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**Faculty of Letters and Languages**  
**Department of English**

**Multiculturalism in the United Kingdom  
after the WWII  
(1945-2011).**

Dissertation submitted to the Department of English as a partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master in literature and Civilization (L.C).

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**Academic Year: 2016-2017**

# *Dedications*

*In the memory of my father “BENSAIM Mohamed” Rahimahou Lah.*

*To my dear mother “Rabha”for her continous support and encouragement.*

*To my brothers Mohamed, Abd El Hamid, Fethi and Rachid.*

*tTo my sisters Noriya, Naima And Fatima.*

*I dedicate it to the greatest friends BOUDOUAIA Wassila, and HADJE MIMOUNE Anouare Amine .*

*To all my friends.*

# Acknowledgements

*In the name of “Allah”, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful.*

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## **Abstract**

This work deals with Multiculturalism in the United Kingdom after the World War II. There are a lot of conditions that caused multiculturalism and the major one is the wave of immigration. Yet, this issue has obtained some critics concerning the life of ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom because some claimed that ethnic minorities are treated unequally. However; it is said that cultural diversity is a crucial element that enriched Great Britain as a whole .The UK government called for a united and assimilated society and it is working hard in order to erase all kinds of discrimination and racism to realize a kind of equality between ‘Whites’ and ‘Blacks’ and this is what the Prime Minister David Cameron called for. But on the other hand, others still have a fear of ‘Muslims’ and ‘Islam’ and they consider it as the first reason to the failure of multiculturalism.

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## **List of Acronyms**

UK	The United Kingdom.
USA	The United States of America.
WWI	The World War One.
WWII	The World War Two.
BC	Before Christ
EU	the European Union
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization

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# **General Introduction**

# The General Introduction

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## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

To deal with cultural diversity of ethnic minorities and to know how to manage it effectively has become one of the biggest questions and issues that most societies face nowadays and it is considered as an ongoing question in the United Kingdom. The UK is always a forerunner in welcoming the newcomers and all race. Thus, many ethnic groups have settled there. As a result, the structure of the contemporary United Kingdom has been influenced by what is called 'Immigration'. This wave creates a kind of cultural diversity in Great Britain. Immigration, at first is a shift or movement of people across the borders or from one region or country to another one in order to get settled there. Overall, immigration is made as a result of 'riots', economic crises and it can be even due to natural disasters.

In the present time, Great Britain became a suitable destination for many nations, but there are some potential disadvantages that are caused by immigration and the major one is 'Multiculturalism'. First of all, multiculturalism is a phenomenon which refers to a place where a number of different cultures prevailed and where people from different cultural groups live together, but most of the time immigrants face some problems in a multicultural place which means that they cannot share their own cultures easily especially for the immigrants from the third world. Another problem that faced by immigrants is 'Language'. As it is known there are 200 spoken languages in Great Britain that is why people cannot adjust themselves with the existence of these languages. Some leaders and politicians blamed multiculturalism because it results segregation. But actually multiculturalism in the United Kingdom favours different ethnic minorities, celebrates diversity and

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encourages differences. In fact, with this freedom, newcomers to the UK become equal and they are treated the same way and this is what is called 'Britishness'.

Britishness is a way that Great Britain has looked for to achieve and manage a desire balanced between all citizens and at the same time maintains some respect for cultural diversity and creates a social cohesion within this country.

Therefore, the general research question that is guiding this investigating is: what is the position of the United Kingdom under the phenomenon of multiculturalism?

To answer this question and clarify the research purpose, the following four main research questions are set to approach the aim of this study.

1. What is the historical background of Immigration in the United Kingdom?
  2. What are the real reasons that pushed people around the world to shift their home lands and enter the UK?
  3. Why do leaders and politicians focus on the issue of multiculturalism?
  4. What are the challenges facing UK as a multicultural society?
- Based on former investigation the following hypotheses are proposed:

- The United Kingdom seems to have several changes and impacts due to the wave of immigration.
- Britishness is one of the best solutions that created a kind of equality between British and immigrants.
- Multiculturalism aimed to encourage integration rather than segregation.
- The phenomenon of multiculturalism has got a lot of critics concerning the fear of Islam and Muslims.

Regarding the structure of this work, the whole research is divided into two main chapters.

The first chapter deals with the historical background of immigration and its dimensions on the economic, political and cultural spheres .In addition to

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this it is highlighting the definition of the crucial concept and its main related terms in order to be able to distinguish between them. Usually this concept has got some critics due to the inequality between Whites and blacks citizens in the UK, but concerning this issue, Britishness came as a reaction to solve all problems and reduce discrimination.

The second chapter tackles the core of this research which is multiculturalism. Concerning this term, there are countless lively discussions ranging from newspapers, television, reports and articles, and each one has offered a distinctive point of view but most of the time it is critical opinion. On this context, the Prime Minister David Cameron claimed that the phenomenon of multiculturalism has failed due to some conditions like segregation and discrimination.

Lastly, on the basis of the finding multiculturalism did not erode the cohesion of Great Britain. In fact it has lost its values due to some conditions and the major one is 'terrorism' that has changed the landscape of this notion and spread fear from 'Islam' and 'Muslims'.

# **Chapter One**

## **Historical Background of Immigration in the United Kingdom**

# **Chapter One: Historical background of immigration in United Kingdom**

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## **Chapter One**

### **Historical Background of Immigration in the United Kingdom**

1.1 Introduction

1.2 History of immigration in the United Kingdom

1.3 Immigration: Terms and definitions

1.4 Migration

1.4.1. Other Forms of Migration

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1.8 Could Britain Do Without Immigration?

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1.10 Conclusion

# Chapter One: Historical background of immigration in United Kingdom

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## 1.1 Introduction

Thinking about the United Kingdom, different assumptions come to our minds. Some dream to travel to the charming city London, others are fans of the strong woman the Queen Elizabeth and the Stylish princess of Wales... etc. All these things gave a high status to the United Kingdom in comparison to other countries. Thus, a large number of people come to Britain and this is what makes it a diverse society. So the aim of this chapter is to investigate and sought the impact of the wave of immigration in the United Kingdom on different spheres.

Since a long time, the United Kingdom has represented a meeting place for many cultures and ethnicities. But at first, it is supposed to look for the major reasons that pushed people to shift their birth lands and come to that country. After reading numerous articles; books and reports, it is turned out that, a multicultural society is created by immigration.

Immigration is a global issue that became more debatable especially in the present time. Also it is considered as an interesting and current topic at the same time. However; this wave has some negative aspects like: overcrowding, drug trafficking...etc. Meanwhile; it has also other positive impacts on the political, economical and cultural side.

Concerning the political side, the phenomenon of immigration played a great role in the presidential elections, i.e. immigrants have the right to vote either as citizens of the United Kingdom in the elections just to get their rights in the host country. On the economic side, immigrants contributed a lot in the increase of the economy of that society. In addition to this; they operated the major construction companies which mean that the economy of Great Britain relies a lot on the immigrants skills. On the other hand, the cultural impact is the core of this research. Generally, when a group of people immigrate to such place, definitely they bring with them new cultures; traditions; customs;

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languages to this country. Population in the United Kingdom started increasing year after year due to the flow of a large number of immigrants. Yet, sometimes people are obliged to leave their home lands looking for better future, religious freedom, education...etc. However others are volunteers. However; most of the time, immigrants in the United Kingdom are forced to take unwanted jobs for low wages, either because they are not well- educated or not fluent in the English language.

Despite the importance who of the issue of immigration, even writers talked about it in their writings. And the best example about that is “The White teeth”<sup>1</sup> by the British author “Zadie Smith”<sup>2</sup> who gave an accurate image about two different families living in the North of London, one of these immigrants families is headed by a Muslim Bangladeshi, and each one has its own culture and values, so, this what can create troubles within a country<sup>3</sup>.

