT Empire Windrush, the ship that brought the first groups of West Indians to the UK in 1948. At that time, they were Citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies or Commonwealth citizens. Although they retained their rights after the Immigration Act of 1971 took similar rights away from new entrants, their rights were protected by law, not physical documents (Griffiths and Yeo, 2021, Gentleman, 2019). When these citizens were faced with immigration checks, they found themselves unable to prove their lawful status. As a consequence, some people lost their jobs and homes. They were denied pensions and healthcare; some were even detained or deported.

During the 2010s, the Vulnerable Person's Resettlement Programme, Vulnerable Children's Resettlement Programme, and Dubs Relocation Scheme were established as resettlement programmes. The VPRS and VCRS schemes were designed for adults and unaccompanied children from Syria and neighbouring countries. The Dubs Relocation Scheme focused particularly on unaccompanied and separated children in the EU, mainly in camps in Calais, France. These are particularly relevant to the study of Lewisham because the borough applied for the schemes, and various organisations were involved.

Other types of immigration and the immigration-control laws related mainly to non-EU refugees and asylum seekers, with a focus on the selective control of highly skilled immigrants. The selective immigration process was introduced and developed around 2000 when the Highly Skilled Migration Programme was introduced. The

stratified control of non-EU immigration assigned different legal statuses to migrants, which determined their ability to work, receive an education, and train in the UK. The Labour government stratified legal statuses between 1997 and 2010. Labour administrations played a crucial role in developing ways to differentiate access and rights. The selective immigration policy for non-EU immigrants reflected the government's stance toward skilled immigrants; it admitted a small proportion of skilled migrants who were prepared to integrate socially (Home Office, 2005).

Tony Blair's government introduced a points-based system for non-EU immigrants. The points-based system made the immigration system selective, restricting entry, rights, and forms of access. The points system underpinned the legal framework for stratified work-related migration. In 2008, the government announced that the points-based system (first introduced in 2005) would incorporate revised and consolidated versions of existing labour-migration schemes. The system introduced criteria such as educational qualifications, age, previous earnings, and experience. In addition, candidates were required to earn points to qualify for immigration status. In other words, points and requirements affected the nature of UK immigration (Cerna, 2011). This system created various legal statuses involving family reunion and formation, full-time study, and work permits. These skills and competencies were critical to gaining legal status. They affected the settlement process, particularly in relation to economic integration and activities.

The 2002 Highly Skilled Migration Programme introduced visas for highly skilled economic immigrants, allowing them to come to the UK without a job offer. The visa for highly skilled workers introduced a Tier 1 scheme in 2008, capped at 10,000

people per year. The Exceptional Talent Scheme was introduced in 2011–2020 and the Global Talent Visa in 2020. Tier 1 closed in response to concerns about a mismatch between migrants' intended and actual skills. In 2011, a review of the Tier 1 scheme changed the points-based system. The Government replaced the Exceptional Talent Scheme (capped at 1,000 people per year) with recommendations from established bodies, such as the Royal Society. In 2020, this scheme was upgraded to the Global Talent Visa programme; the recommendations made by specific bodies were not capped.

The introduction of the points-based system had a significant impact on skilled and unskilled immigration (Migration Advisory Committee, 2020). The government expanded its immigration policy, introducing visas for highly skilled economic immigrants without a job offer, based on their skills. These skills and competencies also functioned to keep out various migrants, based on skills, educational backgrounds, and labour-market needs. Such legal statuses also impacted the settlement process, particularly economic activities and integration. Prime Minister David Cameron captured the aims of the selective immigration policy in 2011 when he said, 'We mustn't lock out talent – I want the best and brightest entrepreneurs, scientists, and students from around the world to get the red-carpet treatment'. Selective immigration has continued to attract highly skilled workers, although the definition of 'highly skilled' has changed in accordance with particular schemes (Cerna, 2011).

The skilled immigration policy and points-based system were also used to refuse access, welfare, and services to people with fewer skills and less education, who could not meet labour-market needs. Low-skilled immigration is sometimes viewed as a

security threat involving job takers and criminal activity. Such negative views of low-skilled immigration have been shared by the UK government. David Cameron gave a speech in Munich in 2011 in which he criticised multiculturalism, focusing on the negative aspects of immigration: 'But the bogus colleges, the fake marriages, the people arriving for a month and staying for years, the criminals who use the Human Rights Act to try and stay in the country – we are clamping down on all of them'. In a similar way, the government rejected people with fewer skills, who were not welcome to enter or live in the UK.

Control of non-EU immigration and the points-based system were used and further developed during the Conservative/Liberal Democratic coalition government, which highlighted the links between welfare and immigration as a justification for restricting low-skilled immigration. Their policies introduced a cap on the number of immigrants allowed into the UK from non-EU countries and targeted family migration. In 2012, new income rules came into force, which applied to British citizens and settled persons who wished to sponsor a non-EEA partner. Applicants needed an annual income of at least £18,600 a year, with foreign spouses required to wait five years (up from the previous two) before they could apply for permanent settlement (Geddes and Scholten, 2016). The non-EU immigration policy aimed to combine skilled immigration with integration and assimilation issues, while excluding unskilled immigrants. Again, skills and competencies determined an individual's length of stay, access, and rights to welfare and services.

Another new set of immigration controls applied to EU immigrants. In 2010, the coalition government discussed measures to control EU immigration, a theme that

became part of the Brexit discussions. When eight Central and Eastern European countries joined the EU in 2004, the number of European immigrants increased (Sumption and Altorjai, 2016). In 2000, total immigration from the EU exceeded non-EU migration (Migration Watch and Office for National Statistics, 2018), as EU enlargement gave Eastern Europeans free movement and labour rights. Although the UK did not impose any temporal restrictions on Eastern Europe, many Western Countries did impose temporary restrictions on free movement from Eastern Europe.

In this context, Polish immigration increased by almost tenfold, from 5,800 in 2001 to 579,000 in 2011, according to census data (Smith, 2013). Polish-born residents of the UK constituted the largest group of immigrants in 2017, followed by people from Ireland, Romania, Germany, and Italy (Vargas-Silva and Fernández-Reino, 2018). Bulgaria and Romania joined the EU in January 2007, increasing numbers even further. Migrants from Bulgaria and Romania were initially subject to transitional employment restrictions in the UK. These restrictions placed limits on the kind of employment they could undertake. The restrictions ended in 2014, after which the estimated number of immigrants intending to work increased (Office for National Statistics, 2015).

The restriction of EU immigration was a core factor in the UK withdrawal from Europe in the 2015 General Election. Among a diverse range of immigrants from the EU, low-skilled labourers were particularly targeted. EU citizens were not subject to integration measures in the UK. Debates about the need to limit the influx of low-skilled labour from EU countries and Eastern Europe fuelled a negative assessment of immigrants as a threat to the welfare and security of the UK (Hall, 2017). The popularity of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) also contributed to this

hostile environment; UKIP criticised immigration and lobbied to take the UK out of the EU. Facing a threat from UKIP, the Conservative Party allowed its Eurosceptics to shape policy. The Conservative Government was elected in 2015 with a clear commitment to renegotiating Britain's relations with the EU; it put this question to a referendum in 2016.

The increase in European immigration, which gave low-skilled Eastern Europeans the right to work and live in the UK, contributed to Britain's decision to withdraw from the European Union. The Brexit process incorporated negative views of immigration, which was described as a threat to public resources and a source of criminalisation. Threat narratives, which depict migration and immigrants in a negative light, can be easily linked to the stratified categories produced by legal status (Hall, 2017).

Increased EU immigration fuelled a negative public assessment of immigration as an economic threat and a burden on taxpayers (Virdee and McGeever, 2018). Post-Brexit discussions with the European Union involved new ways of treating EU immigration. As 2020 marked the end of freedom of movement between the UK and the EU, current discussions cover entry controls and access to welfare benefits, in line with non-EU immigration and asylum restrictions. The post-Brexit process introduced a new points-based system for non-EU immigration in 2021.

Changes in the management of EU and non-EU refugees is the next issue up for discussion. During the 1990s, one immigration-control issue was the collaboration between Britain and the European Union, which impacted both immigration policy and politics. Although the UK has formally opted out of EU migration and asylum

provisions, it has opted back into approximately one-third of the legislation (Geddes and Scholten, 2016). As the UK is outside the Schengen free-movement area, the British government can control entry from land, air, and sea and insist on passport checks. In addition, the UK has negotiated with the EU to stop free movement and opt out of core European free-movement provisions and rights.

There has been more discussion about ways to distinguish between skilled and unskilled communities, with an increased focus on immigration policies for non-EU and EU communities. In the 2000s, several immigration policies were developed to accommodate highly skilled immigrants. Their selection and arrival were debated when the Highly Skilled Migration Programme was introduced in 2002, the points-based Tier 1 system in 2008, and the Exceptional Talent Scheme in 2011–2020, followed by the Global Talent Visa. Since the points-based system was updated, highly skilled immigrants have not been defined in consistent ways. The UK new points-based system admitted more low- and middle-skilled immigrants by lowering the salary threshold to compensate for the Brexit labour shortage (Walsh, 2021).

This section explains the expansion of programmes based on legal status. After 1990, individual legal-status-based services increased. These included refugee-resettlement programmes and the restriction of services, based on individual legal statuses. The original entry and access rights were relevant to Black African Caribbean and South Asian communities. Entry and access to welfare reflected political and economic conditions (including diverse communities), rather than targeting specific communities. This issue is indirectly related to ethnic-community policies, since individual legal statuses can impact public services, giving some communities access to

public services while blocking others. In addition, legal statuses can introduce social and economic inequality into ethnic community groups, where various entry conditions apply to new immigrants and communities, determining who can access public services.

Diversity, discrimination, and anti-discriminatory activities

This section describes the transformation of race after 1990, when new immigration restrictions created discriminatory and hierarchical social positions. It focuses on the diversification of discriminated-against communities, considering discrimination against Black minority groups between the end of World War II and 1990. Before 1990, the question of racial discrimination primarily involved Commonwealth Black populations, with the UK national government enacting legislation to address various issues, followed by local authorities. This section evaluates the way in which relations between Black and White populations have been transformed by new patterns of immigration. The comparative perspective considers policy-making and other ways of tackling racism. It also explores new racist hate crimes, anti-hate-crime political activities, and government reactions.

Discrimination against Black Commonwealth immigrant communities and their descendants continued after 1990, although ways of tackling racism changed following the murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993. This racist murder and the Lawrence family's campaign for justice led to a public inquiry and the 1999 Macpherson Report (Macpherson, 1999). In contrast to the past, the political reaction to this racist crime was

energetic, engaging a wide range of organisations. The government and media response was overwhelmingly empathetic—and qualitatively different from public responses to other racist murders and violence (Bloch et al., 2013: 103–105). The murder of Stephen Lawrence helped to develop and promote diversity; the case involved both White and Black communities. Given the efforts made to tackle the racism revealed by the Stephen Lawrence murder, it is clear that the response to this case, among others, reflected the later New Labour diversity agenda.

The mission to tackle racism was shared by various organisations. The Macpherson report, which analysed the Stephen Lawrence case, contributed directly to changes in race-equality legislation and made specific recommendations to address racial inequality in the public sector (Bloch et al., 2013, Neal, 2003). This 1999 report pointed out institutional racism, explicit manifestations of racism at the policy level, and unwitting discrimination at the organisational level, which was both hidden and indirect (Macpherson, 1999). It analysed the issue and made suggestions for tackling racism; it also identified institutional racism, including systematic processes of racial exclusion, cultural practices within policing, and the need for legislative change. Racial exclusion existed in racialised cultures within organisations. A legislative change to the Race Relations Amendment Act of 2000 highlighted the need to eradicate institutional racism and obliged the police to act (Ali and Gidley, 2014). The case galvanised political action and movements, calling upon various UK organisations, including the government and media, to root out racial discrimination (Solomos, 2003). Actions designed to eradicate ethnic inequalities included recruitment, employment, and service delivery. The concept of institutional racism was a critical issue in this legislation.

Racism against Black groups continued in 2010, alongside the anti-racist activities of various groups. Cases of racism and anti-racist activities targeting Black groups galvanised Black Lives Matter, a movement that developed in the US in 2012 in response to the acquittal of a neighbourhood-watch volunteer who murdered an unarmed Black teenager. Fuelled by the 2020 death of George Floyd, a Black man arrested and killed by a policeman outside a shop in Minneapolis, Minnesota, the UK Black Lives Matter developed a campaign for Black and ethnic-minority groups that impacted wider communities (Oborne and Cooke, 2020). One UK movement involved decolonisation, removing statues linked to the slave trade in various parts of the UK, including Bristol, London, and several universities (Shearing, 2020).

The 1990s saw a new type of immigration hierarchy, which emerged in response to a surge of refugees and was unrelated to skin colour or the White majority and Black minority. Some studies have argued against ending the old White and Black categories in social science, calling instead for more complex and overlapping social categories (Cohen, 2007). Although racial categories remain, new types of discrimination relevant to immigrant communities have emerged in academia, media, and politics.

Refugees and asylum seekers were the targets of xenophobia in the 1990s, when refugees were maligned by politicians and the media as bogus asylum seekers abusing the British welfare system and using up limited resources (Sales, 2007, Bloch, 2000). This new xenophobic pattern resembled racism, although it targeted immigration rather than skin colour. The targets included asylum seekers and refugees from a range of countries, including the former Yugoslavia, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Iraq, and Turkey (Clayton, 2014: 12–14).

Hate crimes against Eastern European immigrants and communities were reported after eight Central and Eastern European countries joined the EU. The government exacerbated this hostile environment by describing EU refugees and immigrants as an economic and security threat. Migrants were represented as taking jobs away from British workers and putting a strain on public and welfare services (Rzepnikowska, 2019). In addition, the term 'bogus asylum seekers' was used to target various communities. This form of xenoracism did not target 'those with darker skin from the former colonial countries. Instead, it targeted newer categories of displaced and dispossessed White people, who were 'beating at Western Europe's doors' (Sivanandan, 2001). The designation, 'racially motivated hate crime,' was applied to crimes against Eastern European immigrants (e.g., from Poland) and other ethnic-minority communities.

During the 2010s, xenophobia was incorporated into hostile-environment policies led by the Home Office in 2012. One consequence of the hostile environment was the 'go home or face arrest' campaign of July 2013, which was later banned. The pilot scheme for that campaign urged illegal immigrants to go home. Vans with slogans went to the six London boroughs with large ethnic-minority populations. The campaign placed adverts in eight minority-ethnic newspapers, postcards in shop windows, and leaflets and posters advertising immigration surgeries in buildings used by faith and charity groups (Travis, 2013). The pilot operation put pressure on people without leave to remain to depart voluntarily (Hattenstone, 2018). It was cancelled after widespread criticism.

This hostile-environment government agenda led to the creation of various organisations designed to check people's legal statuses. A pattern of unfair treatment based on legal status developed in the wake of the hostile-environment policy (Hall, 2017). The policy and legislation of 2014 and 2016 facilitated xenophobia and made it difficult, in an indirect way, for ethnic-minority groups to access various services (Electronic Immigration Network, 2014). For instance, some landlords were reluctant to rent to Black and minority-ethnic tenants for fear of being fined if they turned out to have illegal or unstable legal statuses (Yeo, 2020). Thus, racism was indirectly related to the policy of checking immigration statuses and xenophobic contexts.

The other target was religious minority groups, especially Muslim groups. One issue involved race riots and Islamophobia. The 2001 race riots in Northern England involved South Asian Muslim communities (predominantly young men), White racists, and far-right activists. This civil disturbance generated discussions of racism and 'multiculturalism' (Steven and Susanne, 2010). Reports detailed resident-based ethnic segregation, social separation, and a general milieu of ethnic tension and suspicion (Denham, 2001, Ouseley, 2001). Segregation and the lack of contact between communities spurred efforts to develop relationships between them. This concept of segregation impacted community policy at the local and national levels at a time when funding for ethnic-community groups was under consideration. Community-cohesion policies emerged to address the issue of segregated community groups (Denham, 2001, Ousley, 2001, Home Office, 2001). Thus, the key issue was the segregation of communities concentrated in specific areas of urban deprivation, with restricted access to welfare, including education and housing.

The other issue, Islamophobia, relates to policing and terrorist attacks. Islamophobia emerged after the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the US, the 2001 race riots in Northern England, and the 2005 London Bombings (Home Office, 2001, Meer, 2010). The policing of Muslim communities expanded to prevent social segregation and cases of terrorism. The fear of terrorism increased the policing and monitoring of Muslim communities and radicalised Muslims in particular. This extra policing of specific communities led to misunderstandings and racial discrimination against Muslims (Husband and Alam, 2011). The police and security services developed counter-terrorism strategies to cope with the threat of radicalised activists within Muslim communities. The increase in stop-and-search practices and police arrests of Muslims from South Asian communities generated many complaints (Bloch et al., 2013: 99–103). Such practices were linked to the concept of community cohesion, which was thought to prevent the emergence of radicalised extremists both nationally and locally (House of Commons Home Affairs Committee, 2011). The sense that Muslims constituted a security threat constructed a narrative of otherness; After 1990, this triggered the government to act.

A series of pieces of legislation underpinned these government hostile-environment immigration policies and the discrimination against Muslims. Human-rights rhetoric was used to support government refugee policies related to the hostile environment for immigrants. The rights set out in the European Convention on Human Rights came into effect in the UK in 2000 when the 1998 Human Rights Act came into force. This Act, which ensured that foreign nationals who had committed serious crimes had all of the rights and freedoms guaranteed under the Human Rights Act, was used to

justify keeping foreign nationals in the UK, even though the Act also introduced the deportation and removal of immigrants (Shaggar and Sommerville, 2012).

Legislation was enacted during the mid-2000s to tackle hate crimes against various communities, including refugees and religious minority groups. The Equality Act of 2006 extended the scope of discrimination to include religion or beliefs, incorporating the issue of race into a broader set of discrimination and equality issues (House of Commons Home Affairs Committee, 2011). In 2010, many UK laws related to equality and discrimination (including laws that discriminated against LGBT and disabled people) were brought together under the 2010 Equality Act (Government Equalities Office and Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2013). A substantial part of this Act came into force in October 2010, setting out new guidelines and rules on discrimination. A series of acts was integrated into the 2010 Equality Act, which covered the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act, the 1976 Race Relations Act, and the 1995 Disability Discrimination Act (Government Equalities Office and Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2013).

To summarise this section, hate crimes increased against various communities, including religious minorities, European communities, Black and Ethnic minority British nationals, and asylum seekers. Community activities and awareness were used to combat the racism revealed by the Stephen Lawrence case and Black Lives Matter. Hate crimes against Muslims surged on 9/11, during the London Bombings in 2005, and again after a series of terrorist attacks in 2017 on Westminster Bridge and in the Manchester Arena (Bloch et al., 2013, Weaver, 2018). Muslim groups were specifically targeted in these hate crimes. The other target was Eastern European communities,

which grew after EU expansion. The 2016 increase in hate crimes involved various

different groups and types of hatred, including racism, religious hatred, and anti-

immigrant feelings. Equality legislation (including the 2010 Equality Act), which was

introduced to combat these hate crimes, thus covered various groups.

Integration policies and educational practices

This section discusses the withdrawal of ethnic-group-based services and

policies, mainly related to education, from the 1990s onwards. The previous chapter

discussed racism and the development of national and local ethnic-group-based policies

and welfare services between the end of World War II and the 1980s. Policies were

developed to address inequality among Black ethnic-minority groups and to provide

public services, including education. As hate crimes diversified, policies and services

shifted their focus away from ethnic groups. This pattern is reflected in the discourse on

multicultural diversity, the integration agenda, and educational support for ethnic-

minority groups. Policymaking and the provision of educational services to ethnic-

community groups in the UK are examined over three decades: the 1990s, 2000s, and

2010s.

The post-1990 multiculturalism and integration agenda developed alongside

community diversification. Studies capture the diversification of new immigrant

communities and their sense of belonging. A 1994 study of identity points out that both

ethnic origin and reactions to racism are essential to forming identities, although neither

one alone is sufficient to explain the development of the identities that dominated the UK before 1990 (Modood et al., 1994) in terms of cultural affiliations to particular ethnic-minority groups or political reactions to racism. These new emerging communities necessitated new ways of capturing groups that were not in the framework prior to the 1990s. The diversified groups influenced policy planning and public-service practices.

Policies towards ethnic-minority groups were influenced by demographic changes and new emerging communities. New ethnic-minority groups became more divided and subdivided after 1990, as seen in the breakdown of the 'Black African' group, the shortcomings of 'Mixed' categorisations, and the subdivided 'White' category (Aspinall, 2011). Internal divisions within ethnic-minority groups were combined with language, racial categories, place of origin, and legal statuses. Religious affiliation became a central issue for policymakers in the new millennium; questions about religion were added to the 2011 Census. However, Sikh Muslims had been calling for recognition since the 1970s and 1980s. Sikh groups developed activities designed to promote recognition of religious/cultural groups, as well as racial groups (Singh, 2005). The Salman Rushdie affair developed a sense of belonging among Muslims, as described in the last chapter (Joppke, 1999: 250–254).

Ethnic minority-group policies gradually shifted toward national government, weakening local-authority control. One shift involved the privatisation of local authorities, which caused the withdrawal of many local race-related and multicultural projects. As the previous chapter explains, many ethnic-group-based educational and other services delivered by local authorities and non-profit organisations ended during

the late 1980s and early 1990s, due in part to Thatcher-era reforms. During the 1980s, local authorities, the Inner London Educational Authority, and the Greater London Council provided funding and programmes for ethnic-minority groups. Educational projects included the Afro-Caribbean Education Resource Project (ACER) and the Primary Curriculum Development Project (Johnson and Caraballo, 2019). These were discontinued when the Greater London Council and ILEA ceded control, although several programmes remain, including Black History Month (Dennis, 2005).

After 1990, the shift away from ethnic groups was reflected in welfare services, including education for ethnic-minority groups. The policies that funded Black ethnic-minority groups were merged into different categories. The gradual shift in service provision towards ethnic-minority groups can be seen from funding sources, such as Section 11. Funding was no longer ring-fenced for ethnic minorities but developed to cater for specific legal statuses, as in the case of refugee-resettlement programmes. Section 11 funding first became available in the 1966 Local Government Act; in 1993, the boundaries determining who could qualify for funding shifted beyond New Commonwealth communities to include new communities – and were also cut substantially (Simpson, 2015). Instead of targeting communities that required language support, the fund shifted toward communities at risk of academic underachievement. Section 11 funding ended in 1999 and was replaced with Ethnic Minority Achievement Grants for language learners and communities at risk of academic underachievement (Tikly et al., 2005). In 2011, the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant was mainstreamed into the Direct Schools Grant and was no longer ring-fenced for ethnic minorities.

An old and new perspective on Britishness, which was linked to diversity and the integration agenda, emerged during the 1990s, followed by political and social transformation. Several Conservative politicians commented on 'Britishness'. For example, John Major gave a speech in which he evoked Britain using symbolic terms, such as warm beer and cricket greens. He used this speech to justify remaining in the European Union (Bloch et al., 2013, UKPOL, 2015): 'In 50 years, it will still be the country of long shadows on county grounds, warm beer, invincible green suburbs, dog lovers and pools fillers and – as George Orwell said – 'old maids bicycling to holy communion through the morning mist'. Diversity was promoted as part of a new image of Britishness. In 1997, the New Labour government promoted diversity using the term 'Cool Britannia' in order to rebrand Britain during their election campaign.

The Cool Britannia movement associated Britishness with creativity, urban life, and cultural diversity. Although this new image of diversity and multiculturalism was advertised in the 1990s, attitudes towards diversity also shifted in favour of restricting new immigration and access to welfare by diverse communities. Both Conservative and Labour governments developed, restricted, and reduced new immigration. They also limited access to welfare, particularly among older ethnic-minority groups (Cantle, 2010, Bleich, 2003). This withdrawal of support from ethnic communities was a consequence of local-authority privatisation during the Conservative era. The Labour government campaigned for a positive image of diversity but did not provide local services or funding for ethnic-minority groups. While the government campaigned for a version of Britishness that was urban, creative, and culturally diverse, it also restricted entry and access to refugees and asylum seekers, while strengthening welfare services.

During the late 1990s, integration-agenda policies were discussed and developed; these discussions were formalised in the Crick and Parekh reports. The Crick Report on Citizenship Education sought to educate young people about civic virtue, autonomy, and personal self-fulfilment (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 1998). The report sets out a rationale for introducing Citizenship as a National Curriculum subject; it remains a crucial resource for those interested in the topic. The report's conception of citizenship faced criticism because it failed to account for cultural differences (Olssen, 2004). Bhiku Parekh's 2000 report presented a more comprehensive perspective on multiculturalism in the UK. The Parekh Report advocated using 'British' in a more multi-ethnic way by referring to the various sub-groups that made up society (Parekh, 2000). The issue that Crick and Parekh had in common was the view that mixing was crucial, although they also emphasised cultural differences.

The integration idea developed to become a policy agenda during the 2000s. In the early 2000s, the integration agenda tried to combat the risks associated with diversity and segregation, which produced community tensions and the extremism associated with the 9/11 attacks, the 2001 race riots in Northern England, and the 2005 London Bombings. Diversity was both praised and criticised, with the critics arguing that it caused segregation and extremism. This trend also triggered a 'backlash against multiculturalism', which caused a decline in support for ethnic-minority groups. The emphasis on integration and 'community cohesion' demanded the withdrawal of support for specialist services for community groups (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2010b). This political and demographic shift led to changes in actual welfare support for

specific ethnic-minority groups. Thus, the criticism of multiculturalism and the integration agenda (known as 'community cohesion') were two sides of the same coin. Community cohesion also influenced the way in which central and local government, community organisations, and others approached ethnic-minority groups. Various local and national programmes associated with community cohesion, such as educational programmes for minority groups, called for the integration of ethnic-community groups and the cooperation of various service providers.

Community cohesion was discussed and criticised over the issue of segregated community groups and multiculturalism (Home Office, 2001, Denham, 2001, Ousley, 2001). Groups were segregated economically and socially and concentrated geographically. Some critics argued that this exacerbated cultural differences and undermined socioeconomic inequality (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2010b). Multicultural diversity was criticised for helping to create such communities. The logic of community cohesion as a cultural stance was criticised for over-emphasising cultural differences. Its cultural stance on community cohesion was criticised for interpreting the tensions in northern towns as based on cultural differences, especially in Muslim communities, and focusing on ethnic polarisation rather than socioeconomic divisions (Vertovec, 2014, Mary et al., 2008, Bloch et al., 2013). Thus, community cohesion was criticised for having mixed ideas of the cultural and socioeconomic aspects of communities.

Speeches made by politicians from both parties criticised multiculturalism and emphasised integration. In 2006, Tony Blair said that a citizen's 'right to be in a multicultural society was always implicitly balanced by a duty to integrate, to be part of Britain, to be British and Asian, British and Black, and British and White' (BBC News,

2006). In 2007, Gordon Brown argued that multiculturalism had 'become an excuse for justifying separateness'. He preferred to talk of 'Britishness' and a 'stronger sense of patriotic purpose'. In 2010, Conservative Prime Minister David Cameron criticised 'state multiculturalism' at a security conference in Munich, arguing that the 'UK needed a stronger national identity to prevent people from turning to all kinds of extremism' (Cabinet Office, 2011).

By preventing and managing community tensions, policymakers aimed to create an environment that encouraged networking. The fund for community cohesion was used to support small voluntary communities, funding for younger generations, capacity building associated with urban regeneration in deprived areas, and English-language support for integration (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2007, Cantle, 2010). In practice, the government planned to use the integration strategy to control challenges that increased immigration (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012). Community bridging, which aimed to develop networks between ethnic-minority groups and members of groups, was promoted, although the interpretation of cohesion was not consistent with the Cantle Report (Home Office, 2001). Various cohesion programmes were established in education, employment, and housing.

Programmes designed to prevent extremism focused on community cohesion and segregated communities; one such programme was the Prevention of Violent Extremism programme (Pratchett et al., 2010). In 2008, the government published guidance for local partners designed to prevent violent extremism. This cohesion programme adopted a local-community approach to prevent people from becoming or

supporting terrorist activities. One issue raised in the programme was the risk of over-monitoring communities (Pratchett et al., 2010), which risked developing tensions between Muslim and other communities and the police. Muslim communities were particularly at risk from stop-and-search operations, for example.

Cohesion also featured in the actual service delivery of ESOL and other services. After 1990, English services became closely intertwined with immigration and citizenship policies. Potential migrants had to submit to language testing as a mechanism of immigration control. The fact that immigrants could not obtain legal status without passing an English language test increased the need to fund and provide ESOL. ESOL was originally a spinoff of Further Education, which developed in a context of reduced control of local education in England and Wales. The Further and Higher Education Act of 1992 removed control of the Further Education sector from local education authorities in England and Wales. New public bodies – the Further Education Funding Councils for England and Wales – were established (Rosenberg, 2008). ESOL can be compared with and distinguished from Section 11 funding, which was designed for ethnic-minority groups, rather than diverse groups and legal statuses. ESOL reflected the restriction of access to citizenship via the issue of legal statuses.

The basic English-language skills required in the legislation were closely related to citizenship. The UK government introduced legislation detailing the skills required to obtain citizenship. The Immigration and Asylum Act of 2002 discussed citizenship, the need to accommodate immigration, and the requirement for people to be ready to integrate socially (Home Office, 2005). Immigrants seeking naturalisation or indefinite leave to remain were expected to integrate into British society if they hoped to settle

permanently in the UK, with the right to access public services. Under the 2002 Acts, new citizens had to prepare for citizenship by passing tests in English and demonstrating knowledge of the UK. The English language became an essential skill for those hoping to acquire citizenship status, as it was considered central to the enjoyment of the right of citizenship and participation in society. Citizenship education covered British values, history, traditions, and everyday life (Fleras, 2009). In 2007, language and citizenship tests were extended to people applying for indefinite leave to remain (Sales, 2007: 180).

Some community-cohesion funds were used to improve English-language provision; they funded training for children and adults in diverse communities. English became an essential skill for gaining access to rights, such as citizenship. Although the community-cohesion agenda supported ESOL programmes, the Casey Review criticised ESOL policy for failing to present a coherent community-cohesion strategy. ESOL policy suffered from a lack of coordination, with the Department for Education taking the lead, but the Department for Work and Pensions, the Home Office, and the Department for Communities and Local Government also playing key roles (Casey, 2016, Foster and Bolton, 2017). Thus, ESOL programmes were accessed in a broad community-cohesion context, with diverse organisations using funds in different ways.

During the 2010s, the Coalition and Conservative governments did not fund community-cohesion programmes as the Labour government had, although multiculturalism continued to be criticised. Cohesion programmes were impacted by austerity and the change in administration. The Conservative government ended the community-cohesion programme, which began under a Labour government. Instead,

there were discussions about ways to control immigration from the European Union and elsewhere. The Prime Minister, David Cameron, insisted that the 'state doctrine of multiculturalism' had failed and called for a 'muscular liberalism' in response (Cabinet Office, 2011). He asserted that multiculturalism had encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and apart from the 'mainstream'. This hard-line approach to migrants and ethnic-minority groups continued. In 2015, Home Secretary Theresa May, speaking at the Conservative Party Conference, dismissed the idea that Britain was a 'country of immigrants', claiming that 'we have until recently always been a country of remarkable population stability' (Stone, 2017).

