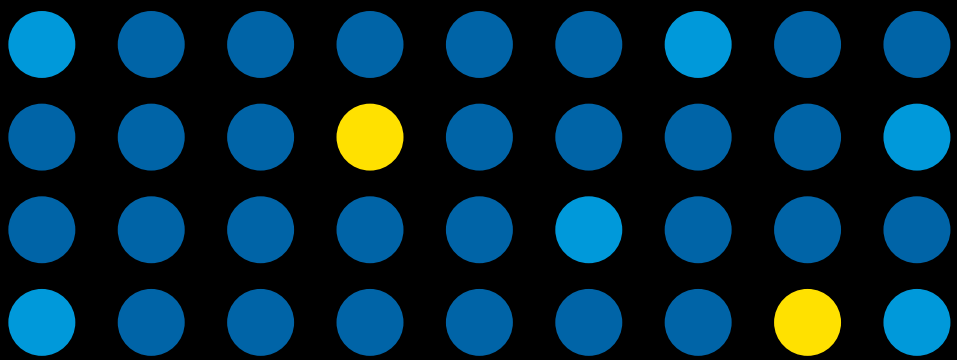




Ryan Shorthouse
and David Kirkby



A balanced centre-right agenda on immigration

*Understanding how ethnic minorities
think about immigration*

A BALANCED CENTRE-RIGHT AGENDA ON IMMIGRATION

Understanding how ethnic minorities
think about immigration

Ryan Shorthouse and David Kirkby



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The polling included an online survey of 1,231 British adult respondents who identified with an ethnic group other than ‘White: English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British’ or ‘White: Irish’ and was conducted between February 16th 2015 and March 5th 2015.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Immigration is now consistently ranked in polling as one of the general public's 'most important issues', often above the economy.¹ A majority of the public believes that the number of immigrants coming to the UK is too high and that immigration is more of a problem than an opportunity, much higher than in most other developed countries.²

However, most of the public do have a nuanced view of immigration: for example, 61% of the public agree that "immigration brings both pressures and economic benefits, so we should control it and choose the immigration that's in Britain's best economic interests".³

The evidence of the impact of immigration is still developing, but overall it supports the idea that immigration is largely economically beneficial to the UK, but bringing challenges. On the whole, immigration boosts the national economy,⁴ the wages of native workers (excluding those in the bottom quintile in the short-term)⁵ and new

1. Scott Blinder, "UK public opinion toward immigration: overall attitudes and level of concern", <http://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/briefings/uk-public-opinion-toward-migration-determinants-attitudes> (2014).

2. The German Marshall Fund, "Transatlantic trends: immigration", http://trends.gmfus.org/files/2012/09/Trends_2014_complete.pdf (2014).

3. Sunder Katwala, Steve Ballinger and Matthew Rhodes, *How to talk about immigration* (London: British Future, 2014), 12.

4. Migration Advisory Committee, "Analysis of the impacts of migration", https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/257235/analysis-of-the-impacts.pdf (2012).

5. Christian Dustmann, Tommaso Frattini and Ian Preston, *The effect of immigration along the distribution of wages* (London: Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration, 2008).

business growth.⁶ The OECD has found that immigration has a net fiscal benefit.⁷ However, immigration can have a negative impact on wages towards the lower end of the income scale, as well as exacerbating congestion pressures on transport, housing and other public services.⁸

Despite the numerous benefits of immigration, mainstream political parties have proposed tougher action on immigration in recent years. The Conservative Party's 2015 manifesto maintained an ambition to reduce net migration to the "tens of thousands", while Labour promised to keep the cap on workers from outside the EU. Both parties committed to tougher rules concerning immigrants' access to welfare. In the 2015 Queen's Speech it was announced that it will become an offence for businesses to hire abroad without first advertising in the UK - a policy which also appeared in Labour's manifesto. But, to date, this tougher approach has not succeeded in assuring the public of how immigration is being handled.

If managed correctly, immigration is both economically and culturally enriching. So it is necessary for the centre-right – represented mainly by the Conservative Party - to shape a more positive and compelling vision of immigration into the UK, and to construct a competent and fair immigration system that would capture the benefits, manage the challenges and reassure the public. This would serve the national interest.

A new centre-right approach on immigration

Over the past year, Bright Blue has been undertaking a project to devise a balanced centre-right policy agenda on immigration.

6 Centre for Entrepreneurs and DueDil, "Migrant entrepreneurs: building our businesses, creating our jobs", <http://www.creatingourjobs.org/data/MigrantEntrepreneursWEB.pdf> (2014).

7 OECD, "Is migration good for the economy?", <http://www.oecd.org/migration/mig/OECD%20Migration%20Policy%20Debates%20Numero%202.pdf> (2014).

8 Migration Advisory Committee, "Analysis of the impacts of migration", https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/257235/analysis-of-the-impacts.pdf (2012).

To successfully do this, we have needed to identify the views and principles of those on the centre-right on immigration. Broadly, there are two main types of people on the centre-right of British politics. First, centre-right voters. Their views were unearthed and analysed in our report, *Understanding how Conservative voters think about immigration*. Second, expert opinion formers and decision makers. Their views were explored in three roundtable discussions which we hosted and summarised in our report, *A centre-right plan on immigration from decision makers and opinion formers*. From these reports, we published *A manifesto for immigration* to influence the General Election manifestos, with a number of new policy ideas on all parts of the immigration system: workers, students, spouses and families, and asylum applicants and refugees.

As well as those on the centre-right, we also felt that better understanding the views of people from different ethnic minority backgrounds, many of whom are themselves migrants or the children or grandchildren of migrants, should be an integral part of developing an agenda on immigration that is principled, fair and which enjoys public support.

As with the wider population, a high proportion of people from ethnic minorities believe that immigration is too high and that it should be reduced.⁹ Nevertheless, our earlier report, *Understanding how Conservative voters think about immigration*, along with other work,¹⁰ indicates that ethnic minorities have attitudes to immigration which are distinct in a number of respects from those of the wider population. In this report, we delve deeper into the views of people from ethnic minority backgrounds, including white minorities, on immigration. This includes exploring their attitudes towards the policy aim of reducing migration in relation to

9 Communities and Local Government, "Community spirit in England: A report on the 2009-10 citizenship survey", <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20120919132719/http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/statistics/pdf/2056236.pdf> (2011).

10 Robert Ford, Gareth Morrell and Anthony Heath, "Fewer but better?", in *British Social Attitudes Survey 29*, ed. Alison Park et al. (London: NatCen Social Research, 2012).

other important policy aims. With ethnic minorities set to comprise an increasingly large share of the UK population in the decades ahead,¹¹ and with many of them people who have experienced the immigration system first-hand, it is important that their views are understood in detail and inform a balanced centre-right agenda on immigration.

As well as providing a deeper understanding of the thinking of people from ethnic minority backgrounds on immigration, we also seek to explore the variety in their thinking. Ethnic minorities are not homogenous in their views and in this report we pay particular attention to where and how different ethnic minority groups think differently about immigration. We also identify how other socio-demographic characteristics, such as age, impact on the views of people from ethnic minority backgrounds on immigration.

The importance of better understanding the views of ethnic minorities on immigration is heightened by their low, though growing, support for the Conservative Party. Post-election British Future/Survation polling of ethnic minorities has found that 33% voted for the Conservative Party, considerably higher than the 16% which voted for the Conservatives in 2010.¹² However, this proportion is still well below the 52% of the ethnic minority vote which Labour were found to have gained.¹³ The centre-right, and the Conservative Party in particular, needs to better connect with ethnic minorities in order to address this gap. This paper will seek to understand the role immigration policy plays, if any, in shaping the political views of ethnic minorities.

In order to better understand the views of ethnic minorities on immigration, we undertook polling of ethnic minorities. Analysing the results from this polling is the focus of this publication.

11 Rishi Sunak and Saratha Rajeswaran, *A portrait of modern Britain* (London: Policy Exchange, 2014).

12 British Future, "General Election 2015 and the ethnic minority vote", <http://www.britishfuture.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/ethnicminorityvote2015.pdf> (2015).