## 1.2 History of Immigration in the United Kingdom

As it is mentioned before, “multiculturalism” in the United Kingdom resulted from “immigration”, but before dealing with the UK as a multicultural society; the first thing that must be known is to have at least a complete image about the “history of immigration” within this society, because this latter has changed completely the structure and the formation of the contemporary Great Britain. In this context, the professor John Oakland indicates that the diversity in a country considered as a crucial element and saying: “descent patterns are important element in considering the ethnicities of the British people today”<sup>4</sup>.

Great Britain has a vast history and it is considered as a magnet due to the flow of a great number of immigrants from different nations. But even so;

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<sup>1</sup> -« The White Theet »[www.gradesaver.com/white-teeth/study- guide/summary](http://www.gradesaver.com/white-teeth/study-guide/summary)

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Zadie-Smith>

<sup>3</sup> [https://www.bookbrowse.com/reviews/index.cfm/book-number/463/white-teet.](https://www.bookbrowse.com/reviews/index.cfm/book-number/463/white-teet)

<sup>4</sup> John Oakland, British Civilization : An Introduction, 5<sup>th</sup> ed.Routeledge,2006, 38



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historians tried to study its history, and they highlighted that the first settlers in Great Britain after Celts are Romans who were in 55BC. After Romans, Germans invaded the country and they were known as Angles<sup>1</sup>; Saxons<sup>2</sup> and Jutes<sup>3</sup>. In 1066, French Normans arrived to the United Kingdom, and influenced the whole society<sup>4</sup>.

The nineteenth century has been considered as a starting point of immigration at a large-scale, this is a result of the Industrial Revolution which pushed people to leave their birth lands and escape to the United Kingdom.

citizen to come to the UK (1800-1861)<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, between 1875 and 1914, Jewish immigrants started to escape from their home country and arrived to the United Kingdom due to persecution<sup>6</sup>

Concerning non-white people, immigration had begun during the WWI (1914- 1918), but after the WWII this situation became known as “Post-War Massive Immigration”. This period was characterized by the rapid economic development, that is what allured many nations like Indians Caribbean and Africans to work there especially in the army section, chemical industries and factories. This shows that these nations are considered as a solution that saved Great Britain from the labour shortage.

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<sup>1</sup> Angles: member of Germanic people, which together with Jutes, Saxons. They arrived to the Island of Britain in the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE. <https://britannica.com/topic/Angle-people>

<sup>2</sup> Saxons: member of a Germanic people who lived in the area of modern Schleswig and along the Baltic coast. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Saxon-people>.

<sup>3</sup> Jutes: member of Germanic people invaded Britain in the 5<sup>th</sup> AD. <https://Britannica.com/topic/Jutes-people>

<sup>4</sup> *ibid*, P.39

<sup>5</sup> Olga Chudickova, Bachelor thesis : Multicultural Britain of the 21st Century, Tomas Bata University in Zlin Faculty of Humanities, 2011, 20.

<sup>6</sup> Pavlina Vlckova, Bachelor Thesis: Living with difference –Immigration in the UK in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century, Tomas Bata University in Zlin, Faculty of Humanities, 2010, 11.

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This table represents the main Non-White races in the UK between 1999 and 2000.

**Table 01: NON-WHITE ETHNIC MINORITIES IN BRITAIN 1999-2000**

Races :	Statics:
Indian	942.000
Pakistani	671.000
Black Caribbean	504.000
Black African	374.000
Bangladeshi	257.000
Mixed	184.000
Black other (non-mixed)	124.000
Chinese	133.00
Other Asian (non-mixed)	217.000
Others	1427.00
Total non-ethnic minorities	3.832.000

1957 and 1960 records a dramatic increase at the level of the flow of immigrants to the United Kingdom, which means; at that era the percentage of immigrants arrived at 200 000 per year .In 1958, the” Racial Motivated Riot” appeared in London: White people rebelled against Blacks in order to abuse them and show to them that they are unwanted there.

From the late 1960’s, The Labour Party brought “toleration of diversity and equality of individuals”, which states that all people in the United Kingdom are equal. In addition to this, in 1965, the First Race Relation Act was issued and it has become against: Racism and Discrimination in all places even in pubs; shops...etc.

The second acts were in 1968, which aimed for the reduction of

## **Chapter One: Historical background of immigration in United Kingdom**

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discrimination. But the UK is still always looking for new ways to reduce racism till 1976. When it came to The Establishment of Commission for Racial Equality, through this act the UK can at least change the behavior of racism and discrimination.

The United Kingdom records about 16 million immigrants from different countries: India, Pakistan, Turkey, Spain and even from the third world. Yet, immigration's motives are different and various, they can be religious, political, but still always the major one is the economic reason because most people immigrate to look for: freedom; life of prosperity and better future. This number of immigrants still increased until 2000.

From all these aspects; it is noticeable that this large number of asylum still increased year after year in the United Kingdom that is why it is possible to encounter within this country: Black British; British India; and also Muslims. This is called "Multiple Identities"<sup>1</sup>.

### **1.3 Immigration: Terms and definitions**

Before dealing with the main ethnic minorities in Great Britain; it is better to explain and define some key concepts that are already mentioned above because they are crucial in this topic.

Longman dictionary defines the term 'immigration' as "a process of entering another country in order to live there permanently."<sup>2</sup> but there are a lot of factors that forced people to leave their own countries and enter to another one, and everyone has his special concept that its explanation must be included in order to distinguish between them. At first; 'economic migrant' has been explained in Oxford dictionary as: "a person who travels from one country or area to another in order to improve their standard of living"<sup>3</sup>.

There are other concepts that also have to be explained such as: 'refugee' and 'asylum'. The term 'refugee' refers to a person who owing to a

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<sup>1</sup> ibid p.21, 22, 23.

<sup>2</sup> Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, [immigration](http://ldoceonline.co/dictionary/immigration), [ldoceonline.co/dictionary/immigration](http://ldoceonline.co/dictionary/immigration)

<sup>3</sup> English Oxford Living Dictionaries, "economic migrant", <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/economic-migrant>.

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well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership, of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country”<sup>1</sup> .

The best example about that is “Jewish refugee”; that they escaped from their home land due to the persecution and came to UK as a suitable destination. Oakland said about that:”...immigrants historically had relatively free access to Britain...”<sup>2</sup>. Otherwise, the Oxford dictionary defines ‘asylum’: ” the protection granted by a state to someone who has left their home country as a political refugee”<sup>3</sup>. However;”asylum seeker means; “someone who has applied for asylum and is awaiting a decision on whether they will be granted refugee status”<sup>4</sup>. Census in 2015 claimed there are 32.733 immigrants in UK, but this number fell to 30.603 immigrants in 2016<sup>5</sup>.

### 1.4 Migration

Immigration has other related terms like: ‘migration’. The term migration concerned:”the movement from one region to another due to different reasons: social, economical, political or environmental”<sup>6</sup> .

#### 1.4.1 Other Forms of Migration

The terms of migration can differentiate according to the flow and number of people the reasons why they moved and the time that they spent out of their birth lands. Here is the explanation of some forms.

**1.4.1.1 Rural-Urban Migration:** is a term which involves the movement people from rural areas or country of sides to urban areas of the

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.ion.net/key-migration-terms>

<sup>2</sup> Op.Cit,p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Oxford Dictionary, [https:// en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/asylum](https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/asylum).

<sup>4</sup> Researchbriefings.Parliament.UK/ResearchBriefing/Summary/SN01403.

<sup>5</sup> Research briefings.Parliament.UK/Research Briefing/Summary/SN01403.

<sup>6</sup> [www.bbc.co.uk/schools/gcsebitesize/geography/migration/migration\\_trends\\_rev1.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/gcsebitesize/geography/migration/migration_trends_rev1.shtml).

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same country in search of new opportunities and life styles.

**1.4.1.2 Forced or Involuntary Migration:** this concept is used when the government or authorities of a place force people to migrate for a reason .

**1.4.1.3 Return Migration:** this term refers to the voluntary return of migrants to their original place after they outlive the reasons for which they left.