The coalition government's hard-line approach to immigration and reluctance to fund special measures for migrants or communities reduced the funds available for integrating community groups (Ali and Gidley, 2014). The coalition government also abandoned community cohesion. Funding for integration activities fell to the point where European Union funds were the only resources available (Phillimore, 2012). Thus, this period was characterised by a shift away from community-based policies. Various organisations and people commented on the lack of funds. According to the Shadow Skills Minister, funding for ESOL fell from £203 million in 2010 to £90 million in 2016 (Marsden, 2018). Funds were also depleted for Black History Month, as austerity impacted racial and cultural issues (Mulholland, 2010).

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the diversification of immigration and the control of entry and access to welfare. New immigration contributed to increasingly diverse community-group categories and legal statuses. Cyclical, return, and seasonal patterns of migration developed alongside permanent migration. Lawmakers discussed various legal statuses with different levels of access to welfare services. Minority communities had diverse cultural affiliations and political reactions, which included anti-racism campaigns. Community entry and access to welfare were restricted; the literature notes both access restrictions for refugees and the movement to increase access. Equality between legal statuses is discussed in relation to access and rights from the perspective of public-service practitioners and policymakers.

After 1990, hate crimes targeted diverse groups and communities. Both the White majority and Black minority were impacted by the Stephen Lawrence tragedy and the Black Lives Matter movement. Perspectives on refugees became more negative, while Muslim minorities were targeted by hate crimes following 9/11, the 2005 London Bombings, and the riots in Northern England. Hatred of religious communities (and Muslim communities in particular) became more prominent. Muslim communities were associated with terrorism and segregated groups, leading to an increase in hate crimes.

The last section explains the transformation of multicultural policies associated with the criticism of multiculturalism and integration. This period saw the transformation of funding for ethnic-minority groups and the narrative of diversity and integration. During the 1990s, diversity was associated with an urban, creative image, which led to the development of skilled immigration. Many programmes designed to support ethnic-minority groups in the 1970s and 1980s were closed down due to local

government reforms, demographic change, and austerity In their place, the integration agenda emerged in the 2000s, alongside criticism of multiculturalism. The integration agenda and various cohesion programmes were developed to address segregated communities, which were thought to be one of the causes of the race riots.

4. Analytical challenges posed by Lewisham local policies and social change

Introduction

This chapter articulates a methodological issue and explains how this study uses the data-collection process to clarify the topic of social change in the local context. The chapter begins by explaining how interview and other documentary data were collected in Lewisham; it then describes the data-collection process, which focused on interviews, demographic data, and policy documents. Interviewees were contacted and numerical demographic data and documents were collected during and after fieldwork in Lewisham.

The chapter then discusses the London Borough of Lewisham's analytical process, local policies, and social change. It explains why this borough was used as a case study; how the study developed to explore the policy shift from ethnic-group-based policies to individual legal-status-based services; and how the social changes associated with super-diversity were articulated. The analytical sections also describe the link between the fieldwork data-collection process and the analytical process in each chapter, focusing on Chapters 5–7.

The data-collection process and the use of data

This study uses interview, statistical, and documentary data as primary data. The main fieldwork process involved collecting interview data. The interview process itself helped to develop the research questions, while the data illustrated the transition from diversity to super-diversity via issues of race, ethnicity, and legal statuses. Thus, the study can be classified as an inductive approach, which used fieldwork in Lewisham to explore the social mechanism of super-diversity with a neoliberal agenda. Lewisham's demographic data and policy documents were used to support the argument and supplement the interview data. Other demographic data and policy documents were collected to confirm the shift from ethnic-group-based issues to immigration-related legal statuses.

Interviews, statistical data, and policy documents were used to develop research questions about the central-government shift from local ethnic-group-based actions to legal-status-based actions (i.e., group-based to individual-based policies). Thus, the data made it possible to create and verify the research questions. During the fieldwork, the researcher reconsidered the issues taken up in this study, which focused originally on the way in which policies transformed issues of race and ethnicity in the local context. The fieldwork showed that many legal-status-based programmes and services were stratified by legal status in Lewisham. It thus became clear that it was not necessary to explain race and ethnicity in order to consider existing diversity. However, programmes in the current diverse environment could still be explained using the race-and-ethnicity framework, despite some group-based issues. Data on legal-status-based actions, the

history of national-government policies, and their influence in the local context were also considered.

Thus, the Lewisham fieldwork experience not only made it possible to collect data to support the thesis argument but also provided the materials needed to develop research questions for this study. The fieldwork uncovered new problems faced by Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations, causing the researcher to reconsider aspects of the thesis. Local and organisation-level perspectives, such as how organisations acquired and distributed funds in particular areas, revealed issues that could not have been discovered except through local fieldwork. The fieldwork guided this discussion of race, ethnicity, and new community issues related to diverse legal statuses.

Interview data

This thesis uses interview data collected in the London Borough of Lewisham. Twenty interviews were carried out with Lewisham Council officials, councillors, and representatives of community organisations. Many of the interviewees understood and worked with immigration and diversity issues in Lewisham. Some had worked and lived in Lewisham for a long time. The data were collected from Lewisham-based organisations (introduced by interviewees) that dealt with local diversity issues. The context and meaning of super-diversity in Lewisham were explored through various relations and contexts.

The present study used 22 interviews with 18 interviewees, collected between 2017 and 2022. All of the interviewees had worked with race, immigration, and diversity issues for a long time. The process consisted of asking for interviews and attending networking events; a semi-structured interview format was applied. The analysis was based on demographic data from the interviews. Some parts of the analysis were carried out after the interview data were collected. In complex conditions, it is beneficial to collect a range of different data, while using the appropriate semi-structured interview method. The interview questions, developed before and during the interviews, were mainly open-ended. Semi-structured interviews made it possible to gain unexpected research data. The interview questions were reviewed and reconsidered after several interviews.

Table 1

Adam	Lewisham-related urban consulting firm	Lisa	Lewisham Councillor
Andrew	Lewisham-based non-profit organisation	Martin	Lewisham-related urban consulting firm
George	Lewisham Council official	Mathew	Lewisham-based non-profit organisation
Jack	Lewisham-based non-profit organisation	Michael	Lewisham-based non-profit organisation
Jason	Lewisham-based non-profit organisation	Mike	Lewisham Council Official
Jerry	Lewisham-based non-profit organisations	Nancy	Lewisham-based non-profit organisation
James	Lewisham-related urban consultant firm	Paul	Lewisham-based non-profit organisation
Joanne	Lewisham-related urban consulting firm	Raymond	Lewisham Councillor
Kenneth	Lewisham-based non-profit organisation	Rodney	Lewisham Councillor
Kevin	Lewisham Council official	Stephen	Lewisham-based non-profit organisation
Lawrence	Lewisham-based non-profit organisation	Susan	Lewisham-based non-profit organisation

A snowball-sampling strategy was used to collect the data. Snowball sampling was also used during the interviews. After each interview, the researcher asked the interviewee to recommend other participants, some of whom were then contacted. Online research into Lewisham-related policies and programmes was the other main

strategy used in this research. To carry out snowball sampling, the researcher participated in events held by community organisations. Lewisham provided many networking opportunities. Participating via social-networking services made it possible to contact other interviewees.

The other data-collection process involved connecting with relevant organisations, including local councillors and community organisations, mainly through the Lewisham Council website. Although this approach produced a much lower response ratio than snowball sampling, as expected, it enabled the researcher to identify and develop a rapport with suitable interviewees, who in turn suggested other sources of data. Engaging with interviewees was an essential part of the data-collection and concept-development process. Personal rapport facilitated the development of lists of relevant community organisations and people.

The interviews included a mix of pre-set and open-ended questions. For example, interviewees were asked about Lewisham's demography and demographic changes, their own diversity projects, and the future of diversity in Lewisham. These questions were pre-set. They were also asked how they dealt with projects related to immigration and diversity narratives. The use of open-ended questions made it possible to ask the interviewees about other people and organisations engaged in various projects. The interviewees were able to explain how other organisations viewed demographic change and participated in similar projects.

It was essential to understand how each interviewee's background supported his or her perspective. Although many individuals worked in the public sector and tried to respond objectively, their backgrounds shaped their perspectives. Thus, interviewees

were asked about the work they did and their previous experiences. Their gestures, intonation, and laughter conveyed meaning and were interpreted as part of a performance (Back and Puwar, 2012).

The present study conforms to the ethical guidelines of the British Sociological Association (BSA). The research process provided anonymity, privacy, and confidentiality. Informed consent was obtained from all participants (British Sociological Association, 2012). Each interviewee received a consent form before his or her interview; the form guaranteed privacy and anonymity both during and after the interview. As the data included details of the interviewees' backgrounds, work, and careers, these were kept private and confidential. Most interviewees were happy to participate and able to talk about their organisations; many worked at Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations.

Access to the interviewees was a challenging aspect of the data-collection process. As the researcher had no prior connection with the Lewisham interviewees, it was difficult initially to contact suitable and diverse interviewees who understood immigration and diversity from a research perspective. Although finding and accessing interviewees was a challenge, the process became easier once the researcher had conducted several interviews, discovered the key issues, connected with other potential interviewees, and developed a research strategy.

An analytical process was used to ascertain the meaning and implications of the interview data on immigration and diversity. Their meaning is reflected in discussion narratives, which create a framework for and perspectives on immigration patterns, communities before and after the 1990s, and new immigration patterns and borders. The

interview data were supported by policy documents and statistical data. Chapter 5 links demographic issues to the interviews and statistical data, while Chapters 6 and 7 use policy documents and interview data to support the narrative, based on context.

It is a challenge to maintain reflexivity throughout this type of qualitative research process. Researchers who wish to understand their observations must also observe their acts of understanding (Reichertz, 2004). Reflexivity clarifies the researcher's process of awareness. This reflexive process involves turning back on oneself so that the processes of knowledge production becomes the subject of investigation (May and Perry, 2013). This means that the researcher's background, understanding, and position affect what s/he chooses to investigate, his or her research perspective, and findings related to key issues. In other words, the researcher must regularly question him or herself during the analytical process. In addition, the researcher's position can influence the process of data collection, as can the mood or atmosphere that prevails when he or she is questioning interviewees and analysing and interpreting the data. Here, for example, when the researcher reflected on the interview process, it was clear that some of the interview data did not fully explain the issue at hand and required supplementation.

The researcher's own position as a doctoral student and foreign national made it easier to develop a relationship with the interviewees and the data-collection method affected their interactions. Initially, it was difficult for the researcher to access the interviewees, as a total outsider in Lewisham who needed to develop networks. This personal position affected some of the interviewees' comments about higher education and related issues in Lewisham.

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Entering a field from the outside can deepen one's understanding of the field. Researchers who experience this are well-positioned to question the entire process. In this case, the researcher developed and understood various aspects of diversity by gathering various types of data in the Lewisham area.

Chapter 5 uses relevant interview data to explore demographic change. Respondents were asked for their views on demographic changes between the post-war and current eras. This chapter explores issues related to past immigration policies and patterns, diversity, and ethnic-minority groups, mainly before the 1990s. However, the interviewees' recollections of post-war immigration and diversity were sometimes inaccurate, given the passing of time. Thus, the interview data also included each interviewee's constructed ideas about past immigration and diversity. For example, the data revealed a gap between actual immigration and diversity, mainly when the interviewees were talking about immigrant numbers. Policy documents and statistical data were used to supplement the interview data in the analytical process. Despite some inaccuracies, the interview data provided an essential demographic picture of immigration, uncovering new Vietnamese communities in Lewisham prior to 1990. The interviewees were also asked about new ethnic-minority groups after 1990. Issues related to African and Eastern European immigrants and diversity within ethnic-minority groups were explored using the interview data.

The interview data cited in Chapter 5 also cover racism; issues related to race; anti-racist activities; and ethnic communities, including the African Caribbean community, religious minorities, and Eastern European groups, in the local and national context. Many interviewees were able to provide significant information. They were

asked about the historical transformation of race-related issues before and after 1990. The post-1990 data focused on changes to local government and anti-racist organisations. The interviews compared post-1990 hate crimes, including Islamophobia and xenophobia, with racism targeting the Black community.

In Chapter 6, the interview data reveal how people and organisations adjusted to demographic changes and developed new programmes. This chapter investigates how local government officials, councillors, and community organisations developed strategies to diversify communities and changed their strategies towards ethnic-minority groups. The data include each interviewee's personal experience of delivering services to new communities, community cohesion, and the impact of austerity measures on organisations and programmes. Some interviews uncovered new issues, including various cohesion and integration programmes in Lewisham and the varied impact of austerity on organisations and programmes.

In Chapter 7, interview data are used to describe the shift toward legal-status-based services, focusing on the issue of restriction. This chapter asks to what extent local government and non-profit organisations engaged with programmes and restrictions based on legal statuses. The data, which were collected mainly through interviews, cover new ESOL and resettlement programmes. The interview data on ESOL services shed light on the demands of English-language educational services and their development. Many interviewees also discussed the refugee-resettlement programme and ongoing programmes relevant to immigrants and ethnic-minority groups. However, the interviews alone did not provide enough historical background.

For this reason, policy documents were used to understand entry controls, welfare restrictions, and the history of ESOL and refugee-resettlement programmes.

Demographic data and policy documents

The demographic and policy documents provided various datasets. The policy documents included relevant committee minutes and documents (including a comprehensive equality scheme), which detailed diversity and equality policies in Lewisham. The diversity-related projects included Lewisham Council strategies, integration programmes, and refugee-resettlement programmes. Documents on public-service practices mainly covered educational services, such as ESOL. They also detailed planning, budgeting, collaboration with partners, and project evaluation. The demographic data included migration statistics, data on ethnic-minority communities, and country-of-birth data for the UK and Borough of Lewisham prior to 1990. After 1990, the data were associated with mixed communities, religious minorities, and refugees.

One way to collect data was through a website search. Here, the collection process gathered demographic data via web searches, using keywords related to the topic. Most of the data were available to download from relevant websites. However, it could be challenging to find the right websites and relevant pages. The researcher, therefore, asked interviewees for additional information and data after their interviews, identifying many relevant sources. Various websites, including the London Borough of

Lewisham website, were used to find interviewees, committee minutes, and parliamentary constituency documents. Data-providing organisations were another source of statistical and demographic data on Lewisham and the UK.

Policy documents and statistical data were collected from members of Lewisham Council and community organisations. First-hand information was provided by Lewisham Council officials, councillors, and people working for community organisations. After their interviews, key interviewees, individuals, and groups were asked to connect their statements to the demographic data and policy documents. Most of the community organisations were non-profit voluntary organisations dealing with diversity issues; many offered educational programmes. Data were also taken from their websites, which provided statistics and policy documents on immigration and the diversity of relevant organisations, including Lewisham Council. The statistical data and policy documents used in Chapters 5 and 6 clarify the relationship between local service providers and communities in the context of super-diversity.

In Chapter 5, for example, policy documents, statistical data, and interviews provide information on demography and race narratives. The numerical data consist mainly of demographic information on migration and communities in the UK and Lewisham. The statistical data include demographic and policy documents, which are sources of meaning and material for debate. Numerical data downloaded from various websites provide a rich picture of local demography. These include statistical data on the history of demography and demographic change in Lewisham; they were collected online or from interviewees. Demographic data were mainly sourced from a demographic-history website, which provided important information. The researcher

used manuals provided by the website to learn how to gather information. The study also references the statistical data and policy documents provided by interviewees.

The Census included official statistical data on UK and Lewisham demography. Census data provided country-of-birth information, ethnic-community composition, and immigration trends. Another source, the Labour Force Survey on the migrant population and workforce, documented birth countries, nationalities, and ethnicities. These statistical and demographic data were analysed for Lewisham and the UK using the Casweb UK data service, which analyses Census data from the 1960s to 2001. This website made it possible to track immigration, ethnic-minority groups, and country-of-origin data for Lewisham and the UK.

Demographic documents on immigration and ethnic-minority groups before and after 1990 were used to define ethnic-minority groups and their countries of birth. Thus, Chapter 5 uses 1971–2011 datasets (country of birth, ethnic-minority groups, categories, and transformation) to capture various groups and immigration patterns. The way in which Census questions classified ethnic-minority groups and countries of birth (and how those definitions were transformed) revealed changing perspectives on ethnic-minority groups and immigration. For current demography, the researcher used Comprehensive Equality data issued by Lewisham Council. These data, which were provided by interviewees, revealed the demography of ethnic-minority groups and various equality-related policies and agendas.

Historical data on race were collected through interviews and documents relevant to the history of race and immigration in Lewisham. The documents supported the interview data, detailing racist and anti-racist activities throughout the period. The

primary sources were news reports, government documents, and history books on race, racism, and anti-racist activities. These were supplemented by information on the history of race in Lewisham, including the Battle of Lewisham, the New Cross house fire, and the murder of Stephen Lawrence. General data and information on these incidents were collected before the interviews. After each interview, more focused data and information were gathered.

The data used in Chapter 6 reveal a political shift away from ethnic-group-based services and the integration agenda. They cover the privatisation of local authorities and the Thacher-era reforms (the interview data did not cover these topics in full). The documents recorded the end of multicultural programmes and the privatisation of local authorities. The relevant projects were educational programmes and multicultural and integration projects, including Black History Month, English-language services (such as ESOL), and English-language education for children. The documents recorded the withdrawal of services for ethnic-minority groups and integration-programme data. The Intercultural Cities Programme was one example of a programme designed to facilitate networking among various organisations and ethnic-minority groups.

The austerity policies of the 1990s and 2010s were analysed after data collection. Many interviewees mentioned the impact of austerity on organisations and programmes. During the 1990s, austerity measures incorporated government financial reforms that affected locally funded ethnic-group-based services. The 2010 data reveal the impact of austerity on Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations. Policy documents and minutes describe both periods of austerity and their impact on services. These data are discussed in Chapter 6.

Chapter 7 includes data on various legal-status-based programmes and restrictions. Data from the national refugee-resettlement programme were supplemented by several datasets, including minutes of Lewisham Council meetings and refugee-programme policy documents. These programmes and the history of Lewisham were explored following the interviews. Information on refugee-resettlement-programme eligibility and access restrictions was collected via interviews and programme websites. Although the researcher did not expect to find that specific organisations were involved with refugee programmes, the interview data revealed that Lewisham Council and several non-profit organisations collaborated on refugee-resettlement programmes and English educational services. The interview data helped to explain how Lewisham authorities and non-profit organisations contributed to these programmes.

Other data described the history of legal statuses before and after 1990. This chapter does not cover post-war legal statuses because they were underdeveloped in comparison to racialised entry controls and restricted welfare benefits. After 1990, documents reveal the following: post-immigration history, policies relevant to refugees and asylum seekers, the points-based system, migration programmes for highly skilled non-EU immigrants, an increase in Eastern European immigrants, Brexit, restricted entry, and EU communities' access to welfare benefits. In the Lewisham context, some data on refugees and EU communities also relate to diversity programmes involving Brexit and refugee-resettlement programmes.

Lewisham, its local characteristics, and unintended consequences

This study views locality as a critical element in the transformation of migration-related racial and ethnic diversity and immigration. In other words, it uses a local lens to provide a model of a super-diverse society. Prior studies of super-diversity have investigated parts of the UK and the world without fully exploring the various locations. Here, the London Borough of Lewisham is investigated via local policies on race, integration, and selective immigration.

Lewisham is a model area for investigating super-diversity from the perspective of history, immigration borders, and communities. London has one of the most diverse populations in the world, with a wide range of ethnic-minority groups and international migrants (Schrooten et al., 2016: 19). Lewisham has a history of old and new immigration. As such, it is a highly diverse place, where people from various ethnic backgrounds and birth countries engage with Lewisham Council and voluntary organisations on issues related to diversity. It is, therefore, an ideal place for researching multicultural policymaking after 1990. These characteristics have shaped the history of immigration, ethnic community groups, and related policies.

The methodology used to research Lewisham was different from a multi-sited ethnographical method. A single-sited method allows a researcher to study a topic historically, while multi-site methods can explain and compare relations between local service providers and communities. The method applied in Chapters 5–8 of this study shows how diversity changed Lewisham, revealing the eras before and during super-diversity. The chapters cover race-related diversity and the politics of multicultural diversity. The present perspective on historical change and cities is essential in this context. By focusing on one area, this thesis clarifies the role played by various local

government and non-profit organisations – as well as ethnic-minority groups and educational service providers – in tackling racism. It also investigates immigrant policies, immigrant services, and ethnic-minority groups. Thus, this study does not compare Lewisham to other urban local areas. Instead, it allows comparison with national policy, immigration services, and ethnic-minority groups.

Chapter 5 discusses local cases of racism within the national context, explaining specific cases of racism and efforts to combat them. It asks how racism developed in the era before super-diversity and how the current era has transformed it. This study investigates the emergence of racism against Black Commonwealth communities and anti-racist activities in Lewisham. Anti-racist protests sparked organised activities among ethnic-minority groups and generated support for them. This chapter explains how racists targeted Commonwealth communities after the war. It also describes the transformation of racism and anti-racist activities, noting the loss of funding for ethnic-minority groups.

The historical conditions that underpin Lewisham's demography and policies show how local authorities and non-profit organisations addressed the issues discussed in Chapter 6. Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations were proactive in providing information on immigration and race for this study, supporting the researcher's own data-collection efforts. Information on diversity in Lewisham was also available via the websites of Lewisham Council and community organisations. In addition, various interviewees commented on race, immigration, policies, and educational services. The cooperation between organisations made it easier to gain access to data, highlighting interviewees and other individuals with experience and

knowledge of immigration and diversity in Lewisham. This research identified people who were able to talk about issues related to diversity. Several interviewees helped the researcher contact colleagues in their own and other organisations.

Lewisham was an ideal place to study immigrants and communities, including asylum seekers, refugees, and both EU and non-EU communities. In various new communities, asylum seekers and refugees are supported by specific organisations. Lewisham Council and voluntary organisations have a history of accommodating refugees and engaging actively in refugee issues. During the 1970s, Lewisham accommodated Indo-Chinese communities from Vietnam. The borough operated a range of asylum and refugee policies and services, mainly via refugee-resettlement programmes, such as VPRS and VCRS for Syrian refugees (London Borough of Lewisham, 2008).

From an analytical point of view, the main challenge when investigating local political and public services is determining the extent to which key bodies are involved in making policies and delivering services that impact legal statuses. This study explores relations between local government and non-profit organisations, as well as national government policies on legal-status-based services. Local challenges involved specific legal-status-based services, including Lewisham refugee-resettlement programmes, which provided various local services. This thesis draws on the perspectives of Lewisham Council and several voluntary organisations to clarify this shift, as well as the involvement of the national government. Although the research questions do not cover the shift to legal statuses, new immigration and diversity patterns are relevant. The issue of restriction impacts access to services, differentiated via legal

statuses. The refugee, non-EU, and EU categories are examples of legal statuses, each with its own rights and levels of access to services in the national context.

Local policies and educational services

This research adopted an inductive approach, applying a micro perspective to local Lewisham fieldwork. Ultimately, it explored the social mechanism of super-diversity with a neoliberal agenda from a macro perspective. During the fieldwork process, the theme changed from the development of ethnic-group-based policies and services to the decline of ethnic-group-based and selective-migration policies and services. Later, the study expanded to include selective-immigration policies and services, as a focus on locally derived ethnic-group-based policies alone could not explain the social transformation experienced by local and UK-wide communities. The era of Conservative government, which began in 2010, did not introduce an integration- or community-cohesion-related agenda, but focused instead on selective immigration policies and restrictive services, such as the 'hostile environment for migrants' and 'Brexit'.

In response to the question of why this study has focused on local policies – such policies for diverse communities can reveal local characteristics, such as the relationship between Lewisham organisations and national institutions. The relations between local and national bodies involve power, decision-making, the allocation of funds, and the financial and political autonomy of organisations. Lewisham Council and voluntary organisations coordinate with the national government when dealing with

race-related, ethnic, multicultural, integration-related, and legal-status issues. These relations can reveal the treatment of diverse communities in Lewisham, as well as the local-policy features of multiculturalism, integration, and restriction. Lewisham Council must work with the UK government, voluntary organisations, local service organisations, and community groups, which also work together.

Educational services are another aspect of local policies. The organisations that provide educational services in Lewisham have links with local government, colleges, and non-profit educational service providers. They offer a wide range of educational and integration services, including multicultural, anti-racist, ESOL and other integration education services. The English language is a key aspect of anti-racist education, the integration agenda, and immigrant-selection policies. Education (in particular, English-language education) is an important part of the national integration and restriction agenda.

Local service providers removed educational programmes for ethnic-minority groups and replaced them with integration programmes. In addition, financial support for local English-language programmes was impacted by austerity measures from 2010 onwards. Local service providers emerged to offer English-language services, as the language was required for entry and welfare.

Although Chapter 5 does not focus on local policies or education, these do reveal the transformation of communities before and after 1990, both in Lewisham and nationwide. Lewisham Council and various non-profit originations provided information on anti-racist and English-language educational services, reaching a hierarchy of diverse communities constructed during both eras. Some interviewees

discussed the relationship between specific racial and ethnic minorities, as well as refugee, non-EU, and EU groups and specific policies and educational programmes. Educational programmes are also discussed in the section on discriminated-against communities in Lewisham. Although the aim is not to explain local policies, they are mentioned indirectly in discussions of racial inequality.

This chapter introduces local policies linked to educational services offered by a range of local education providers; Chapter 6 explains historical changes in integration. Both local-government officials and non-profit educational service providers were interviewed for this study. For this reason, most of the information on education relates to integration programmes. Local government provided educational services to develop pre-1990 multiculturalism and post-1990 integration. These are described in Chapter 5, which also explores the national agenda of integration education and its impact on Lewisham. Local integration issues are a feature of most education services, although various organisations with different targets provide the services.

Chapter 7 links local policies with the restrictions associated with legal statuses. For example, refugee-resettlement programmes and local policies are restricted by legal statuses that require ESOL provision. This chapter, therefore, focuses on ESOL programmes designed for refugees and investigates non-EU and EU immigrants distinguished by their legal status. The interviews consider refugee-resettlement programmes and EU citizens coping with Brexit. Non-EU points-based communities are not explored in this study because they are not relevant to welfare access. Forms of access are discussed in relation to local policies and national issues, which have shaped the restriction agenda and its transformation.

Social change

This study also analyses the historical transformation of immigration-related diversity before and after 1990. Chapters 5–7 are analytically challenging because they combine different datasets and cases of social change in Lewisham. This study of social change considers immigration history and policies, ethnic-minority groups, and issues related to race. These reflect methodological aspects of concepts, which are deduced from the data rather than pre-determined. The section on the neoliberal selective migration agenda was added to Chapters 5–7 after the fieldwork, making it difficult to analyse, given its influence on various structures of the thesis.

It was challenging to use and combine interviews and other types of data, as some datasets contradicted each other by interpreting the same topic (e.g. demography or policies) in different ways. The interviews, demographic data, and policy documents both supported and linked to each other, functioning as the main and supplementary data in this study. Many interviews were unstructured and required careful reading and analysis, a process that uncovered more issues to explore. By contrast, the policy documents and statistical data provided very structured information. Sometimes the statistical data illuminated the interviews, particularly in relation to precise demographic details and evidence of change. When the interview data could not fully explain an issue, policy documents and demographic information were used as the primary data.

The analytical challenges included the way in which various datasets contributed to describing social change. Although the main historical frameworks cover the post-war and post-1990 periods, each chapter focuses on a specific timeframe, based on the context and topics covered. For example, immigration trends can be divided into decades from the post-war period onwards. The timeframe also considers political parties in power and the impact of changing national politics on immigration, ethnic-minority groups, multiculturalism, and relevant policies and services. Comparing datasets across different historical contexts reveals demographic changes in immigration, ethnic-minority groups, multiculturalism, and integration policies, as well as English-language provision, anti-racist education, ethnic and cultural education, and the growth of diverse communities.

The first analytical challenge in Chapter 5 is the need to track demographic change using several datasets (statistical data, policy documents, and interview data) in different contexts. Applying the interview and statistical data on immigration and diversity (e.g., historical ethnic-minority group composition) to the appropriate themes was a second analytical challenge. During the post-war period, census and interview data were the main sources of information on immigration patterns. The interviewees provided historical data through their memories of the 1970s. Statistics were then combined with interview data to determine the composition of immigrant and ethnic-minority groups in different eras. After 1990, census and interview data could be supplemented with policy documents. The census data, which included statistics, revealed ethnic-group transformations and supported more detailed data in the UK and Lewisham context.

In Chapter 6, it was challenging to track social change using different datasets; these showed how Lewisham Council and voluntary organisations changed their approaches to ethnic community groups over time, reflecting the political, demographic, and economic context. The researcher analysed several programmes hosted by Lewisham Council and local service providers as they shifted toward community cohesion. During the 2000s, Lewisham adopted various UK government community-cohesion programmes; in the 2010s, it moved on to a European Intercultural Cities Programme, which provided educational and other services. The educational programmes focused on teaching English to children, although some interviewees also mentioned adult language learning.

Another analytical challenge was the addition of a timeframe for the post-2010 austerity era. The section on austerity was added after an analysis of datasets. Austerity and Brexit were issues that emerged unexpectedly from the interview data, impacting various organisations and programmes linked to immigration and diversity. Chapters 6 and 7 later contextualised austerity and placed it in the context of the 2010s, a period that accelerated the political and economic control of immigration and communities. Austerity politics influenced most organisations, including Lewisham Council, local non-profit organisations, integration and ESOL programmes, and refugee-resettlement programmes, as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

In Chapter 7, the relevant analytical challenge of social change involved comparing aspects of social change before and after 1990. This chapter does not cover post-war immigration or refugee-resettlement programmes fully, focusing more on the later period. However, some post-war topics are covered in Chapter 2, which explains

the history of refugee-resettlement programmes and the funding of English-language services for ethnic-minority groups. As the timeframe reflects the political and economic context, austerity, Brexit, and legal-status-based services have been added to the analysis at a later stage. The section on austerity and Brexit coincides with the post-1990 shift toward legal-status-based services and restrictions. These are classified as new issues associated with the development of super-diversity; as such, they are characterised by increased political control of immigrants and newly arrived groups.

To analyse social change, it was necessary to compare past and present ESOL and refugee-resettlement programmes to understand legal-status-based restrictions and services. In Lewisham, access was restricted to ESOL language services and refugee-resettlement programmes provided by the local government, non-profit organisations (including ethnic-minority group organisations), and educational organisations. Some of the updated supplemental data confirmed the interviews and connecting issues. For example, the section on refugee-resettlement programmes in Lewisham was updated to include an evaluation report and the withdrawal of EU funding after Brexit. To clarify ESOL funding, changes to eligibility based on legal statuses were included.

Conclusion

This chapter clarifies and seeks to discuss various methodological and analytical challenges. The chapter begins by explaining why the urban Borough of Lewisham was

chosen as a fieldwork site in which to explore super-diversity, policymaking, and public-service delivery. The chapter explains that Lewisham has a history of accommodating immigrants and demographic change. It also describes the data-collection process chapter by chapter.

The analytical challenges involve the issue of local policies and services associated with migrant-background communities in combination with social change, a theme that few super-diversity studies have emphasised. The main issue was the difficulty involved in explaining the social and historical shift from a race- and ethnic-group-based premise towards an individual legal status-based premise using various datasets. As emphasised in this chapter, the thesis uses different datasets to articulate social change related to super-diversity.