13 *Ibid.*

Focus of this research

In this report, we identify the key views held by ethnic minorities on immigration: their policy priorities, the types of immigrants they prioritise, their views on the impact of immigration and their views on immigrant integration.

In addition, we will be able to show how acceptance of these views varies amongst ethnic minorities. This will enable decision makers and opinion formers to develop a richer understanding of variation in the thinking of ethnic minorities on immigration according to different socio-demographic characteristics such as ethnic group and age. In some circumstances, we will also be able to identify the views of immigrants specifically – a subset of our polling sample - which is important given their first-hand experience of the immigration system.

Finally, we will also assess the extent to which integration is occurring and seen to be occurring.

The report is structured as follows:

- **Chapter Two** explains in detail the methodology employed for the public polling we conducted;
- **Chapter Three** explores the priorities and policies ethnic minorities want from our immigration system;
- **Chapter Four** shows the type of immigrants different ethnic minorities would let into the UK, and the type of immigrants different ethnic minorities want more of;
- **Chapter Five** illustrates the impact of immigration, according to different ethnic minorities;
- **Chapter Six** explores the extent to which integration is occurring and seen to be occurring;
- **Chapter Seven** concludes with the main themes for the centre-right on immigration emerging from our polling of ethnic minorities.

Chapter 2: Methodology

This report aims to unearth the views of ethnic minorities on immigration. This chapter describes the polling methods we employed to achieve our objective.

Polling of ethnic minorities

Polling was undertaken by Survation and conducted between February 16th 2015 and March 5th 2015. It consisted of 1,231 British adult respondents who identified with an ethnic group other than ‘White: English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British’ or ‘White: Irish’. All respondents were interviewed online. Results were weighted by Office for National Statistics (ONS) data to be nationally representative of age, sex, region, household income, ethnicity, education and 2015 General Election voting intention.

This large sample of ethnic minority respondents enabled us to achieve three primary goals.

First, we were able to unearth the attitudes of ethnic minorities towards immigration.

Second, our polling of ethnic minorities allowed us to identify how different ethnic groups view immigration. Rather than treating ethnic minorities as homogenous in their views, we were able to explore where there is difference and contrast in the attitudes of particular ethnic

groups. This level of detail is distinctive in the public policy space. ONS ethnic groups were used, as outlined in Box 2.1.¹⁴

Box 2.1. Ethnic Groups

- Black Caribbean
- Black African
- Indian
- Pakistani
- Bangladeshi
- White minority
- Chinese
- Mixed/multiple ethnic groups
- Other

As well as ethnic group, we were able to group respondents according to other socio-demographic characteristics including age, social class, region and whether they were immigrants, and explore how these characteristics impact upon attitudes towards immigration. Importantly, in our polling of ethnic minorities, nearly half of all respondents were themselves immigrants and this enabled us to distinguish immigrants from non-immigrants in our sample. Immigrants were respondents born outside the UK and whose parents were also born outside the UK.

The third goal which our polling allowed us to achieve was to contrast the attitudes of ethnic minorities on immigration with those of the wider population. Polling of the wider population drawn upon in this report was undertaken by Survation and conducted between September 12th and September 16th 2014. It consisted of 1,052 British adult respondents, interviewed online. Results were weighted by ONS data to be nationally representative of age, sex, region, household income, education and 2015 General Election voting intention. Many of the questions used for this survey were used again for our separate survey of ethnic minorities, thereby allowing the responses to be

¹⁴ Due to the small sample sizes 'Bangladeshi' and 'Other' are not reported. As the 'Chinese' sample is modest, we discuss their views but do not report exact percentages.

compared. All reporting of the attitudes of the wider population in this report is drawn from this polling, unless otherwise stated.

All the crossbreaks used to observe differences in the views of respondents are detailed in Box 2.2 below.

Box 2.2. Complete polling crossbreaks

- Age
- Gender
- Region
- 2010 General Election voting record
- 2015 General Election voting intention
- Social class
- Ethnic group (as outlined in Box 2.1)
- Eligibility to vote
- Religion
- Parent
- Immigrant
- Employment status

Our judgment was that “Don’t know” answers should be removed from our analysis and presentation of the polling. Thus, reported answers refer to a sample of respondents that gave a relevant answer. However, the removal of “Don’t know” responses from our analysis means that the findings are not completely representative of views across Britain.

Chapter 3: **Improving the immigration system**

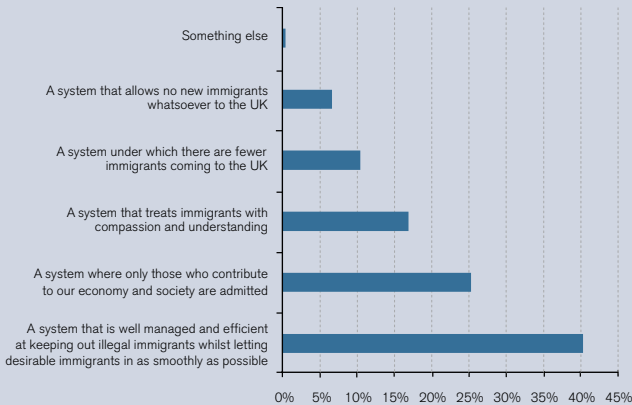
In this chapter, we begin by examining what ethnic minorities consider to be the main aims of our immigration system. Second, what ethnic minorities believe counts as a well-integrated immigrant. Third, what policies ethnic minorities would like government to introduce to improve the immigration system.

The main aims of our immigration system

Ethnic minorities want, above all, an immigration system that is well managed. As Chart 3.1 illustrates, when asked about what the main characteristic of an ideal immigration system would be, 40% of ethnic minorities choose ‘a system that is well managed and efficient at keeping out illegal immigrants’. Prioritising immigrants who will contribute to Britain’s economy and society is also widely regarded as important, with 25% saying that it is the main characteristic of an ideal immigration system. This is markedly higher than the proportion who cite either fewer immigrants or no new immigrants at all. This suggests that it is competence and contribution which ethnic minorities value most when it comes to the immigration system, over seeking to restrict or cap the number of immigrants. Focusing only on the responses of immigrants,

we found that they agree that competence and contribution are the most important characteristics for an immigration system.

Chart 3.1. The prime characteristic of an ideal immigration system, according to ethnic minorities



Base: 1,231 ethnic minority respondents, minus those who responded 'Don't know'

These results resemble the responses of the wider population. In our nationally representative sample, ensuring a well-managed system (35%) and only admitting immigrants who will contribute (24%) also came through as the most popular characteristics of an ideal system. As such, competence and contribution are characteristics which are prioritised across the population.¹⁵

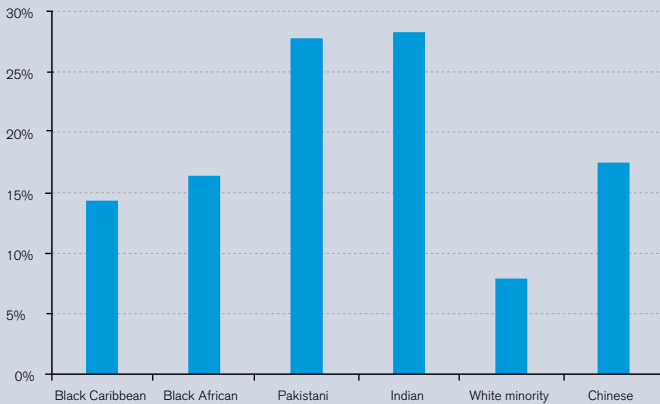
Beneath these headline commonalities, there are differences in emphasis on the characteristics of an ideal immigration system between ethnic minorities and the wider population. Ethnic minorities are less likely to say that an ideal immigration system is one with fewer

¹⁵ Similarly, Lord Ashcroft has found that ethnic minority groups are as forceful “as any other in their view that new immigrants to Britain should work, support themselves and contribute to the country” (Lord Ashcroft, “Degrees of separation”, <http://lordashcrofthpolls.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/DEGREES-OF-SEPARATION.pdf> (2012)).

immigrants. Whereas only 10% of ethnic minorities say that it is a system which admits fewer immigrants and 7% say that it is a system that admits no new immigrants at all, these figures rise to 19% and 9% for the wider population. Furthermore, 17% of ethnic minorities say that an ideal immigration system is one which treats immigrants with compassion and understanding, compared to only 12% of the wider population.