### 1.5 Ethnic Minorities in the United Kingdom

Martin Luther King in his first speech in April 1960:” if you can’t fly, run, if you can’t run, walk, if you can’t walk crawl. No matter what, keep moving forward”<sup>1</sup> Martin Luther King used this phrase as a mantra in order to motivate and encourage people to leave their own countries to one whether alone or with their families to look for a better life and future.

Since 2001; Great Britain has been considered as multiethnic and multicultural nation, due to the great number of communities and individual that exist within this country. The United Kingdom is viewed as land of mixed-race that is integral and very important especially economically. This table represents the main ethnic minorities in Great Britain in 2001 and the comparison with 1991. The number increased between 1991 and 2001 as it is mentioned in the following table. Thus, this census filters for height up to 30 % by 2050<sup>2</sup>. By this the image of Britain will change radically.

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<sup>1</sup> The prisma.co.uk/2017/03/27 migration-crisis-the-thorn-in-the-side-of-europe-and-north-america.

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.rt.com/uk/157012-Britain-ethnic-minorities/> / « RT Question more » .

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**Table 02:** Size of Ethnic Minorities in Britain in 2001(with 1991 for comparison)

Races	1991 population (000) s	2001 population (000)s	% of a total population 2001	% of total ethnic population 2001
White	<b>51873</b>	<b>52481</b>	<b>92</b>	
All minority group	<b>3014</b>	<b>4623</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>100</b>
Black Caribbean	<b>500</b>	<b>566</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>12</b>
Black African	<b>212</b>	<b>485</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>10</b>
Black Others	<b>178</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>
Indian	<b>840</b>	<b>1052</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>23</b>
Pakistani	<b>477</b>	<b>741</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>16</b>
Bengladeshi	<b>163</b>	<b>283</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>
Others Asian	<b>197</b>	<b>247</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5</b>
Chinese	<b>157</b>	<b>243</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5</b>
Other	<b>290</b>	<b>299</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5</b>
Mixed Races	<b>0</b>	<b>674</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>15</b>

The table above represents the size of ethnic minorities in Great Britain; and it explains the rapid growth of immigrants according to censuses from 1991 and 2001.

The greatest number represent by: the Indians. As it is showed in the table above; in 1991the number was 840.000; yet, in 2001; the result turned to 1.052.000 equivalent to 23%. Pakistanis shaped the second large group in the United Kingdom with 477.000 in 1991, however; the main findings revealed to 747.000 in 2001

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equivalent to 16%.the third group were the Black Caribbean in 2001 that recorded a small development from 500.000 to 566.00 equivalent to 12%.At this period; the big changes in the size of immigrants population were by the Black Africans in which the number doubled from 212.000 in 1991 to 485.000 in 2001. For the other nations like: Chinese; Asians... etc; only a small changes happened at the level of the flow of immigrants (5%) in 2001.

### **1.6 Push and Pull Factors**

Bank Ki-Moon stated that “There are 232 million people living their country of birth, including myself. All of us are part of a productive global economy that benefits our world as a whole outside”<sup>1</sup>. By these words; Bank Ki-Moon admits that the economic crises are the major reason that forced people around the world to immigrate. Concerning this issue, push-pull factors considered as forces that either oblige or persuade people to move to new destination and quite their old residence for many reasons such as: economical; political; cultural or environmental.

#### **1.6.1 Push Factors**

Push factors are conditions that force the individual to move another place or area looking for better conditions. Those factors may include: conflicts; lack of jobs; poor medical care; natural disaster; persecution and primitive conditions<sup>2</sup>.

#### **1.6.2 Pull Factors**

Pull factors are totally the opposite of push factors; because they attracted people to move to a certain destination where they find: better living conditions; education; religious freedom...etc. these places called 'place of utility'; i.e.; they gave to newcomers the desirability to come there<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.ultimatevisa.com/what-is-migration/>.

<sup>2</sup> [Lewishistoricalsociety.com/wiki/2011/tiki\\_read-article-php? Article Id= 8.](http://Lewishistoricalsociety.com/wiki/2011/tiki_read-article-php?Article%20Id=8)

<sup>3</sup> [sechooltoday.com/migration/the-pull-and-push-factors-of-migration-html.](http://sechooltoday.com/migration/the-pull-and-push-factors-of-migration-html)

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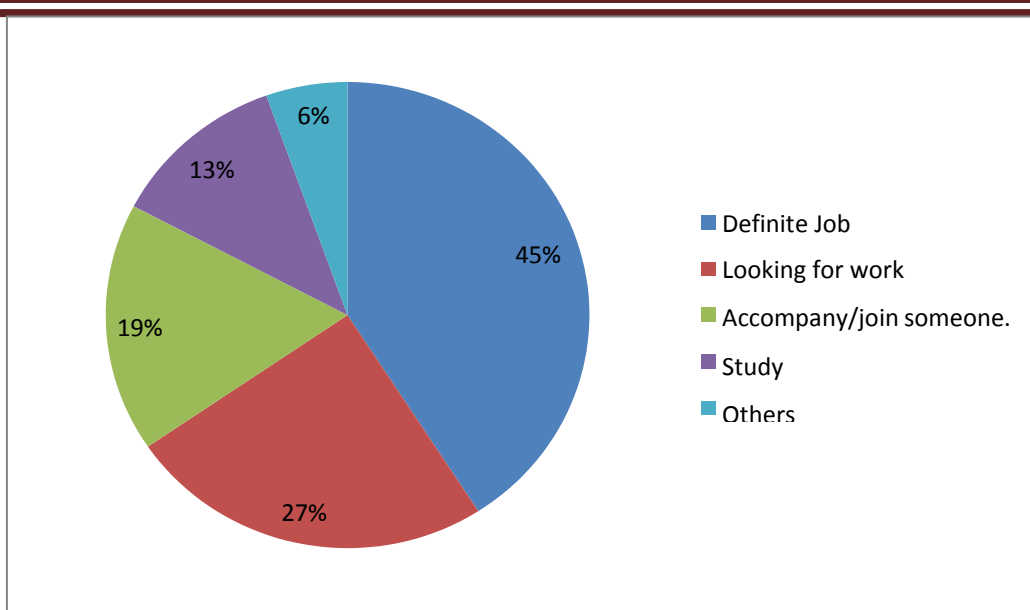
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The table below makes a comparison between the push and pull factors, and provides some examples:

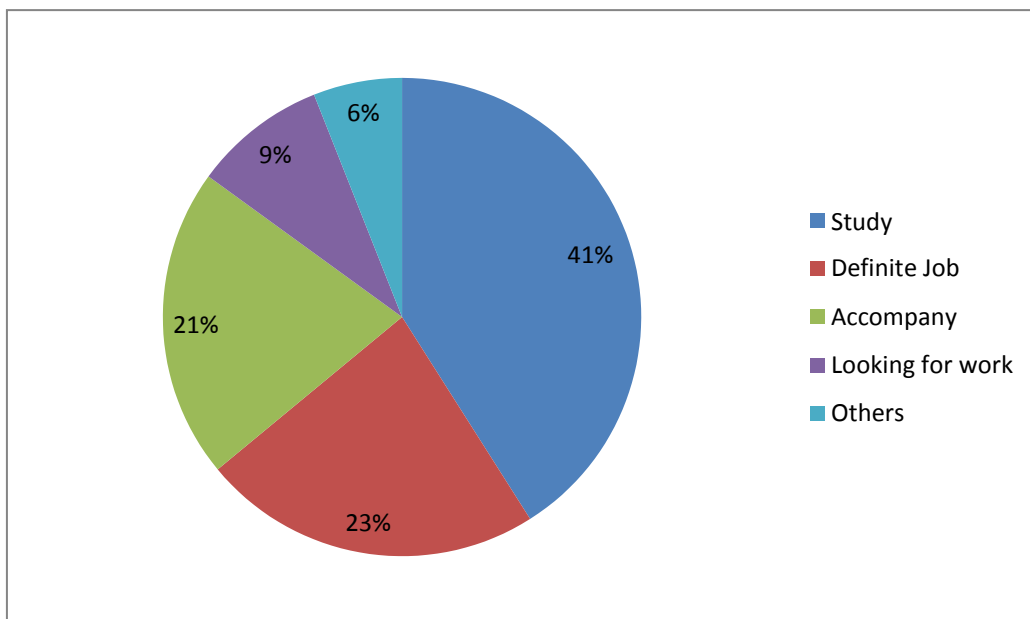
Factors of migration	Push factors	Pull factors
Economic	People think about Immigration from places that have few job and opportunities due to economic restricting.	The availability of natural resources like :Petroleum ,and uranium are one of the main reasons that attracted people especially enginners to leave their home lands and immigrate for better life in other countries.
Cultural	The major push factor are the fear of persecution which forced people to immigrate their home land and cannot return back to it	Most people are attracted to live in a democratic countries which encourage individual choice and religious freedom.
Environmental	Water wether too much flood or too little can be a major factor that push people to immigrate.	Warm climate , sea side , mountains etc ... are the most factor that captivate the people attention to immigrate looking for better environment.