5. Classifying migrant-related groups in Lewisham before and after 1990

Introduction

This chapter focuses on historical perceptions of immigrant communities in Lewisham in terms of demography and racial policies. The subjective view that diversity has been transformed is not sufficiently objective for an analysis of the new diversity. This section uses interviews with people who are knowledgeable about immigration and communities to explain how the post-war 'diversity that used to be' transformed into a new form of diversity. It also examines the history of immigration, race- and ethnicity-based communities, immigration statuses, and Lewisham communities created by migration channels by comparing the post-war and post-1990 periods.

Commonwealth and other communities before the 1990s

The history of Commonwealth immigration, which primarily involved African Caribbean populations, is addressed by comparing Lewisham with the nation and exploring 'diversity as it used to be' through interviews and demographic data. In the UK context, the period between the end of the war and the 1960s witnessed significant labour migration from the Commonwealth. After immigration was restricted, most immigrants had family links; interviews with Lewisham-based interviewees shed light on past immigration and communities. Their memories of Commonwealth immigration are confirmed by statistical census data, which provide an earlier perspective on immigration and diversity.

This chapter uses interviews and statistical data to explore the history of immigration from the end of the war to the 1990s. While the interviews paint a picture of Lewisham demography, the statistical data offer supplementary perspectives. Country-of-birth data reveal a key characteristic of immigration and diversity, while statistics provide essential demographic data. Census data are used by many bodies, including Lewisham Council and community organisations. According to Lewisham Council officials, the local government relies on official data from the UK Census and Greater London Authority. These and other data gathered through local assembly meetings are used in planning and projects. It is challenging to compare interview and census data since the census document asks different questions, and the names of eras and categories differ. However, the census reveals demographic change, thus supporting the interview data. Both types of data have been used in the later sections. The census

tables were produced by the author using data provided by Office for National Statistics.

This chapter explains how African Caribbean, South Asian, and other communities arrived in Lewisham between the end of the war and the 1960s. This was the Windrush era, when many Commonwealth workers came to the UK. The interviewees were asked about the post-war immigration of Commonwealth South Asian and African Caribbean communities. An interviewee who worked for Lewisham Council described how the demography of Lewisham changed during that period.

> I think the most significant change, I would say, is that probably before you [we]re born and before I was born in the 1950s and 1960s [was] when the foreign influx of people from foreign countries [was] coming into London. In the 1950s and 1960s, the government at the time – I am sure that you are aware that African Caribbean people were invited to come to work mainly to support the public services partly because there were not enough people to do the jobs. So, they encouraged people from the Commonwealth to come to the country, so that was the first real major influx of people from different nationalities (interview with Mike, a Lewisham Council official).

As Chapter 3 details, the post-war period saw large groups of immigrants arrive from the Commonwealth, along with refugees from Eastern European countries, such as Poland and Ukraine. Of the Commonwealth immigrants, many African Caribbean people settled in Lewisham. As a group, they came to London to work, shared visible characteristics, and constituted a mass immigration of mostly unskilled, rural non-elites

from new Commonwealth countries (Miles and Phizacklea, 1984a). Many African

Caribbean people from Jamaica, Guyana, and Trinidad settled in Lewisham and other

parts of South London. Men found jobs in manufacturing, construction, and public

transport. Women were employed by the NHS as nurses and nursing aides, as well as in

public transport. They also worked for manufacturers of home appliances (McDowell,

2018).

Census data for England and Wales reveal the increase in ethnic-minority

populations. In 1951, the ethnic-minority population of England and Wales was

estimated at 103,000; fewer than half of these immigrants came from New

Commonwealth countries. This figure rose to 415,000 by 1961 (Owen, 1995: 1). Census

data from the 1950s and 1960s provide rough information about the New

Commonwealth communities in Lewisham, England, and Wales. However, many types

of data cannot be compared. For example, the London Borough of Lewisham was

created in 1965 through a merger between the Metropolitan Borough of Lewisham and

the Borough of Deptford, making it difficult to compile statistics. In addition, the actual

number of Commonwealth immigrants was not calculated accurately. Studies have

claimed that the 1961 Census substantially underestimated the New Commonwealth-

born population, which may have grown more quickly than recorded during the 1950s

and early 1960s (Peach and Winchester, 1974).

Large African Caribbean communities were already established in Lewisham in

the 1970s; restrictions were already being imposed on immigrant workers from the

Commonwealth and family immigration was becoming the leading channel. However,

although the number of immigrant workers was restricted through legislation, family

migration was not strictly curtailed in the 1970s. In Lewisham, as in many other parts of South London, African Caribbeans formed the largest ethnic-minority community. This trend in Commonwealth immigration was clearly present in Lewisham, where such communities exemplified diversity in the post-war era. An interviewee recalled the diverse nature of Lewisham in the 1970s:

> The population then was already a diverse community. I think that diversity has increased even more. But certainly, when I came to live in the borough, there was already a critical mass of African Caribbean Heritage in the borough (interview with Rodney, a Lewisham Councillor).

This interviewee, who had lived in Lewisham for 40 years, had a broad network of contacts in ethnic minority and other communities because he was a councillor and anti-racist activist. According to the data, the population of Lewisham was diverse even during the 1970s. Diversity was not clearly defined in the interviews, with some interviewees citing the number of African Caribbean communities and others referring to non-White, non-UK born, or other populations. Still, there was a general understanding that diversity had increased and the statistical data supported this impression of diversity. In the 1971 Census data for Lewisham, the proportion of residents not born in the UK exceeded 11.6 per cent, with 88.4 per cent listing the UK as their country of origin (see Table 2). By comparison, the non-UK-born population of England and Wales constituted 6.2 per cent of the whole, with the UK-born population

at 93.8 per cent (Registrar General for England and Wales; General Register Office

Scotland, 2020) (see Table 3).

Census 1971

Table 2

Lewisham Country of Birth Census 1971
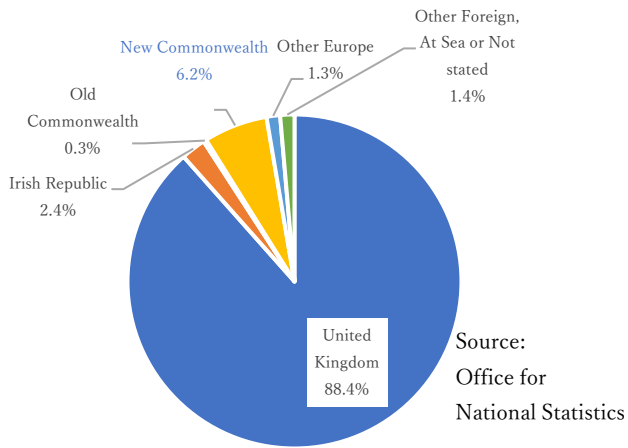
Table 3

England and Wales Country of Birth Census 1971
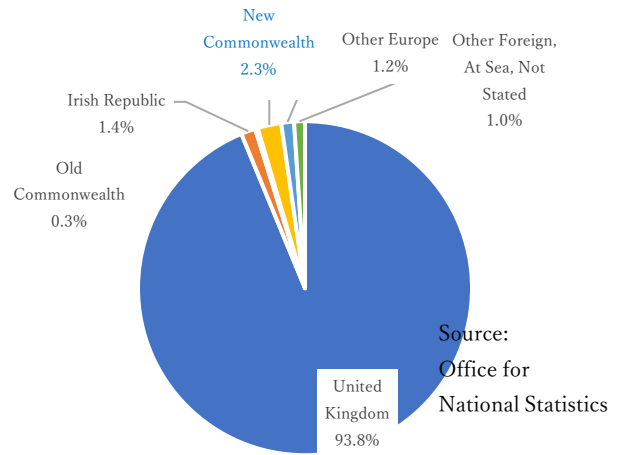
Table 4

Country of Birth 1971 New Commonwealth Lewisham
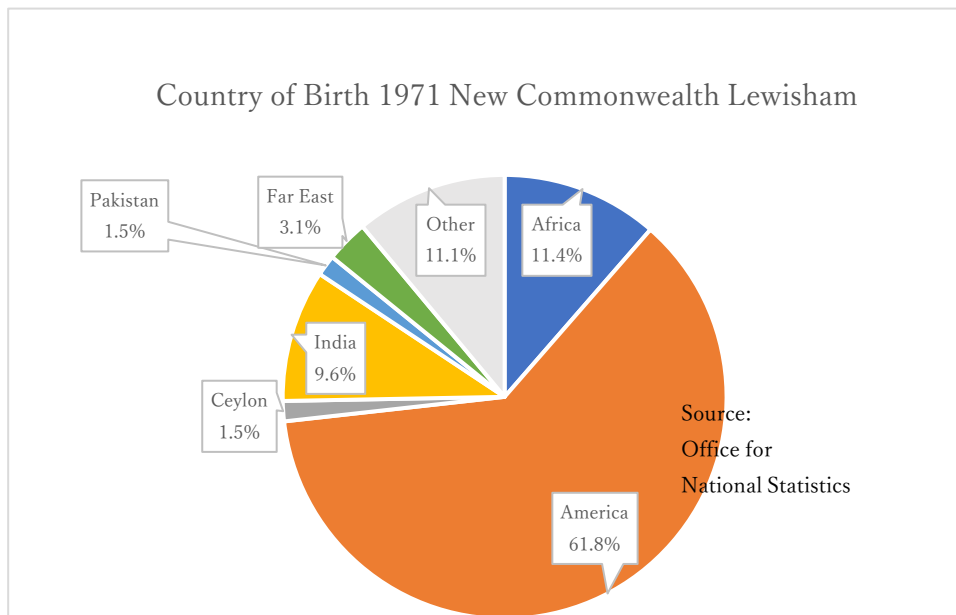
Among non-UK-born groups, the African Caribbean population was one of the largest communities in Lewisham, surpassing immigrants from Europe and the Irish Republic. New Commonwealth immigrants made up 6.2 per cent of the population, forming one of the largest groups (see Table 2). The population from the Irish Republic was also large, constituting 2.4 per cent of the whole (see Table 2). However, the largest immigrant communities came from Caribbean countries (Registrar General for England and Wales; General Register Office Scotland, 2020), with African Caribbean people comprising around 61.8 per cent of New Commonwealth immigrants in the 1971 Census data (see Table 4). Overall, people from Caribbean-origin communities made up 3.8 per cent of the whole population of Lewisham.

According to the 1971 Census, Irish immigration remained substantial in the Lewisham area, although the number of immigrants and communities did not increase significantly; their numbers were lower than after the war. Many post-war immigrants came from the Irish Republic and Europe, particularly Eastern Europe. One interviewee commented that there were already large Irish communities in Lewisham in the 1970s, which were targeted by racists alongside African Caribbean groups. The 1971 Census showed that 2.4 per cent of immigrants came from Ireland and 1.3 per cent from 'Other European Community countries'. In England and Wales as a whole, 1.4 per cent came from the Irish Republic and 1.3 from 'Other European Community' countries (see Table 2).

The increase in populations throughout the 1970s (as recorded by the 1971 and 1981 Censuses) showed an increase in the number of immigrants from New Commonwealth and Caribbean countries. In the 1981 Census, the New Commonwealth

categories made up one of the largest groups, accounting for 8.6 per cent of the population (up from 6.2 per cent in 1971) (see Tables 2 and 5). Of the New Commonwealth groups in Lewisham, Caribbean communities were the largest, constituting more than 50 per cent of the New Commonwealth population and 4.7 per cent of the entire population of Lewisham (see Table 7). A similar increase can be seen in the data for England and Wales, where New Commonwealth immigrants constituted 2.7 per cent of the population in 1981, as compared with 2.3 per cent in 1971 (see Tables 3 and 6).

Census 1981

Table 5

Lewisham Country of Birth 1981

New Commonwealth 8.6%
Pakistan 0.1%
Other European Commun
Other Europe 0.6%
Rest of the World 1.0%
Old Commonwealth 0.3%
Irish Republic 2.5%
United Kingdom 85.9%
Other European 0.9%

Source: Office for National Statistics

Table 6

England and Wales Country of Birth Census 1981

New Commonwealth 2.7%
Pakistan 0.4%
Old Commonwealth 0.3%
Irish Republic 1.2%
Other European Community 0.7%
Other Europe 0.5%
Rest of the World 0.9%
United Kingdom 93.4%

Source: Office for National Statistics

Table 7

Lewisham New Commonwealth Group composition Census 1981

Mediterranean 12.2%
Remainder 2.8%
Eastern Africa 4.2%
Far East 3.9%
Bangladesh 1.1%
Other Africa 11.3%
India 8.9%
Caribbean 55.5%

Source: Office for National Statistics

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Although immigration from the EU and Irish Republic remained stable, more immigrants came from other countries, such as post-war Vietnam. In the 1981 data, immigrants from the Irish Republic made up 2.5 per cent of the population, a slight increase from 2.4 per cent in 1971, while the combined population designated 'Other European Community' or 'Other Europe' made up 1.4 per cent, an increase of 0.1 per cent from 1971 (see Tables 2 and 5). The 'Other European Community' designation included the five countries of Scandinavia: Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland, and Iceland, which together comprised 0.9 per cent; they were distinguished from 'Other Europe' when various European countries, including the UK, attempted to develop the EU integration project (Wivel et al., 2015) (see Table 5). The needs of the UK labour market after the oil crisis and economic recession of the 1970s were one reason for the low number of EU immigrants. Between the 1970s and 1980s, the UK had less need for immigrant labour. Other European countries, including France and Germany, similarly had less need for labour and less immigration (Mol and Valk, 2016).

During the 1980s, a stable number of immigrants arrived from Commonwealth countries and Europe, although the restrictions on Commonwealth immigrants (especially family immigrants) reduced their number. Country-of-origin data in the 1991 Census show that the New Commonwealth group reached 10.4 per cent, an increase from 8.6 per cent in 1981(See Tables 5 and 12). In Lewisham, however, the number of Caribbean immigrants fell slightly – from 11,028 in 1981 to 10,998 in 1991. Lewisham data show that Africans increased the number of immigrants from New Commonwealth countries from 3,097 in 1981 to 5,604 in 1991. Immigration from the Irish Republic stabilised from 2.5 per cent to 2.7, while 'Other European Community'

immigration (1.2 per cent) and 'Other Europe' immigration stabilised from 1.5 per cent in the 1981 Census to 1.6 per cent in the 1991 Census (see Tables 5 and 12). As noted above, the 'Other European' communities were Nordic countries not involved in the European integration project.

It is also important to mention the Vietnamese communities, discussed by the interviewees but not very substantial in the census. During the 1970s and 1980s, Lewisham accommodated large numbers of refugees from Vietnam. The local Vietnamese community, mentioned in one interview, was classified as a small population (less than 1 per cent) in the 1971 and 1981 Census data. Around 22,500 Vietnamese refugees settled in the UK between 1979 and 1992 (London Borough of Lewisham, 2017c). They arrived through various schemes, including the 1975–1982 resettlement programme, the Orderly Departure Programme for reuniting families, and the 2000 quota programme, which accommodated Vietnamese refugees in camps in Hong Kong between 1989 and the mid-1990s. According to one interviewee, the Vietnamese refugees lived mainly in the northern part of Lewisham.

> Back in the 1970s, areas such as Deptford and Lewisham had a variety of populations. They took many people who came from Vietnam after the Vietnamese War. This area particularly had a large percentage from Vietnam (interview with Jerry, representing a Lewisham-based non-profit organisation).

The northern part of Lewisham used to have one of the largest Vietnamese communities in the UK. One interviewee noted that Vietnamese immigration and

communities in Deptford impacted levels of diversity in Lewisham. The refugees arrived in Lewisham via resettlement programmes and family immigration between the mid-1970s and early 1990s, creating significant representation in Lewisham and neighbouring areas (London Borough of Lewisham, 2017c). Across the whole of England and Wales, more than half of the Vietnamese immigrants lived in London in mid-2000; of these, one-third lived in the boroughs of Lewisham, Southwark, and Hackney (Sims, 2007). Lewisham has long-established Vietnamese community organisations, shops, and restaurants, particularly in the northern area of Deptford. The interviewees discussed the history of Lewisham as a borough that accommodated many refugees and asylum seekers.

The demography of immigration and diversity in the Lewisham area diversified between the end of the war and 1990. According to the census data, the African Caribbean population from New Commonwealth countries increased consistently, becoming a significant ethnic-minority community during that time. The Vietnamese population, which arrived via resettlement programmes as a consequence of the Vietnam War, typified the demographic and political background of refugees in Lewisham. Historically, Lewisham accommodated refugee populations and developed local welfare services. It was already diverse before 1990.

The hierarchy of communities between the end of war and 1990

Racism and anti-racist activities, mainly involving the African Caribbean and South Asian communities, were critical elements in the classification of and policies applied to ethnic-minority groups. Anti-racist objectives influenced the cultural activities of community groups and helped to frame government policies, social-service practices, and public perceptions of immigrant and ethnic-minority populations. It is essential to consider race-related policies and perceptions of communities and well-organised ethnic-minority groups. This section explains the pre-1990 hierarchy in relation to migration-related communities, with a particular focus on racial classification in Lewisham.

An interviewee who had a long relationship with the Lewisham area as an activist and politician mentioned post-war racism and anti-racist community activities in the Lewisham area:

> In the 1950s and 1960s, the government encouraged immigration and encouraged new people. But there [wa]s tension. There was a potential tension between new communities to meet established communities (interview with Rodney, a Lewisham Councillor).

As this interviewee acknowledges, there were tensions between the White majority and Black minority groups from African Caribbean communities during the 1950s and 1960s. The issue of race coincided with tensions between established

communities described at that time as 'White British' and new immigrant 'Black'

communities. Black identity was associated with African Caribbean-origin minority

groups, which contested racism as a form of bias based on colour prejudice (Gilroy,

1993). Local Black community organisations created various forums for sharing

experiences and needs, establishing practices designed to improve race relations, and

providing access to services, including education, employment, and housing

(Sivananden, 1976).

Throughout the 1950s, Parliament debated immigration and the media focused

on controlling Black migration (Paul, 1997). The 1958 race riots in Nottingham and

London's Notting Hill revealed that African Caribbean community groups were being

targeted by extremist White gangs. The pro-immigration-control lobby used these

incidents to call for the exclusion or repatriation of 'undesirable' immigrants (Paul,

1997). One interviewee, who had lived in Lewisham for a long time, experienced racism

directed at Black ethnic and Irish communities in the area:

> For example, landlords advertise to let property. Common themes in
> those days were no Blacks, no Irish, and no dogs printed and displayed.
> And people just ignored it. If you were Black, it was not possible to rent
> on the private market. Also, the housing department and some councils
> had two lists. Where you are Black, you are put on the blacklist. So, you
> are not given [a] proper house, and there are two lists. And education as
> well. The Black parent would like to go to a good school; they only get
> quotas where the school is nearest to you. If you apply for jobs, no matter
> how highly qualified you are, if you are Black, the chance of getting the
> job is limited (interview with Raymond, a Lewisham Councillor).

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This interviewee had experience of organising anti-racist activities. He described post-war racism directed at Black and Irish people, involving housing, education, and employment. His experience of racism led him to organise anti-racist groups. In Lewisham, as an area settled by immigrants, the tension between new immigrants and established communities began in the 1950s and 1960s.

In the 1960s, racism led to the establishment of anti-racist groups, which called for equality in the national context. Communities across the UK created ethnic-minority and anti-racist groups, demanding the right to employment, education, and an end to racism. The National Campaign Against Racial Discrimination, launched in 1960, lobbied for legislation to protect Commonwealth citizens from racial discrimination (Sivananden, 1976). It helped to amend the 1968 Race Relations Act to include employment and education.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, a series of racist incidents impacted Lewisham. These incidents affected race-related policies and local race relations. They included the Battle of Lewisham in 1977 and the New Cross house fire in 1981, which shaped ethnic-minority community characteristics and anti-racist activities, as well as Lewisham policymaking. They also influenced broader public attitudes toward race and the multicultural society (Cathcart, 2000).

The first significant racist incident was the Battle of Lewisham in 1977. It was such a significant event that it is still talked about and discussed during Black History Month. The incident occurred when hundreds of right-wing National Front extremists were preparing to march through Lewisham. They tried to justify the march as a

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campaign against mugging after eighteen people from the Black community were arrested and charged with a conspiracy to steal purses in a police campaign against street theft (Renton, 2018: 71–73). Counter-protesters gathered to prevent the marches, leading to clashes and police involvement. In Deptford, people witnessed several racial attacks and fire bombings, some of which were associated with the National Front and far-right groups.

These racist incidents led to the development of an anti-racism campaign, which can be described as radical compared to earlier efforts. It opposed the National Front supporters marching through Lewisham. The campaign unified to resist racism in the Lewisham context. The Lewisham Campaign against Racism and Fascism, a group made up of various Labour Party members and local religious and community leaders, also developed activities. These organisations were supported by the Mayor of Lewisham, the Bishop of Southwark, the Jewish Defence Committee, and the Community Party of Great Britain (CPGB). However, there was tension when the police ordered campaigners to disperse after first accepting the proposed route and then changing their minds. The police were also involved in the battle between the National Front and anti-racist groups (Higgs, 2016).

The New Cross house fire, which took place in the New Cross area of Lewisham, transformed the fight against racism in the national and local context. Various interviewees described the fire as a symbolic racist event. In 1981, a fire occurred during a party in New Cross and thirteen people died. Although the cause of the fire was unclear, some people argued that White men had set it because there were many Black children at that location. The fire exposed the irresponsibility of an

individual partygoer. Anger at the perceived indifference of the police spread in the aftermath, with rumours that the party might have been a racially motivated arson attack (Akwagyiram, 2011). Community anger was exacerbated by the police, who quickly dismissed the notion that the attack could have been motivated by racism. The local Black community was furious at this police indifference and launched one of the city's largest demonstrations in Central London to demand action. They also held many public meetings.

The New Cross house fire prompted Black community groups to take action against racism and to organise Black and other community groups. Several interviewees said that the New Cross house fire pushed Lewisham to take action against racism. In the interview below, a Lewisham Councillor with significant involvement with the New Cross house fire shares his experience of dealing with the issue:

> The New Cross house fire happened in the borough of Lewisham. The things obviously are tragic, the loss of many young lives. Since it happened, the Council has supported parents and families. And they still do. In terms of the wider community, the impact is obviously on the parents and family. Every January [there's] a memorial for young lives that have been lost (interview with Rodney, a Lewisham Councillor).

The Lewisham Cross house fire was one of a number of incidents that prompted African Caribbean communities to take action against racism in the Lewisham area. Many people consulted for this study worked on diversity-related racism in Lewisham. For them, the New Cross house fire was a symbolic event in the history of race relations

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and the activities of organisations and people in Lewisham. Several Lewisham Council members interviewed for this study discussed the New Cross house fire. One Lewisham Council official, who oversaw the diversity programme, showed the researcher a memorial plaque at the site of the fire during fieldwork. Another Councillor noted that the fire had influenced Lewisham's race-related policies. He discussed his experience of establishing an organisation within the police department to fight racism in the 1980s.

The New Cross House fire was seen as a catalyst for other racist incidents that took place during the same year. Other parts of England also experienced a significant outbreak of racist incidents in 1981. In Brixton, race riots led to a confrontation between the Metropolitan Police and protesters, most of whom were Black or Asian. The areas with racist incidents, such as Brixton in London, other parts of London, and Toxteth in Liverpool, all had significant ethnic-minority communities from Commonwealth countries (Neal, 2003). There were similarities between the various race riots of 1981, which featured similar confrontations between young Black protesters from deprived areas and the police, who applied surveillance and stop-and-search techniques.

The disorder influenced race-based policies toward Black communities. The national government issued the Scarman Report, which analysed the Brixton riots. This report mentioned policing and community consultation in deprived, ethnically diverse areas (Hall, 1999). It pointed out that the police made disproportionate and indiscriminate use of 'stop-and-search' powers against Black people and problematised the way in which the police handled race-related violence, making the case for community consultations. This 'soft' community-consultation policy provided

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comprehensive support, promoting welfare and inter-community relations. It also offered support to deprived areas and ethnic-minority groups.

This section describes the embedded racial hierarchy of White majority and Black ethnic-minority populations, which developed between the end of the war and the early 1990s. It describes racism and the anti-racist movement, which consolidated large, well-organised ethnic community groups based on White and Black race relations. Lewisham was a hub for race-related and anti-racist movements. The issue of race helped to create Black identities and various anti-racist activities, designed to help ethnic-minority groups organise against inequality and racism. The national anti-racist movements of the 1960s moved into the local context. During the 1970s, young second- and third-generation members of Commonwealth communities confronted White right-wing extremists. The 1980s saw the development of various ethnic-minority groups, local authorities, and other organisations, which emerged to address the issue of race but also created a multicultural mood to celebrate and create opportunities for ethnic cultures and identities. The Battle of Lewisham, New Cross house fire, and national riots led to a collaboration between various local anti-racist groups.

New immigrant communities after 1990

From a demographic perspective, the number of West Indian and African Caribbean immigrants increased between the end of the war and the 1990s. Population changes and new forms of diversity influenced ethnic group-based policies. Post-war policies were premised on a population of Black immigrants and influenced by the anti-racist movement. Such policies no longer apply to more diverse groups with various belongings and transnational activities related to new immigration patterns.

The new immigration trends developed from 1990 onwards, as immigrants arrived from various parts of the world through a wide range of migration channels, changing the national demography. This section focuses on the diversification of immigration and ethnic minorities in a context of super-diversity. New small and scattered groups of immigrants with multiple origins were 'transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated, and legally stratified' (Vertovec, 2007). This chapter discusses super-diverse communities in Lewisham and the UK.

Immigrants from multiple countries diversified immigration and changed the demography of the UK. In the 1980s, UK immigrants exceeded emigrants, with another marked rise in the mid-1990s (Hawkins, 2018). This population diversification was captured by the 2011 and 2021 Census and other data. In Lewisham, the 2011 Census data showed that net internal migration was calculated at -1,536, while international migration totalled 3,009 (Office for National Statistics; National Records of Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2016). The rise of immigration

impacted various political and economic issues, including the end of the Cold War and global political instability, which increased the number of asylum applications.

In his interview, one Lewisham Councillor noted that Lewisham had a diverse population, both in terms of ethnicity and country of origin; the population balance acted as an index of diversity. He described the population by listing countries of origin in the Lewisham area. Both the percentage of non-UK residents and the dominant groups were indicators of diversity.

In terms of diversity, Lewisham has one of the most diverse communities in the UK. Many people come from different parts of the world to make Lewisham to be home (interview with George, a Lewisham Council official).

But there is no one country that has a population larger than 10,000. And I think that makes Lewisham quite unique in the London boroughs. So, we would have, yes, lots of people from the Caribbean or West Africa, but from a country, not more than 10,000 (interview with George, a Lewisham Council official).

The country-of-origin data also provide a comparative view of the post-war era. According to country-of-origin data from the 2021 Census, Lewisham residents had 200 countries of origin (Office for National Statistics; National Records of Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2016, Office for National Statistics, 2023). Those with non-UK countries of origin made up 35.6 per cent of the Lewisham population. This is high, compared to 16.8 per cent in England and Wales as a whole

(Office for National Statistics; National Records of Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2016) (see Tables 18 and 19). The 2021 Census data show that Nigeria was the main country of origin, at 3.1 per cent and 9,278 people (see Table 20). The second-largest group of immigrants came from Jamaica (2.9 per cent and 8,679 people), followed by 1.5 per cent from Poland (although the third largest group was not published, it is assumed to be the Polish population, which made up 1.5 per cent in 2011; the impact of Brexit is unclear).

 Ethnic-minority categories in the census changed frequently to capture diversity after 1990. Questions about ethnicity have changed continuously, as subgroups are added and existing categories disaggregated. The census questionnaire transformed between 1991 and 2001 and between 2011 and 2021 (see Tables 8, 9, 10, and 11). The 'ethnic-minority group' category was introduced in 1991 and various elements were added to the questions (see Table 8). The ethnic-group categories included both race and country of origin. The racial categories included White, Black Caribbean, Black African, and 'Black other'. Countries of origin included India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and China. In the 2001 Census, ethnicity questions were added and changed (see Table 9). The 2011 Census disaggregated the White category and provided the options of British, Irish, and 'any other White background' with a write-in space (see Table 10). The ethnic questions were broken down to cover mixed and multiple ethnic-minority groups (see Table 10). The 2011 Census data also added a tick box for 'Gypsy' and 'Irish or Irish traveller' in the White category and 'Arab' in the 'other ethnic-minority group' category (see Table 10). Thus, all of the categories have changed on recent census forms. The 2021 Census added the Roma category under White (see Table 11).

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Table 8

1991 Census Ethnic Groups, Office for National Statistics

11 **Ethnic group**

Please tick the appropriate box.

If your are descended from more than one ethnic or racial group, please tick the group to which you consider you belong, or tick the 'Any other ethnic group' box and describe your ancestry in the space provided.

White ☐ 0
Black-Caribbean ☐ 1
Black-African ☐ 2
Black-Other ☐
please describe

Indian ☐ 3
Pakistani ☐ 4
Bangladeshi ☐ 5
Chinese ☐ 6
Any other ethnic group ☐
please describe

Tables 9 (2001), 10 (2011), and 11 (2021) (from left to right) Census Ethnic Groups

8   What is your ethnic group?

Choose ONE section from A to E, then ✓ the appropriate box to indicate your cultural background.

A   White
- [ ] British
- [ ] Irish
- [ ] Any other White background, *please write in*

B   Mixed
- [ ] White and Black Caribbean
- [ ] White and Black African
- [ ] White and Asian
- [ ] Any other Mixed background, *please write in*

C   Asian or Asian British
- [ ] Indian
- [ ] Pakistani
- [ ] Bangladeshi
- [ ] Any other Asian background, *please write in*

D   Black or Black British
- [ ] Caribbean
- [ ] African
- [ ] Any other Black background, *please write in*

E   Chinese or other ethnic group
- [ ] Chinese
- [ ] Any other, *please write in*

---

16   What is your ethnic group?

Choose **one** section from A to E, then tick **one** box to best describe your ethnic group or background

A   White
- [ ] English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British
- [ ] Irish
- [ ] Gypsy or Irish Traveller
- [ ] Any other White background, write in

B   Mixed/multiple ethnic groups
- [ ] White and Black Caribbean
- [ ] White and Black African
- [ ] White and Asian
- [ ] Any other Mixed/multiple ethnic background, write in

C   Asian/Asian British
- [ ] Indian
- [ ] Pakistani
- [ ] Bangladeshi
- [ ] Chinese
- [ ] Any other Asian background, write in

D   Black/African/Caribbean/Black British
- [ ] African
- [ ] Caribbean
- [ ] Any other Black/African/Caribbean background, write in

E   Other ethnic group
- [ ] Arab
- [ ] Any other ethnic group, write in

---

15   What is your ethnic group?

Choose one section from A to E, then tick one box to best describe your ethnic group or background

A   White
- [ ] English, Welsh, Scottish, Northern Irish or British
- [ ] Irish
- [ ] Gypsy or Irish Traveller
- [ ] Roma
- [ ] Any other White background, write in

B   Mixed or Multiple ethnic groups
- [ ] White and Black Caribbean
- [ ] White and Black African
- [ ] White and Asian
- [ ] Any other Mixed or Multiple background, write in

C   Asian or Asian British
- [ ] Indian
- [ ] Pakistani
- [ ] Bangladeshi
- [ ] Chinese
- [ ] Any other Asian background, write in

D   Black, Black British, Caribbean or African
- [ ] Caribbean
- [ ] African background, write in below
- [ ] Any other Black, Black British or Caribbean background, write in

E   Other ethnic group
- [ ] Arab
- [ ] Any other ethnic group, write in

Source: Office for National Statistics

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The changing demographic balance can also be seen in the dominant ethnic-minority groups, which were African Caribbean before the 1990s. One interviewee compared more recent demography to the 1970s, when African Caribbean communities formed a significant ethnic-minority community in Lewisham. This community is no longer the second largest group after White British groups.