As a whole, ethnic minorities are less focused on reducing immigrant numbers, but this does vary depending upon ethnic group. As Chart 3.2 demonstrates, Indians (29%) and Pakistanis (28%) are more likely to see the prime characteristic of an ideal immigration system to be either fewer immigrants or no new immigrants. People from white minority backgrounds are least likely to assert this (8%).

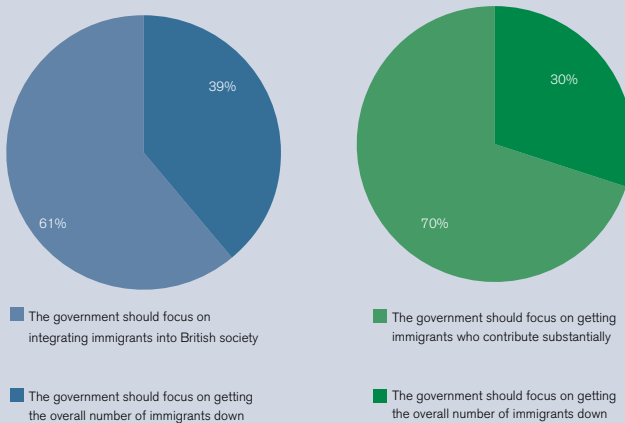
Chart 3.2. The prime characteristic of an ideal immigration system being either fewer immigrants or no new immigrants, according to ethnic minorities, by ethnic group



Base: 1,231 ethnic minority respondents, minus those who responded 'Don't know'

In order to explore the appeal of reducing immigrant numbers as a policy direction for ethnic minorities, we tested it against other possible policy aims, such as getting only immigrants who contribute to our economy and society, or ensuring that new immigrants are integrating into British society. As Chart 3.3 demonstrates, reducing the overall number of immigrants is markedly less popular than both of these alternative policy aims amongst ethnic minorities. Seventy percent opt for getting immigrants who will contribute substantially to our economy and society, ahead of reducing the overall numbers, while 61% opt for focusing on integrating new immigrants.

Chart 3.3. Support for reducing the number of immigrants compared to other policy priorities amongst ethnic minorities

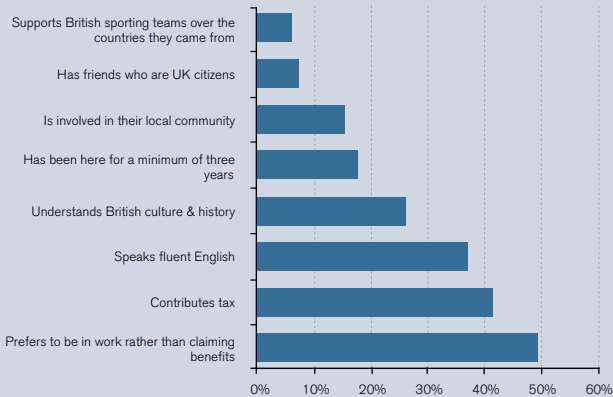


Base: 1,231 ethnic minority respondents, minus those who responded 'Don't know'

Chart 3.3 highlights that ethnic minorities prioritise not only the contribution of immigrants over reducing their numbers, but also their integration. In a separate question, we investigated directly whether ethnic minorities consider the integration of new immigrants

to be important. We found that 88% of ethnic minorities agree that it is important that immigrants make efforts to integrate into British society. Interestingly, immigrants themselves are especially likely to agree to this: 91% compared to 84% of ethnic minorities who are not immigrants. Furthermore, support is especially pronounced amongst older ethnic minorities, with 97% of those aged 55+ agreeing. Building on this theme, Chart 3.4 identifies the key attributes of a well-integrated immigrant, according to ethnic minorities.

Chart 3.4. The attributes of a well-integrated immigrant, according to ethnic minorities



Base: 1,231 ethnic minority respondents, minus those who responded 'Don't know'

The above chart models responses to a question asking respondents to rank each possible attribute of a well-integrated immigrant from 1 (very important) to 10 (not important), and the chart illustrates the proportion of respondents which ranked each factor as either 1 or 2. As such, it demonstrates the relative importance of these characteristics for ethnic minorities in determining what an immigrant should be doing

to be sufficiently integrated. The three most important characteristics are:

- Contributes tax
- Wants to work
- Speaks fluent English

This underlines two important points. First, for ethnic minorities, integration and contribution are closely related. ‘Contributing tax’ and ‘wanting to work’ are clearly contributory characteristics about the effort immigrants make and the value they add to the economy and wider society. In our recent paper, *A centre-right plan on immigration from decision makers and opinion formers*, we identified three distinct concepts of integration commonly employed: contribution, social mixing and national identity.¹⁶ While each of these concepts has value, and we discuss facets of national identity and social mixing later in Chapter Six, it is clear that ethnic minorities typically see integration as a matter of contribution.

Second, the key attributes of a well-integrated immigrant are the same for both ethnic minorities and the wider population. In our nationally representative sample, ‘contributes tax’, ‘wants to work’ and ‘speaks fluent English’ similarly came out as the key attributes of a well-integrated immigrant. In our previous report, we argued that there is an ‘integration consensus.’¹⁷ While there are parts of the immigration debate that can be divisive, there is widespread agreement on the importance of integrating immigrants, and also on what that integration should consist of. The evidence outlined in this chapter underlines that ethnic minorities are very much part of this broader consensus on integration.

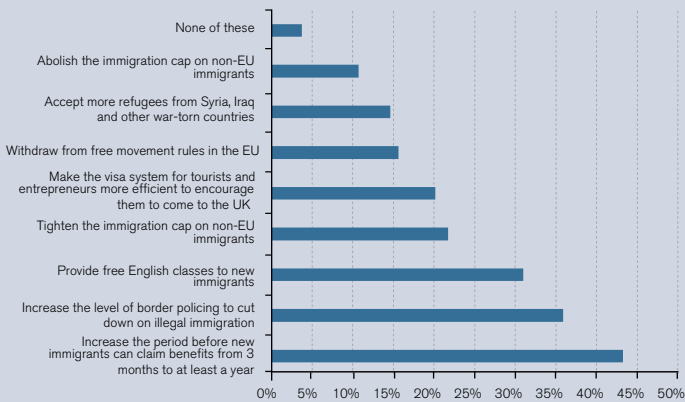
¹⁶ Ryan Shorthouse and David Kirkby, “A centre-right plan on immigration from decisions makers and opinion formers”, <http://brightblue.org.uk/images/opinion-formers.pdf> (2015).

¹⁷ Ibid.

What policies do ethnic minorities want government to introduce?

As Chart 3.5 shows, the policy which ethnic minorities would most like to see introduced to improve the immigration system (respondents were asked to select two) is extending the time before which immigrants can receive benefits (43%). The second most popular policy is more border policing, chosen by 36%. These two policies are also the most popular amongst the population generally, with 47% choosing restricting benefits and 43% choosing greater border control.

Chart 3.5. Policy priorities to improve the immigration system, according to ethnic minorities



Base: 1,231 ethnic minority respondents

Interestingly, focusing on immigrants specifically, they have the same policy priorities as ethnic minorities generally. We found that restricting respondents to immigrants alone, broadly the same spread of policies were selected.