# Chapter One: Historical background of immigration in United Kingdom



**Pie chart 1:** The Statics of the main reasons for immigration of the EU-Nationals to the UK.



**Pie chart 2:** The statics of the main reasons for immigration of the Non-EU nationals to the UK.

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## 1.7 Reasons for immigrating to the UK:

After studying and analyzing the two pie charts above; it turns out that there are two major reasons for the rise of immigration in the United Kingdom. Among the figures; the primary reason is ‘to work definitely or to find a job in UK’, because; the majority of citizens from EU countries came to UK for a definite work, it is glance clear that it is a result of ‘employment’, and it is accounted for 45 per cent, but that contrast the non-EU nationals; only a small number of people immigrate for that with 23 percent. Meanwhile; 27% of the EU nationals citizens are immigrating for looking for a job, whereas; only 09% from the non-EU nationals came to Great Britain for that. Interestingly with over quarter of people from the non-EU nationals moved to UK in order to study. However; it is a big difference for the EU nationals where this factor accounted 13%. For those that are moving to join member of family; the proportion is varied, for the EU nationals it is accounted with 09%.While; 21% of the non EU-nationals reached Great Britain to join someone.

## 1.8 Could Britain Do Without Immigration

Great Britain is one of the most powerful countries in the world. Even though; UK is still accepted a great number of newcomers and immigrants each year. So simply why Britain did not close its borders and stop this wave?. Here opinions are different and varied; some viewed that immigration is a ‘Dark side’ of the United Kingdom because it caused struggles in this country like overpopulation and the rise of crime rate. Yet this is not a definite response, because immigration is considered as ‘double edged-sword’, and as everything it has its ‘pros’ and ‘cons’. Neglecting the social the social problems that are caused by the wave of immigration it is better to focus on its positive impact especially on the economic sphere.

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Politicians claimed that the economy is the beating heart of any country. On this context; in June 2008, the House of Lord published a document called “The Economic Impact of Immigration”<sup>1</sup> .So committee argued that immigration has different impact on the increase of economic of the UK by paying taxes; creating new jobs; setting up new business..., etc. In addition to this, the government relies on the skills of immigrants which mean that immigrants’ workers help a lot the UK economy. So, the flow of immigrant to UK is very important for the future of its economy and this is what replied in ‘The Economic Impact of Immigration’ that “Immigration is good for the British Economy”<sup>2</sup> .

## 1.9 The Issue of Britishness:

It is really hard to truly define Britishness; because there is no single definition about it. People define it as the way they experience it; because this concept includes: accepting; lot of traditions; cosmopolitan; wet weather; diversity..., etc .Even politicians cannot agree on what Britishness is. On this way; Minister of state for schools and learners; Jim Knight claimed:”Be proud of your country; but define Britishness for yourself”<sup>3</sup> On July 7<sup>th</sup>, 2005; Telegraph newspaper makes a survey about what it means to be British. Some immigrants are proud to be British because within this society; they get their freedom to practice their religion and this is an important thing to all of them, also they find the respect of diversity; the welfare state...; and said: “To be born British is to be lucky; to be born English is to be born blessed, to be born Sussex is to have the winning ticket in the lottery life....”<sup>4</sup>- John Barry; Paris-

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<sup>1</sup> House of Lord, The Ecooic Ipact of ligratio,Jue2008-

<sup>2</sup> Gov.UK.[https://www.govuk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/38721/](https://www.govuk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/38721/7414pdf)

<sup>3</sup> 7414pdf 26 -[https:// www.publication parliament.UK/pa/ld200708/dselect/deconaf/82/82 pdf](https://www.publication.parliament.uk/pa/ld200708/dselect/deconaf/82/82.pdf),p.07

<sup>4</sup> [www.rgs.org/our work/school/teaching-resources/key+stage+3+resources/who+do+we+think+we+are+/what+is+Britishness.htm](http://www.rgs.org/our-work/school/teaching-resources/key+stage+3+resources/who+do+we+think+we+are+/what+is+Britishness.htm).

## Chapter One: Historical background of immigration in United Kingdom

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John from Paris claimed that Great Britain is trend of blessing and those who is born in this country is a winner because all kinds of good life are founded there.

“To feel British is something you experience when you are away from Britain. Its green countryside. Safety when walking the streets, the fact that we band together against adversity....”<sup>1</sup> Mark Newdic. U.S.A-. Mark is really satisfied of being in Britain, according to him it is a suitable place to live and it is represents a land of safety.

“I am an Italian-born, naturalized British subject. At, when I started learning English, I fell in love with the concept of England and Englishness. Thirty seven years of life in London have made that concept a religious reality.,, -Andrew Garner; London-. After a long time in Great Britain, the Italian ‘Andrew Garner’ admits that the English language is the first tool that is helped him to adjust himself easily in this society<sup>2</sup>.

Opinions are varied and differ from one to another; but the professor Jermy Black; author of ‘A Short History of Britain’ tried to clarify the idea of being British and claimed:”I would have thought that Britishness defines the characteristics of whoever are the citizens of Britain, whatever their origins at any time. Ordinarily, we would argue Britishness is linked to notion of liberty and freedom and in fact the very diversity that makes it difficult what Britishness means<sup>3</sup> In fact; to be a British citizen, British government obliged immigrant to pass a test, and gave to immigrants an interesting handbook called: ‘Life in the United Kingdom: ‘A Journey to Citizenship’<sup>4</sup> in order to pass the test successfully and gave a clear image about the United Kingdom to the newcomers, because most of time they faced difficulties with English language, so at first; they have to overcome this barrier to be much closer in this society.

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<sup>1</sup> [www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknew/1495309/Britishness-what-it-means-to-you.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknew/1495309/Britishness-what-it-means-to-you.html).

<sup>2</sup> [www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknew/1495309/Britishness-What-it-means-to-you.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknew/1495309/Britishness-What-it-means-to-you.html)

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jayLxHRIHOY>.

<sup>4</sup> « Living with Difference »-Immigration in the UK in the 20th and 21st Century, Polvina Vickova,30

# Chapter One: Historical background of immigration in United Kingdom

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## 1.10 Conclusion:

The aim of this chapter is to cover and give a complete image about immigration in the United Kingdom; and the growing of newcomers into this country especially in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century.

At first; the main focus was on the historical background of immigration in the United Kingdom starting from 55BC until 2000, by giving some statistics and precise the groups of ethnic minorities in Great Britain such as: non-white immigrants, Pakistani,

...etc, by incorporating a table in order to clarify the idea to the reader. In addition to this,

it is important to include the explanation and definitions of some key concepts which are related to immigration; and they are very crucial to this work.