> I do not think the African Caribbean Community has diminished. I think there has been a broader range of diversity (interview with Raymond, a Lewisham Councillor).

As this interviewee confirms, African Caribbean groups once constituted the largest ethnic minority in Lewisham. Country-of-origin and ethnic-minority data indicate that the percentage of African Caribbean community members has decreased since 2001. In the 2021 UK Census data, Jamaica was not the largest country of birth after Nigeria. In 2021, the African Caribbean community constituted 10.6 per cent (11.2 per cent in the 2011 data and 12.3 per cent in 2001) (see Tables 23, 24, and 25; Appendices 4, 5, and 6). These data show that the African Caribbean community diminished slightly but not significantly (for more detailed data, see Appendices 2–10). However, other groups increased. In 2021, African Caribbean groups were not the largest minority groups, as Black African groups totalled 12.6 per cent in 2021 (see Table 25 and Appendix 8) and Other White groups totalled 12.3 per cent in 2021 (see Table 25 and Appendix 8); these

groups included people from Eastern Europe (in Appendix 9: England and Wales data, the 'Other White' category increased between 2011 and 2021). Although it is difficult to compare pre-1991 groups because the categories were so different, the tables show that other groups increased (see Tables 22–26).

Although the Caribbean community did not decrease significantly, Black African groups increased. There were already many Africans in Lewisham in the 1990s, and this number increased following political and civil unrest in the region. West African communities were large, particularly those from Nigeria and Ghana. The West African population continued to increase in Lewisham even after the 1990s. The trend is evident from the 'Other Country of Origin' data, which document the increase in immigrants from Nigeria and Ghana, as the second and eleventh largest countries of origin in the 2021 Census data. Nigerians became the largest African population to settle in the UK through various migration channels (i.e., as refugees, workers, and family members). In the 2021 data, Black African groups outpaced Caribbean groups at 12.6 per cent (see Table 25).

These demographic changes also reflect an increase in 'Other White' groups, which constituted 12.3 per cent of the total in 2021, a significant increase from 6.1 per cent in the 2001 Census data (Office for National Statistics; General Register Office for Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2005, London Borough of Lewisham, 2012a). (see Tables 25 and Q) In the following interviews, respondents discuss the White and Black ethnic-minority perspective.

I gave you headline figures of White, Black and Minority Ethnic. But
that is not the real story. The real story is what sits underneath this. So,
for example, one of the things that we are seeing for those residents that
define themselves as White, we see an increase in the Polish population.
So that tells us many people coming into the borough are from that part
of Europe. So Eastern Europe. And that is affected by EU migration
rules (interview with Paul, a Lewisham Council official).

So obviously, as the new community, in recent times, we have more Eastern
Europeans and so on (interview with Mike, a Lewisham Council official).

These interviews suggest that the White majority and Black minority

categorisations are no longer useful ways to describe population diversity. The 2001

Census added the 'Other White Group' category. In 2021, 'Other White' was the second

largest ethnic group after the Black African group. In 2011, it was the third-largest

ethnic-minority group (after British White); in the 2021 Census data, the 'Other White'

group constituted 10 per cent of the total, after White British and African (Office for

National Statistics; National Records of Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and

Research Agency, 2016). The increase in Eastern European immigrants contributed to

the growth of 'Other White Groups'. This community grew during the 2000s following

EU expansion and immigration from Eastern Europe. Polish communities made up the

third-largest non-UK group after Jamaican and Nigerian immigrants, constituting 3.6

per cent of the total in the 2011 Census data for Lewisham (Office for National

Statistics; National Records of Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research

Agency, 2016). This population also increased in England and Wales as a whole. The

'Other White Group' comprised 4.4 per cent of the total for England and Wales, while Poland ranked second after India in the country-of-origin data (Office for National Statistics; National Records of Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2016, Office for National Statistics, 2013).

However, the 2021 data released in 2023 reveal that, while Nigeria (in the Black African group) and Jamaica (in the African Caribbean group) are still the largest groups, other groups, including South American communities, have increased. The growth of South American communities was mentioned by the Lewisham government officials and charity workers interviewed in 2022 and 2023.

Census Country of Birth 1991

Table 12

Lewisham country of Birth 1991

Other Europe 0.4%

China 0.1%

Other European Community 1.2%

New Commonwealth 10.4%

Old Commonwealth 0.5%

Rest of the World 2.2%

Irish Republic 2.7%

United Kingdom; 82.5%

Source: Office for National Statistics

Table 13

England and Wales Country of Birth 1991

New Commonwealth 3.3%

Other European Community 0.9%

Other Europe 0.3%

China 0.0%

Old Commonwealth 0.3%

Rest of the World 1.1%

Irish Republic 1.1%

United Kingdom 92.8%

Source: Office for National Statistics

Census Country of Birth 2001

Table 14

Lewisham Country of Birth Census 2001

Other EU countries 2.3%

Elsewhere 19.8%

Republic of Ireland 1.9%

United Kingdom 76.1%

Source: Office for National Statistics

Table 15

England and Wales Country of birth Census 2001

Other EU countries 1.4%

Elsewhere 6.6%

Republic of Ireland 0.9%

United Kingdom 91.1%

Source: Office for National Statistics
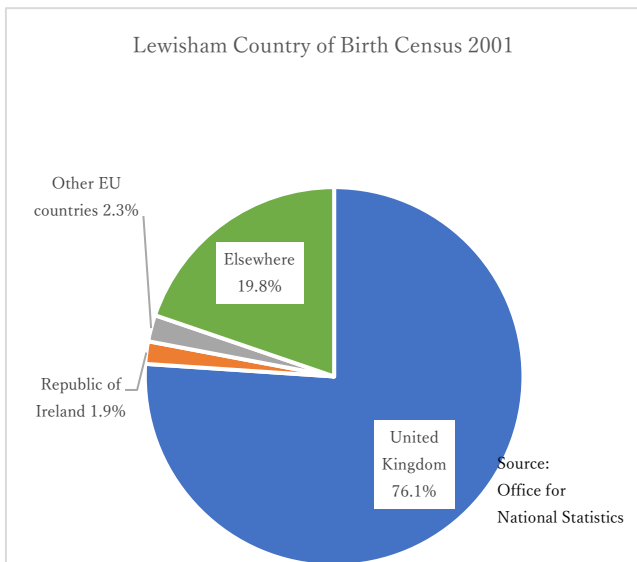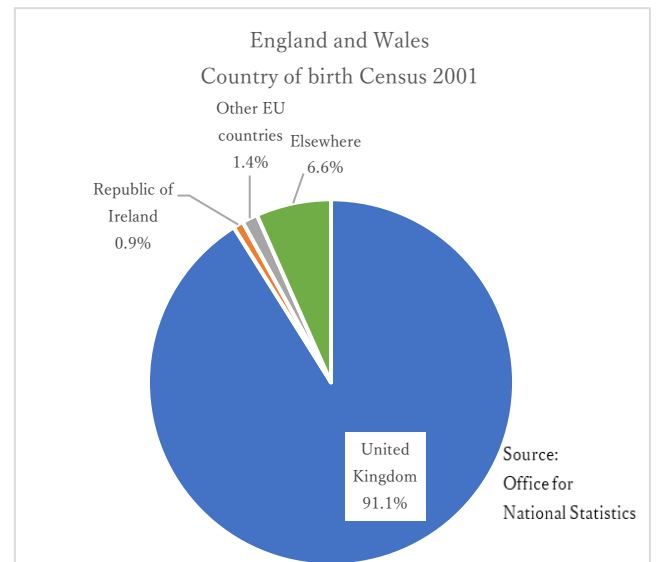
Census Country of Birth 2011

Table 16

Lewisham Country of Birth Census 2011

Source: Office for National Statistics

Other EU Accession countries April 2001 to March 2011 3.6%

Other EU Member countries in March 2001 3.4%

Other EU 7.0%

Ireland 1.3%

Other countries; 23.0%

United Kingdom 61.6%

Table 17

England and Wales Country of Birth Census 2011

Accession countries April 2001 to March 2011 1.9%

Member countries in March 2001 1.6%

Other EU 3.5%

Ireland 0.7%

Other countries 8.7%

Source: Office for National Statistics

United Kingdom 83.6%

Census Country of Birth 2021

Table 18

Lewisham Country of Birth Census 2021

Other Countries 22.7%

Europe: All other non-EU countries 1.9%

Europe: All other EU countries 0.5%

Europe: European Union EU2 Bulgaria Romania 1.8%

Europe: European Union EU8 2.4%

Europe: European Union EU14 6.3%

United Kingdom 64.4%

Source: Office for National Statistics

Table 19

England and Wales Country of Birth Census 2021

Europe: All other EU countries 0.2%

Europe: All other non-EU countries 0.8%

Europe: European Union EU2 1.2%

Europe: European Union EU8 2.1%

Europe: European Union EU14 2.7%

Other countries 9.9%

United Kingdom 83.2%

Source: Office for National Statistics

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Table 20

Top ten countries of birth, Lewisham Census 2021

Europe: United Kingdom: England	187507	**62.39%**
Africa: Central and Western Africa: Nigeria	9278	**3.09%**
The Americas and the Caribbean: The Caribbean: Jamaica	8679	**2.89%**
The Americas and the Caribbean: South America: All South American countries	7173	**2.39%**
Africa: Central and Western Africa: Other Central and Western Africa	5279	**1.76%**
Europe: Other Europe: EU countries: Countries that joined the EU between April 2001 and March 2011: Other EU countries	5062	**1.68%**
Europe: Other Europe: Rest of Europe: Other Europe	4320	**1.44%**
Europe: Other Europe: EU countries: Member countries in March 2001: Italy	4047	**1.35%**
Europe: Other Europe: EU countries: Countries that joined the EU between April 2001 and March 2011: Romania	3924	**1.31%**
Europe: Other Europe: EU countries: Countries that joined the EU between April 2001 and March 2011: Poland	3841	**1.28%**

Source: Office for National Statistics

Table 21

Percentage of usual residents by country of birth, **Lewisham** ⌄

2011   ● **2021**   0%

England
64.0%
62.4%

Nigeria
3.5%
3.1%

Jamaica
3.5%
2.9%

South American countries
1.3%
2.4%

Central and Western Africa (other than Ghana and Nigeria)
1.6%
1.8%
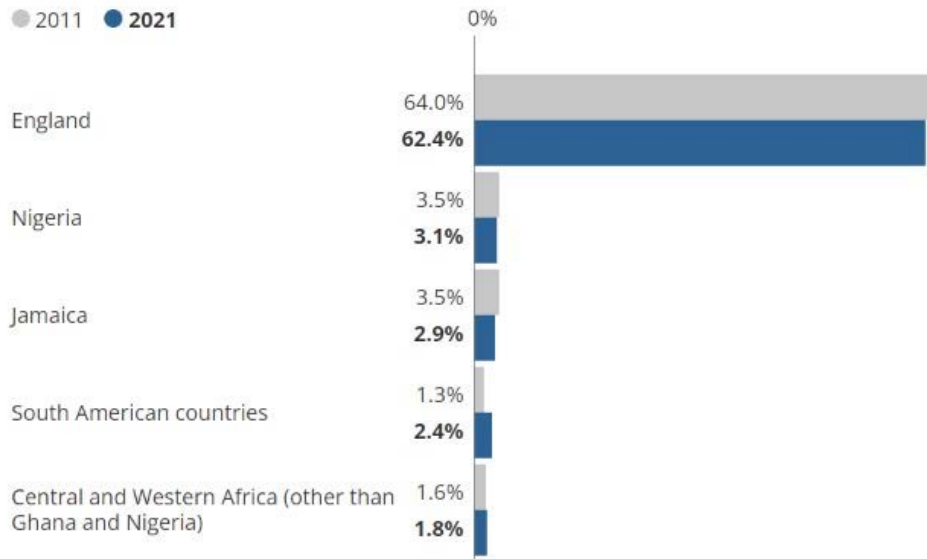
Source: Office for National Statistics – 2011 Census and Census 2021

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Other changes can be assessed by looking at White British groups, which make up the largest community in the Lewisham area. In the 2021 Census, the dominant community group was 'White British'; this remained the largest group (at 37.2/41.5 per cent in the 2011 data) (see Tables 24 and 25). However, there was a significant decrease from 57 per cent in the 2001 data (see Table 3). In England and Wales as a whole, the 2001 Census data for 'White British, including people who identify themselves as Welsh' was 87.5 per cent. In the 2021 Census, 'White English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/or British people had decreased to 74.4 per cent (Office for National Statistics; General Register Office for Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2005) (see Tables 15 and 19).

Table 22

Lewisham Ethnic Group Census 1991

1.2%
0.3%
0.3%
2.4%
3.6%
10.1%
0.3%
1.0%
1.3%
1.5%
78.2%

Legend:
- White
- Black Caribbean
- Black African
- Black other
- Indian
- Pakistani
- Bangladeshi
- Chinese
- Other groups – Asian
- Other groups – Other

Source: Office for National Statistics

England and Wales Ethnic Group Census 1991

0.3%
0.4%
0.9%
0.3%
0.3%
1.0%
1.6%
0.4%
0.6%
94.2%

Source: Office for National Statistics

Table 23

Lewisham Ethnic Group Census 2001

2.70%
23.40%
3.80%
4.18%
65.92%

Legend:
- White
- Mixed or Multiple Ethnic Groups
- Asian or Asian British
- Black or Black British
- Other Ethnic Group

England and Wales Ethnic Group Census 2001

2.2%
0.9%
1.3%
4.4%
91.3%

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Table 24

Table 25

Table 26

Lewisham 2001–2021 Ethnic Group Comparison

	2001 Census number/percentage of Lewisham population	2011 Census number/percentage of Lewisham population	2021 Census number/percentage of Lewisham population
White Other	15,294 / 6.1%	27,826 / 9.8%	36,819 / 12.3%
Irish	6,990 / 2.8%	5,206 / 1.8%	5,055 / 1.7%
Caribbean	30,543 / 11.3%	30,854 / 10.9%	31,883 / 10.6%
African	22,571 / 9.1%	32,025 / 11.3%	37,834 / 12.6%

Alongside White and Black community groups, mixed ethnic-minority groups were added in 2001 and multiple mixed ethnic-minority groups in 2011 (see Tables 9 and 10). One interviewee noted that his family could be classified as both mixed and multiple. Mixed and multiple communities increased and were acknowledged after 1990. One Lewisham Councillor introduced the subject of diversity by describing his own family:

I can give you a personal account of demographic change. We are part of that demographic change. Jamie was a Nigerian. I have three children, which you have realised in the picture [when] you came in. They would be called mixed race. We are part of the demographic change. I would say instinctively, although I do not have any statistical evidence, the borough has become far more ethnically diverse than in the last twenty years (interview with Lawrence, a Lewisham Councillor).

The 'mixed and multiple ethnic-minority' category was a new way to describe demography. The 2001 Census added mixed and multiple categories for the first time; subcategories within the mixed and multiple community groups were included in the 2011 Census. More people ticked the 'mixed and multiple category' box in Lewisham than in the rest of England and Walesm: 7.4 per cent of the population in Lewisham, but only 2 per cent of the population of England and Wales. In Lewisham, mixed and multiple ethnic-minority communities grew from 4.2 per cent in 2001 to 7.4 per cent in 2011 (Office for National Statistics; National Records of Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2016, Office for National Statistics; General Register Office for Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2005). In England and Wales, the figure increased from 1.4 per cent to 2.2 per cent.
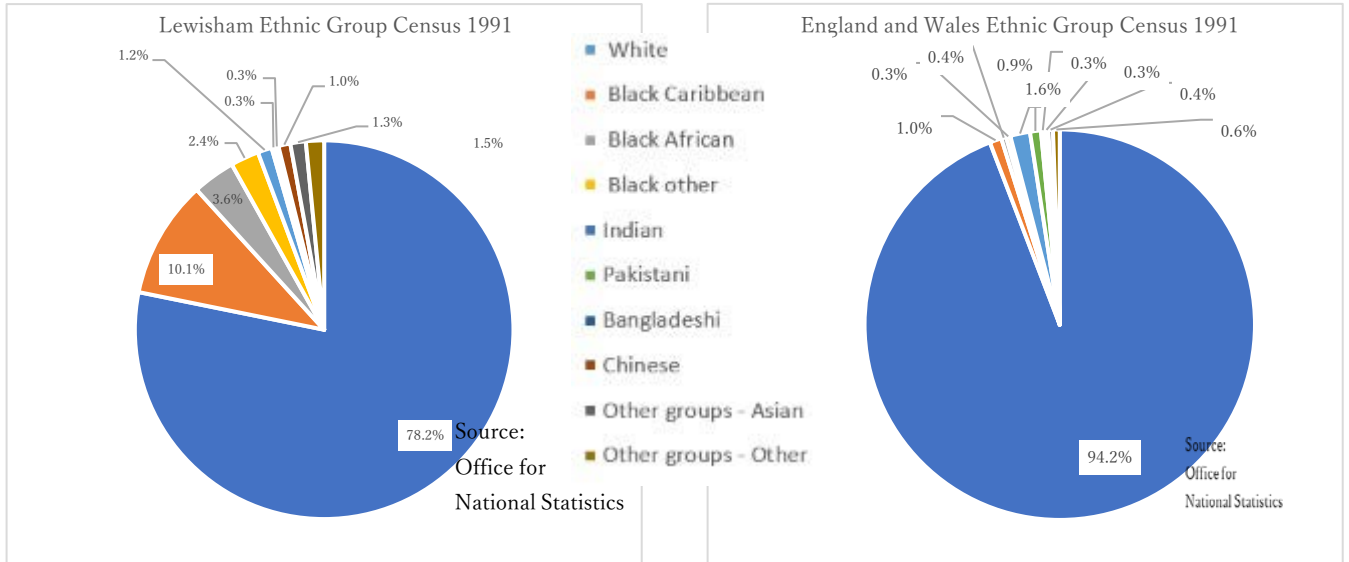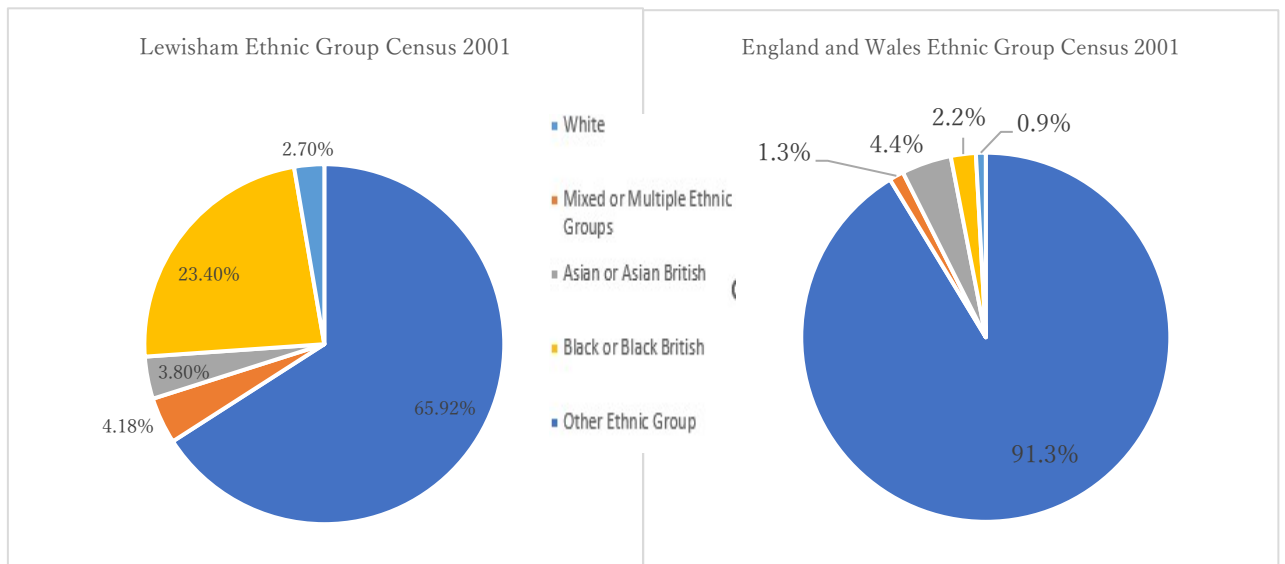
The interviewee above mentions international marriage, a national trend. Women born outside the UK recorded more live births from 2000 onwards, contributing to a demographic change in Lewisham (Office for National Statistics, 2017). Non-UK-born mothers surpassed UK-born mothers in 2017 (Greater London Authority, 2018).

International parents often have transnational connections. Children with one or two foreign-born parents were not a new phenomenon after 1990. Thus, international marriages contributed to an increase in people with multiple origins and transnational connections. For all of these reasons, the post-war framework, in which ethnic-minority groups were classified as Black minority groups, cannot account for current levels of diversity, as children have multiple ethnic and religious belongings and potentially varied legal statuses.

Table 27

Lewisham Religion Census 2001

Source: Office for National Statistics

- No Religion 20.4%
- Religion not stated 10.1%
- Other religion 0.5%
- Sikh 0.2%
- Muslim 4.6%
- Jewish 0.3%
- Hindu 1.7%
- Buddhist 1.1%
- Christian 61.2%

England and Wales Religion 2001

Source: Office for National Statistics

- Religion not stated 7.7%
- Any otner religion 0.3%
- Sikh 0.6%
- Muslim 3.0%
- Jewish 0.5%
- Hindu 1.1%
- Buddhist 0.3%
- No religion 14.8%
- Christian 71.7%

Table 28

Lewisham Religion Census 2011

Source: Office for National Statistics

- Muslim 6.4%
- Other religion 0.5%
- Sikh 0.2%
- Jewish 0.2%
- Hindu 2.4%
- Buddhist 1.3%
- Religion not stated 8.9%
- No religion 27.2%
- Christian 52.8%

England and Wales Religion Census 2011

Source: Office for National Statistics

- Other, 0.4
- Sikh, 0.8
- Muslim, 4.9
- Jewish, 0.5
- Hindu, 1.5
- Buddhist, 0.4
- Not answered, 7.1
- No religion, 25.2
- Christian, 59.3

Table 29

Religions in Lewisham also diversified to include more non-Chrisitian
belongings, according to data from the 2011 and 2021 Censuses (see Tables 26–28).
The Christian population decreased from 68.1 to 43.8 per cent between 2001 and 2021.
The 20-year span shows an increase in the 'no religion' category from 22.7 per cent in
the 2001 Census to 36.7 per cent. Muslim populations, described here in the context of
multiculturalism and religious minorities, increased from 5.1 per cent to 7.4 per cent
(see Tables 26–28). The Jewish population, described in the next section on the new
hierarchy of communities, has stabilized over 20 years from 0.3 per cent in Lewisham
in 2001 to 0.2 per cent in 2011 and 0.3 per cent in 2021 (see Tables 27, 28, and 29). The
census also reveals a significant increase in the 'no religion' population over 20 years
from 20.4 per cent to 36.7 per cent in Lewisham (see Tables 26–28).

In another new trend, more and more people have new legal statuses. Refugee immigration incorporates diverse legal statuses with different rights and levels of access. Refugee groups also have different legal statuses. During the 1990s, increasing numbers of refugees submitted individual applications and joined refugee-resettlement programmes. During this period, the Berlin Wall fell and the Soviet Union collapsed, while the rest of the Communist Warsaw Pact produced asylum seekers and refugees, creating unstable political and social conditions in various parts of the world. The end of the Cold War increased asylum applications. The new diverse legal statuses mean that, in contrast to the 1990s, there are now more and more different rights and entitlements within the same ethnic groups and countries of birth – and even within the same family.

As Vietnamese people arrived in Lewisham through the refugee process before the 1990s, they cannot necessarily be compared to diverse post-1990 refugees, most of whom arrived through resettlement programmes. Lewisham receives a few individual applications for refugee statuses. The Council is a non-profit organisation and community organisations have influenced this move toward more diversified legal statuses with different rights and entitlements.

During the interview process, several interviewees mentioned refugees and asylum seekers, who increased from the 1990s onwards, when various pieces of legislation were enacted to control asylum applications. One interviewee recalled the groups of refugees and asylum seekers who arrived in Lewisham during earlier periods.

And in any country, in any community, if you have an established
community, and you have newer communities coming, as much as certainly,

Britain has been welcoming countries for refugees (interview with Rodney, a Lewisham Councillor).

I can remember that there have been more people currently coming from Somalia and Indo-Chinese countries, and I know that recently people have been coming from Afghanistan (interview with Steven, a Lewisham Council official).

Some interviewees mentioned earlier refugee communities. Some groups were much larger in Lewisham than in England and Wales as a whole; others were particularly active. There are still large Vietnamese communities in Lewisham (ranked 13th in Lewisham and 54th in England and Wales Census 2011 data). However, refugee communities have decreased in size since the 1990s, due to national entry restrictions. According to the 2011 Census data, Somali refugees ranked 23rd in Lewisham and 20th in England and Wales (Office for National Statistics; National Records of Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2016). The other relatively large refugee community came from Sri Lanka: Sri Lankan refugees constituted the fifth largest non-UK country-of-birth population in Lewisham and the 20th largest population in England and Wales (Office for National Statistics; National Records of Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2016). Afghan refugees made up the 27th largest population in Lewisham and the 33rd largest in England and Wales. Many interviewees recognised the fact that members of the Afghan community were actively engaged in various English-language educational programmes and refugee-support

programmes in Lewisham and the UK (Office for National Statistics; National Records of Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2016).

Several interviewees mentioned the Syrian community (discussed in Chapter 7), associating it primarily with the Syrian Refugee Resettlement programme, which influenced diversity programmes in Lewisham. One hundred Syrian refugees arrived in Lewisham through resettlement schemes (Lewisham Labour, 2021), representing an increase from the 66 Syrians recorded in the 2011 Census data (Office for National Statistics; National Records of Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2016). Thus, the number of Syrians increased when refugee-resettlement programmes were introduced. Due to the Syrian Civil War, Syrian refugees were discussed in the media and consequently became a better represented asylum and refugee community. The UK government agreed to accommodate around 20,000 Syrian refugees in the UK and various Lewisham organisations cooperated with the Resettlement Programme (London Borough of Lewisham, 2018b).

Many UK refugee communities are relatively small, in comparison to other community groups. However, Lewisham Council, non-profit organisations, and ethnic community groups have proactively supported refugees, introducing various programmes and funding mechanisms. Data on UK asylum applications have fluctuated since 1990, as asylum applications have increased and decreased and refugees have been subjected to tighter entry controls. Between 1987 and 2002, asylum applications increased; they then declined between 2003 and 2010. Since 2010, the number of applications has increased but remained well below that of the early 2000s (Blinder, 2017).

Thus, ethnic-minority groups and their countries of origin have diversified in the Lewisham context. The interviews and statistical data presented here show that new communities have been described differently since 1990. They are small and scattered, of mixed and multiple origins, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified (Vertovec, 2007). The data reveal that small and scattered groups have been drawn to Lewisham via various immigration paths and international marriages. Mixed and multiple-origin transnationally connected communities have also increased since immigration diversified. To some extent, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified communities have been shaped by government policy, including the points-based system for non-EU immigrants, the diversification of refugee statuses (with different rights and forms of access), and the rights and entitlements of EU communities expected to transform (Vertovec, 2007).

The new hierarchy of communities after 1990

After 1990, immigrant categories and hierarchies transformed from the post-war period, when racism was primarily associated with Black communities from Commonwealth countries. Key incidents included the Battle of Lewisham and the New Cross house fire. This section identifies newly excluded communities and new forms of racism and anti-racist activities in Lewisham (and the neighbouring Borough of Greenwich in the case of Stephen Lawrence), which influenced race-related issues, integration, and selective-migration policies and services.

Anti-racist initiatives designed to combat the racism directed at Black

communities emerged in response to the murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993, a tragedy that influenced anti-racist policies and activities throughout the UK. One interviewee discussed the murder of Stephen Lawrence because it occurred in the neighbouring Borough of Greenwich. Stephen Lawrence was stabbed to death by a group of White youths; his murder triggered a wide range of reactions, including anti-racist activities led by various community groups, not all of whom were Black. Subsequently, the Macpherson Report identified the issue of institutional racism, a form of racism embedded as an everyday practice within society or an organisation (Macpherson, 1999). One interviewee noted that the Stephen Lawrence case impacted the policies of the Lewisham Council and various organisations.

> This issue of race changes the psyche within the country – a dramatic episode like that can focus […] people's minds. Moreover, [it can] make them say that we stand against this. It is a bad thing. We don't want this to happen here. And much of it is a terrible thing that happens. It can bring people together and unite people against the common enemy. I think that in some way [that happened] in the Lewisham New Cross house fire and I would also say that [that is] what happened in Stephen Lawrence in Greenwich. It had a similar effect; it was galvanising (Mike, a Lewisham Council official).

This interview describes how the Stephen Lawrence incident affected perceptions of race. This racist murder not only changed the atmosphere in Lewisham and Greenwich but transformed anti-racist policies in the national context. Discussions of the case focused on the horrific nature of the crime and the inadequate police

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response (Bloch et al., 2013: 99–103). The Scarman Report described the failure of the police in handling the aftermath of the attack. The police's failure to act was widely criticised – one of the key issues discussed in the report. The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry 'corrected' Scarman's conclusions, finding that the police were prejudiced, not only in their staffing but also in their procedures (Neal, 2003, Bloom, 2003).

Many well-established Black communities responded to the Stephen Lawrence case by engaging in anti-racist activities, taking a relatively modest, grassroots approach. One difference from the past was the fact that this form of racism was not necessarily related to the local context alone. Researchers have argued that radical Black politics in the UK changed when Black political activists drew closer to the state. Some Black radicals became state representatives, which rarely happened during the 1990s (Shukra, 1998: 94–96). Several councillors interviewed for this study exemplify the closer relations between activists and the state. One interviewee had previously been the leader of an anti-racist organisation. In addition, Black community groups were not alone in fighting racism; various organisations, including local government, were keen to participate. In the Lewisham area, a non-profit organisation associated with the Stephen Lawrence case was established to carry out various activities related to race and diversity. This organisation represented non-profit organisations, which developed cohesion programmes and networked with various bodies, including Lewisham Council and other non-profits (London Borough of Lewisham, 2008).

Another new development was the widening of hatred to take in many kinds of differences, not just Black and White race relations. Hate crimes also targeted religious minorities, with Muslim groups becoming a particular target of hate crimes in the

2000s, based on the criticism that they were segregated communities associated with terrorism. Hatred of various religious communities, including Muslims and Jews, emerged during the 2000s. Muslims were targeted after the 9/11 attacks, the 2001 race riots in Northern England, and the 2005 London Bombings. A surge in hate crimes against Muslim communities was reported, especially after those attacks. Muslim populations were associated with cultural otherness and stereotyped as self-segregating – choosing to separate themselves from mainstream society and culture. Shared values and Britishness were the ideas addressed in these segregated communities.

The present study shows that Lewisham Council tackled religious hatred, especially in Muslim communities. One interviewee mentioned anti-Muslim feelings in the 2000s, following the 2005 London terrorist bombings. The issue of religious hatred was incorporated into cultural racism, as religion became a feature of public policy and governmental activities.