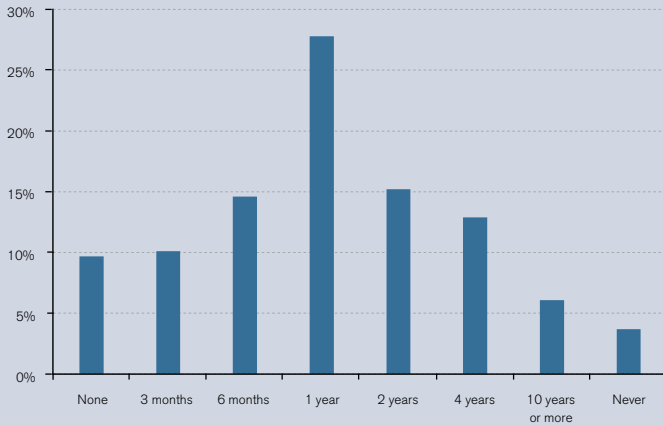
The two favoured policies amongst ethnic minorities reinforce the importance of competence and contribution. Increasing the level

of border policing speaks to concerns about the management and effectiveness of the current system in ensuring that only those with a right to remain in the UK do so. Meanwhile, restricting access to benefits for new immigrants relates to ensuring that immigrants contribute to the economy. Increasing the level of border policing and restricting access to benefits for new immigrants are also the most favoured policies for the population as a whole.

The principle of restricting access to benefits for new immigrants is supported by ethnic minorities and we tested different policy formulations of this principle. We found that 80% support the recent Government policy of restricting access to benefits for EU migrants by making them conditional upon working for three months and earning at least £149 per week during that period.

We also asked respondents how long immigrants to the UK should have to work before becoming eligible for benefits. In November, 2014, the Prime Minister gave a keynote speech on immigration. He declared that he would be looking to work with EU partners to restrict the time until EU migrants can claim in-work benefits and social housing in the UK to four years. Our survey found that four years is significantly longer than the time period most ethnic minorities support, as demonstrated by Chart 3.6. Thirty four percent of ethnic minorities say that immigrants should become eligible for benefits after less than a year in work; 28% say a year; 38% say over a year. We found that restricting the sample to immigrants did not affect the spread of responses to this question. Immigrants have broadly the same views regarding access to benefits as ethnic minorities more generally.

Chart 3.6. Length of time immigrants should work in the UK before being eligible for benefits, according to ethnic minorities



Base: 1,231 ethnic minority respondents, minus those who responded 'Don't know'

Aside from restricting access to benefits and increasing border policing, the other proposed policy which receives significant support from ethnic minorities is free English language classes for immigrants. Thirty one percent of ethnic minorities select this as a policy priority, markedly higher than the 15% of the wider population who choose it. This is interesting because, as noted earlier, both ethnic minorities and the wider population regard English language fluency as a critical attribute of a well-integrated immigrant. Nevertheless, ethnic minorities are markedly more likely to support a very tangible means of delivering this in free English language classes. This may indicate a greater determination or prioritisation of integration amongst ethnic minorities, at least when framed as a policy option which would require public resources. Black Caribbeans (47%) are particularly likely to select free English language classes as a policy priority.

Box 3.1. Ethnic minorities and the Conservative Party

Support for the Conservative Party amongst ethnic minorities is low, but growing. In 2010, just 16% of ethnic minorities voted Conservative.¹⁷ Following the 2015 General Election, British Future/Survation polling of ethnic minorities found that 33% voted Conservative.¹⁸ Notwithstanding this relatively high vote share, this poll also found that Labour gained 52% of ethnic minority votes, still well ahead of the Conservatives. With ethnic minorities set to grow as a proportion of the electorate in the coming decades, forecast to comprise 20-30% of the UK population by 2051,¹⁹ it is vital for the Conservative Party that it continues to strengthen its appeal amongst ethnic minorities.

Lord Ashcroft has found that the greatest driver of not voting Conservative amongst non-white voters is the view that Conservatives are hostile to people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds.²⁰

The Conservative Party's problem appears to be, in part, bound up with the issue of immigration. Lord Ashcroft has noted that Enoch Powell's speech is still commonly cited by ethnic minorities in relation to the Conservative Party.²¹ In our survey, we found that 'changing their policy on immigration' was one of the top changes which would encourage ethnic minority individuals not currently seriously considering voting for the party to consider it. Respondents were asked to select all changes which would encourage consideration of voting for the party and as Chart 3.7 demonstrates, 24% selected 'change policy on immigration', behind only changing NHS policy and changing economic policy.

18 BBC, "The Conservatives and ethnic minority voters", BBC, 13 February, 2013.

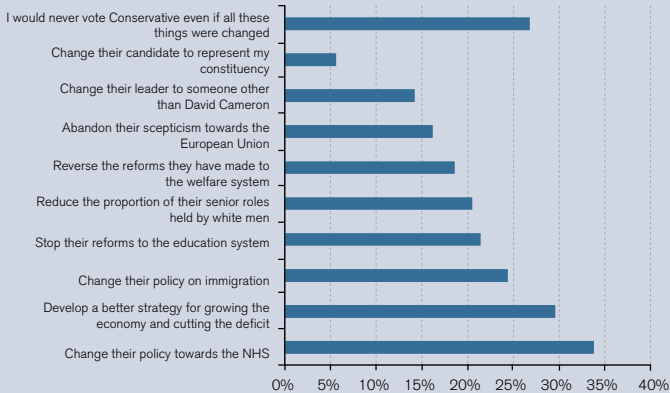
19 British Future, "General Election 2015 and the ethnic minority vote", <http://www.britishfuture.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/ethnicminorityvote2015.pdf> (2015).

20 Rishi Sunak and Saratha Rajeswaran, *A portrait of modern Britain* (London: Policy Exchange, 2014).

21 Lord Ashcroft, "Degrees of separation", <http://lordashcrofthpolls.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/DEGREES-OF-SEPARATION.pdf> (2012).

22 Ibid.

Chart 3.7. Changes which would encourage consideration of voting for the Conservative Party, according to people from ethnic minority backgrounds not currently considering voting for the Conservative Party



Base: 903 ethnic minority respondents who intended to vote at the 2015 General Election, but not for the Conservative Party

This chapter has shown that the views of ethnic minorities on how to improve the immigration system align, in many respects, with those of the wider population. Competence and prioritising contribution are highly valued characteristics of the immigration system. Moreover, there is widespread agreement on both the importance of integration and the attributes of a well-integrated immigrant. When it comes to immigration policy, ethnic minorities broadly share the same priorities as the wider public.

On the other hand, we have also shown that ethnic minorities are less focused on reducing the number of immigrants than the wider population. This suggests that the views of ethnic minorities on immigration are, in certain respects, distinctive. This will be developed more in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 4: **Who should we let into the UK?**

This chapter explores the views of ethnic minorities on whether particular types of individuals should be allowed to immigrate to the UK. We begin by focusing upon particular examples of immigrants, before turning to various types of immigrants.

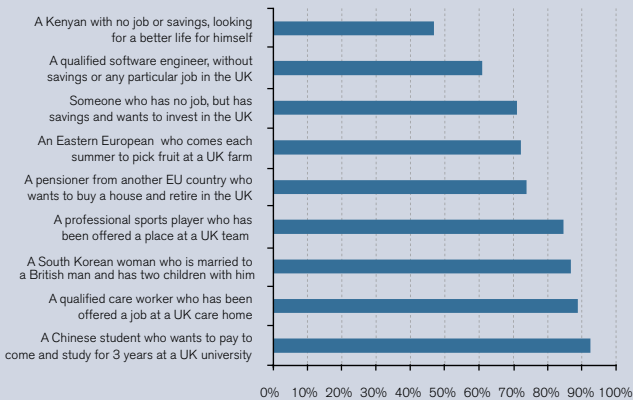
Which immigrants ethnic minorities would let into the UK

Chart 4.1 demonstrates the proportion of ethnic minorities who support particular examples of immigrants being let into the UK. The example immigrants we asked respondents to consider represent a range of circumstances and countries of origin. The main migration categories, workers, students, family members, are all represented. Asylum applicants are discussed later in this chapter.