Then, to expand more into the pulp of this topic, it is better to have a look at the main ethnic groups in the United Kingdom. Hence it is important to include a table and some censuses about the wave of immigration into UK; with a kind of comparison between 1991 and 2000 just to show the rapid increase of the flow of immigrants to this country. Also, it is important to have a look on the main reasons that forced people to immigrate namely referred to as : push and pull factors. Because the opinions here differ i.e., some are obliged and others are voluntary. In addition to this; most of time, people when they get their retirement they looked for places with warm weather, peaceful and of course comfortable locations in order to spend their retirement after a life time of hard work and savings.

Last but not least, the bulk of this chapter is to devote the importance of immigrants in the United Kingdom and their participation in the increase of the

## **Chapter One: Historical background of immigration in United Kingdom**

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economy of the country. Thus, the UK government has tried to balance British citizens and immigrants by giving them the British nationality in order to feel equal and erase all kind of segregation. By this Great Britain became a multicultural society because it encourage diversity and embraced a lot of cultures and this is what the next chapter will deal with.

# **Chapter Two**

## **Multiculturalism in the United Kingdom**

## Chapter two: Multiculturalism in the United Kingdom.

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### Chapter two:

### Multiculturalism in the United Kingdom

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2.1 Introduction

2.2 The United Kingdom of Great Britain and northern Ireland

2.3 Great Britain –A Multicultural society

2.4 Multiculturalism and Related Terms

2.5 Theories of Multiculturalism

2.5.1 The Melting Pot VS the salad Bowl

2.6 The failure of Multiculturalism

2.7 The Prime Minister David Cameron and Multiculturalism

2.7.1 The Analysis of David Cameron's Speech on Multiculturalism

2.8 The Name 'Mohammed' for New Born Baby in UK

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## Chapter two: Multiculturalism in the United Kingdom.

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### **2.1 Introduction:**

Nowadays Great Britain has adopted a new term known as “Multiculturalism” makes a multicultural society under a series of different races and cultures. However, the term multiculturalism itself has a lot of definitions and related concepts because scholars and politicians analyzed it and defined it according to the way they understand it.

First of all multiculturalism is a phenomenon of multiple groups of cultures existing within one society, i.e. different traditions, cultures, values, religions...etc that can enrich a given society. But from time to time, this concept has obtained a lot of critics from researchers and in particular from politicians.

The issue of multiculturalism has become more debatable especially in the present time to the extent that articles, reports, and even media has tackled it in order to explain, clarify and elaborate it. The Prime Minister ‘David Cameron’ in his brave speech in Munich 2011 claimed that Great Britain state multiculturalism has really failed due to the encouragement of segregation rather than integration. Cameron adds that all people in the United Kingdom are equal neglecting the color of skin whether ‘Black’ or ‘White’.

This chapter will look if really the United Kingdom has succeeded in becoming a multicultural society or not. In addition to this, it will look deeper into the challenges facing Great Britain and multiculturalism as well.

### **2.2 The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland:**

Great Britain has several different names. Some people say ‘Britain’, others ‘the United Kingdom’ or just ‘UK’. The official name of the country is the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. The UK is situated in the north-west of Europe on the British Isles. There are four different countries in the UK that

## Chapter two: Multiculturalism in the United Kingdom.

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are: England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. The capital city of Great Britain is 'London' and the official language is English language. The United Kingdom has used 'Pound sterling' as an official currency. The major rivers in UK are: Thames, Severn and Tyne. Cambridge and Oxford are the famous university cities<sup>1</sup>

### 2.3 Great Britain –A Multicultural Society:

By looking back at the British history, that there were many prejudice and lack of toleration for immigrants coming to Britain. The best example about that is "when the Jewish escaped from Russians in 1980 and come to the UK looking for a better life, they did not receive any welcome from the British Government"<sup>2</sup>. But after the Second World War the image of Great Britain has completely changed because the UK government were looking for new ways to widespread the idea of multiculturalism, and received as much as possible groups of immigrants and became a land of toleration and integration. Thus, the United Kingdom has realized its dream and has become a multicultural society.

Great Britain is a multicultural and multi-faith society which means that it consists of two or cultures and includes different ethnic minorities living side by side and in the same way and the same conditions. When it is talked about the term of multiculturalism in UK, it is impossible to neglect its great relationship with immigration and even with 'the post-war mass immigration', i.e, according to some statistics "in Britain 4.6 million people from different minority ethnic groups are living there and more than 50 percent of them are living in London which means that they make more than 20% of the population"<sup>3</sup>.

Nevertheless, the idea of multicultural society causes some problems for British government since citizens are still treated unequally and on the other hand,

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<sup>1</sup> [Travel National Geography.com/travel/countries/united-kingdom-facts/](https://www.travelnational.com/travel/countries/united-kingdom-facts/).

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.okessays.com/essays/history/how-britain-has-changed-into-a-multicultural-britain-historyessay.php>.

<sup>3</sup> [www.lmg.pf.bw.schule.de/feacher/English/landeskunde/page17/page17.html/](http://www.lmg.pf.bw.schule.de/feacher/English/landeskunde/page17/page17.html/).

## **Chapter two: Multiculturalism in the United Kingdom**

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each one wanted to keep its own identity, religion, culture...etc, so this is what resulted a kind of fight and violence between Whites and Non-whites.

The history of multiculturalism can be tackled from different perspectives, but in the case of Britain, the very important is how it can spread the idea of identity of Britishness and how it affected its demography. At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, multicultural debates has made a big quarrel because it is Marked a shift at the level of race relations to the religion, i.e, politicians always blamed ‘Islam’ and they are considered it the cause of terrorist attacks in USA in September 9<sup>th</sup> ,2001 and in Great Britain in July 7<sup>th</sup>, 2005<sup>1</sup> so the London attacks has changed completely Britons perceptions about people from different ethnic minorities. Thus this attack has created a new phenomenon called ‘Islamophobia’. Moreover, multicultural Britain has revolved also around the ‘Islam’ issue and it has considered it as a main reason that caused crashes between Whites Britons and other member of ethnic minorities.

Although, multiculturalism in Great Britain has caused some problems, but it is impossible to ignore its positive aspects because ethnic minorities in the other European Countries are not treated the way as in Great Britain and the proof about that is founded a lot in London where a lot of mixed ethnic nations exist there and this is what resulting ‘multiculturalism’.

### **2.4 Multiculturalism and Related Terms:**

Multiculturalism is a term that is combined and includes several different levels; the sociological approach has defined it as the coexistence of different ethnic minorities with one society,” the preservation of different cultures or cultural identities within a unified society as a state or nation”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Multiculturalism Britain, Jane ERIK Mustad, ASE ELIN Langeland, Published, 04/01/2012, Updated 04/03/2017, [ndla.no/en/node/90460?Fag=71082](https://ndla.no/en/node/90460?Fag=71082).

<sup>2</sup> Collins English Dictionary. Complete & unabridged 2012 Digital Edition. William Collins Sons and Co. Ltd. 1979-1986 Harper Collins publishers 1998-2000-2003-2005-2006-2007-2009-2012.

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Multiculturalism is one of the most emotive and so sensitive subjects of British policies. However, there are many other related definitions that elaborate it as a notion. As an example, the Prime Minister David Cameron in his speech in the Security Conference in Germany has defined it as “a doctrine of state multiculturalism as a strategy which has encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and apart from the mainstreams<sup>1</sup> which means that it represented a policy that encouraged and supported the distinctive identities of cultural groups within a given society. OR, “it is the co-existence of diverse cultures; where a culture includes racial, religious or cultural groups and is manifested in customary behavior, cultural assumptions and values patterns of thinking and communicative style”<sup>2</sup>

This phenomenon was founded as a solution of accommodating immigrants that were arrived to Great Britain .Hence; multiculturalism has made both political and social life in the UK inseparable. So it is very important to say that the term of multiculturalism is a vague issue with its countless definitions. In addition to this, it has created a confusing image about the British society.