> Because we built the relationships around that kind of issue when the
> bombings happened in London, suddenly things became a bit tense, but
> we were able to bring those same faith leaders together. And so, we can
> say that, ok, we have got the relationships, and how can we work
> together to calm the tensions? And that proved to be very useful (Steven,
> a Lewisham Council official).

Many interviewees at various organisations in Lewisham mentioned the movement to end hate crimes and Islamophobia. Hate crimes targeting specific faith groups, such as Muslims, were a significant form of discrimination. Anti-Muslim

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racism was not straightforward because it was associated with segregated ethnic-minority groups and terrorism issues in Muslim communities. Thus, mutual understanding and networking were needed to address this issue. Lewisham developed networks to address hate crimes against Muslim communities. The networks involved various ethnic-minority groups, Lewisham Council, and the local police. These organisations met to combat the increase in hate crimes. Their local policies, which encouraged different organisations to cooperate in combatting racism, were supported by the national government policy against hate crimes. The Equality Act of 2010 made it unlawful to discriminate against anyone because of his or her religion or beliefs.

Another issue related to hatred in the era of diversity was xenophobia. Refugees, asylum seekers, and EU communities became the target of hate crimes. Many hate crimes against refugees and asylum seekers were reported in the 1990s, when asylum applications increased significantly. Black communities were no longer the main target of racism and anti-racist activities, as new types of hate crimes toward various communities emerged. During the 1990s, refugees in local areas, such as London and Kent (where asylum seekers and refugees were concentrated in proximity to support-system networks), were subjected to hate crimes. (Sales, 2007: 147).

The portrayal of EU immigrants was mixed, as they were described both positively and negatively. EU migrants, such as those from Poland, were initially described positively. During the economic crisis of 2008, however, the rhetoric shifted towards blaming and criticising migrants (Cole, 2020). Eastern European migrants and refugees began to be perceived as an economic threat – contributing to job shortages

and unemployment and putting a strain on social services. The discourse against migrants led to a political discourse on the need to restrict immigration.

In some cases, government immigration policies promoted hate crimes against foreign nationals, including refugees, communities of race, and ethnic-minority groups. One such issue involved the policy of dispersing refugees from London and the South East to the North West, North East, and West Midlands (Zetter and Pearl, 2000: 680). Local government bodies provided vouchers to support refugees and asylum seekers. As these vouchers were only available at specific supermarkets, the system made asylum seekers visible and exposed them to racist attacks. Thus, racism towards asylum seekers emerged in some local metropolitan areas, where asylum seekers were concentrated, forcing the government to abandon the voucher system and dispersal policy.

People in the Lewisham area recognised this xenophobia and religious hatred. Several respondents mentioned hatred of foreigners, particularly Eastern Europeans and asylum seekers, during the Brexit negotiations. In the 2010s, negative depictions of EU communities were linked to the UK's withdrawal from the European Union. Several people discussed racism and related actions after the UK referendum and the decision to withdraw from the European Union. The interviews below describe the increase in hate crimes in Lewisham.

> In 2016, we saw an increase in hate crimes. Not a dramatic increase. However, it is increasing. And particularly, we see an increase in the number of racially motivated and religiously motivated crimes (interview with Mike, a Lewisham Council official).

Immediately after Brexit, we had quite a few problems. There was racism. One of them pretended to shoot my wife while she was walking to the house. That was not uncommon (interview with Lawrence, a Lewisham Councillor).

So, when we hear about Brexit, for example, Polish people have been targeted. The general feeling is that hate crimes cannot happen in Lewisham. That is not the way we do things. I think it came to an end quickly. Again, I do not want to minimise the impact because, obviously, it is a horrible thing (interview with Steven, a Lewisham Council official).

These interviewees were responding to the increase in hate crimes during the Brexit process, when cases of hatred against religious minorities, asylum seekers, and relatively new communities increased. The police reported the number of hate crimes, which were shared by people in the Lewisham area, including the government officials and councillors interviewed for this study. Offenders targeted Eastern Europeans impacted by Brexit, as well as Black British minority-ethnic people and religious minority groups, including Muslims and Jews. White minorities were likewise targeted by hate crimes during the Brexit process; such crimes became an issue considered within the framework of race relations. Thus, various people of diverse ethnic, religious, and political backgrounds became the targets of hate crimes.

The Brexit issue triggered actions designed to reduce the number of hate crimes in the UK (Weaver, 2018). In Lewisham, various organisations attempted to combat racism and hate crimes, revealing the characteristic actions taken against racism. Several interviewees talked about hate-crime cases, anti-racism initiatives, and the

Brexit issue in Lewisham. Many different types of people were targeted, including Eastern Europeans (from Poland in particular); British ethnic-minority groups; religious minority groups, such as Muslims and Jews; and even people with different political opinions. It is difficult to analyse these complicated relationships and to contrast them with Black and White race relations.

Many employees of Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations took part in anti-racist activities. The interviews below reveal the views of several Lewisham Council officials and councillors, who discuss the collaboration between the Council and various faith groups on anti-racist projects.

> The Lewisham Mayor and the cabinet also got a very strong anti-xenophobic anti-racist standard and very clearly said that diversity is one of the strengths of Lewisham (interview with George, a Lewisham Council official).

> I think part of what we are good at in Lewisham is building relationships. We did not build relationships with the issue. We are building relationships that then provid[ing] the platforms to deal with the issue in the future (interview with Steven, a Lewisham Council official).

> I think the key to that for me is that things that are always impressive about Lewisham in terms of equality, particularly around race, are about leadership. Particularly of the mayor. Strong political leadership, strong leadership from offices, and strong leadership within the communities. I think that makes a huge difference. I think when you have a community that is relatively united and works together, I think that makes a huge difference when these sorts of incidents happen (interview with Mike, a Lewisham Council official).

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One interviewee discussed an action taken by Lewisham Council to combat racist incidents. The mayor made an announcement about hate crimes while the police monitored the situation and held discussions with local communities. When hate crimes increased, many Lewisham councillors and non-profit organisations pointed out that several communities had taken action against hate crimes. In addition, various organisations collaborated to combat Brexit-related hate crimes against Black and Muslim communities and new immigrants, including refugees and Eastern Europeans.

Various bodies, including Lewisham Council, non-profit organisations, and faith, ethnic-minority, and refugee groups, developed activities against hate crimes. Although the main issue at that time was White-rights extremists and Black communities, the actions taken to combat hate crimes did not involve Black minorities or White majorities. Many groups worked together to end the hate crimes associated with terrorism and Brexit.

This section describes hate crimes against various communities and anti-racist actions from 1990 onwards in Lewisham and the UK. Issues to do with race, xenophobia, religious discrimination, and new communities of Eastern Europeans and others were taken up. According to the interviewees, Lewisham engaged actively in anti-racist and anti-xenophobic activities while supporting religious communities. The interviews detail this cooperation.

Conclusion

This chapter explains how migrant-related categories were created and transformed by describing demographic and hierarchical categories in Lewisham and the UK, both during the post-war years and after 1990. After the war, large and well-organised Commonwealth ethnic-minority groups arrived through immigration. This research has found that the number of African Caribbean immigrants increased between the end of the war and the early 1990s. Later, the demographic makeup of Lewisham transformed, as the data on ethnic-minority groups and their countries of birth reveal. New immigration also changed the demographic composition of the UK; ethnic-minority groups arrived through various channels from the Commonwealth and many other parts of the world. The immigrants included EU labour migrants and refugees.

Issues related to migration and social exclusion also changed during this period. According to racial-policy research, the Black Caribbean community was the main group involved in race-related and anti-racist activities prior to the 1990s; racist incidents included the Battle of Lewisham in 1977 and the New Cross house fire in 1981. The issue of racial discrimination also diversified after 1990. Hate crimes were committed against various community groups, including Black groups, Muslims, and Eastern Europeans. In addition, anti-racist activities themselves transformed, as the interviews show.

6. Neoliberal multicultural and integration-policy changes

Introduction

This chapter clarifies how local service providers at Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations developed and transformed policies and services for race-based and ethnic groups to highlight the dynamic transformation of borders and super-diversity. This chapter also evaluates immigration-related demographic issues in relation to communities with ethnic-group-based policies and services. It explains services for ethnic groups and how they changed – from the perspective of national and local government policy. Lewisham services and educational policies are compared across the two eras. Local diversity programmes, community services, and integration issues are also investigated.

This chapter consists of five sections, which explain how service providers, such as Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations, engaged with ethnic-minority groups and changed over time. The first section explains post-war and post-1990 national and local politics, while the second begins by investigating the shift in community-based policies and programmes with an integration agenda from the perspective of Lewisham service providers. The fourth section shows how demographic change and new communities caused a shift. The last section relates austerity to changes in community services.

Ethnic-minority-based welfare services in the local and national context

This section briefly clarifies the post-war history of ethnic-minority-based services in the local and national contexts. Primarily, it covers pre-1990 ethnic-minority services and their history in relation to funding programmes for ethnic-minority groups. Among various issues, this section focuses on educational policies and funding. Educational policies and services are common welfare issues that allow comparisons. One useful comparison looks at educational policies and services in Lewisham after the war and compares them to post-1990 policies. The other addresses legal statuses and migration-channel-based educational services, which are covered in the next chapter.

Post-war funding opportunities for ethnic groups were established in the 1960s to integrate (or assimilate) African Caribbean and South Asian communities. Section 11 funding, established under the Local Government Act of 1966, specifically targeted education. Although the funds were not restricted to a particular recipient group, they were used mainly for younger-generation Commonwealth-community residents (Young, 1983). For example, although Section 11 funding was often used to teach English to children, some of the funds were also used for adults. Assimilation into British society was considered a primary goal, since the original Section 11 funding was distributed by the Home Office rather than the Department of Education (Joppke, 1999:244–245). In the case of these programmes, the national government gave funding to local councils, a different pattern from the multicultural programmes of the 1980s.

The 1960s also saw the development of the Urban Programme (Urban Aid), which covered areas with large ethnic-minority populations. This programme aimed to

send additional aid quickly to small urban areas that showed signs of 'urban stress', 'multiple deprivation', or 'additional social need'. Although this programme did not target 'immigrants' specifically, the area-selection criteria cited overcrowding, large families, unemployment, a poor environment, a concentration of immigrants, and children in trouble or in need of care (Young, 1983:289). The funding was used in various parts of Lewisham to support ethnic-minority groups, who developed educational programmes to teach English and their own native cultures and languages during the 1970s and 1980s. Section 11 and the Urban Aid Programme were designed to integrate and support ethnic-minority groups.

Welfare programmes and organisations for ethnic-minority groups also received funding. Black supplementary schools and anti-racist programmes developed educational activities that involved both national and local government. Black supplementary schools also provided educational support, helping people integrate into British society and addressing the academic underachievement of Black children (Andrews, 2013). Lewisham had Black supplementary schools, which supported a large African Caribbean population (Reay and Mirza, 1997). Section 11 funding was used to develop these schools (Johnson and Caraballo, 2019).

During the 1980s, local governments accelerated the development of multicultural and anti-racist policies in the early to mid-1980s using state and local funds. For example, they helped ethnic-minority groups access Section 11 funding and Urban Aid and develop multicultural programmes (Young, 1983:293–296). These programmes included the African Caribbean Educational Resource Project, developed by the Inner London Education Council, and Black History Month, supported by the

Greater London Council (Johnson and Caraballo, 2019, Vernon, 2017). Afro-Caribbean Education Resources supported by the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) created multicultural materials, developed anti-racism resources, produced books on multicultural education, and taught multicultural-education skills to teachers. Ethnic groups applied for funding and developed educational programmes to teach their own native languages and English.

Starting in the 1980s, various immigrant groups, including Vietnamese organisations, joined Black ethnic groups in developing activities in Lewisham. Lewisham accommodated more Vietnamese people than any other local authority in the UK, as 22,500 people arrived in Lewisham between 1979 and 1992 through refugee-resettlement programmes and family-migration channels (London Borough of Lewisham, 2017c). Vietnamese people settled in the Deptford area, in the northern part of Lewisham, as noted in the interview with Jerry, representing a Lewisham-based non-profit organisation. Secondary schools taught Vietnamese culture from the mid-1970s to the 1990s (Sims, 2007). Lewisham also established an Indo-Chinese organisation, which provided schools and educational activities for newly arrived Vietnamese immigrants, particularly during the 1980s. These organisations were established and funded by national programmes, including the Urban Programme and Section 11; they also benefitted from local-council and ILEA funding (Lewisham IndoChinese Community Centre, 2020). The money was used to deliver secondary language education to Indo-Chinese children.

Black History Month, created during the 1980s, is one example of a locally planned anti-racist and multicultural activity, as mentioned in the interviews. Black

History Month incorporated aspects of the 1987 UK anti-racism policy funded by the Greater London Council and the Inner London Education Authorities (Vernon, 2017). The community-based programme, designed specifically for African Caribbean communities, included an anti-racist educational programme based on events in the Lewisham area. The educational opportunities provided by Black History Month allowed African-diaspora community groups to study their own cultures through a series of activities based on a rights agenda designed to facilitate multicultural experiences (Parekh, 2000:264–266).

During the late 1980s, local authorities, local ethnic-minority groups, and their services all came to an end. The local authorities eventually lost power through government reforms, the privatisation of local government, and various Acts (Joppke, 1999: 243–249). Thatcher's reform of local authorities brought many multicultural programmes to an end. In addition, national-government funding became more structured and restricted. Some structured funding did not allow local authorities to develop community policies on their own. The privatisation of local government, which was part of the austerity measures of the 1980s, facilitated this shift. Thus, local-government funding for ethnic-minority groups in areas such as education transformed in the 1980s (Joppke, 1999:244–245). The restructuring made it much more difficult to support such groups; critical local-authority services were relocated and education policies were reformed.

To summarise, local ethnic-group-based policies and public services developed between the post-war era and the 1990s. In the 1960s, the national government provided welfare services, including cultural and English education for ethnic-minority groups.

During the 1980s, local government and non-profit organisations took over this role. Policymaking and public services gave local ethnic-minority groups, mainly from Commonwealth countries, access to services such as education, housing, and health. State and local actors, including local government and voluntary organisations, were responsible for ethnic-minority group activities until the 1990s. From the 1980s onwards, local ethnic-group-based policies and public services began to decline, impacted by the government austerity agenda.

Challenges to the funding of ethnic-group-based services and the post-1990 integration agenda

This section details interview data that reveal the shift from ethnic-group-based services to more everyday practices. It questions the extent to which local service providers delivered public services to specific ethnic-minority groups after the 1990s via integration policies associated with established ethnic groups in Lewisham. This section also explains how Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations attempted to develop and change educational and welfare services for ethnic-minority community groups, in line with the integration agenda. Interviewees were asked whether community support had changed over the years. The shift was clarified by examining the challenges faced by Lewisham Council and the voluntary organisations tasked with delivering educational services to ethnic-minority groups.

During the 1980s and 1990s, the privatisation of local government caused a decline in local anti-racist and multicultural programmes (Joppke, 1999: 244–245). This

era was marked by a distinctive policy mood, which reflected the failures and achievements of anti-racism and multiculturalism. After 1997, however, the Labour government praised diversity, describing the nation as a 'community of communities', based on a conception of multicultural Britain as 'Cool Britannia' (Squire, 2005). The New Labour government focused primarily on facilitating diversity at the local level. Thus, 1980s-style local multiculturalism became problematic and less well-supported as diversity took centre stage.

Multicultural policy retreated further during the 2000s and 2010s, due to critiques of the multicultural 'integration policy'. State multiculturalism and local support for ethnic-minority groups were criticised and abandoned (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2010a). Critics argued that the multicultural agenda was linked to segregated community groups, a source of the Northern England race riots. After the 9/11 attacks in the US and the 2005 London Bombings, the segregated communities allowed by multiculturalism were thought to breed terrorism. In 2011, Prime Minister David Cameron declared that 'state multiculturalism [had] failed' (Cabinet Office, 2011). As a result, the policies and funding for ethnic-minority groups decreased.

Another interviewee articulated the shift away from ethnic-group-based policies when asked about local-government funding for ethnic-minority groups. A Council official, who interacted with various communities in Lewisham, said that ethnic-minority groups supported welfare and education, although there were fewer funding programmes designed to educate people about their own cultures and languages.

We have not got the resources to target community groups in the same
way. You have to care for general communities. I think that is a problem.
I think that is possibly less [of a] problem than 10 or 20 years ago
(interview with Steven, a Lewisham Council official)

During the 1990s and 2000s, Lewisham had a community policy that targeted
specific ethnic-minority groups. Although the interview above does not define 'general
communities', it is important to consider a wide range of communities with diverse
belongings, rather than the single community referred to by various integration
programmes. At that time, ethnic-minority groups still had access to funding and
services. They expected service providers to deliver public services, such as education.

The shift away from single ethnic-group programmes funded by local
government was evident after 1990. During the 1990s, various locally funded
programmes ended, due to government restrictions on the power of local authorities,
which had less influence on communities in a range of different fields, including post-
war education. The abolition of the ILEA in 1990 created a difficult funding
environment, which caused various multicultural and anti-racist programmes to close
(Andrews, 2013). For example, African Caribbean Education Resources (ACER) and
the Primary Curriculum Development Project, which were educational projects for
Caribbean children and teachers, ceased to exist after the ILEA was dismantled. Many
local-authority programmes for Black communities ended; Black History Month was an
exception (Williams and Bernard, 2018).

During the 2000s, the integration agenda ended funding for ethnic-minority
groups. Distributing funds to specific ethnic-minority groups was difficult and not

recommended by the government. The new guidelines argued that 'single group funding was not recommended for issues such as housing and resources, which would be distributed for all groups and individuals within the local community' (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2008). Thus, the government rejected the principle of funding single ethnic-minority groups; racial-inequality issues were not even mentioned. Instead, shared spaces, shared values, and positive contacts were promoted under the integration agenda.

Even the funding for Black History Month was curtailed. Some of its programmes targeted communities in Lewisham and most focused on African Caribbean and African cultures (Shukra, 1998: 33–35). The following interview describes the reduction in funding for Black History Month, based on the shift toward community-based policies and services. Educational, cultural, and language services for various populations were all cut back. Instead, Black History Month was celebrated as an important opportunity for schools, universities, and local councils to raise the self-esteem of young African Caribbean students and to discuss the issue of race (Shukra, 1998: 33–35).

> Ten years ago, we would have the local authority say that we wanted people to apply for funding for some youth issue. So, you can apply up to £5,000. These days it might have the same budget, but you can apply for £500. That was what we called Black History Month fifteen years ago (interview with Matthew, representing a non-profit organisation).

African Caribean groups used Black History Month to develop cultural and educational activities and to remember local anti-racist initiatives. The programme

generally included a Black cultural event, such as a book festival, and health and welfare programmes for different generations. Nowadays, Black History Month focuses on a range of ethnic-minority groups, not just Black African Caribbean communities. Some councils are developing a month to celebrate diversity (Weale and Booth, 2018). The drop in funding for Black History Month was accelerated by austerity measures in the 2010s (Mulholland, 2010). In some areas, available funds were not used for the African Caribbean community (Weale and Booth, 2018).

Both cultural and anti-racist activities and equality programmes (i.e., English-language courses) were cut back. Steven, the Lewisham Council official quoted above, describes the changed funding available for teaching English to people who could not speak the language, mainly in older generations.

> For example, I will take up the case of the Indo-Chinese centre in the north of the borough. We have had funding for a long time. Part of what they did was that they had provided services to older people from the community. So, I recognised those older people in that community sometimes – for language reasons or other reasons – […] find it hard to access mainstream services that the Council provides. So, we funded them to do some targeted [work with] older people (interview with Steven, a Lewisham Council official).

This interview describes one example of the change. The disbanded services included English language teaching for older adults, delivered to specific ethnic-minority groups. The Indo-Chinese Centre in question had provided educational services to Vietnamese communities since the 1980s (Lewisham IndoChinese

Community Centre, 2020). Lewisham Council delivered English educational services to older-generation members of ethnic-minority groups; when they arrived in the UK, there was no English-language requirement. As adult education was needed, the programme was developed to support them (Hamilton and Hillier, 2009). At that time, ethnic groups themselves played a role in providing English-language support. Lewisham Council considered it beneficial to help people by supporting these groups. Such support is no longer available for older people.

Other interviewees made a similar point about the challenge of developing sustainable support. As the following interviews suggest, it has been difficult to fund specific ethnic-minority groups for a long time, and particularly hard to fund programmes that teach individual cultures and languages.

> For some people, it is important for many cultures to maintain their own identity and culture and [to] celebrate that in the country. But you do not necessarily need a big organisation or capacity to do that. You can do that whenever you like. You can do that one day or two days a year. You do not need to set up organisations to do that (interview with Matthew, representing a Lewisham-based non-profit organisation).

One official explained the justification for short- rather than long-term funding. While the first interview explained how difficult it was to deliver services to specific community groups, the second one questioned long-term support for ethnic-minority groups from a cultural perspective. There was a gap between efforts to help ethnic-

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minority groups 'integrate' into UK society and efforts to address racial inequality. Long-time support for ethnic-minority groups developed in the context of racial and inequality issues. Relatively new, small ethnic-minority groups were given support to help them settle quickly and adapt to UK society. In this context, long-term support for ethnic-minority groups was not considered.

This section clarifies the shifting targets for ethnic-minority groups from the perspective of Lewisham Council and community organisations. One finding is that Lewisham local authorities previously supported people by funding community groups. That approach gradually changed until community groups were no longer funded. This trend should also be considered in a larger historical context. Firstly, the privatisation of local government and the transformation of racial issues contributed to the end of local-authority multicultural programmes. Secondly, criticism of multiculturalism and the integration agenda in the 2000s accelerated the shift in support for ethnic-minority groups and ended multicultural education, including language and cultural education.

Funding challenges for new communities – the perspective of service providers

This section examines the shift in support for ethnic-minority groups from the perspective of funding and programme providers, such as Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations. While the last section clarifies the shifting political context for large, established, and well-organised ethnic-minority groups, this section discusses new ethnic-minority groups. Service providers must deal with super-diversity: emerging

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communities consisting of people with a new sense of belonging who have come to the UK via diverse immigration channels. This section explains the impact of demographic diversity and new communities on services.

Although local government and local organisations have provided less funding since the 1990s, some organisations still support ethnic-minority groups. In the following interview, a local charity worker explains the work of a Lewisham-based non-profit organisation. The shift in support for ethnic groups is mentioned as a relatively new trend in Lewisham.

> Some funders are very good at knowing what is happening in the community. And funders do not like funding too much to one group. I think it is a new trend. Ten years ago, funders were happy to fund Somali groups, Nigerian groups, and Cambodian groups, but now funders do not want to fund a Somali group because it is too narrow. If we fund the Somali group, we have to fund the Armenian group, Cambodian group, South African and all other groups, but that large organisation that supports [them] said it is much more difficult to get funding targeting groups (interview with Matthew, representing a Lewisham-based non-profit organisation).

As this interview confirms, Lewisham Council, local non-profit organisations, and funding organisations once supported individual ethnic-minority groups. The interviewee notes that funders do not want to support small groups because there are so many in the Lewisham area. It is difficult to justify funding small ethnic-minority groups (as opposed to large communities) in a super-diverse society. In the post-1990 pattern of super-diversity, individual ethnic-minority groups are becoming smaller and

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more scattered. It can seem too restricted to target such small groups when Lewisham has so many. Previously, Lewisham had large, well-organised Black minority groups, mainly from African Caribbean countries, with shared concerns about race and equality.

This changing demography highlights the sustainability of supporting ethnic-minority groups. Supporting a large, well-organised group is more sustainable than funding small, scattered ethnic groups. Since 1990, funders have struggled to plan sustainable projects for small, scattered community groups that are unlikely to exist for a long time. Local government and non-profit organisations find it difficult to deliver sustainable services to ethnic-minority groups with little sense of belonging. In addition, such funders must justify the decision to support individual community groups. Thus, demographic changes have led to the emergence of small, scattered ethnic-minority groups, which are characteristic of super-diversity. This can make it challenging to plan and deliver sustainable services.

The skills and knowledge of ethnic-minority groups also contribute to funding decisions since skills, knowledge, and experience are needed to maintain community groups. In Lewisham, new immigration patterns are producing communities with a new sense of belonging. The researcher interviewed representatives of a non-profit organisation that helps small, newly established ethnic-minority groups build their knowledge and skills.

> Many people who have come from foreign lands as immigrants […] come
> to the UK and come to Lewisham, and they set up organisations to support
> the members of their communities, who often come without the skills that

might be needed to develop skills, knowledge, awareness to develop an organisation along the lines of established organisations. The common challenge among community groups is that you are trying to run the project, you need to apply for funding and fundraising, and if you have the skills, they do not have the time. If you are a smaller organisation and relying on volunteers, you are competing for funding with other organisations that have established track records. They have working capital and they have reserves. They have a lot more resources and a lot more experience, and a lot more skills than they can dispose of. And one would say it is unfair (interview with Kenneth, representing a Lewisham-based non-profit organisation).

This study addresses the new challenges posed by super-diversity in the Lewisham area, which has many new ethnic-minority groups. As this interview suggests, it is problematic for a non-profit organisation to set up and maintain community groups. The organisation provides training for community groups, teaching them how to access funding and develop leadership skills. It does this by providing educational workshops and other opportunities. However, the interviewee above notes that some community groups lack the skills and knowledge needed to organise and maintain their own groups.

Some new community groups lack relevant skills and knowledge. The current pattern of migration and the arrival of many people with diverse senses of belonging can help to establish community groups, although these qualities do not lead directly to their establishment. It is therefore becoming harder to provide educational and other services to newly established ethnic-minority groups. One challenge facing the

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organisers of new groups is the need to develop appropriate skillsets for interacting with a wide range of organisations.

Various interviewees commented on the difficulties involved in providing support to relatively small ethnic-minority groups. The following interview describes efforts to support small Armenian and Lithuanian groups in the Lewisham area, as these continue to increase. The interviewee below mentions how difficult it has become to get funding for small groups, based on ethnicity or country of origin.

> You will find smaller Armenian groups and smaller Lithuanian groups. It is important to recognise that when you are in community groups, you need to think about effectiveness and sustainability. For example, one group I worked [with] on this project […] ran the school for four years for children, and it was very successful. They taught them cultural dances and languages, but they helped with English. They have run the school for four years and are very successful. But after four years, fewer children came to school. And it became more and more difficult to get funding for the school. And most of the fundraisers say that we do not want [to] fund the school for Armenian children because they should be integrated into a larger society. So, I have been in contact for two years now, but the last I heard [was] that they [we]re closing the school. So, you know, the need was not there, and the funding was not there (Interview with Matthew, representing a Lewisham-based non-profit organisation).

This interview discusses the case of a supplementary school that taught the Armenian language and culture to children. There have been Armenian communities in

the UK since the Cold War. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, people fled the conflict with Azerbaijan, economic sanctions, and political unrest following independence (Castles et al., 2014). The interview above examines an actual case of funding for an Armenian community school, which set out to teach children about their own ethnicity and native country in English, thus providing education in both cultures and languages. Although this programme was effective in the short term, the interviewee questions its sustainability, noting that the programme was not successful in the long term.

Once children are integrated into the big society, there may be less need to teach them about their own culture or language. Children today may have more opportunities to 'integrate' than those in Black communities of the 1970s and 1980s. At that time, racism was endemic and Black children were denied the opportunity to learn the basic skills they needed to progress in school and in the future. In the context of integration, funding is short-term, designed simply to help people settle into the UK. Organisations do not want to fund specific ethnic-minority groups, such as Armenian community groups, in the long term.

This section explains why it is difficult for local government and community organisations to support small ethnic-minority groups from the perspective of fluidity and sustainability. The diversification of ethnic-minority groups and their belongings and forms of access have made it difficult for organisations to deliver services to them. Since 1990, local-government bodies and non-profit organisations have needed to communicate with diverse populations. Non-profit voluntary organisations are expected to deliver services to new, small groups, although it is challenging to develop the skills

of people in diverse communities. There are not enough resources available to deliver services to diverse ethnic-minority groups, enabling them to network with local organisations.

After 1990, multiple groups with a diverse sense of belonging settled in the UK. Since then, social changes and policies have challenged the existing framework of race and ethnicity. Policies and services are not developed for individual groups; instead, integration programmes are designed to facilitate the shift from ethnic- and racial-group-based programmes to integration programmes that support people indirectly. The integration programmes are premised on diversity, both racial and language diversity and race and ethnicity.

Funding for integration programmes

The previous section covers the shift away from ethnic-minority-group services developed through community cohesion. This section focuses more on the issue of integration in Lewisham. Integration is an aspect of large programmes, which involve bodies such as the Lewisham Council, as well as small programmes run by non-profit organisations.

The policy of building networks of ethnic-minority groups and other organisations developed as part of a community-cohesion programme in the national and local context. The introduction of community cohesion in the 2000s followed a period of urban disorder in Northern England, when segregated communities came

under criticism (Cantle, 2010). Labour government policies introduced the integration agenda and policies designed to help local communities address social problems (Amin, 2005). The agenda argued in favour of supporting ethnic-minority groups by developing networks rather than supporting individual small groups. It also criticised segregated communities. Although Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations considered the need to facilitate networks among ethnic-minority groups before 1990 (Shukra, 1998: 57–69), these were developed in a different context. Between the end of the war and 1989, minority-group networks were established to tackle inequality and racism. By contrast, networks in the integration context are designed to address the problem of segregated ethnic-minority groups.

In Lewisham, 'integration programmes' were created to address diversity in the borough, which has many diverse populations. Several integration agendas and programmes promoted networks between Lewisham Council and non-profit community and educational organisations (Joint Action of the Council of Europe and the European Commission, 2011, The Centre for Public Innovation, 2019). For example, communities and local government funded community-cohesion projects and supported the local authorities in preventing and managing community tensions between 2008 and 2011 (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2008). Several integration programmes targeted community cohesion, although government funding ended after the change in administration in 2010.

One interviewee mentioned the Intercultural Cities Programme, which was the most extensive integration programme in existence when this research began, but came to an end with Brexit. The Intercultural Cities Programme was developed jointly by the

Council of Europe and the European Commission (Joint Action of the Council of Europe and the European Commission, 2010). Lewisham was selected for the Intercultural Cities Programme, which was linked to other educational programmes. There was a need to support diverse ethnic-minority groups and organisations working together in Lewisham. According to the interviewee quoted below, diversity was a strength for Lewisham and its wide range of community groups.

> I think the real challenge for us is that, yes, we can recognise individual communities and their strength of them going as individual communities. In the intercultural approaches, how do you get those differences, different backgrounds, cultures, things, crossing over? So that is a real challenge without losing your distinctive identity (interview with George, a Lewisham Council official).

According to the Intercultural Cities Programme, there was potential for existing ethnic-minority groups to interact. Funding for organisational networks and related programmes can foster and support ethnic-minority groups and activities (Joint Action of the Council of Europe and the European Commission, 2010). The networking programme was evaluated in relation to education, employment, and other themes. The integration programme also provided educational services, including an entrepreneurship-training programme designed to help ethnic-minority adults find employment and school programmes (including local faith groups).

The differences between 'integration' and 'multicultural' policies reflect the transforming concept of society that emerged via the new immigration. Older policy

approaches targeted specific ethnic-minority groups, such as Black African Caribbeans, with a focus on race and equality. By contrast, integration was premised on a critique of the multicultural agenda, which was thought to have created a divided society by allowing some segregated groups to refuse to interact with other groups and society as a whole, leading to crises such as the 2001 Northern England riots. Integration policies emphasise harmony and networking with various ethnic-minority groups, while de-emphasising race and ethnic and religious differences (Lewis and Craig, 2014). Funding supports what Kymlickal called neoliberal multiculturalism, which aims to create effective market actors and competitive economies, rather than developing welfare towards various types of migrants and ethnic groups (Kymlicka 2013).