With only one exception, ethnic minorities say that the immigrants we asked them to consider should be admitted to the UK.

The example immigrant which ethnic minorities most favour letting into the UK is an international student: 93% of ethnic minorities would admit a Chinese student who wants to pay to come and study for three years at a UK university. The least popular example immigrant is an individual with no job or savings: slightly under half of respondents, 47%, would admit a man from Kenya with no job and no savings who is looking for a better life for himself.

Chart 4.1. Support for allowing particular immigrants to come into the UK amongst ethnic minorities

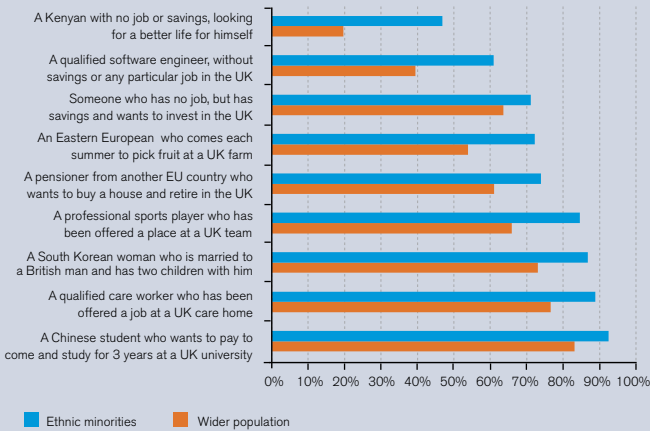


Base: 1,231 ethnic minority respondents

Before 2010, the Conservative Party promised to introduce a cap on net migration with the aim of reducing net migration to “tens of thousands each year, not hundreds of thousands”. This cap only applies to non-EEA (European Economic Area) migrants, since membership of the EU includes adhering to the principle of free movement of workers. All the examples of immigrants described in Chart 4.1, excluding the EU pensioner and the EU seasonal fruit picker (which attract the support of most ethnic minorities anyway), could fall under the government’s immigration cap. However, in all of these cases bar one, a majority of ethnic minorities would let such people into the UK.

Ethnic minorities are more likely to say that particular immigrants should be admitted than the wider population. For example, whereas 47% of ethnic minorities would admit a man from Kenya with no job and no savings who is looking for a better life for himself, only 20% of the wider population would do so. In fact, for every example immigrant we asked respondents to consider, ethnic minorities are more likely to say they should be admitted than the wider population. This is illustrated in Chart 4.2.

Chart 4.2. Support for allowing particular immigrants to come into the UK, amongst ethnic minorities and the wider population



Base: 1,231 ethnic minority respondents and 1,052 wider population respondents

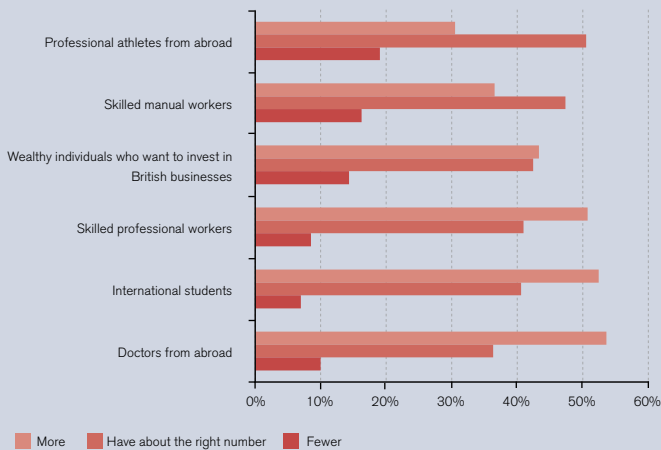
Ethnic minorities are more likely to want to admit particular immigrants to the UK than the wider population. This builds on the finding discussed in the previous chapter that ethnic minorities are less focused on reducing the number of immigrants as a policy priority than the wider population.

Of course, ethnic minorities are not uniform in their views, and we did find some limited variation in attitudes depending upon ethnic group. Chinese people are less likely to welcome the particular immigrants outlined. In seven of the nine examples offered, Chinese people are less likely to welcome the immigrants than the average for ethnic minorities. Moreover, we found that people of white minority background are markedly more likely to welcome the immigrants from the EU. Eighty three percent would welcome a temporary migrant worker from Eastern Europe who comes to pick fruit, and 87% would welcome an EU pensioner who wants to retire in the UK.

Whether ethnic minorities want more or less of different types of immigrants

As well as asking ethnic minorities about particular examples of immigrants, as described in the previous section, we also asked whether they want more or less of different types of immigrants. As Chart 4.4 illustrates, for each type of immigrant, a clear majority of ethnic minorities do not want to reduce their numbers. For example, only 10% want fewer doctors working in the NHS; 16% want fewer skilled manual workers; and 8% want fewer skilled professional workers.

Chart 4.4. Support for more or fewer of different types of immigrants in the UK, amongst ethnic minorities

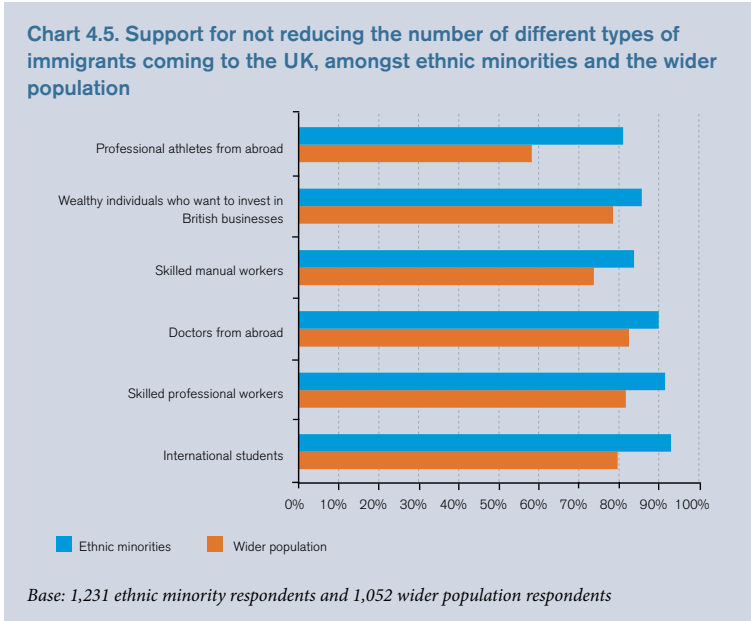


Base: 1,231 ethnic minority respondents

International students are viewed especially favourably, with only 7% of ethnic minorities wanting fewer to arrive. Although there is technically no cap on student visas, international students are included in the net migration figures. It has been argued that this has had an adverse effect on numbers, particularly from certain parts of the

world, and is damaging the UK's prospects in what is an increasingly competitive global market.²³

Ethnic minorities are more welcoming of every type of immigrant considered than the wider population, as illustrated in Chart 4.5 below.



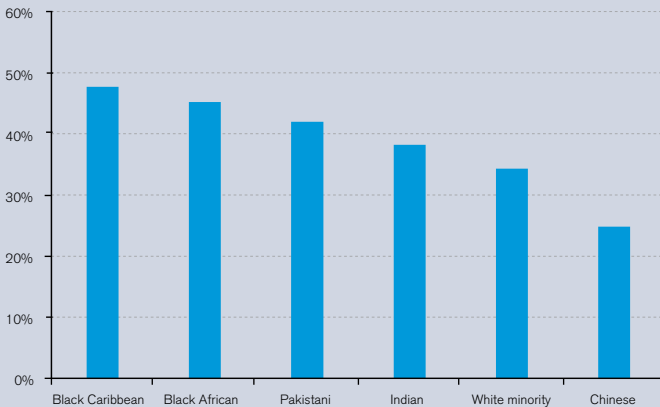
Although ethnic minorities are more welcoming of these different types of immigrants, it is important to stress that even for the wider population, a clear majority do not want to see fewer of these different types of immigrants. Nevertheless, ethnic minorities are even more welcoming of these different types of immigrants than the wider population. Ninety three percent of ethnic minorities do not want fewer international students admitted to the UK, compared to 80%

²³ David Hughes, "Vince Cable: Immigration 'panic' puts international students off studying in the UK", *The Independent*, 29 May, 2013.

of the wider population. Eighty one percent of ethnic minorities do not want a reduction in the number of professional athletes admitted, compared to 58% of the wider population.