In this context, Caleb Rosado in his writing said:” multiculturalism is a new paradigm for education for the 21<sup>st</sup> century, is a political ping-pong term greatly misused and highly misunderstood”<sup>3</sup> .Rosado by these word wanted to say that it is rather hard to understand this phenomenon because really it is a complicated topic ,and even authors, politicians, sociologists...etc were not agree about it because each one dealt with it from different angles.

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<sup>1</sup> [www.bbc.com/news/magazines](http://www.bbc.com/news/magazines).

<sup>2</sup> Final report submitted by clara M.chu.

<sup>3</sup> Calab Rosado Toward a definition of Multiculturalism,1997.

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But what is important here and must be highlighted is that multiculturalism is succeeded in making its relation with the other fields such as politics, ideology, humanities...etc. The term ‘Cultural Pluralism’ is a metaphor that used to represent “Salad Bowl” and it is a symbol of the equality in rights and the peace in existence next other like mixture of different vegetables in a bowl.

### **2.5 Theories of Multiculturalism:**

As it is mentioned before, multiculturalism has obtained a series of critics from scholars and researchers, so it is said that from this theories the meaning and the aim of multiculturalism became clear and its showed its positive aspects.

#### **2.5.1 The Melting pot vs. the Salad Bowl:**

Jimmy Carter said “we became not a melting pot, but a beautiful mosaic. Different people, different beliefs, different yearning, different hopes, different dreams”<sup>1</sup> the melting pot, is a term coined by Israel Zangwill, which refers to the American society in its first years. This term illustrates how people from different nations melted together and born again as Americans i.e. with time immigrants have melted together, so it is clear that they will ignore their cultures and become totally assimilated into American society. In addition to this, each newcomer to USA has to give-up his national identity which includes: cultures and languages instead of losing it.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the term was formulated for the first time by the American writer “Ralph Waldo Emerson” and by 1908, it became popular via «Israel Zangwill’s” play entitled:’ The Melting Pot”<sup>2</sup>. However, in UK the cultural diversity is considered as a positive point, because immigrants arrival were always supported by the government in order to maintain their own values, native language, culture....etc, and this what makes” Salad Bowl” i.e. people from

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<sup>1</sup> [www/mg.pf.bw.Schule.de/feeler/English/handeskunde/page8/page8/html](http://www/mg.pf.bw.Schule.de/feeler/English/handeskunde/page8/page8/html).

<sup>2</sup> [www./mg.pf.bw.Schule.de/feecher/English/landeskunde/page08/page08/html](http://www./mg.pf.bw.Schule.de/feecher/English/landeskunde/page08/page08/html).

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different cultures are living in harmony like lettuce, Tomatoes and carrots in a salad. But both models of multiculturalism have contradictory aspects:

- ✓ In a melting pot there is no cultural diversity and sometimes differences are not respected.
- ✓ In a salad bowl cultures do not mix at all.

Here a question may arise “which model is better?” Since the equality is the core of this work. So to be in good situation, the same rights, and the same opportunities must be founded within this society. Thus, the first thing must be learned is how to communicate with others, and how to live together in order to realize the best possible way of life.

### **2.6 The Failure of Multiculturalism in the U.K:**

As started earlier, the policy of multiculturalism has got many discussions and has become a very controversial topic especially in the twenty-first century. This phenomenon had led some academic writers from the government to talk about this issue in their own speeches. On the other hand, even politicians including the Prime Minister David Cameron and the German Chancellor Angela Merkel are supposed to publicly denounce multiculturalism and speak out against its dimensions and dangers. Hence, concerning multiculturalism's debates, there are a countless opinions, discussions and national debates that had appeared to discuss and clarify more this approach, but most of the time these debates focus on the limits of tolerance and discrimination in the United Kingdom.

Critics about multiculturalism have started from the 1970s where a lot of conditions of the failure of the concept of multiculturalism were mentioned like ‘Islamist extremism’ and ‘International terrorism’<sup>1</sup>. In addition to this, too much attention was paid to multiculturalism especially after the series of terrorist attacks that were thought to be caused by Islamist terrorists like New York City in

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<sup>1</sup> Multicultural Britain of the 21st century, Olga Chudickova, Bachelor thesis, Thomas Bata University in Zlín? Faculty of Humanities, 2011, p.22,23.

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September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 and London in July 07<sup>th</sup>2005. However; these bombing attacks are not only in the United Kingdom, but they are also occurred in other countries and even the Europeans one like: Madrid (11 March 2004). So from that time, multiculturalism policy has lost its values and become in danger. In the essence, the Prime Minister David Cameron has delivered a speech about that.

### **2.7The Prime Minister David Cameron and Multiculturalism**

On February, 2011 and exactly in Munich, the Prime Minister David Cameron delivered a speech about state multiculturalism in Great Britain which aimed to correct the wrong vision about the failure of multiculturalism, and his focus was on terrorism and Islamist extremism.

#### **2.7.1The Analysis of David Cameron’s Speech on Multiculturalism**

The Prime Minister David Cameron is one among the other politicians who claimed that the idea of multiculturalism in Great Britain has failed due to several conditions. In February 2011, Mr. Cameron held a speech on multiculturalism at the Munich Security Conference where he made a connection between the failure of multiculturalism and terrorism that had influenced all nations including the European countries saying that “multiculturalism has encouraged segregation communities”. On the other hand, in this conference; Cameron condemned what he called “hands-off tolerance” in Great Britain and even in the European nations that has encouraged ‘Muslims’ and all other immigrants nation to “live separate lives, apart from each other and the main streams”. In addition to this, the Prime Minister added that his country has a strong military power and his government is still fighting all kinds of terrorism especially in Afghanistan, saying: “...we will continue to support NATO in Afghanistan.”

“Europe needs to wake up to what is happening in our countries”. Mr. Cameron said and he adds “we have got to get the root of the problem...” here the Prime Minister David Cameron is calling his government and in particular the

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European countries to look for new ways and solutions in order to reduce and defeat terrorism. David Cameron gave a brilliant definition to 'Islam' where he said: "Islam is a religion observed peacefully and devoutly by over a billion people", but in contrast, he blamed a lot of 'Islamist extremism' which is "an ideology that is supported by a minority" and he considered it as the primary reason of the decline of multiculturalism. So, according to Cameron, it is the suitable time to turn the page on the failed policies of the past and from now the UK needs to work hard in order to ignore and confront all aspects of terrorism. Mr. Cameron said: "we need to argue that terrorism is wrong in all circumstances" that shows that the UK is still always looking for other new ways to realize a safe life. 'Muslims' must be a part from the British Society.

"Freedom of speech, freedom of worship, democracy, the role of law, equal rights regardless of race, sex or sexuality", these are the basic principles of British society that call for equality between all races and genders. Hence, David Cameron had looked for a new idea that is useful especially for the immigrants category which is the spread of 'English language' among non-British citizens in order to feel that they are part from the United Kingdom and by this, they can adjust themselves easily regarding the religion or the color of skin, saying Mr. Cameron: "so people feel free to say ...yes I am Muslim, I am Hindu, I am Christian, but I am also Londoner or a Berliner too...".

The Prime Minister has ended his conference by saying "we have to confront terrorism..." but "we will need stamina, patience, and endurance" to defeat terrorism, because according to him it is a challenge that cannot be avoided, but indeed it must be overcome<sup>1</sup>.

### **2.8 The Name of "Mohamed" for New Baby Born in the United Kingdom**

The Arabic name 'Mohamed' has overtaken most British names like Jack, Thomas, and Daniel and it has become the most popular name for the new baby born in London in recent times. According to some statistics, the name of

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pms-speech-at-munich-security-conference>.



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Mohamed is the first Islamic name that has recorded the top choice for parents in any part of the United Kingdom.

This name is derived from the Arabic origins ‘محمد’, and it has a lot of spellings such as: Muhammad, Mohammad, Mohamed and Muhamed. In London, the name of Mohammed has become more twice popular with an average equivalent to 1.828 baby born given the name of Mohammed in 2008 in comparison with the pervious famous name Daniel with only 844. In the essence, the name of Mohammed does not appear only in London at first. However; it exists also in the other European and Asian nations.