The transformation can also be seen in programmes that involve ethnic-minority groups and the Intercultural Cities Programme. During the post-war era, one representative area-based funding programme was the 1968 Urban Programme (Edwards et al., 1978). Funding was delivered to areas without any ethnic-minority groups. During the 1980s and 1990s, money was used to educate local Black groups in an effort to offset racial and socio-economic disadvantages. The purpose of the 1968 Urban Programme, which lasted until the 1980s, was to address inequalities. By contrast, the integration programme did not focus on race or inequalities; instead, its main goals were to facilitate networks and deal with segregated groups.

Respondents who interacted with integration programmes commented on their perceptions of ethnic-minority groups. These changing perceptions reveal the shift from a post-war focus on race and equality to the new immigration agenda. The interviewee below, who has interacted with various communities, notes the importance of networks.

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As the last chapter reveals, integration programmes did support single-ethnicity groups, although few programmes targeted them.

> We tend to work with those community groups, which gives us a much easier voice to relate to people. And you can look out to see if there is a community that you want to reach that feels excluded in some way. Then we can go to the community groups [that] we know (interview with Steven, interview with a Lewisham Council official).

This interview reveals that integration programmes do not target ethnic-minority groups; instead, they target individuals who belong to those groups. Accessing ethnic-minority groups can make it easier to approach individual people. Such interactions work well in super-diverse areas, where more and more small groups are developing. This study shows that interactions with ethnic-minority groups have continued, although the programme has been reduced to the integration agenda. The interviewee above explains that community groups, including ethnic-minority groups, play a role in capturing the needs of people who feel excluded. This interview reveals the expectation that ethnic-minority groups will enable contact with individuals. Diverse groups with various purposes and members can create many changes and challenges in developing community groups.

Networking opportunities (developed through various non-profit organisations) can indirectly support ethnic-minority groups. New groups find it difficult to develop relevant skills and to communicate with organisations that provide less support. Networking opportunities can benefit small, new ethnic-minority groups with fewer

skills, enabling their members to interact with various organisations and networks. Some of the non-profit organisations described below have programmes designed to build skills and knowledge within such groups. In this way, networking opportunities can benefit new ethnic-minority groups. Programmes that develop knowledge and skills, thus providing channels for interacting with various organisations, can also benefit new ethnic-minority groups.

According to the interviewee below, networking is a standard way of interacting with others that benefits relatively new ethnic-minority groups. This interview describes the need to develop group networks as a way of approaching individuals. The group led by the interviewee is an organisation for immigrants and refugees. Networking with other groups and Lewisham Council is their usual activity. The following interview emphasises networking opportunities.

> We connect communities mainly through the network. We have got a
> relationship with the Afghanistan Association. We need to get that
> translation done. Moreover, we have a network of Vietnamese associations
> and Afghanistan associations. So, to our contacts and vice-versa, they can
> refer to us, and we can refer to them. There are some local solutions you can
> find (interview with Jerry, representing a Lewisham-based non-profit
> organisation).

This organisation has found a way to connect communities and discuss educational programmes for immigrants. One way to capture their diverse needs is through community-group networks. Several other interviewees also said that networks

between various ethnic-community groups were an important way to approach diverse populations. Networks can create new, integrated programmes, reducing each group's costs. The networks linking ethnic-minority groups and organisations take advantage of opportunities and programmes offered by Lewisham Council and various non-profit organisations, such as local assembly meetings, educational services, and other programmes.

Various service providers and programmes for ethnic-minority and diverse groups have tried to develop networking skills in individuals associated with non-profit organisations and ethnic-minority groups (London Borough of Lewisham, 2017a). One such community leadership programme was based in Lewisham. An interviewee working in a non-profit organisation was developing an integration-related education programme for community leaders. This programme educated community organisations and provided networking skills and funding strategies. In this context, ethnic community groups themselves become the key issue. Some groups have strong leaders who engage actively in community activities. The interview below argues that community leaders play a role in connecting people and groups.

> I am maybe simplifying that. It is not straightforward. If you know the community leaders that give you some access to those communities, it is not [the] whole because, obviously, community leaders never really represent the whole community (interview with Steven, a Lewisham Council official).

This interview articulates the role of community leaders who enable access to

the community. A leader's position and skills can connect and maintain community groups. The role of individuals with access to community groups is becoming essential. To access such groups, community leaders need relevant skills and backgrounds – in other groups as well as their own. Community leaders with strong leadership skills can interact with Lewisham Council, other ethnic-minority groups, and local non-profit organisations, while engaging in relevant activities. Various interviewees mentioned the need to promote community leadership and reach out to various people.

English-language programmes are designed to develop individuals' networking skills. The national integration agenda aims to nurture the English-language skills of people who lack them. Since the 2000s, English has become a critical skill for integration (Engel et al., 2013). Following the Northern England riots in 2001, the Home Office commissioned a report on integration, 'Indicators of Integration'. The report set out specific indicators, such as the English language, which pointed to an individual becoming part of the host society (Ager and Strang, 2004).

The lack of English-language skills has been cited by politicians in speeches on terrorism. Tony Blair criticised people who did not speak English in the aftermath of the terrorist bombings in London in 2005, saying, 'There are people isolated in their communities who have been here for 20 years and still do not speak English. That worries me because there is a separateness that may be unhealthy' (Wintour, 2005). This comment may reflect the community-cohesion agenda of that time. Everyone needed English to access their rights, participate fully in British society, and avoid being economically and socially marginalised.

Various English-language programmes were linked to integration programmes in the Lewisham area. English was frequently mentioned as the critical element in the networking and integration agenda. Stakeholders emphasised the importance of teaching and developing English-language skills for all generations. In the integration context, skills became important to Lewisham service providers. An interviewee with a networking project talked about the importance of English-language skills in helping communities develop networks. Several interviewees mentioned poor English-language skills as a challenge for communities.

> For example, in answering your question, we approach the Polish community. We have not got a response. It was hard. I was looking at the website, and identifying the person to engage with was quite difficult, especially the language. That is one of the issues. That is a microcosm, but some of the organisations were difficult to interact with (interview with Kenneth, representing a Lewisham non-profit organisation).

This interview mentions local community organisations and Polish community groups with language barriers. Kenneth notes the importance of English-language skills for ethnic-minority groups attempting to integrate into society. English was essential for Eastern European communities, refugees, and former refugees. People and communities who did not speak English found it difficult to engage in networking projects. Thus, the English language became important after the introduction of the integration agenda.

In Lewisham, the integration agenda could be seen at various levels, including area-based and specific programmes provided by Lewisham Council and non-profit

organisations. Lewisham Council and the non-profit organisations argued that cooperating with other organisations and ethnic-minority groups was vital for future diversity prospects and the national integration agenda. The Lewisham integration agenda encouraged volunteer and community organisations to share information and undertake collaborative work, drawing on the skills of volunteers and residents (London Borough of Lewisham, 2017a). Both Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations facilitated networking with other voluntary organisations and ethnic-minority groups. According to interviewees, the groups considered ways to connect with people from similar ethnic backgrounds. Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations also developed community leadership and English-language programmes, facilitating networking among various organisations. These allow service providers to reach out to people and groups who cannot access conventional networks.

Austerity in post-2010 integration programmes

This section relates austerity to the shift in ethnic-group-based policies and public services. Austerity prompted Lewisham Council and voluntary organisations to deliver public services, such as education, from 2010 onwards. During the 2010s, government austerity measures impacted funding for Lewisham Council and voluntary organisations. Austerity affected Lewisham Council, non-profit organisations, ethnic-minority groups, and programmes advancing integration and support for ethnic-minority groups.

Several Lewisham Council officials and councillors discussed austerity measures that impacted their services and work. They mentioned financial pressures on government, voluntary organisations, and ethnic-minority groups – linked to the need to support specific ethnic-minority groups and integration. Austerity even impacted the number of Lewisham Council officials. One official explained austerity and the reduction in staff and projects as follows:

> I mentioned earlier the changes in Lewisham Council. So, in the last seven years, our staff levels have gone from, at least these are general features, from around 5,000 to around… We have lost, or we will be losing, up to a third of the project as well, possibly more. So as an organisation, we are under real pressure and continual calls from the senior management and the politicians to think differently and work differently (interview with George, a Lewisham Council official).

This comment describes the cuts to staff and programmes caused by reduced financial resources. Resources were cut by 41 per cent between 2010–2011 and 2018–2019; austerity was a significant issue, along with Brexit, in the 2018–2022 Lewisham strategy (London Borough of Lewisham, 2018a). The resource cuts made it hard to continue current projects that required people with skills and experience. The shortage of staff members capable of organising and managing projects made it challenging to run current and new projects. The lack of experienced, skilled staff also had an impact on immigrant services.

In addition, the lack of resources impacted small non-profit organisations with fewer resources in the Lewisham area. This study has interviewed representatives of small non-profits that deliver educational services (including English programmes) to new ethnic-minority groups. The interview below suggests that such organisations have had to discuss how they employ people.

> But the funding picture is complicated. We are now a very small organisation; we used to be a small-to-medium organisation. We used to have staff, we used to have premises, and we used to give funding as well to support them to do their work. So, we enabled people to do their work for the funding we gave out (interview with Jerry, representing a Lewisham-based non-profit organisation).

This interview suggests that small non-profit organisations in Lewisham depend upon external resources to deliver funds and find it difficult to sustain educational and other services. Like other organisations, this one had to downsize. The austerity-based staff reductions impacted programmes, weakening activities that could have influenced many people. Thus, austerity impacted many non-profit organisations that could not afford to employ enough people to sustain service quality. These people include social workers, ESOL teachers, and staff who network with various populations by communicating in their own languages.

The lack of resources has made it difficult for ethnic-minority groups to survive. The present study shows that there were more ethnic-minority groups in the past, before austerity measures kicked in, at least from the viewpoint of interviewees. As the population continues to diversify and increase, this chapter considers those who establish community groups and their demands. However, it also must consider the unsustainability of ethnic-minority groups with fewer skills and resources. This reduction in ethnic-minority groups in Lewisham was unexpected from a demographic perspective. More people had a sense of belonging to diverse groups in Lewisham, as the statistical data and interviews show.

> It is only anecdotal. I'm sure that probably practical information and how many community groups and organisations have to cease operating. It is not only local authorities but other organisations as well (interview with Rodney, a Lewisham Councillor).

As this interview reveals, many ethnic-minority groups have disappeared or diminished. Several other organisations in Lewisham mentioned mergers and integration. Ethnic-minority groups grew smaller, even though the population was increasing and diversifying. The reduction in such groups has influenced the political shift in community-based services and integration. It is now more difficult for new groups to operate with less funding. Austerity has accelerated the decline in ethnic-minority groups, even though Lewisham has a demographically diverse population and many new community groups. The reduction in ethnic-minority groups has also been accelerated by the volatile migration environment, which has made it difficult to sustain

community groups. Volatile migration can transform funding and change targets. Thus, austerity and demographic-change conditions make ethnic-minority groups dissolve quickly, as described in the last section. The fall in ethnic-minority groups has led to a reduction in free or inexpensive and accessible programmes and opportunities – of the sort that local government and big organisations cannot provide (London Borough of Lewisham, 2017a).

The interview below describes the reduction in paid staff at various organisations. This pattern applies to Lewisham Council, non-profit organisations, and ethnic-minority groups delivering a range of services. The reduced resources impact the employment of professional, skilled staff at non-profit organisations. These are the people who can speak ethnic-minority languages; they have the skills to teach languages and the capacity to deliver appropriate services to meet people's needs. Their loss affects the capacity of non-profit organisations to deliver services.

> So, you have organisations or rely on volunteering more than paid staff. And there are issues with engaging volunteers only because you can't rely on volunteers as much as we can. I mean, casework is a challenge for volunteers. Caseworkers rely on consistency. You do not have consistency (interview with Kenneth, representing a Lewisham-based non-profit organisation).

One issue mentioned here is the reduction in paid staff at non-profit organisations. For example, some non-profit organisations have no staff or resources capable of translating key languages. This makes it problematic to understand the

increasing and diversifying needs of communities. In the case of Lewisham Council, the programme used to employ people with the skills to deliver services within communities. It is useful for organisations to employ people from ethnic-minority groups who can communicate in their own languages. Relying on unpaid staff who lack qualifications and experience can reduce the quality of English educational services.

Reducing staff and downsizing organisations has led to a reduction in programmes for immigrants and ethnic-minority groups. The interviews below describe two programmes, one for immigrants and the other designed to integrate ethnic-minority groups. The director of a career-development program for immigrants and refugees cites the need for relatively long-term projects. However, the current funding structure does not support sustainable projects. This issue was raised by an urban-policy consultant who helped to develop the government community-cohesion programme:

> We do not want a short-term two- or three-year project; they come, and they go. Such a long-term project. Such a sustainable project. At ten years, fifteen years, twenty years. That is also what the community want. It is very distressing in the short term. But different people change – so [there are] many things to do (interview with Jerry, representing a Lewisham-based non-profit organisation).

> The weakness was when the money ran out. There was nothing left. There was no sustainability. Because it had not, the way of thinking and behaving had become embedded in institutions at the local level. We just had a bunch of people who were paid by the government to do what the government told us to do. But when the money stopped, they disappeared.

The whole thing stopped (interview with James, representing a
Lewisham-based non-profit organisation).

These interviews with representatives of local non-profit organisations reveal
how hard it has been to sustain long-term projects. In this volatile migration and
economic context, it is challenging to find funding for long-term projects. For this
reason, projects that target immigrants and communities have become more focused,
making it difficult to sustain long-term projects that target various communities in the
local context. It has also become more difficult for funders to justify supporting single
ethnic-minority groups and communities. The funding cuts and lack of human resources
have impacted the number of projects and the ability to operate other projects in the UK.
Both English-language educational programmes for diverse communities of adults and
children and cultural programmes, such as Black History Month, have been impacted by
the austerity measures of the Greater London Authority (Mulholland, 2010).

Other cases involved the integration programme itself, which indirectly
supported various ethnic-minority groups and had to reduce its staff. Austerity measures
implemented by the Conservative government influenced community-cohesion
programmes, as well as Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations. In the UK
national context, 'some community-cohesion programmes were unable to continue'
(interview with Adam, independent consultant to the integration programmes) after
2010, as the Coalition government had less interest in this area than the previous Labour
government (Beider, 2011). Some interviewees confirmed that reduced resources had
accelerated the decline in funded programmes. Much of the available funding was

earmarked for networks and not for single ethnic-minority groups. Lewisham had access to several funding opportunities, including the 2010 intercultural programme.

Networking opportunities that did not target the integration agenda were curtailed alongside programmes for immigrants and ethnic-minority groups. Austerity reduced networking opportunities because networking itself had a cost. The examples below describe the reduction in local assembly meetings and the cost of monitoring various communities. The local assembly is one channel used by Lewisham Council to connect with local groups. It provides opportunities for Lewisham Council and ethnic-minority groups to network and incorporates various monitoring processes covering housing, education, eligibility, and access. According to Lewisham Council officials, the decline in community networks has made it challenging to capture the needs of diverse groups and people:

> We had an assembly in each ward, and they cost a lot more. There were three times as many assemblies, which means three times the amount of staff time. But it also shows that this sense of localised communities continues (interview with Lawrence, a Lewisham Council official).

> You know the monitoring (of communities) is expensive. Monitoring is not cheap. And sometimes, you do not monitor; you rely upon consumers and service users to share information. So, if I say to you, you come for education or housing, I have got ten questions for you to answer. You could say, 'Well, actually, I do not want to answer those questions. I want a house. This is one of the significant challenges of monitoring. It can be quite time-consuming; it is expensive (interview with Mike, a Lewisham Council official).

The local-assembly interviewee describes a reduction in networking opportunities, even though various integration agendas in Lewisham promote networking. The era of austerity and the change in government impacted Lewisham Council and relevant service providers, forcing non-profit organisations to reduce even networking opportunities. Lewisham Council offered the local assembly fewer opportunities to network with communities. There were fewer interactions, despite the increasing and diversifying needs of community groups and people. Thus, networking opportunities were themselves in danger.

The monitoring issue can be linked to the development of networks between Lewisham Council officials and various communities. As the above example shows, austerity impacted the monitoring of community groups, which were also targeted for curtailment. The monitoring process analysed free statistical data gathered from various channels, provided opportunities for community groups to meet officials via local council meetings and other channels, and allowed the Council to gather and analyse data, which were often drawn from external organisations. Thus, Lewisham Council had to consider both the cost and the diversified needs of various people.

Representatives of non-profit organisations shared this perspective on networking and austerity. Many employees of non-profit organisations emphasised that networking opportunities were essential for people and their projects. However, austerity, one element in the integration agenda, made cooperation between various organisations difficult. One interviewee explained how people were suffering from a

lack of networking opportunities. He had experience networking with various

communities and people in the Lewisham area:

> At the event to meet funders, even though the funders were there to talk
> about the big fund and what they can provide the community sector
> group, she felt like she had to talk about the issues that her community
> faces. I would say, or one would say, that is not the forum to talk about it.
> However, that is the only time she gets.

> The Council talks a lot about trying to get local communities engaged in
> policies that are community-led policy decisions. And there is more input
> from policy decisions. More input from community groups from policy
> decisions. Community groups have been struggling for funding for all the
> last few years and [are] also face[d] with increasing demand from
> communities. So, you are working as staff and fear exorbitant rent, you
> have no working capital, no flexibility, and [are] struggling to find
> funding (interview with Kenneth, representing a Lewisham-based non-
> profit organisation).

Against Lewisham Council's expectations, austerity was made voluntary and

community organisations were challenged to engage with the complexity of increasing

and diversifying needs, which required specific resources, skills and time (London

Borough of Lewisham, 2011). One interviewee talked about opportunities to meet

funders at events involving various ethnic-minority groups, a good opportunity for

many organisations. However, the lack of opportunities to talk made one community

leader discuss her community groups differently. This case highlights the fact that

ethnic-minority groups have few opportunities to discuss community issues with

organisations. This reduction in networking opportunities has led to a lack of coordination among organisations, reducing the quality of services, including refugee-resettlement and ESOL programmes, which will be discussed later.

The interview above also describes the lack of networking available to ethnic-minority groups, especially new groups that already face disadvantages in their networks and skills. The interviewee notes that people need time and resources to develop networks during austerity. Although austerity did not necessarily cause the problem, it has led to fewer networking opportunities and thus exacerbated it. People who work to connect various groups believe that austerity has impacted organisations, reducing opportunities for newer ethnic-minority groups to participate in policy decisions. Thus, austerity has undermined the integration agenda developed during the 2000s.

This section describes the impact of austerity on Lewisham Council and various organisations. Fewer public services have been delivered in the local context. Austerity has impacted Lewisham Council, non-profit organisations, and ethnic-minority groups and programmes. The curtailed programmes include educational programmes designed to target single ethnic-minority groups, various ethnic-minority populations, and integration programmes. In addition, the reduced resources impact networking opportunities among organisations that previously facilitated the integration agenda. Thus, the issue of austerity has contributed to a further shift in ethnic-minority group-based public services. It has also caused Lewisham Council, non-profit organisations, and ethnic-minority groups to curtail their services.

This section discusses local and national relations. Local government and non-profit organisations were influenced by austerity via the national government agenda. Programmes and local organisations were pressured to adapt to austerity if they relied on government funds. This diversity-related picture is markedly different from the Greater London Council of the 1980s, which had financial independence and developed a multicultural programme before the local-government reforms of the Thatcher era. In other words, government austerity measures have impacted various local-government and non-profit organisations in the UK.

Conclusion

As this chapter argues, there has been a shift in the local context for ethnic-group-based welfare services that developed between the end of the war and the early 1990s – and later transformed. The second section clarifies the data on local-government privatisation in the integration agenda of the 1990s and 2000s, which criticised the existing approach. The third section focuses on the perspective of service providers responsible for delivering services to diverse ethnic-minority groups, a process that has become more difficult. The fourth section describes ways of approaching ethnic-minority groups in the current context of integration. Although ethnic groups must network, service providers do not provide direct support for groups but rather promote the development of Lewisham networks. Finally, this chapter articulates the further transformation of ethnic-group-based welfare services within the

UK austerity context and explains the historical role played by local organisations in the national context. Local organisations have followed the national agenda in shifting from an ethnic-group-based agenda to an integration agenda. Ethnic-minority groups are supported indirectly by the integration agenda, which requires them to develop networks and to cooperate with others. The community-cohesion agenda has curtailed group networking opportunities and welfare services. Ethnic-group-based services have thus been transformed as a consequence of post-1990 austerity measures.

This chapter details the historical development of the integration agenda, which curtailed funding to specific ethnic groups. The integration agenda included neoliberal and nationalistic elements. Political issues caused local organisations to stop funding specific ethnic groups, while economic austerity impacted integration programmes. Some interviewees noted that demographically diverse areas with many communities were used to justify the argument that it was too difficult to fund specific groups. Thus, this chapter reveals aspects of neoliberal multiculturalism, which have become elements of super-diversity. In the Lewisham context, one particular element is the notion that ethnic identities and attachments are market actors supported by the neoliberal state (Kymlicka, 2013). Neoliberal elements, which are used to select specific communities and curtail services, are embedded in the shift away from ethnic-group-based services.

7. Immigrant-selection policy – the development of the neoliberal agenda

Introduction

This chapter discusses the borders of super-diversity in relation to the individual legal-status agenda. These borders generally reflect meritocratic values and human rights, inherited elements of neoliberalism and nationalism that are difficult to obtain and easier to lose – described by Joppke as 'earned citizenship' (Joppke, 2021: 1). This section investigates how legal statuses played an important role from 1990 onwards in the everyday lives of many different kinds of people, ranging from those with migrant backgrounds to British citizens. It shows how local government shifted its attention toward individual legal-status-based public services and access. This section also helps to define the racial and ethnic borders of super-diversity, which is taken up in the last chapter. It explains how Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations restricted access to services after 1990, in line with the national immigration policy. It also highlights the issue of legal statuses when considering migration control and access to public services developed after 1990.

The first section analyses national and local historical development in relation to immigration, legal statuses, and pre-1990 forms of access. These provide a comparative perspective on post-1990 developments. The second section provides an overview of

local forms of access developed after 1990, focusing mainly on restricted entry and rights of access to services. The third section confirms that legal statuses play a crucial role in access to welfare services in ESOL programmes. The fourth section reveals the legal statuses and migration-channel-based programmes provided by various refugee-resettlement programmes. ESOL and refugee programmes in Lewisham will be discussed as examples of development. The last section describes the instability in legal statuses and welfare delivery caused by austerity and Brexit. Austerity and Brexit have made programmes unstable; a case study reveals the characteristics of such services.

Generous entry control and welfare access before 1990

Commonwealth and refugee immigration controls, legal-status-based welfare support, and forms of access historically related to local issues provide the backdrop to the development of immigrant-selection policy. Commonwealth immigration controls and restricted access to welfare are compared with the conditions that applied to other immigrants, including refugees and asylum seekers. The restriction of access to Commonwealth immigrants covers restricted entry and internal controls over forms of welfare access. The fact that asylum seekers and refugees have faced restricted access to welfare services and community expansion will also be taken up. The delivery of education and other welfare programmes to refugees after the war is compared with the situation after 1990.

For Commonwealth immigrants, immigration was facilitated between the end of the war and the 1960s; later, immigration was restricted. One piece of legislation that determined the status of Commonwealth communities was the 1948 British Immigration Act. This Act confirmed that nationals of the UK, its dominions, and British colonies shared a common citizenship status as 'British subjects' (Solomos, 2003: 52–55). However, this Act did not restrict Commonwealth immigration; numbers increased until restrictions were imposed in the 1960s. Between the 1960s and 1980s, Commonwealth citizens were restricted from entering the UK. Both immigration and Commonwealth immigration were controlled by the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act, which targeted workers by dividing Commonwealth immigration into three categories to restrict immigration (Miles and Phizacklea, 1984b).

Between the end of the war and the 1960s, the UK did not advance Commonwealth immigration or access to welfare by immigration status. The right to entry and abode were key issues for Commonwealth immigrants; both were gradually restricted. Although access to welfare by legal status was not restricted, as many early post-war immigrants had automatic UK citizenship, the issue of race made it difficult for Commonwealth communities to access welfare, as previously discussed. Racial and ethnic-group-based services were the key issues for communities – not legal statuses or migration-channel-based welfare.

Between the end of the war and the 1960s, refugees and asylum seekers were classified as 'displaced persons' from Europe (Kay and Miles, 1988), even though welfare delivery (coordinated with migrant support organisations) was less developed than it would become in the 1970s. Immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe were

workers and refugees, fleeing to the UK for political and economic reasons. Although fewer restrictions were placed on entry and access to welfare, the resettlement process was not fully developed. For example, resettlement centres provided temporary accommodation and education for later integration. Some Poles and Eastern Europeans (mainly Ukrainians) who arrived in the UK via the post-war European Volunteer Workers Scheme were classified as displaced persons (Tannahill, 1958: 8–15). They were workers and refugees who had emigrated from communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe (Solomos and Schuster, 1999:58). The scheme involved labour migration and refugee-resettlement programmes (Kay and Miles, 1988); 15,000 Hungarians entered the country in the 1950s and 600 Czech refugees arrived in the late 1960s, following Soviet suppression of the Prague Spring in 1968 (Panayi, 1993: 105).

During the post-war era, organisations were established to deliver welfare services to refugees. The UK had already formed the British Council for Aid to Refugees (BCAR) and the 1951 Standing Conference on Refugees (SCOR) (Danièle, 1996). These were government-sponsored organisations that helped to resettle foreign nationals. However, resettlement issues, such as language, were not the main concern. The main issue involved the rights and conditions of workers after they arrived in the UK and found employment. Before 1970, there was less coordination between the national and local organisations that delivered welfare services and controlled forms of access.

In the 1970s, several resettlement programmes began to deliver welfare, including accommodation and education. This initiative was developed in collaboration with agencies that supported refugees; various national and local organisations were

involved. For example, BCAR and SCOR worked to implement a refugee-resettlement programme that provided welfare delivery. The government relied on agencies to provide specialised knowledge and fieldwork experience. The Ugandan Asian, Chilean, and Vietnamese programmes were examples of this trend. The first Vietnamese resettlement programme ran from 1975 to 1982, bringing in people with no cultural or ethnic ties to the UK. By contrast, Ugandan Asians with families in the UK (Hitchcox, 1987:21) and Chileans were relatively well-educated populations with European ancestry. Some people stayed temporarily in the UK and then settled in Canada (Peddie, 2014).

Vietnamese communities had close links to Lewisham, as described in the previous chapter. Early on, Lewisham had a large Vietnamese population, as many Vietnamese people chose to settle in Lewisham and other parts of South London (Sims, 2007). Large non-governmental organisations, including the Ockenden Venture, Save the Children, and the British Council for Aid to Refugees, were given responsibility for their reception and resettlement (Hitchcox, 1987). Many first-wave Vietnamese people came from poor farming and fishing families in North Vietnam. Little about their experience prepared them for rural or urban industrial life in the UK. Thus, Lewisham Council and local non-profit organisations worked to integrate these refugees into British society by teaching them English and British culture, which were new to them when they arrived (Sims, 2007).

Welfare delivery, including English education and childcare for Ugandan Asian and Vietnamese refugees, was provided through reception centres, local authorities, and voluntary organisations. A resettlement scheme, including welfare delivery, was

established. During the early 1970s, the Uganda Resettlement Board, assisted by the Home Office, was created to resettle Ugandan Asians. Other organisations, including resettlement centres, were also set up. Local authorities, the Community Relations Commission, and voluntary organisations provided housing and other support (Cunningham, 1973). The Borough of Lewisham also helped Vietnamese refugees settle in the area.

While refugees received welfare support during the 1970s, refugee categories were less developed and groups were not separated from other immigrants. Unlike the more developed system of the 1990s, no clear policy for dealing with asylum or persecution cases was enacted through legislation, although immigration rules were put in place (Solomos and Schuster, 1999:58). Asylum seekers and refugees who sought entry due to persecution were recognised in the immigration rules of the 1970s, which restricted appeals, following a refusal. Persecution was considered a legitimate reason for granting leave to appeal against the refusal of entry clearance. However, the immigration rules did not have statutory force; they were simply regulations issued by the Home Secretary under the guidance of immigration officials.

The refugee-resettlement process was developed with the assistance of local authorities, non-profit organisations, and reception centres. One of the main refugee-resettlement programmes of the era was for Vietnamese refugees. After their arrival, all refugees went to reception centres, except for people who were joining their families in the UK. Reception centres provided temporary accommodation, medical screening, and language and cultural education, while also collecting information on people's economic, educational, and health statuses (Hitchcox, 1987: 9–11). Other welfare

services were provided locally. Such services included English-language training, which already existed. Section 11 funding and the Urban Programme, initially designed for Commonwealth Black ethnic-minority groups, were used to support refugees from Vietnam and elsewhere (Lewisham IndoChinese Community Centre, 2020). Self-help groups, including Vietnamese groups, were also established in Lewisham. Since the 1980s, more and more organisations have become involved in resettlement processes.

This section discusses the inadequate development of the selective immigration policy alongside welfare delivery and the restrictions imposed on Commonwealth communities, which were not based on their employment skills or market demands. The delivery of refugee-welfare programmes, based on coordination between voluntary organisations and local government, emerged during this era. At that point, there were fewer channels available to refugees; there were also fewer restrictions. Almost all refugees arrived through a refugee-resettlement process that involved the UK government and international organisations. It was possible to offer unrestricted welfare services because relatively few refugees arrived in the UK (around 5,000), and the numbers could often be calculated ahead of time. This situation changed significantly after 1990.

Stricter entry and welfare-access controls in the local context after 1990

After 1990, restrictions on UK entry and access to welfare were introduced for diverse communities, based on legal statuses. Among various legal immigration statuses, this section investigates how the legal statuses of asylum seekers and refugees,

non-EU immigrants, and EU communities developed in the UK context. Migration channels were a key factor when Lewisham Council and local non-profit organisations restricted entry and delivered public services (such as education). The multiplication of legal immigration statuses impacted local government and local community organisations and the way they interacted with people holding different legal statuses.

The number of individual asylum applications significantly increased in the 1990s, peaking at around 80,000 in the early 2000s (Sturge, 2019). During the 1990s, the total number of asylum applications generally stayed below 5,000. Applications also diversified in the 1990s, with people arriving from a range of different countries, including the former Yugoslavia (Bosnia and Kosovo), Somalia, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, and Afghanistan (Sturge, 2020:12). Some, such as those from Vietnam and Sri Lanka, were fleeing conflicts. The outbreak of civil wars in the 1990s produced many asylum seekers from the former Yugoslavia and Somalia. The total number of asylum applications peaked at 84,132 in 2002 (Sturge, 2020:3). Refugee-resettlement programmes, which delivered education and other public services, continued to function after 1990. The 1995 Mandate Programme was established to help individuals (with close family members in the UK willing to accommodate them) claim asylum while overseas; 300 of these were assisted each year.