As well as differences between ethnic minorities and the wider population, there is also variation amongst ethnic minorities. We found that Black Caribbeans and Black Africans are more likely to be welcoming of different types of immigrants than people from other ethnic minorities. This fits with the finding discussed in the previous chapter, and illustrated in Chart 3.2, that Black Caribbeans and Black Africans place relatively little importance on restricting the number of immigrants arriving in the UK as a policy aim.

Chart 4.6. Support for more skilled manual workers being admitted to the UK, amongst ethnic minorities, by ethnic group

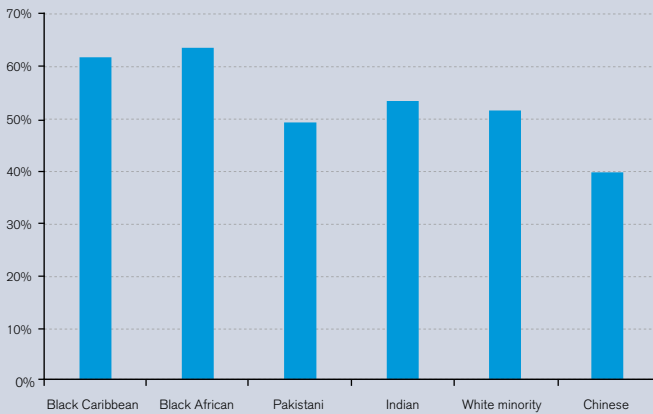


Base: 1,231 ethnic minority respondents

As Chart 4.6 demonstrates, a high proportion of Black Caribbeans (48%) and Black Africans (45%) want more skilled manual workers, such as plumbers and electricians, admitted to the UK. By contrast, Chinese people (25%) and those from a white minority background (34%) are

markedly less likely to agree. Similarly for skilled professional workers from abroad, e.g. lawyers and engineers, 61% of Black Caribbeans and 63% of Black Africans want more admitted, compared to 51% of those from a white minority background and 39% of Chinese people. This is shown in Chart 4.7 below.

Chart 4.7. Support for more skilled professional workers from abroad being admitted to the UK, amongst ethnic minorities, by ethnic group



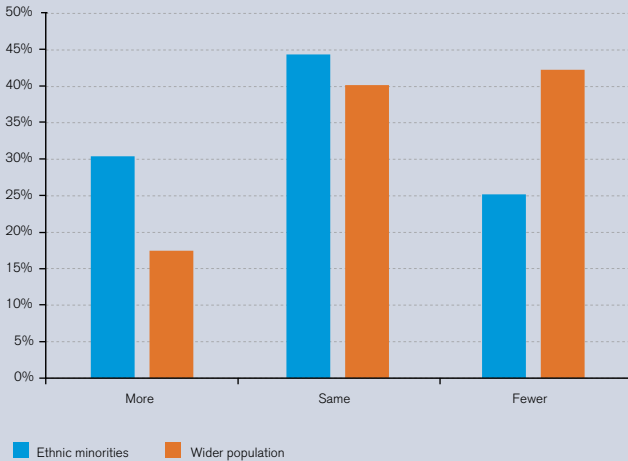
Base: 1,231 ethnic minority respondents

Beyond these differences according to ethnic group, we also found that age impacts upon the views of ethnic minorities. Broadly speaking, people who are from ethnic minority backgrounds and who are younger are more likely to be welcoming than those who are older. Forty four percent of 18-34 year old ethnic minorities want more skilled manual workers admitted to the UK compared to 29% of 35-54 year olds and 32% of those aged 55+. Fifty nine percent of 18-34 year old ethnic minorities want more doctors from abroad admitted to the UK compared to 47% of 35-54 year olds and 54% of those aged 55+.

Which asylum applicants ethnic minorities would let into the UK

We also explored ethnic minorities' attitudes to asylum applicants. As Chart 4.8 illustrates, 75% of ethnic minorities do not want to reduce the number of asylum applicants admitted to the UK. By contrast, this figure falls to 58% for the wider population. As with other types of immigrants therefore, ethnic minorities are more welcoming of asylum applicants than the population generally.

Chart 4.8. Support for more, the same or fewer asylum seekers from war-torn countries coming into the UK, amongst ethnic minorities and the wider population

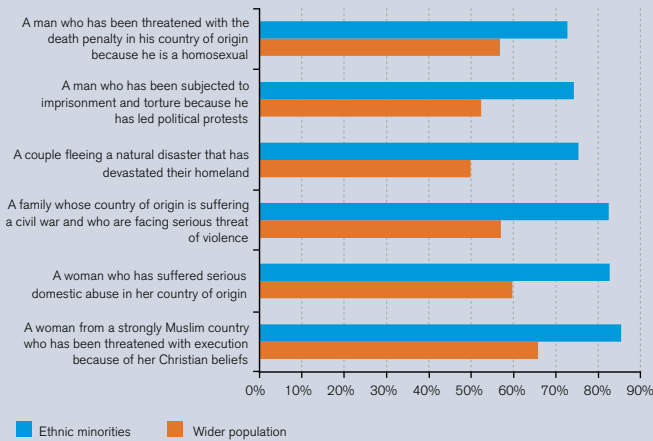


Base: 1,231 ethnic minority respondents and 1,052 wider population respondents

In order to better understand which types of asylum applicants are most favoured, we asked respondents to consider a number of specific asylum applicant examples and whether they should be admitted into the UK. These examples represented a range of circumstances and reasons for seeking asylum. As Chart 4.9 demonstrates, in every

case a clear majority of ethnic minority respondents said that they should be admitted. For instance, 85% of ethnic minorities think that a woman from a strongly Muslim country who has been threatened with execution because of her Christian beliefs should be admitted. Eighty three percent think that a family whose country of origin is suffering a civil war and who are facing serious threat of violence should be admitted. Furthermore, as Chart 4.9 highlights, for every example asylum applicant, ethnic minorities are more likely to say that they should be admitted than the wider population.

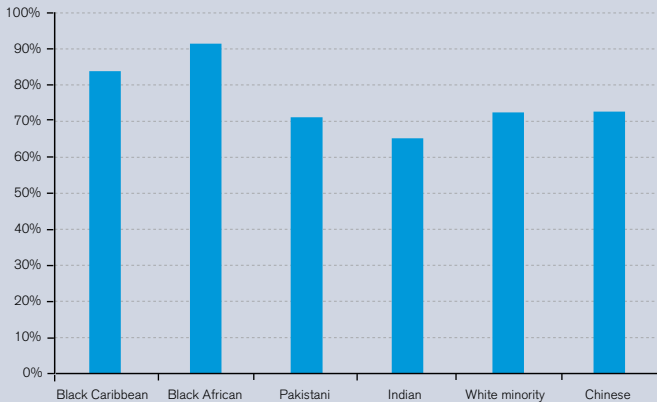
Chart 4.9. Support for allowing particular asylum applicants to come into the UK, amongst ethnic minorities and the wider population



Base: 1,231 ethnic minority respondents and 1,052 wider population respondents

There are certain socio-demographic characteristics that make ethnic minorities more likely to welcome asylum applicants. These are the same characteristics as those observed in the previous section in relation to different types of immigrants. Black Caribbeans and Black Africans are more welcoming of asylum applicants, as are those who are younger.