In 2008, a statistic has recorded 1.399 baby born given the name of Mohammed in comparison with Jack with 768 babies born. In this context; Murtaza Shibli; a Muslim Council of Great Britain has stated that he is not surprised by the emergence of the Name of Mohamed in the United Kingdom, and he claimed that most people around the world chose this name due to their love of the Prophet Mohammed Peace Be up On Him, and they believe that Mohammed as a name will bring happiness to them.

The name of Mohamed is the best example that proves that Islam is a religion of peace and tolerance, and some day for sure Islam will touch every angle in the world. In addition to this, the last date of a survey turned out that from July to September 2008 Muslim population is growing 10 times faster than the rest of population<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> [www.telegraph.co.uk/news/reigious/619435/mohamed-is-the-most-popular-name-for-baby-boys-in-London.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/reigious/619435/mohamed-is-the-most-popular-name-for-baby-boys-in-London.html).

### **2.9. Conclusion**

The bulk of this chapter was to clarify a current situation in so-called multiculturalism in Great Britain especially during the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It shows how the United Kingdom could exist with this phenomenon and has made it as an official policy. At first, this chapter has demonstrated the explanation of the essential concept in this research which is multiculturalism and some crucial definitions that must be included and mentioned in this chapter in order to make them clear for the reader and avoid all kinds of ambiguities.

As an inseparable part of this chapter, it is important to show and insure that the United Kingdom has really become a multicultural society and the proof about that is since long time, the UK has opened its doors to all races and nations to join life and it is still always encouraging people to come to live there. Regarding the USA has some theories like 'mosaic', 'pizza' and 'melting pot'. Even the United Kingdom has its own theory which called 'salad bowl' and they use that concept as a metaphor to show to the world that UK has discouraged divisiveness and has aimed to reduce all kinds of segregation.

Needless to recall that multiculturalism was aimed to realize a harmonious coexistence of different ethnic minorities in the host country, but it is still receive some critics from politicians, and even from media that this issue has failed. Here, the Prime Minister David Cameron has interfered in order to correct this wrong vision about the existence of tolerance in UK and he has denied that Islam has caused struggles in his society, but his focus was on the Islamist extremism that resulted 'Islam phobia'. In fact, Islam is a religion for tolerance and peace, and the proof about that is the emergence of the name of the Islamic name 'Mohamed' in the United Kingdom for the new-born babies who are considered it as name of hope and joy.

# **General Conclusion**

# The General Conclusion

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## General Conclusion

In general, the present research work focuses on investigating the effectiveness of the wave of 'Immigration' on the structure of the contemporary Great Britain that has illustrated its dimensions on different spheres: economic, political, environmental...etc.

Needless to recall, the issue of immigration has become more debatable over the world and in particular in the United Kingdom especially in recent time. This extended essay has shown that immigration has created a kind of cultural diversity or in other words a multicultural society. In the essence, many scholars had insisted that immigration is the primary reason that has resulted diversity and divisiveness between nations in the United Kingdom. Yet, others argued that immigration does well for the British government in particular and for the society as a whole. Hence, they claimed that different races and nations must be a part of Britain in the present time and of course in the future.

Recently, Great Britain adopt a new strategy called 'Britishness' and it has considered it as a solution in order to make a kind of equivalent between British and immigrants and work hard in order to foster the social cohesion of the society.

This dissertation has sought to explore the issue of multiculturalism and its impacts on the structure of Britain society. But most of the time it has obtained some negative critics from writers, politicians and even from media. Some affirmed that this policy has failed in the UK because it has encouraged segregation and terrorism via Islamist extremism that has resulted what is called 'Islamophobia'.

# The General Conclusion

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In this context, the Prime Minister David Cameron has delivered a brave speech about state multiculturalism where he gave the importance of the Islam and Muslims in the United Kingdom. But on the other hand he blamed terrorism and he claimed that terrorism is the responsible for the failure of multiculturalism and not Islam. And the best witness about that is the name of Mohammed which has become the first name that has been given for new born babies in the UK and even around the world. This is shows that Muslims are not terrorists and they had a good image in the world.

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# Appendix

## Appendix

### Prime Minister David Cameron's Speech on Multiculturalism

#### “ Security Conference in Munich 2011”

“Today I want to focus my remarks on terrorism, but first let me address one point. Some have suggested that by holding a strategic defence and security review, Britain is somehow retreating from an activist role in the world. That is the opposite of the truth. Yes, we are dealing with our budget deficit, but we are also making sure our defences are strong. Britain will continue to meet the NATO 2% target for defence spending. We will still have the fourth largest military defence budget in the world. At the same time, we are putting that money to better use, focusing on conflict prevention and building a much more flexible army. That is not retreat; it is hard headed.

Every decision we take has three aims in mind. First, to continue to support the NATO mission in Afghanistan . Second, to reinforce our actual military capability. As Chancellor Merkel's government is showing right here in Germany, what matters is not bureaucracy, which frankly Europe needs a lot less of, but the political will to build military capability that we need as nations and allies, that we can deliver in the field. Third, we want to make sure that Britain is protected from the new and various threats that we face. That is why we are investing in a national

cyber security programme that I know William Hague talked about yesterday, and we are sharpening our readiness to act on counter-proliferation.

But the biggest threat that we face comes from terrorist attacks, some of which are, sadly, carried out by our own citizens. It is important to stress that terrorism is not linked exclusively to any one religion or ethnic group. My country, the United Kingdom, still faces threats from dissident republicans in Northern Ireland. Anarchist attacks have occurred recently in Greece and in Italy, and of course, yourselves in Germany were long scarred by terrorism from the Red Army Faction. Nevertheless, we should acknowledge that this threat comes in Europe overwhelmingly from young men who follow a completely perverse, warped interpretation of Islam, and who are prepared to blow themselves up and kill their fellow citizens. Last week at Davos I rang the alarm bell for the urgent need for Europe to recover its economic dynamism, and today, though the subject is complex, my message on security is equally stark. We will not defeat terrorism simply by the action we take outside our borders. Europe needs to wake up to what is happening in our own countries. Of course, that means strengthening, as Angela has said, the security aspects of our response, on tracing plots, on stopping them, on counter-surveillance and intelligence gathering.

But this is just part of the answer. We have got to get to the root of the problem, and we need to be absolutely clear on where the origins of where these terrorist attacks lie. That is the existence of an ideology, Islamist extremism. We should be equally clear what we mean by this term, and we must distinguish it from Islam. Islam is a religion observed peacefully and devoutly by over a billion people. Islamist extremism is a political ideology supported by a minority. At the furthest end are those who back terrorism to promote their ultimate goal: an entire Islamist realm, governed by an interpretation of Sharia. Move along the spectrum, and you find people who may reject violence, but who accept various parts of the

extremist worldview, including real hostility towards Western democracy and liberal values. It is vital that we make this distinction between religion on the one hand, and political ideology on the other. Time and again, people equate the two. They think whether someone is an extremist is dependent on how much they observe their religion. So, they talk about moderate Muslims as if all devout Muslims must be extremist. This is profoundly wrong. Someone can be a devout Muslim and not be an extremist. We need to be clear: Islamist extremism and Islam are not the same thing.

This highlights, I think, a significant problem when discussing the terrorist threat that we face. There is so much muddled thinking about this whole issue. On the one hand, those on the hard right ignore this distinction between Islam and Islamist extremism, and just say that Islam and the West are irreconcilable - that there is a clash of civilizations. So, it follows: we should cut ourselves off from this religion, whether that is through forced repatriation, favoured by some fascists, or the banning of new mosques, as is suggested in some parts of Europe . These people fuel Islamophobia, and I completely reject their argument. If they want an example of how Western values and Islam can be entirely compatible, they should look at what's happened in the past few weeks on the streets of Tunis and Cairo : hundreds of thousands of people demanding the universal right to free elections and democracy.