After 1990, the government introduced legislation to control asylum seekers and undocumented migrants. It restricted public funds and services and reduced mainstream benefits, introducing a separate system of welfare support, detention, deportation, and removal, as well as sanctioning organisations that employed undocumented people (Sales, 2007, Bloch and Schuster, 2002). During the 1990s, various pieces of legislation

targeted asylum seekers and migrants by restricting entry and adding internal controls. This legislation included the 1993, 1996, and 1999 Asylum and Immigration Acts. The 1993 Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act focused on the asylum-application process and withdrew the rights of appeal for visitors and students. The 1996 Act made employers without valid documents guilty of a criminal offence and at risk of incurring a £5,000 pound fine. The Act also withdrew non-contributory benefits previously financed out of general taxation for asylum seekers and other groups subject to immigration control, such as work-permit holders. Under the 1999 Asylum and Immigration Act, registrars had to report (and help to prevent) suspicious marriages. The constructed category of 'bogus marriages' was debated and used to justify the curtailment of social-welfare entitlements.

In relation to local issues, the responsibility for delivering welfare services to refugees shifted to local authorities during the 1990s. This changed the role of local authorities, who subsequently cooperated with the government to support the resettlement of asylum seekers and refugees. The Asylum and Immigration Act of 1993 was the first piece of asylum-focused legislation to be enacted. The Act curtailed the statutory duty of local authorities to provide social housing for asylum seekers who had access to any form of temporary accommodation. Under the Act, welfare benefits for asylum seekers were set at 70 per cent of the level of income support. The 1996 Asylum and Immigration Act confirmed a shift from the national government to the local authority responsible for delivering vouchers (Bloch, 2000). Local authorities also supported asylum-seeking families under the 1989 Children Act. Finally, the 1999 Asylum and Immigration Act created the National Asylum Support Service (NASS),

which replaced local authorities and the Department of Work and Pensions in supporting asylum seekers. NASS is responsible for accommodating asylum seekers while their cases are being dealt with. This shift, which was introduced to reduce the 'cost' to local authorities, particularly in London, was significantly accelerated via the 1996 Act, which called on NASS to facilitate dispersal policies.

During the 2000s, the rights of asylum seekers, refugees, and undocumented migrants continued to be restricted. Controls were delivered via the 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act; the 2004 Asylum and Immigration Act; and the 2006 Immigration, Asylum, and Nationality Act. These acts continued to restrict asylum seekers' right to appeal and created new induction/accommodation/removal centres for asylum seekers. They also imposed sanctions on companies that employed illegal migrants. For example, the 2004 Act extended benefit exclusions to people with minor children to ensure compliance with removal. When the 2006 Act enhanced control, the detention of failed asylum seekers became the norm (Sales, 2007: 146–151).

During the 2000s, the government also strengthened monitoring and deportation. Fear of terrorism led to more immigration control, community monitoring, and deportation. Terrorism increased negative assessments of migration as a threat to security, facilitating the development of entry and internal-control measures. Border controls were strengthened to prevent terrorists from entering the UK, while suspected terrorists were deported. Detentions and deportations accelerated after 9/11 and the 2005 London bombings. Intensive asylum monitoring had security as its basis and objective. In the local context, relevant programmes aimed to prevent Muslim

extremism and to monitor specific segregated communities, which were considered high risk for producing violent extremists.

The UK government restricted access to welfare for non-EU communities that arrived in the UK via the points-based system between the 2000s and 2010s. The government's points-based system helped to curtail community access to public funds and services. To enter and live in the UK, non-EU immigrants had to be skilled (as measured by the points system). The system controlled immigration through skills, work experience, and education. Immigrants with skills, work experience, and education could collect enough points to enter and live in the UK, depending on their legal status. Individuals with less education, work skills, or experience were awarded fewer points; their status could prevent them from entering the UK or force them to shorten the length of their stay. The points-based system too was changing. The category for low-skilled workers (Tier 3) was suspended when the points-based system was introduced and subsequently shut down entirely by Prime Minister David Cameron (Cameron, 2013).

Non-EU immigrants had limited access to public funds. The legal statuses of non-EU immigrants divided people, based on their skills, work experience, and education. Legal statuses impacted people's access to services, as well as employment and school enrolment. Most non-EU nationals were subject to immigration controls and prevented from accessing public funds (described as having 'no recourse to public funds') unless they were treated as exceptions (e.g., granted humanitarian protection). There were some exceptions to the 'no recourse to public funds' rule because some nationals had agreements with the UK. The rule was also being expanded. In the local context, one example involved local discretionary support. Local government funds,

excluded from public funds, were included in the 'no recourse to public funds' rule in 2016 (Yeo, 2021). Local-level discretionary welfare support – e.g., humanitarian assistance for immigrants – was restricted, having previously been covered by Emergency Loans and Support Grants.

The 1990s saw more local authorities and charity organisations develop activities, while the 2000s saw more UK government attempts to control entry and access to funds and services. Local authorities played a smaller role in delivering services to asylum seekers and migrants than they had in the 1990s or before. During the 1990s, many of the volunteer-organisation staff members interviewed for this study were actively engaged in local activities, delivering services to asylum seekers, refugees, and undocumented migrants. However, government dispersal policies created new challenges for asylum seekers and refugees in some local areas, such as Northern England.

The 2010s witnessed more government control in various areas. During the 2010s, legal statuses provided access to welfare services. The UK Home Secretary's 'hostile-environment policy' introduced administrative and legislative measures to make it as difficult as possible for people to obtain leave to remain, with the aim of reducing UK immigration (Cole, 2020). People who wanted to access welfare or other services had to present their legal statuses during everyday activities, such as seeking employment, renting accommodation, and accessing finance, in line with the 2014 and 2016 Immigration Acts. Private citizens and public servants were expected to check the immigration papers of other residents. Immigration checks were carried out when people applied for jobs (including existing employees), rented accommodation, visited a

GP or hospital, opened a bank account, got married, and more (Yeo, 2020). Legal-status checks led to the Windrush Scandal in 2018. People from Commonwealth countries, who had come to Britain in the 1950s and 1960s, were denied access to jobs, accommodation, and services. Some even faced wrongful deportation because they lacked the appropriate documents. This scandal eventually forced the Home Secretary to resign (Gentleman, 2019).

Access restrictions were expanded to include EU immigrants. Discussions of EU immigration restrictions emerged after the enlargement of the EU in 2004, which increased the number of Eastern and Central European nationals arriving in the UK. These discussions were linked to the UK's decision to leave the European Union. EU immigrants (especially from Poland and Eastern Europe) arrived in greater numbers in Lewisham, as described in Chapter 5. Poland was number eight in the top ten fastest-growing non-UK populations in the electoral roll, excluding Jamaica and Nigeria (London Borough of Lewisham, 2018b). Poland was also the third-largest country of birth after Jamaica and Nigeria (Office for National Statistics; National Records of Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2016).

Attempts were made to restrict EU workers and reduce net immigration. For example, the number of seasonal workers increased after EU enlargement, as workers from Eastern Europe arrived to pick, pack, and harvest soft fruit and to process other foods. The Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme was created to meet the UK's need for agricultural workers (Somerville et al., 2009). This scheme increased the number of workers, especially from Bulgaria and Romania. However, all of these temporary migration programmes terminated in 2013 after critics accused them of violating the

rights of migrant workers. Critics also mentioned the lack of integration measures (such as education) in the scheme (Consterdine and Samuk, 2018).

Brexit further restricted forms of access. The question of whether EU nationals should have access to public funds became part of the public debate leading up to the EU referendum in 2016 and continued afterwards. In withdrawing from the EU, the UK aimed to control the number of EU immigrants and their access to public funds and welfare. Although the UK is negotiating with the EU about welfare access, different EU rules will apply now that there is a border with the EU. Under a future points system, following an implementation period, Europeans and others coming to the UK to work, study, or join their families will need permission to do so (BBC News, 2020).

Legal statuses diversified from 1990 onwards, as this section describes. Policymakers and public-service practitioners now focus on legal statuses, rather than ethnic community-based policies or services. In addition, people from the same country of origin can have different legal statuses. They may be British citizens, refugees who have received permission to stay through individual applications, refugees who have arrived via specific refugee-resettlement programmes, asylum-seekers granted exceptional leave to remain, non-EU workers or students, people granted refugee status in another European country (who have subsequently moved to the UK), or undocumented migrants. Each legal status includes its own rules for accessing housing and education. Due to the diversification of legal statuses, service deliverers must decide how legal statuses are monitored, which rights immigrants can access, and the length of time spent accessing services. The multiplication of legal statuses has thus impacted local government and local community organisations.

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ESOL for all? The demand for and restriction of access to services by legal status

This section examines English education as one example of a legal-status-based service. It focuses on ESOL, while considering the shift in legal statuses in the local and national context. The section begins with the history of English-language provision since the 1990s, when immigration and demands diversified. Next, it explains English educational services and diversification in Lewisham, relating these to immigration policies. Finally, it clarifies various rights and levels of access to English education and the funding of ESOL services delivered by Lewisham Council and local non-profit organisations. In doing so, this research reveals how funding eligibility, based on status and condition, has diversified over the years.

During the post-war period, fewer English educational services were aimed at adult migrants. In the 1960s, some services targeted new Commonwealth communities, although English educational services engaged various types of people and were less divided by legal status or service-access eligibility. Between 1970 and 1990, English educational services targeted ethnic groups and ethnic-group-based services. The services involved English-language education for refugees who arrived via the UK resettlement programme, the main pre-1990 migration channel at a time when the number of individual applications was relatively low. Although refugee-resettlement centres offered English-language courses, resettlement programmes did not provide coordinated ESOL courses because local authorities could not afford the extra tuition (Hale, 1993:288). Provisions varied greatly, particularly between cities and rural areas.

Some urban areas offered English-language support to refugees via the Section 11 programme and the Urban Programme.

The link between legal statuses and English services developed alongside immigration policies. After the 2000s, English services were in more demand, as people applied for legal statuses. English was an essential skill for gaining a good legal status. The UK Nationality, Immigration, and Asylum Act of 2002 introduced a system that tested migrants intending to apply for citizenship or naturalisation. The English-language-test requirements then expanded to cover people applying for permission to remain in the country. In 2007, immigrants applying for Indefinite Leave to Remain were required to pass the English-language test.

Non-EU nationals, excluding refugees and asylum seekers, needed English-language skills to obtain labour, student, or family-immigration statuses via the points-based system. Thus, English became a gateway skill, controlling entry into the UK for employment, education, and a suitable length of stay. English education was closely related to national immigration policy. After Brexit, the new points-based system was extended to include people from the EU; as English-language skills added immigration points, they were essential (BBC News, 2020). Language proficiency was increasingly used as a condition of entry (Meissner, 2018). For all of these reasons, English-language skills were increasingly required by migrant-related communities.

English-language demands also created new patterns of immigration. Since the 1990s, new and different types of immigration have influenced the demand for English-language education. Immigrants from Commonwealth areas with British-style educational systems were already familiar with the English language and many were

fluent speakers. The new immigrants came from countries with different educational

systems in the Middle East, North Africa, Afghanistan, Pakistan (MENAP), and Central

Asia and from countries that had recently joined the EU. The new points-based system

divided immigration statuses, based on English-language skills. A 2018 study of

English revealed that 24 per cent of people from MENAP and the Central Asian

countries spoke other languages and had difficulty speaking English (Reino, 2019). In

the Pakistani and South Asian communities, 17 per cent of people had difficulty

speaking English.

European communities also had English-language issues. Studies carried out in

2018 revealed that 15 per cent of people from new EU countries (EU-8, EU-2, and EU

Other) struggled with English, in comparison to 11 per cent of people from East or

South-East Asia (Reino, 2019). People from EU-8, EU-2, and Other EU countries also

had problems with English. The EU-8 category consists of the Czech Republic, Estonia,

Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia. EU-2 includes Bulgaria

and Romania, while EU Other comprises Croatia, Malta, and Cyprus. There continues

to be significant demand in EU communities for English-language skills. After Brexit,

European immigrants were included in the new points-based system, increasing the

demand for English-language skills.

Several interviewees mentioned the demand for English-language training in

Lewisham. Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations monitor the demand for

English among diverse communities in the area. Lewisham Comprehensive Equality

data reveal a need for English-language skills among new immigrants from the Middle

East, North Africa, and Eastern Europe. In one study, 74.8 per cent of residents said that

English was their primary language, followed by other European languages (4 per cent) and South Asian languages (2 per cent) (Office for National Statistics; National Records of Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2016). However, in some Lewisham wards, non-English languages may be spoken as a first language by 36 per cent of people (London Borough of Lewisham, 2019, Office for National Statistics; National Records of Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2016). During the interviews, one non-profit-organisation staff member mentioned language issues, mainly in Syrian and East European communities.

Various representatives of Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations discussed the importance of developing English skills in diverse communities, especially among new immigrants and older-generation dependants. It is crucial for the Council and other local organisations to develop their English-language services because English is needed for employment, education, and rights, including length of stay. One non-profit-organisation representative discussed the importance of English for getting a job and integrating into UK life:

> So, for example, migrants come here because English is not their language. And that creates barriers to finding work, particularly good-paying work. So, these are some of the big social and economic challenges that we are facing. If people come here, what we want to do is to help them to settle, to integrate, to be able to find work – not just ordinary work but good-paying work that can enable them to raise their families and contribute to

the community. And settle within the borough (interview with Michael,

representing a Lewisham-based non-profit organisation).

English is considered a necessary skill for immigrants entering the labour

market who need to obtain the right legal status. For service providers, it is essential to

develop an 'integration agenda', as people without English skills can find themselves in

difficult situations. A lack of English skills can prevent some migrant workers from

securing legal status. If they do not learn English, their legal statuses, rights,

employment, and education are less certain, following changes to the immigration rules

and government-integration agendas. These agendas criticise people who lack English

skills, while older people and temporary residents may have less incentive to invest in

education (Corrigan, 2015).

Increased demand has led to the development of more diverse services with

various targets and levels. Some language programmes offered by non-profit

organisations target diverse community groups, including people with refugee statuses

and those from other areas, including both non-EU and EU countries (Action for

Refugees in Lewisham, 2018). Diverse targets have created more structured English

services restricted to specific groups. Structured services require the monitoring of

statuses and rights, including legal statuses. Funding and services have also been

developed in line with specific targets. For example, ESOL is a key service delivered by

local government and non-profit organisations. Funding for further adult education is

distributed mainly through ESOL. Thus, access to ESOL services and funding is

restricted by legal status.

Diversification and increased immigration have restricted access to education by legal status. Tuition fees, for example, are differentiated by legal status. People with different legal statuses must pay different fees for ESOL classes in Lewisham. Some legal statuses are exempt from fees, while others must pay more, based on various conditions. For example, Lewisham ESOL courses are accessible for free or at a lower cost for people with special legal statuses (e.g., those included in the VPRS Syrian Refugee Resettlement Scheme). The programme offers free access to ESOL, while others on the scheme can access ESOL funding from the government and other organisations, including the Refugee Council. One non-profit organisation contacted during this research had an English-language service for Syrian refugees. The organisation provided afternoon sessions specifically for Syrian refugees who had come to Lewisham after being separated from other refugees. However, the interviewees commented that Lewisham was offering fewer free English classes.

There are frequent changes to the eligibility and access rules governing free or fully funded English services provided by Lewisham Council. For instance, Lewisham Council's English education programme for adults, which is funded by the government, has changed its free forms of access and eligibility. The present study found fewer free English classes for all community groups in Lewisham than had previously been available. Interviewees said that no free adult English classes were available, although one was added after the interviews finished. While the 2017 funding scheme became a free English education programme that educated people up to GCSE level, ESOL services targeted many more people. In 2017, Lewisham Council provided a basic English course for adults aged 19 or older who had not previously attained GCSE A* to

C grades or Grade 4 (Education and Skills Funding Agency, 2017); this programme was funded by the Education and Skills Funding Agency. The changes drove many organisations to develop services with different targets and levels of eligibility.

Immigration statuses are now being monitored by service providers in Lewisham when immigrants access ESOL education. The ESOL programmes offered by Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations monitor people's immigration statuses. Lewisham Council distinguishes between legal statuses in an application-form section that deals with residential statuses. For instance, people who are citizens of the UK or a country within the European Economic Area (and those who have lived in the UK for the past three years) should be eligible for ESOL funding from the UK government. People who apply for any Lewisham Council adult-education programme must write their legal statuses on their applications. Some people gain a concession from their situations. Free and less institutionalised English-language services are provided by volunteers who are not always language professionals. Thus, immigration statuses determine who is eligible for free access to ESOL courses, with full funding limited to specific people.

According to one interviewee who interacted with asylum seekers and refugees, access to services is restricted, both through immigration-status monitoring and through the creation of various categories, which restrict access to funding. Even those asylum seekers and refugees who are targeted by English educational services are subject to restrictions. As one non-profit-organisation staff member explained, the educational concerns of asylum seekers and refugees involve access to English education. That interview revealed that some communities with the right to access services were finding

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it difficult to access the services provided by a non-profit organisation because they lacked networking and economic resources:

> You have a lot of refugees, and these refugees cannot access English support. So many people are going to live without access to mainstream support (Kenneth, representing a Lewisham-based non-profit organisation).

This interview notes that asylum seekers and those with suitable immigration statuses find it difficult to access English services. Immigration statuses and welfare restrictions, including educational services, are a problem shared by Lewisham Council and various non-profit organisations. Immigration statuses both allow and restrict access to funding and service providers. Although some asylum seekers and refugees have access to funding, a growing number face restricted access to services and funding. Austerity measures have contributed to these restrictions.

Eligibility and prices for English courses differ, while applicants' legal statuses continue to change. In recent years, access to and the funding of ESOL courses for refugees and asylum seekers have changed frequently. Until 2007, refugees could attend free language and further-education courses. Since 2007, not all refugee statuses have been entitled to free classes, although some have. Asylum seekers must prove that they have been in the UK for more than six months to qualify for free ESOL classes. Prior to 2011, all asylum seekers could attend free language and further-education courses, although the provision was inadequate and waiting lists were long (Phillimore, 2011a). After 2011, asylum seekers could no longer access free courses, although they were

eligible for funding from a public institution (Doyle and O'Toole, 2013). Full free

remission only applies to those who receive 'active benefits, such as Job

Seeker's Allowance or Employment Support Allowance. The legal statuses of applicants

represent one factor in the diversification of fees and access to services.

The reduction in funding has impacted both asylum seekers and refugees. After

2010, organisations such as the Education and Skills Funding Agency and the 2017

Skills Funding Agency had access to ESOL funding. The Education and Skills Funding

Agency funded ESOL via the Adult Education budget. However, this funding was

impacted by national austerity measures. Various organisations in Lewisham struggled

to provide ESOL in the midst of reduced funding and changed eligibility, followed by

changing rules.

In a very late development, types of access to ESOL in Lewisham have recently

changed. One further-education college now makes services available to diverse types

of migrants, including asylum seekers. This is a significant change from the mid-2010s

and may represent an inclusive approach to overcoming the legal status issue for diverse

groups.

This section clarifies the way in which Lewisham Council and non-profit

organisations have monitored access to public educational services. Access to English

educational services has been limited since the 1990s. Government policy has made

English a fundamental requirement for all who wish to apply for a longer stay,

employment, or education. English educational services, which were previously

accessible to many ethnic-minority groups, now have diverse classifications of access

eligibility. Legal statuses determine whether people are eligible to access services. In

Lewisham, service providers must check applicants' backgrounds to decide whether to restrict their access to programmes. In addition, frequent changes in funding and eligibility make services unsustainable. The eligibility and cost of English courses differ for refugees and non-EU and EU immigrants, based on their immigration statuses. Free or affordable language courses are often limited to specific well-funded communities. Immigration statuses determine which people have or lack access to public funds and services.

An individual legal-status-based refugee programme and access to welfare

This section investigates one specific immigration-status-based refugee-resettlement programme in the Lewisham area. This refugee-resettlement programme involves refugee statuses related to human rights, although human rights are not universally applied to the selection process. A migrant passes through one of many selection processes to be acknowledged as a refugee or a similar status. The refugee-resettlement programme is one of the statuses discussed by various respondents in Lewisham. Refugee-resettlement programmes are designed for specific refugees or asylum seekers who have cleared strict entry checks and welfare restrictions. As the last chapter explains, fewer programmes are designed for particular ethnic-minority groups, apart from Syrian refugees. However, there are more immigration-status-based programmes. If various organisations in Lewisham are involved in these programmes, legal statuses and migration channel-based services can change.

After 1990, refugee-migration channels increased and diversified, as refugee-resettlement programmes and individual applications increased. During the post-war era, resettlement quota programmes were the primary channel for asylum seekers, with fewer than 5,000 individual applications per year during most of that time (Walsh, 2019). However, after 1990, individual applications increased significantly. Thus, people with refugee statuses used more channels to reach the UK. In addition, resettlement programmes increased and diversified, creating different rights and statuses for immigrants and refugees from the same birth country. For example, Syrians used many different entry routes and applied as individuals for refugee status. The resettlement programme also diversified. At the time of this research, several resettlement programmes were operating in the UK. They included the 1995 Mandate, the 2004 Gateway Protection Programme, The 2014 Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme (VPRS), the 2016 Vulnerable Children's Resettlement Scheme (VCRS), and the 2016 Dubs Amendment. The 2004 Gateway route was launched to accommodate 750 UNHCR-identified refugees (displaced for at least five years) for annual UK resettlement (Sim and Laughlin, 2014). The Mandate allowed overseas individuals to claim asylum if close family members in the UK were willing to accommodate them (Brown, 2008). Although this programme had no quotas or numbers, approximately 300 people were assisted each year. VPRS aimed to resettle 20,000 refugees per year between 2015 and 2020 and 3,000 refugees between 2016 and 2020. The VPRS and VCRS schemes were delivered in partnership with local authorities and the voluntary, private, and community sectors (House of Lords European Union Committee, 2019:18–20).

During fieldwork, many interviewees talked about refugee-resettlement

programmes when asked about welfare support for ethnic-minority groups in

Lewisham. One key issue was the 2016 European refugee crisis, which impelled

Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations to engage in diverse programmes. The

following interview describes how Lewisham Council developed relations with refugee

organisations:

> We have quite a lot of refugee organisations. The Council had relations
> with refugee organisations when the Calais issue happened. We have also
> actually taken unaccompanied children in Lewisham (interview with
> Raymond, a Lewisham Councillor).

> [One thing that] is not significant yet, but potentially could become
> significant in the years to come is a refugee-led migration, mainly from
> Syria, although they are a minority among various migrants (interview
> with Mike, a Lewisham Council official).

This Councillor talked about the programme for unaccompanied children,

developed in response to the 2016 refugee crisis when the number of vulnerable and

unaccompanied asylum-seeking children in Calais increased significantly. The Calais

camp was a refugee and migrant encampment in France, which attracted attention when

its population grew during the 2016 refugee crisis. The UK scheme gave each member

the right to study, work, and access public funds and healthcare. In 2016, more than 900

unaccompanied asylum-seeking children were transferred to the UK from Europe. Lord

Dubs campaigned to amend the Immigration Bill and Section 67 of the 2016

Immigration Act, committing the UK to relocate and support unaccompanied refugee

children from other countries in Europe (Home Office, 2020). The children were transferred under an accelerated process, based on the Dublin Regulation family-reunion criteria. Lewisham reunited six UASCs with family members through this scheme (London Borough of Lewisham, 2018b).

A scheme was also developed for adults and children at risk from the conflict in Syria. Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations took part in the 2014 Syrian Refugee Vulnerable Person Resettlement Scheme and VCRS. The scheme was created under the existing 2015 VPRS scheme, which accepted Syrian nationals and non-nationals fleeing the Syrian conflict. The UK pledged to resettle 20,000 people by 2020 under this scheme, which was launched in January 2014 and expanded in September 2015 (London Borough of Lewisham, 2018b). The VCRS targeted children and families impacted by conflict in the Middle East and North Africa, with a national target of 3,000. After the interviews, Lewisham developed some new strategies and welcomed these people. In 2017, for example, eight refugee families settled in Lewisham via refugee-resettlement programmes. This number soon increased to 100 refugee families (London Borough of Lewisham, 2018b). However, many potential refugees and Syrian residents in the UK were rejected. Given the number of refugees, the Syrian resettlement programme accepted a very small number of people.

Local authorities were a key factor in these resettlement programmes. Under Section 67 of the Dubs scheme, the government agreed to relocate a government-specified number of unaccompanied children in consultation with local authorities. The authorities could apply for the VPRS and VCRS schemes, as long as they had the infrastructure and support they needed to provide appropriate care and resettlement

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opportunities (Home Office, 2017). Local VPRS asked participating authorities to secure the necessary infrastructure, support networks, and budgets to satisfy government requirements and ensure effective resettlement (Gilbert, 2017). The cost of a refugee family staying 2–5 years in the UK was therefore funded by local authorities.

As one of the local authorities chosen for both resettlement programmes, Lewisham Council engaged actively in the VPRS and VCRS programmes (London Borough of Lewisham, 2018b). In 2018, the Mayor made a manifesto pledge to make Lewisham a sanctuary borough, protecting the rights of all migrants, asylum seekers, and refugees (London Borough of Lewisham, 2018b). People in Lewisham who worked in diversity programmes argued that Lewisham had the right infrastructure, including experienced people and groups, to engage in the programme. According to several interviewees, Lewisham has a diverse range of refugee-related organisations for people from Afghanistan, Somalia, and Sri Lanka, with community groups capable of delivering services. The number of organisations reveals a local history of accommodating refugees.

VPRS and VCRS welfare delivery was well structured and controlled. Both programmes relied on local areas for a range of resources, which were provided by local authorities and other organisations with coordinated support schemes. Lewisham Council, the Refugee Council, and local non-profit organisations played a role in connecting various English-language, housing, and food-service providers with Syrian refugees. VPRS provided free English classes taught by qualified teachers. Lewisham Council, educational organisations, specific landlords, and non-profit organisations worked together in the programme to provide housing and education. Thus,

organisations helped refugees access affordable housing, food, and English-language educational services by coordinating and leveraging their experience in Lewisham. The government scheme also helped non-profit organisations develop and deliver welfare services. To help selected local VPRS and VCRS areas, the Community Sponsorship Scheme was established to support non-profit organisations.

The local authority must consent to each Community Sponsorship arrangement after considering local impacts on service capacities. Community sponsors must commit to funding translation, interpretation, and general social-work tasks, including support for newcomers registered with schools, GPs, and job centres (Dajani, 2021, HM Government, 2021). Only organisations with the resources and experience to deliver services are eligible to become community sponsors in Lewisham. In 2018, the Reset organisation was established to coordinate the growth of approved community sponsorship groups, which provide training and support – from the application process to supporting a resettled family in the UK (HM Government, 2021). The service providers involved in the resettlement programme must meet diverse requirements.

Individuals who use the resettlement programme undergo entry checks carried out by UNHCR, the UK government, and local authorities. Entries and communities are controlled by various organisations. Although Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations engage with Syrian refugees, they may not choose or scrutinise their immigration statuses. Syrian-refugee community groups can claim that they created the international and government framework, unlike local community groups. People enter the UK after undergoing various UNHCR, UK government, and local-authority screening processes. Refugees are assessed using different criteria, with vulnerability

criteria included alongside potential criminal elements and security threats. Thus, refugee-resettlement programmes include strict immigration controls. Access to welfare is defined and immigrants are screened to determine whether they are eligible for the projects offered by organisations such as Lewisham Council, UNHCR, and the UK government. The programme in question catered for a small number of Syrians who cleared various checks.

These structured programmes have changing targets. The unpredictable funding also affects refugee-resettlement programmes. Four programmes, the Gateway, Mandate, VPRS, and VCRS programmes, ran the resettlement programme. In 2020, the refugee-resettlement programmes had different criteria and numbers. After 2020, the government announced that all of these programmes would be merged into one large programme, which was then suspended due to the COVID-19 crisis. Although Syrian nationals were the original targets of VPRS programmes, the UK announced that it was dropping the nationality requirement from the scheme to open it up to other refugees from the Middle East – mainly people in camps in Lebanon and Jordan and on refugee registries in Turkey and Egypt (Home Office, 2017).

Thus, resettlement programmes change as situations change. For Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations, as this chapter confirms, resettlement programmes are specific immigration status-based programmes with access to social welfare – not ethnic-group-based services. The programmes involve various organisations and require diverse background checks and social-welfare processes. To be selected, people must be scrutinised and undergo background checks prior to welfare delivery. They must then be chosen by various organisations, including the UK government. Although a more

focused and strategic approach has been adopted to speed up the process, short-term

projects can degrade service quality and effectiveness by reducing money and time.

UK government immigration control is embedded in the refugee selection

system. Such programmes target people from around the world with more developed

background checks and welfare-service delivery. The checks and service delivery are

coordinated by diverse organisations, including UNHCR, the UK government, the

European Union, local governments, and non-profit organisations. According to several

interviewees, access to welfare services is limited to specific groups that arrived in the

UK via resettlement programmes. As a result, various Lewisham organisations have

become involved with refugee-resettlement programmes. However, these organisations

may not help any more refugees and immigrants than the Lewisham refugee-

resettlement programme controlled by central government. This section clarifies the

shift in immigration statuses and migration channels, with reference to public services

in Lewisham.

Welfare services and access destabilised by Brexit and austerity

Since the 2010s, a lack of stable funding has impacted legal status- and

migration-channel-based services, such as ESOL and refugee-resettlement programmes.

Austerity and Brexit have led the migration-control authorities to create more access

restrictions. As a consequence, Lewisham Council and community organisations have

facilitated further restrictions; they =now rely on immigration statuses and migration-

status-based services (Hall, 2017). This section explains how austerity has impacted English-language and other services delivered by Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations, along with various forms of access. It also explains how Brexit has influenced the services provided by Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations, as well as access to services based on legal status.

Austerity restricted both access to public services and the cost of such services, including those provided by Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations. Legal statuses now help to determine access. Austerity also stimulated a debate about controlling access to welfare benefits. For instance, internal migration controls, which were developed during the 1990s, contributed to a debate about asylum seekers and illegal immigrants taking advantage of welfare benefits when the UK later faced economic difficulties (Solomos and Schuster, 1999).

In the wake of austerity measures, Lewisham Council had to reduce its staff. Non-profit organisations that received funding from local and national government were influenced to transform their services, as Chapter 6 describes. In Lewisham, one approach was to streamline welfare programmes and reduce staff numbers. This involved cutting entire services and creating programmes that matched the available funds. In their interviews, Lewisham Council officials commented on the cuts to resources, staff, and programmes due to austerity. The interview below shows that even existing non-profit organisations that delivered support to local communities were pressured to cut or transform their services and programmes.

The trouble is that there have been massive cuts in Lewisham Council. At the same time, we have been raising income from elsewhere. So, we have to cut again. So, we cut about […] a third [of our] expenditure. Moreover, the cut got into cuts to services (interview with Lawrence, a Lewisham Councillor).

Since the crisis, small organisations are even more expected to do their work [than] before. It is slightly safer to be a medium-sized or large organisation. You will get more resources because you are already there (interview with Jerry, representing a Lewisham-based non-profit organisation).

The comment above describes the loss of staff members. Financial pressures led to cuts in various projects and the organisations themselves. The loss of resources made it difficult for organisations to develop projects, including resettlement and ESOL programmes, as they required staff with the right skills and experiences to meet recipients' diverse needs. Austerity reduced the number of staff members capable of teaching English and those with the qualifications to deliver ESOL services. Non-profit organisations in the area had insufficient resources, limiting the staff and funding available to resettlement programmes. According to the Lewisham resettlement-programme evaluation report, there were not enough ESOL services to meet the needs of everyone who needed them; in particular, existing courses were not designed for people who were illiterate in their first language (The Centre for Public Innovation, 2019:20).