Chart 4.10. Support for not reducing the number of asylum applicants from war-torn countries coming into the UK amongst ethnic minorities, by ethnic group



Base: 1,231 ethnic minority respondents

As Chart 4.10 demonstrates, comparing responses by ethnic minority group, it is clear that Black Caribbeans (84%) and Black Africans (92%) are most likely to support not reducing the number of asylum applicants from war-torn countries admitted to the UK. Indians (65%) are least likely. Furthermore, 80% of all 18-34 year old ethnic minorities do not want to reduce the number of asylum applicants compared to 72% of all 35-54 year olds and 63% of all those aged 55+.

Box 4.1. The importance of different socio-demographic characteristics in shaping ethnic minority views on immigration

This chapter has established that there are certain ethnic groups which are more welcoming of immigrants. Black Caribbeans and Black Africans stand out as especially welcoming. Chinese people are least welcoming.

Beyond ethnic groups, we also found that age impacts upon views regarding which immigrants should be admitted. People who are from an ethnic minority background and who are younger are more likely to welcome different kinds of immigrants than those who are older.

Interestingly, there are certain socio-demographic characteristics which correspond to consistent differences in attitudes in the wider population, but not amongst ethnic minorities. In our nationally representative sample, we found that social class, region of habitation and parenthood all impacted, to varying extents, on whether respondents welcomed immigrants. Yet, for ethnic minorities we did not find that these characteristics made a consistent difference to attitudes.

In Chapter Three, we demonstrated that competence and ensuring that immigrants contribute and integrate are key priorities for ethnic minorities in relation to immigration. It was highlighted that these are priorities for the wider population also, and so mark points of significant agreement and consensus. However, we also underlined how ethnic minorities place less of an emphasis on reducing the number of immigrants than the wider population.

This chapter has brought out the differences between ethnic minorities and the wider population. Building on the observation that ethnic minorities place less of an emphasis on reducing the number of immigrants than the wider population, we have demonstrated that

ethnic minorities are markedly more welcoming of different types of immigrants than the population as a whole.

Furthermore, we have shown that there is also variation in the attitudes of ethnic minorities. Black African and Black Caribbean people as well as those who are younger are more likely to be welcoming of immigrants. By contrast, Chinese people and those who are older are less likely to be welcoming.

Chapter 5: The impact of immigration

In this chapter, we explore how ethnic minorities view the economic and cultural impact of immigration on Britain.

The impact of immigration

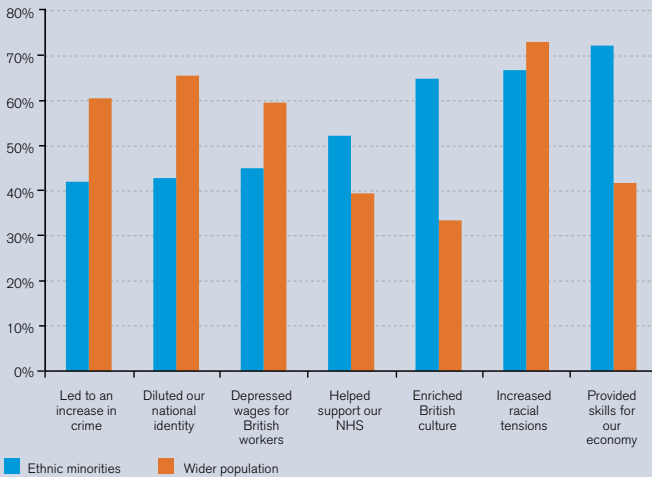
Ethnic minorities are broadly positive about the economic and cultural impact of immigration on the UK. As part of our polling, we asked respondents whether they strongly or somewhat agreed (we will report these together as net agreement) with a range of proposed positive and negative effects of immigration on the country. These effects were selected on the basis that they are commonly cited in public debate.

As Chart 5.1 illustrates, 72% of ethnic minorities agree that immigration has provided skills for our economy. Sixty five percent agree that it has enriched British culture and 52% agree that it has helped support our NHS. By contrast, of the negative effects proposed, only ‘increased racial tensions’ attracts agreement from a majority of ethnic minorities (67%). Forty two percent agree that immigration has led to an increase in crime and 43% agree that it has diluted national identity.

Chart 5.1 also demonstrates that ethnic minorities are significantly more positive about the impact of immigration than the wider population. Ethnic minorities are more likely to agree to every proposed positive effect than the wider population and equally, less likely to agree to every proposed negative effect. For instance, while 72% of ethnic minorities agree that immigration has provided skills for the economy, only 42% of the wider

population agree. In turn, 45% of ethnic minorities agree that immigration has depressed wages for British workers compared to 60% of the wider population. This is especially interesting given that ethnic minorities are more likely to be in relatively poorly paid occupations, such as sales and catering, and are more likely to work for less than the Living Wage.²⁴

Chart 5.1. Agreement with commonly perceived impacts of immigration, according to ethnic minorities and the wider population



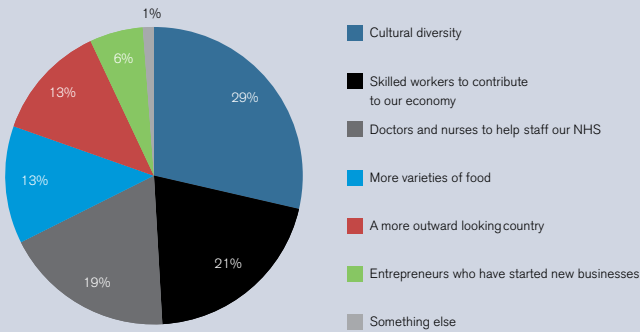
Base: 1,231 ethnic minority respondents and 1,052 wider population respondents

We found white minority respondents to be particularly opposed to the idea that immigration has depressed wages for British workers. Only 34% agree that it has had this effect. We also found variation between ethnic groups on the issue of crime. Compared to other ethnic minority groups, Pakistanis (52%) and Indians (52%) are more likely to believe that immigration has led to an increase in crime.

24 Joseph Rowntree Foundation, “The effect of occupation on poverty among ethnic minority groups”, <http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/occupation-poverty-ethnic-minority-full.pdf> (2015).

In order to identify which benefit ethnic minorities consider most important, we asked them to pick one benefit which immigration has brought. As Chart 5.2 highlights, cultural diversity was the benefit most selected (29%). The second most popular was skilled workers to contribute to our economy (21%). The third most popular was doctors and nurses to help staff our NHS (19%).

Chart 5.2. The most important positive impact of immigration, according to ethnic minorities



Base: 1,231 ethnic minority respondents

Indians are more likely to see skilled workers who contribute to the economy to be the biggest benefit of immigration (28%), while Black Caribbeans are more orientated towards doctors and nurses (30%). Similarly, those ethnic minority people who are older, aged 55+, are more likely to select doctors and nurses (35%) than those who are younger, aged 18-34 (15%).

The cultural impact of immigration

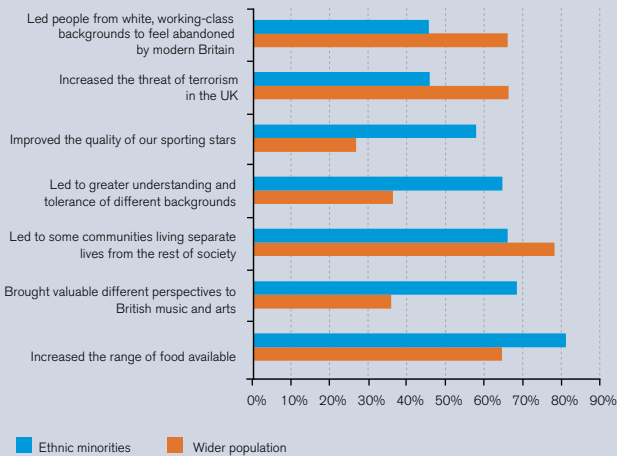
It has been widely argued that public concerns regarding immigration are primarily determined by perceived cultural effects.²⁵ While the

²⁵ Sunder Katwala, Steve Ballinger and Matthew Rhodes, *How to talk about immigration* (London: British Future, 2014).

economic benefits of immigration, such as stronger public finances and higher rates of growth are often trumpeted by advocates of immigration, perceived cultural impacts of immigration seem to be more consequential for public attitudes. For this reason, we felt it was important to explore the cultural impact of immigration in more detail.