The point is this: the ideology of extremism is the problem; Islam emphatically is not. Picking a fight with the latter will do nothing to help us to confront the former. On the other hand, there are those on the soft left who also ignore this distinction. They lump all Muslims together, compiling a list of grievances, and argue that if only governments addressed these grievances, the terrorism would stop. So, they point to the poverty that so many Muslims live in and say, 'Get rid of this injustice and the terrorism will end.' But this ignores the fact that many of those

found guilty of terrorist offences in the UK and elsewhere have been graduates and often middle class. They point to grievances about Western foreign policy and say, ‘Stop riding roughshod over Muslim countries and the terrorism will end.’ But there are many people, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, who are angry about Western foreign policy, but who don’t resort to acts of terrorism. They also point to the profusion of unelected leaders across the Middle East and say, ‘Stop propping these people up and you will stop creating the conditions for extremism to flourish.’ But this raises the question: if it’s the lack of democracy that is the problem, why are there so many extremists in free and open societies?

Now, I’m not saying that these issues of poverty and grievance about foreign policy are not important. Yes, of course we must tackle them. Of course we must tackle poverty. Yes, we must resolve the sources of tension, not least in Palestine , and yes, we should be on the side of openness and political reform in the Middle East . On Egypt , our position should be clear. We want to see the transition to a more broadly-based government, with the proper building blocks of a free and democratic society. I simply don’t accept that there is somehow a dead end choice between a security state on the one hand, and an Islamist one on the other. But let us not fool ourselves. These are just contributory factors. Even if we sorted out all of the problems that I have mentioned, there would still be this terrorism. I believe the root lies in the existence of this extremist ideology. I would argue an important reason so many young Muslims are drawn to it comes down to a question of identity.

What I am about to say is drawn from the British experience, but I believe there are general lessons for us all. In the UK , some young men find it hard to identify with the traditional Islam practiced at home by their parents, whose customs can seem staid when transplanted to modern Western countries. But these young men also find it hard to identify with Britain too, because we have allowed the weakening of

our collective identity. Under the doctrine of state multiculturalism, we have encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and apart from the mainstream. We've failed to provide a vision of society to which they feel they want to belong. We've even tolerated these segregated communities behaving in ways that run completely counter to our values.

So, when a white person holds objectionable views, racist views for instance, we rightly condemn them. But when equally unacceptable views or practices come from someone who isn't white, we've been too cautious frankly - frankly, even fearful - to stand up to them. The failure, for instance, of some to confront the horrors of forced marriage, the practice where some young girls are bullied and sometimes taken abroad to marry someone when they don't want to, is a case in point. This hands-off tolerance has only served to reinforce the sense that not enough is shared. And this all leaves some young Muslims feeling rootless. And the search for something to belong to and something to believe in can lead them to this extremist ideology. Now for sure, they don't turn into terrorists overnight, but what we see - and what we see in so many European countries - is a process of radicalisation.

Internet chatrooms are virtual meeting places where attitudes are shared, strengthened and validated. In some mosques, preachers of hate can sow misinformation about the plight of Muslims elsewhere. In our communities, groups and organisations led by young, dynamic leaders promote separatism by encouraging Muslims to define themselves solely in terms of their religion. All these interactions can engender a sense of community, a substitute for what the wider society has failed to supply. Now, you might say, as long as they're not hurting anyone, what is the problem with all this?



Well, I'll tell you why. As evidence emerges about the backgrounds of those convicted of terrorist offences, it is clear that many of them were initially influenced by what some have called 'non-violent extremists', and they then took those radical beliefs to the next level by embracing violence. And I say this is an indictment of our approach to these issues in the past. And if we are to defeat this threat, I believe it is time to turn the page on the failed policies of the past. So first, instead of ignoring this extremist ideology, we - as governments and as societies - have got to confront it, in all its forms. And second, instead of encouraging people to live apart, we need a clear sense of shared national identity that is open to everyone.

Let me briefly take each in turn. First, confronting and undermining this ideology. Whether they are violent in their means or not, we must make it impossible for the extremists to succeed. Now, for governments, there are some obvious ways we can do this. We must ban preachers of hate from coming to our countries. We must also proscribe organisations that incite terrorism against people at home and abroad. Governments must also be shrewder in dealing with those that, while not violent, are in some cases part of the problem. We need to think much harder about who it's in the public interest to work with. Some organisations that seek to present themselves as a gateway to the Muslim community are showered with public money despite doing little to combat extremism. As others have observed, this is like turning to a right-wing fascist party to fight a violent white supremacist movement. So we should properly judge these organisations: do they believe in universal human rights - including for women and people of other faiths? Do they believe in equality of all before the law? Do they believe in democracy and the right of people to elect their own government? Do they encourage integration or separation? These are the sorts of questions we need to ask. Fail these tests and the presumption should be not to engage with organisations - so, no public money, no sharing of platforms with ministers at home.

At the same time, we must stop these groups from reaching people in publicly-funded institutions like universities or even, in the British case, prisons. Now, some say, this is not compatible with free speech and intellectual inquiry. Well, I say, would you take the same view if these were right-wing extremists recruiting on our campuses? Would you advocate inaction if Christian fundamentalists who believed that Muslims are the enemy were leading prayer groups in our prisons? And to those who say these non-violent extremists are actually helping to keep young, vulnerable men away from violence, I say nonsense.

Would you allow the far right groups a share of public funds if they promise to help you lure young white men away from fascist terrorism? Of course not. But, at root, challenging this ideology means exposing its ideas for what they are, and that is completely unjustifiable. We need to argue that terrorism is wrong in all circumstances. We need to argue that prophecies of a global war of religion pitting Muslims against the rest of the world are nonsense.

Now, governments cannot do this alone. The extremism we face is a distortion of Islam, so these arguments, in part, must be made by those within Islam. So let us give voice to those followers of Islam in our own countries - the vast, often unheard majority - who despise the extremists and their worldview. Let us engage groups that share our aspirations.

Now, second, we must build stronger societies and stronger identities at home. Frankly, we need a lot less of the passive tolerance of recent years and a much more active, muscular liberalism. A passively tolerant society says to its citizens, as long as you obey the law we will just leave you alone. It stands neutral between different values. But I believe a genuinely liberal country does much more; it believes in certain values and actively promotes them. Freedom of speech, freedom of worship, democracy, the rule of law, equal rights regardless of race, sex

or sexuality. It says to its citizens, this is what defines us as a society: to belong here is to believe in these things. Now, each of us in our own countries, I believe, must be unambiguous and hard-nosed about this defence of our liberty.

There are practical things that we can do as well. That includes making sure that immigrants speak the language of their new home and ensuring that people are educated in the elements of a common culture and curriculum. Back home, we're introducing National Citizen Service: a two-month programme for sixteen-year-olds from different backgrounds to live and work together. I also believe we should encourage meaningful and active participation in society, by shifting the balance of power away from the state and towards the people. That way, common purpose can be formed as people come together and work together in their neighbourhoods. It will also help build stronger pride in local identity, so people feel free to say, 'Yes, I am a Muslim, I am a Hindu, I am Christian, but I am also a Londoner or a Berliner too'. It's that identity, that feeling of belonging in our countries, that I believe is the key to achieving true cohesion.

So, let me end with this. This terrorism is completely indiscriminate and has been thrust upon us. It cannot be ignored or contained; we have to confront it with confidence - confront the ideology that drives it by defeating the ideas that warp so many young minds at their root, and confront the issues of identity that sustain it by standing for a much broader and generous vision of citizenship in our countries. Now, none of this will be easy. We will need stamina, patience and endurance, and it won't happen at all if we act alone. This ideology crosses not just our continent but all continents, and we are all in this together. At stake are not just lives, it is our way of life. That is why this is a challenge we cannot avoid; it is one we must rise to and overcome. Thank you ".