The comments of staff members at small organisations suggest that large non-profit organisations did not face the same difficulties in obtaining funding. The Council

expected voluntary and community organisations to play a crucial role in providing a wide range of services that the Council itself could not offer, including provisions for communities excluded from mainstream services (London Borough of Lewisham, 2017a). Small, non-profit organisations, in particular, found it difficult to employ paid staff and had to depend on volunteers; this staff shortage created difficulties when it came to getting funds. The reduction in paid staff also made it challenging for organisations to develop their own services. Such tasks take time, skill, and monetary resources. For example, it is difficult to develop resettlement and ESOL programmes for specific populations at a lower cost than other organisations.

When organisations in Lewisham had to reduce their staff and resources, it affected refugee-resettlement programmes associated with Lewisham Council, non-profit organisations, and educational and other service providers. Resettlement programmes could not be delivered to refugees without support from diverse service providers in the Lewisham area. The loss of social workers and reduced payments led to lower service quality. Austerity also impacted networking opportunities by reducing cooperation among various organisations. A study of VPRS and austerity in a North London borough has shown that some social workers experienced lost wages, support, and networks (Dajani, 2021). The evaluation report argued that a lack of coordination led to confusion around roles and responsibilities (The Centre for Public Innovation, 2019). Austerity contributed to this situation. As the previous chapter describes, several interviewees working on other projects mentioned the lack of coordination and networking opportunities under austerity measures.

Austerity also forced Lewisham Council to limit free and low-cost services. Due to austerity measures, local government and non-profit organisations were under pressure to focus on targets and funding, restricting access to their programmes. In other words, access to services, including English-language training, was restricted. Increasingly, services were only available to specific types of people, such as refugees in resettlement programmes, where the rules and funding were more structured and funders were committed to making services more effective.

> The funding is structured, and where the rules are structured as well. And the cutbacks, the agenda of the UK is austerity. So, lots of [cuts] from local government (interview with Jerry, representing a Lewisham-based non-profit organisation).

This interview clarifies that both funding and rules were structured. The interviewee, who was working to deliver educational services to asylum seekers and refugees, also described access to services. As discussed in the previous chapter, several networking and integration programmes were affected. Austerity ensured that the more structured funding could mainly be accessed by specific community groups, such as refugees in VPRS and VCRS resettlement programmes. The rules were similarly structured in public-welfare services, such as ESOL, which required rigorous and frequent eligibility checks. This condition created a challenge for Lewisham Council and local non-profit organisations, which had to adapt to new programmes, adding various types of staff. With fewer skills and resources, it was difficult to adapt. At the same time, the changing programmes required more knowledge and skills.

The era of austerity impacted English-language services run by Lewisham Council and community organisations. It also changed welfare and educational programmes, such as ESOL. Fewer free adult ESOL classes were offered by Lewisham Council or local educational institutions, such as colleges, church organisations, and ethnic-community groups. Across the whole borough, free language support declined. This affected people who wanted to learn English free of charge via multiple channels. One interviewee mentioned this issue in the context of austerity:

> About ten years ago, there were more courses available at Lewisham. However, I think there are still small groups in different parts of the borough, sometimes church groups and sometimes community groups, to do this activity. It is not as rigorous and so on as it might be. It will not necessarily end up with somebody getting the formal qualifications that they might need for a job. But, yeah, I think there are a lot more demands out there. But [they were] not met (interview with Susan, a Lewisham Councillor).

Some organisations still deliver free educational services, although there were more in the past. Austerity has curtailed many services that were previously free or reasonably priced. In the Lewisham area, most free courses are offered by non-profit community organisations, such as church groups. It is equally challenging to deliver free classes on other subjects. Instead of making public education accessible to many people, providers must restrict access to specific people who follow a structured programme. The trend is toward more formalised ESOL classes offered by educational

service providers, such as Lewisham colleges, Lewisham Council, and non-profit organisations in the borough. English education itself has been subdivided into targeted goals. This situation has reduced the number of classes available to all residents, restricting access to people with specific conditions. Setting the eligibility rules and restrictions for English educational services in the Lewisham area has become an everyday practice for diverse organisations.

Brexit has made funding more unpredictable, while tightening the immigration statuses imposed by austerity. The UK's withdrawal from the European Union has changed various legal statuses, services, and funding. Many interviewees discussed Brexit and expressed concern about their own projects and everyday work. The issue has impacted organisations, services, and legal statuses, which were already impacted by austerity measures. The interviewees said that Brexit had changed their work and the migration environment. They shared various concerns about immigration and policy:

> Brexit is making things different. People were unsure about their status. So, some people apply for status, for example (an interview with Jerry, representing a Lewisham-based non-profit organisation).

> Politics all plays out locally as well. There are a lot of things going on locally, but not sure what direction [it is] going [i]n. And those decisions have an impact on what policy is going forward. Regarding Brexit, most people around here feel quite depressed about the whole idea. None of us really know what it will mean going forward (interview with Steven, a Lewisham Council official).

The Brexit issue makes people and organisations, including Lewisham Council and local voluntary organisations, unsure about current rights and statuses. People from the EU, non-EU countries, refugees, and British nationals have obtained different types of citizenship, which include UK citizenship and other citizenships around the world. This comment reveals that many people feel unsure about their work, future immigration, and communities. Some interviewees mentioned the uncertainties associated with the migration policy cited in this interview. Others shared concerns about Brexit and the future statuses of EU communities. EU nationals used to have access to various educational funding opportunities. After Brexit, their rights and entitlements remain unclear.

Brexit has also affected funding, as ESOL was partly funded by the EU. Adult-education funds supported ESOL services and the EU supported the funding body. One department at the Education and Skills Funding Agency (2010–2017) was affected by Brexit – the Skills Funding Agency is no longer funded by the European Social Fund. The 2018 Education and Skills Funding Agency and Adult Education Budget initiated free language classes for adults. Various EU, non-EU, and refugee communities could access these services once they had cleared several conditions by obtaining legal statuses, gaining the right to stay in the UK for three years, and receiving a learner's immigration permission to access funding (Education and Skills Funding Agency, 2017).

The immigration statuses of EU nationals and their access to social welfare were debated and discussed during the Brexit process, which impacted the rights and forms of access available to future EU and possibly non-EU immigrants. Various

organisations have had to adapt to the new situation. Like refugees and non-EU groups, EU immigrants now face many conditions when attempting to access mainstream welfare benefits and services. In 2021, they were subjected to the same points-based system used for non-EU immigrants. At the time of the interview, EU nationals did not need work or language skills to obtain the legal status to stay in the UK. However, the new points-based system required EU nationals to have certain levels of education, work skills, experience, and language. These skills are becoming more important as the UK immigration agenda focuses on skilled immigrants.

Brexit affects EU immigration and workers' access to welfare. One charity worker talked about the influence of Brexit, which some had interacted with before returning to their own countries. Indeed, it was reported that Brexit and the COVID-19 situation caused European migrants to return home (Portes, 2021). Another charity worker mentioned the Brexit effect and access to welfare. Some of the benefits migrants received made it more difficult to obtain other benefits. Although people were able to access welfare automatically after spending six months in the UK, they might no longer be in the right category. For example, they would lose access to welfare services if they failed to update their legal-status information. Some who had lived in the UK for a long time failed to retain their settled status because they could not apply to the EU Settlement Scheme for a range of different reasons, including mental and physical disabilities (Sumption and Fernández-Reino, 2020).

The present study shows that Lewisham Council and various organisations are preparing for changes to the EU immigration rules, following the UK's withdrawal from the EU. Local government and diverse service providers have been impacted by these

changes, which make it harder (but more essential) to communicate with EU immigrant communities about their future statutes. Lewisham Council has introduced a legal-advice service on the rights of EU citizens. The legal advice is provided by external organisations, which are able to advise Lewisham residents on their rights. Here, Lewisham Council is functioning as a channel, helping EU citizens learn about their rights and legal statuses. The future rights of EU immigrants remain unclear, although the national government has said that it intends to protect the rights of EU citizens (Department for Exiting the European Union, 2018). In the local context, Lewisham Council is helping residents from the EU learn about their rights.

Brexit is also impacting refugee statuses and funding schemes, which remain uncertain following changes to UK asylum policy and programmes that involve local government. The national government has participated in diverse EU frameworks for refugees and asylum seekers (House of Lords European Union Committee, 2019). Brexit affects NGOs that support refugees because they receive funding through the EU Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund 2014–2020 (House of Lords European Union Committee, 2019). The statuses that enable people to access services such as education may be transformed if the organisations that support them are funded by the EU. Some organisations (such as Education and Skills Funding, which was funded partly by the EU) have changed their names and funding schemes. This change will impact communities, including asylum seekers and refugees.

Legal statuses changed frequently, as public welfare services and funding restrictions were introduced in the 2010s, during Brexit, and during the global financial crisis. Reduced resources have forced Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations

to reduce the budgets and staff of public-welfare services, including education providers. In addition, austerity has impacted refugee-resettlement programmes, such as the VPRS, VCRS, and ESOL services discussed in this chapter. It has also accelerated the restriction of access to educational services. Overall, Brexit has contributed to the transformation of legal statuses, funding, and forms of access available to EU, non-EU, and refugee communities. Organisations that were previously funded by the EU have been forced to adjust to new funding schemes and rules.

This section explains the trend toward selection and restriction by legal status, which has accelerated since 2010. In their interviews, many local-service providers mentioned specific communities in refugee-resettlement programmes, rather than refugee statuses. Such programmes offer a strong incentive for local organisations struggling with financial constraints to choose communities that are already entitled to receive financial support from the government. The same applies to non-profit organisations, which are expected to deliver services that the local government cannot provide. Although some non-profit organisations lack specific criteria, they also have less funding. Even Lewisham, which is trying to reach diverse communities, cannot avoid working within the government agenda to develop restrictions and selection.

Conclusion

This research on Lewisham shows that legal statuses and migration channels are increasingly important for delivering public-welfare services and enabling communities

to access services through ESOL and refugee-resettlement programmes. Legal immigration statuses have become essential for communities and service providers, including local government and voluntary organisations. This research shows that access to ESOL and other English-language services is restricted by immigration status and refugee-resettlement programmes. The English language itself has become a required skill for obtaining a diverse range of legal statuses. Although refugee-resettlement programmes require rigorous background checks, they also include structured funding and support; for this reason, Lewisham is committed to developing immigration statuses and migration-channel-based services.

The national and local government selection of communities is influenced by nationalist and neoliberalist policies, as Joppke has described (Joppke, 2021). As elements of those policies, austerity and Brexit have forced Lewisham Council and local voluntary organisations to adjust to unstable legal statuses and services, strengthening the trend toward restriction and selection. It is therefore becoming more difficult to develop and provide sustainable services for the increasingly diversified communities in Lewisham. Instead, local organisations are accepting immigrant selection and reducing their policy agendas in line with the national government. The present findings show that neoliberal elements of the national government influence access to local government and non-profit organisations, as well as their services. The neoliberal and nationalistic elements of what Joppke called 'earned citizenship' (Joppke, 2021), which is difficult to obtain and easier to lose, can be seen clearly in the Lewisham context.

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8. Conclusion

The historical perspective and super-diversity

This thesis aims to explain the historical development of the local neoliberal selective-migration process that impacts communities of race-based and ethnic-minority groups, asylum seekers, and migrants. It also explains the neoliberal aspect of super-diversity, an underexplored issue in the context of local UK migrant communities. The research explains in detail the shift from ethnic-group-based to individual legal-status-based policies, services, and types of access after 1990, following the introduction of integration and selective-migration policies, services, and forms of access.

The post-1990 era experienced more complex and diverse forms of immigration than earlier decades, when emigrants surpassed immigrants. In the UK, immigration expanded within the global migration environment, attracting a wide range of immigrants from around the world with a diverse set of belongings; it also created a diverse hierarchy of discriminated-against communities. The complexity of migration-background communities and the policies designed to support and control them go far beyond the earlier model, which was designed for immigrants from Commonwealth countries. After 1990, immigrant communities were small, scattered, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated, and legally stratified (Vertovec, 2007). Immigration controls also diversified, incorporating different controls for refugees and

non-EU and EU groups. This study of Lewisham uses statistical data and interviews to investigate the changing demography. Lewisham is part of a wider national trend toward community diversification.

During the post-1990 period of social change, cases of racial discrimination were less likely to involve Commonwealth migrants. This study investigates some racist incidents and compares them with earlier cases. In recent decades, the victims of hatred have diversified to include communities of Muslims, EU nationals, and other minority groups (Rzepnikowska, 2019, Meer, 2013, Virdee and McGeever, 2018). Various organisations, including Lewisham Council, non-profit organisations, and ethnic-minority groups, have worked together to address racial and ethnic discrimination. This contrasts with the racist incidents and anti-racist activities that characterised the 1970s and 1980s, including the Battle of Lewisham in 1977 (Higgs, 2016) and the New Cross house fire in 1981 (Akwagyiram, 2011), which mainly involved Black Caribbean and African groups.

The post-1990 period witnessed a shift from policies and services for specific ethnic groups (in particular the large and well-organised communities of Commonwealth migrants) to the integration agenda. This Lewisham study contributes to a more detailed understanding of the way in which the national focus shifted from ethnic-minority-group-based policies and services to integration, super-diversity, and immigration controls in Lewisham and the UK. In Lewisham, local service providers shifted their attention from local multicultural services associated with anti-racist activities to the integration agenda. The study also reveals the curtailment of support for ethnic groups after 1990 in the name of the integration agenda, reflecting earlier

criticism of multiculturalism. Many organisations involved in the integration agenda did not support single ethnic-minority groups.

This research also shows that some ethnic groups were supported indirectly through the programme, but not before 1990. This was not assumed prior to the fieldwork. Although Lewisham Council and local non-profit organisations engaged actively in integration programmes, these were impacted by further austerity measures in the 2010s. At the micro-level, various interviewees noted that it became increasingly difficult to support diverse groups and communities, given funding limitations.

After 1990, new immigration-related legal statuses, based on meritocratic values and selective human rights, led to selection and restriction policies. UK government policies matched labour-market needs, curtailing welfare access; some international appeals welcomed migrants without considering their long-term social welfare needs. Government policies strengthened the use of legal statuses to restrict and select groups of immigrants.

Refugees and non-EU and EU immigrants in Lewisham and the UK now have restricted access to welfare services. For asylum seekers and refugees, entry and access restrictions are linked to various human-rights criteria. Meritocratic classifications, including the introduction of a points-based system for non-EU immigrants and Brexit restrictions on EU immigration, are also discussed in this study. The points-based system separates skilled from unskilled immigrants; the Brexit process has led to criticism of unskilled European immigrants.

This selective process can be seen in the Lewisham migrant-support context. Migration-support practices and programmes in Lewisham have been impacted by the advent of immigration-related legal statuses, which control access to services such as ESOL. This study views ESOL as a migrant-community service linked to restrictions, as its services are associated with local government and non-profit organisations. It reveals differences and restrictions affecting access to services such as ESOL and refugee support. Human-rights issues and the control of refugees remain important, as shown by the treatment of Ukrainian refugees during the 2022 crisis. Discussions were held about how to welcome and integrate them into British society (Hansard HC Deb, 2022).

Overall, the present study uses the concept of super-diversity to reveal the direction of social change in British society from a local perspective – in relation to neoliberal migration selection. Although studies of race, ethnicity, and new types of immigration are often discussed as separate issues in sociology-of-immigration studies, the field of super-diversity can link them together. Super-diversity provides an overarching context in which to examine issues of race, ethnicity, and new forms of immigration.

Local and national policies and super-diversity

The present study investigates the direction of super-diversity in relation to migrant-background communities through the lens of Lewisham diversity policies and the neoliberal agenda. Super-diversity denotes a level of population diversity that has

expanded significantly and thus cannot be analysed within the pre-1990 framework, which was premised upon large, well-organised ethnic-minority populations from the Commonwealth. Instead, it is explored through the creation of new neoliberal categories of communities.

This research focuses on underexplored local policies within super-diversity studies, rather than specific communities. Although the specified re-constructed narrative concerns the race and ethnicity of specific communities, the concept of super-diversity is used here to explore diverse communities from a local-policy perspective. The focus on local policies has made it possible to investigate diverse categories and accesses associated with power relations, including local and national relations with borders of entry and access to services. Thus, this paper includes the original Lewisham perspective, diverging from research that applies a neoliberal agenda to old and new migrant-background communities.

This thesis also makes a practical contribution to the study of super-diversity by using integration and selective immigration policies to determine how local perspectives relate to national perspectives. The local perspective, which incorporates policies on race and racism, integration, and selective immigration (all moving toward a super-diverse society) represents a fresh contribution to the underexplored field of super-diversity. The local perspective can help us understand underexplored ways in which super-diversity has developed in tandem with the neoliberal agenda and the transformation of British society.

Local approaches to integration and restriction have developed under national-government leadership. Local organisations that engage in diversity programmes must

cooperate with the national government to deliver services to communities that are now differentiated through legal statuses. Lewisham Council and the various non-profit organisations that engage actively with communities provide a model for the development of integration, selection, and restriction. Such approaches are one way in which local organisations are adapting to diversity after 1990. In other words, a research question about the shift away from 'diversity as it used to be' toward the new 'super-diversity' in the Lewisham context must recognise the processes of diversity, integration, selection, and restriction.

Integration exemplifies the impact of the national government agenda on local programmes. There is now more cooperation between the national government and local authorities, which must work together to implement diversity and integration policies and services. During the 1980s, local governments promoted multiculturalism. After 1990, the integration agenda in Lewisham reflected the influence of the national government. Although it was during this era that the concept of a 'diverse society' first attracted attention, no formal integration programmes existed at that time. Instead, local-government reforms impacted the multicultural programmes that supported diverse ethnic-minority groups. During the 2000s, the national government developed a community-cohesion programme and Lewisham service providers engaged actively with various support programmes. Such community-cohesion programmes were discontinued in the 2010s. The present study has identified a shortage of financial resources for the community-cohesion agenda, although integration funds remain and are used to support specific services, such as ESOL.

The present study contributes to research on the UK super-diversity of migrant legal-status policies and services. While focusing on Lewisham organisations, it shows that the national government and public bodies have led the shift toward individual legal-status-based programmes and controls. Organisations in Lewisham have a limited ability to change policy or service targets, as many of the programmes introduced in this chapter involve immigration-related legal statuses. Although the Borough of Lewisham has played an active role in refugee-resettlement programmes, cooperating with the UK government and UNHCR, the minority-ethnic people who participate in such programmes have been selected from a larger group of refugees and asylum seekers. Uncertain situations, including austerity and Brexit, have helped to shape the restriction and selection processes applied by local organisations. As this thesis points out, aspects of the neoliberal agenda, including neoliberal multiculturalism (defined in this study as the post-1990 integration agenda (Kymlicka, 2013) and earned citizenship (Joppke, 2021), not pre-1990 multiculturalism), are embedded in UK and Lewisham migrant-selection and integration policies.

The social change observed in Lewisham and its policies has been driven by political and economic issues, as well as demographic factors and migration patterns. These issues, which have neoliberal elements, interact in the integration agenda and selective immigration policies. Some local respondents link demographic diversity with integration issues, noting that it is difficult to fund and support specific communities when there so many. However, policy-driven issues have also caused policymakers and service practitioners to retreat from supporting specific ethnic groups. Demographic diversity may lead to the restriction of access to services and the development of

selective immigration policies for various groups of migrants, including refugees and asylum seekers. In addition, policies designed to restrict access to services by creating diverse types of legal statuses foster a selective immigration environment.

Thus, the present study contributes to super-diversity studies by analysing the specific way in which the shift from ethnic-group-based to neoliberal individual legal-status-based policies, services, and accesses has transformed UK society through local and national policies. The migrant integration programme reflects the neoliberal agenda by supporting migrant groups indirectly in the local context. However, this study also explores the way in which an unstable integration agenda has been influenced by austerity issues to target specific groups, creating 'welfare chauvinism'. Migrant support and categories based on individual legal statuses have been introduced to restrict access to welfare and other services in the Lewisham context. These unstable and changeable individual legal statuses have made migrant support very challenging.

Post-Brexit, post-COVID-19, and underexplored areas

The recent emergence of Brexit and COVID-19 have facilitated migration policies, local migrant support, and migrant selection. After the 2010s, austerity impacted the integration agenda, promoting the restriction of entry and access. Going forward, both Brexit and COVID-19 influenced these issues during the 2020s and are likely to influence future immigration and policies in the local and national context.

These issues, therefore, raise questions about the trend toward diversified immigration within an integration and restriction agenda.

As Chapter 5 explains, demographic change provides one explanation for the shift in racial and ethnic group-based services experienced by Lewisham Council and local non-profit organisations. It mentions the increase in UK emigration after 2018, possibly in response to Brexit, although immigration still surpasses emigration overall. In 2019, the number of Eastern Europeans living in the UK slumped to 2015 levels ahead of the Brexit transition and COVID-19 crisis, which also affected immigration and emigration. The new post-Brexit points-based system has impacted newly arrived people from non-EU and EU countries. Thus, although there is no certainty about the future, both Brexit and COVID-19 are expected to influence immigration going forward, while demography may change aspects of the super-diverse society.

The discussion of demographic change, racism, and anti-racist activities in Chapter 5 shows how the rise of post-1990 racism (and anti-racist initiatives) differed from those of the post-war era. After Brexit, the issue of race became associated with legal status. It is unclear how Lewisham Council and community organisations are currently engaging with EU immigration statuses. However, new forms of racial discrimination, especially after the 2010s, should be explored in relation to legal statuses and racism. The hostile-environment policy, which controls legal statuses and the right to migrate has created diverse practices with the potential for new types of racial screening. There have been reports of the disproportionate targeting of Black and ethnic-minority groups by the police and inappropriate screening of people accessing

services. Similarly, Brexit and COVID-19 are likely to create new types of discrimination and hierarchy.

The integration agenda will continue to dominate various national and local government programmes related to ESOL, housing, and other services not covered by the national programme of community cohesion. However, it is unclear how the post-Brexit and post-COVID-19 era will shape the integration agenda. As an earlier chapter explains, English-language education has been linked to integration since the 2000s. This trend is expected to continue, as it has since the end of the community-cohesion programme in the 2010s. The ESOL integration fund is mainly controlled by the Ministry of Housing, Communities, and Local Government; it was used to fund the Community-based English Language Programme in 2013 and the Integrated Communities English Language Programme in 2019 and 2020. Since 2020, the same ministry has provided an ESOL integration fund to help local authorities meet the English-language needs of various communities.

This study does not examine the role of Black or ethnic-minority groups or their response to the integration agenda. Similarly, it does not focus on the impact of such groups or the service-user networking policy developed through integration. Instead, it clarifies these interactions from the perspective of Lewisham Council and non-profit organisations, which engage with and support ethnic-minority community groups. To represent the perspective of such groups, it relies on information provided by experts on immigration and diversity; some Lewisham councillors are also community leaders.

Brexit and COVID-19 have transformed various services, including ESOL and refugee-resettlement programmes. As various interviewees note, Lewisham Council and

other organisations spent time preparing for the change in EU community statuses and the new points-based system for EU and non-EU communities. Brexit, which has impacted many legal statuses, can potentially transform access to services such as ESOL. In addition, the COVID-19 crisis has changed access restrictions, including restrictions on welfare benefits. On a temporary basis, some people who had no recourse to public funds became able to access housing and healthcare during the pandemic. However, COVID-19 also interrupted the migrant movement by stopping UK refugee-resettlement activities and creating uncertainty for various organisations over their future resettlement plans.

COVID-19 has likewise affected access to various services, although local authorities have led the way in developing services that bypass the trend toward more state restrictions. Various UK refugee-resettlement programmes were put on hold in March 2020 (Broadhead and Kierans, 2021). Thus, the challenges facing refugee-resettlement programmes and ESOL services in the wake of Brexit and COVID-19 are an issue for the future. Some local authorities have provided temporary accommodation, access to healthcare, and essential services to people whose asylum applications have been rejected, removing their recourse to public funds. Some cities have provided accommodation in a bid to end rough sleeping. Some local authorities are cooperating with NGOs to give vulnerable people access to the Internet and phone-credit vouchers. These actions challenge the national tendency to refuse to allow any exceptions when blocking access to services and public funds. On the other hand, new digital-exclusion issues, which prevented access to various services during the pandemic, have reportedly put pressure on migrant and support organisations (Bastick and Mallet-Garcia, 2022).

Chapter 7 does not include the voices of service providers or actual users of legal-status-related educational programmes because this study does not focus on particular communities. In future research, their experience of the uncertainty surrounding legal statuses will be needed to illustrate this transformation in full. For example, their perspective can help us understand the role played by refugee-resettlement programmes. Similarly, the present study does not include the views of ESOL service providers tasked with developing educational programmes or resources. ESOL is used in an integration, selection, and restriction context by various service providers and funders and the ESOL service structure is a complicated picture that should be explored further.

Super-diversity is a necessary concept for the future – and research on super-diversity must capture the dynamic transformation of society by considering present, past and future diversity issues. The present study confirms the need to investigate both the national and local context in which diversity has transformed. In other words, super-diversity is not a fixed concept; it is influenced by national and local political contexts that surround issues of race, ethnicity, and migration-related diversity. Societal transformation reflects current developments and post-Brexit and post-COVID-19 conditions in the national and local context. In future, it will be important to explore how issues related to legal statuses and ethnic-minority groups influence the UK context. At a global level, it is important to look at each local area to determine how the diversity 'that used to be' has been transformed by new global migration-related conditions and diverse human activities.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Residents of England and Wales in the 2011–2022 Censuses: ten top non-UK countries of birth

Rank in 2021	Country of birth	2011	2021
1	India	694,148	920,361
2	Poland	579,121	743,083
3	Pakistan	482,137	623,557
4	Romania	79,687	538,840
5	Ireland	407,357	324,670
6	Italy	134,619	276,669
7	Bangladesh	211,500	273,042
8	Nigeria	191,183	270,768
9	Germany	273,564	263,368
10	South Africa	191,023	217,180

Appendix 2

England and Wales Ethnic Group Census 1991

Black African
1%

Black Other
0%

Pakistani
1%

Bangladeshi
0%

Chinese
0%

Indi
2%

Asian
0%

Black Caribbean
1%

Other
1%

White
94%

Source:
Office for
National Statistics

Appendix 3

White and Asian 0.4%

Bangladeshi 0.5%

Caribbean 1.1%   African 0.9%

White and Black African 0.2%

Other Mixed 0.3%   Indian 2.0%   Pakistani 1.4%

Other Asian 0.5%

Black 0.2%   Chinese 0.4%

Mixed: White and Black Caribbean 0.5%

People identify themselves as Welsh 0.8%   Other ethnic group 0.4%

Other White 2.6%

White Irish 1.2%

England and Wales Ethnic Group Census 2001

White British 86.8%

Source: Office for National Statistics

Appendix 4

Other Mixed 0.5%

Chinese 0.7%

Caribbean 1.1%

Other Black 0.5%

Arab 0.4%

White and Asian 0.6%

Bangladeshi 0.8%

Indian 2.5%   Pakistani 2.0%

Other African Asian 1.8%   1.5%

Any other ethnic group 0.6%

White and Black Caribbean 0.8%

White and Black African 0.3%

England and Wales Ethnic Group Census 2011

Other White 4.4%

White: Gypsy or Irish Traveller 0.1%

White: Irish 0.9%

White: English/Welsh/Scottish/ Northern Irish/British 80.5%

Source: Office for National Statistics

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Appendix 5

England and Wales
Ethnic Group
Census 2021

White: English, Welsh, Scottish, Northern Irish or British
74.4%

White: Other White
6.2%

White: Gypsy or Irish Traveller
0.1%

White: Irish
0.9%

White: Roma
0.2%

Arab
0.6%

Any other ethnic group
1.6%

Bangladeshi
1.1%

Chinese
0.7%

Indian
3.1%

Pakistani
2.7%

Other Asian
1.6%

African
2.5%

Caribbean
1.0%

Other Black
0.5%

White and Asian
0.8%

White and Black African
0.4%

White and Black Caribbean
0.9%

Other Mixed or Multiple ethnic groups
0.8%

Source:

Office for National Statistics

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Appendix 6

Lewisham Ethnic Group Census 2001

Chinese ; 1.4%

Other Black; 2.1%

Other ethnic group; 1.3%

Caribbean; 12.3%

Other Asian; 1.5%

Bangladeshi; 0.5%

African; 9.1%

Pakistani; 0.4%

Other Mixed; 1.0%

Indian; 1.4%

White British; 57.0%

White and Asian; 0.6%

White and Black Caribbean; 1.9%

White and Black African; 0.6%

White Irish; 2.8%

Other White; 6.1%

Source: Office for National Statistics

Appendix 7

Lewisham Ethnic Group Census 2011

Any other ethnic group; 2.1%

Arab; 0.5%

Other Black; 4.4%

Caribbean; 11.2%

White: English ,Welsh, Scottish, Northern Irish or British : 41%

African; 11.6%

Other Asian; 4.3%

Chinese; 2.2%

Bangladeshi; 0.5%

Pakistani; 0.6%

Other Mixed; 1.9%

Indian; 1.7%

White and Asian;

White and Black African; 1.3%

White and Black Caribbean; 3.1%

Other White; 10.1%

Gypsy or Irish Traveller; 0.1%

Irish; 1.9%

Source: Office for National Statistics

Appendix 8

Lewisham Ethnic Group Census 2021

Source: Office for National Statistics

- Arab 0.6%
- Any Other Ethnic Group 4.2%
- Other Black 3.6%
- Caribbean 10.6%
- White: English, Welsh, Scottish, Northern Irish or British 37.2%
- African 12.6%
- Other Asian 3.8%
- Chinese 2.1%
- Bangladeshi 0.6%
- Pakistani 0.8%
- Indian 1.7%
- Other Mixed 2.5%
- White and Asian 1.5%
- White and Black African 1.3%
- White and Black Caribbean 2.9%
- Other White 12.3%
- White Roma 0.3%
- White Gypsy or Traveller 0.0%
- White Irish 1.7%

Appendix 9

Ethnic Group: England and Wales	2011 (percent)	2021 (percent)
Asian, Asian British or Asian Welsh: Bangladeshi	0.8	1.1
Asian, Asian British or Asian Welsh: Chinese	0.7	0.7
Asian, Asian British or Asian Welsh: Indian	2.5	3.1
Asian, Asian British or Asian Welsh: Pakistani	2.0	2.7
Asian, Asian British or Asian Welsh: Other Asian	1.5	1.6
Black, Black British, Black Welsh, Caribbean or African: African	1.8	2.5
Black, Black British, Black Welsh, Caribbean or African: Caribbean	1.1	1.0
Black, Black British, Black Welsh, Caribbean or African: Other Black	0.5	0.5
Mixed or Multiple ethnic groups: White and Asian	0.6	0.8
Mixed or Multiple ethnic groups: White and Black African	0.3	0.4
Mixed or Multiple ethnic groups: White and Black Caribbean	0.8	0.9
Mixed or Multiple ethnic groups: Other Mixed or Multiple ethnic groups	0.5	0.8
White: English, Welsh, Scottish, Northern Irish or British	80.5	74.4
White: Irish	0.9	0.9
White: Gypsy or Irish Traveller	0.1	0.1
White: Roma	-	0.2
White: Other White	4.4	6.2
Other ethnic group: Arab	0.4	0.6
Other ethnic group: Any other ethnic group	0.6	1.6