As Chart 5.3 illustrates, 81% of ethnic minorities think that immigration has increased the range of food available. Sixty eight percent say that it has brought valuable different perspectives to British music and arts and 65% say that it has led to a greater understanding and tolerance of different backgrounds. There is also an acceptance that immigration has brought cultural pressures. Sixty six percent say that it has led to some communities living separate lives and 46% say that it has led to people from white, working-class backgrounds feeling abandoned by modern Britain.

Chart 5.3. Agreement with commonly perceived cultural impacts of immigration, according to ethnic minorities and the wider population



Base: 1,231 ethnic minority respondents, minus those who responded 'Don't know', and 1,052 wider population respondents, minus those who responded 'Don't know'

Compared to the wider population, ethnic minorities are, once again, more likely to agree with the proposed positive cultural impacts of immigration and less likely to agree with the proposed negative cultural impacts. While ethnic minorities, by and large, accept that immigration has brought cultural challenges, compared to the wider population they are also far more likely to believe that immigration has brought cultural benefits.

In public discourse, it is sometimes suggested that there is little difference between ethnic minorities and the wider population on immigration. Those who are more negative about immigration have claimed to be representing the views of ethnic minorities as well as the ethnic majority. For example, UKIP's Nigel Farage has claimed that in criticising immigration inflows into the UK he speaks "as much as for the settled ethnic minorities"²⁶

This is contradicted by the evidence discussed in this report. Ethnic minorities are less focused on reducing the number of immigrants, more welcoming of immigrants and, as the present chapter has established, more positive about the impact of immigration.

A balanced agenda

The task for the centre-right of British politics is to achieve balance in the way it discusses the impact of immigration, talking about the positives as well as highlighting the challenges it brings.

In Chapter Three we explained how ethnic minorities broadly share the same policy priorities on immigration as the wider public. While there are some policies which may particularly appeal to ethnic minorities, such as free English language classes, fundamentally a centre-right policy offer on immigration which focuses upon competence and

²⁶ The Spectator, "Nigel Farage's speech at the UKIP conference – full text and audio", *The Spectator*, 20 September, 2013.

prioritises the contribution and integration of immigrants will appeal to both ethnic minorities and the wider public alike.

However, ethnic minorities do differ in their assessment of the impact of immigration. As this chapter has shown, ethnic minorities are much more positive about the impact of immigration than the wider public. This plausibly explains their more welcoming outlook, identified in Chapter Four. While ethnic minorities and the wider public want similar things from the immigration system, ethnic minorities are much more positive about the immigration which has actually happened and is happening.

This has implications for how the centre-right views and speaks about immigration. It is necessary for it to recognise and enunciate the cultural and economic benefits that immigration brings. This does not mean ignoring the challenges – indeed, ethnic minorities accept that immigration has brought cultural problems – but it does mean that getting the balance right is all the more important.

Chapter 6: **Successful integration?**

In this chapter, we explore the extent to which integration, which we define as immigrants mixing socially with native Britons, is occurring and seen to be occurring. We begin by exploring perceptions of existing levels of integration generally. We then turn to the experiences and outlooks of people from ethnic minority backgrounds, both immigrants and non-immigrants, in order to further build an evidence base on the degree to which integration is occurring.

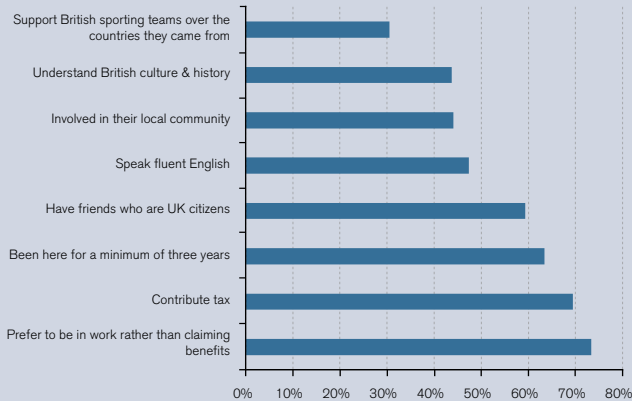
Are immigrants seen to be integrating?

In Chapter Three, we outlined the key characteristics of a well-integrated immigrant according to ethnic minorities. A number of characteristics were revealed as especially important: contributes tax, prefers to be in work rather than claiming benefits, speaks fluent English.

In order to determine whether immigrants are seen to be integrating, we asked respondents whether these various characteristics are true of most immigrants in the UK today. As Chart 6.1 illustrates, 73% of ethnic minorities think that most immigrants prefer to be in work than on benefits; 69% think that most immigrants contribute tax; 47% think that most immigrants speak fluent English. Some of the other characteristics mentioned receive less support, with only 31% of ethnic minorities agreeing that most immigrants support British sporting teams over the countries they came from and 44% agreeing that most immigrants understand British culture and history. Critically though, these characteristics are deemed less

important for being a well-integrated immigrant, as was demonstrated by Chart 3.4. On balance, ethnic minorities are fairly positive about the extent to which most immigrants in the UK today are integrated.

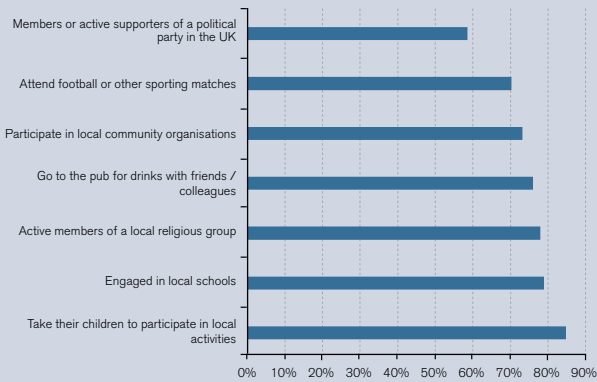
Chart 6.1. What is true of most immigrants in the UK, according to ethnic minorities



Base: 1,231 ethnic minority respondents

As well as exploring perceptions of the integration of immigrants generally, we also asked about immigrants who are known personally and how they participate in the local community. The question we asked was, “Thinking only about immigrants you know well personally, which of the following things do they do in your local community?”, therefore moving ethnic minority respondents’ perceptions away from immigrants in the UK generally to those they know personally. Ethnic minorities are positive about the involvement of immigrants they know personally in their local community. Eighty five percent agree that immigrants they know definitely or to some extent take their children to participate in local activities; 79% agree that they are engaged in local schools; 73% say that they participate in local community organisations.

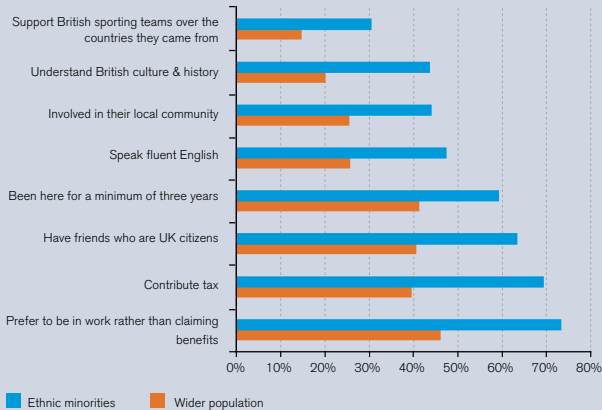
Chart 6.2. Activities undertaken definitely or to some extent by immigrants known personally, according to ethnic minorities



Base: 1,231 ethnic minority respondents, minus those who responded 'Don't know'

Compared to the wider population, ethnic minorities are markedly more likely to think that immigrants are integrated into British society. This is illustrated in Chart 6.3.

Chart 6.3. What is true of most immigrants in the UK, according to ethnic minorities and the wider population



Base: 1,231 ethnic minority respondents and 1,052 wider population respondents

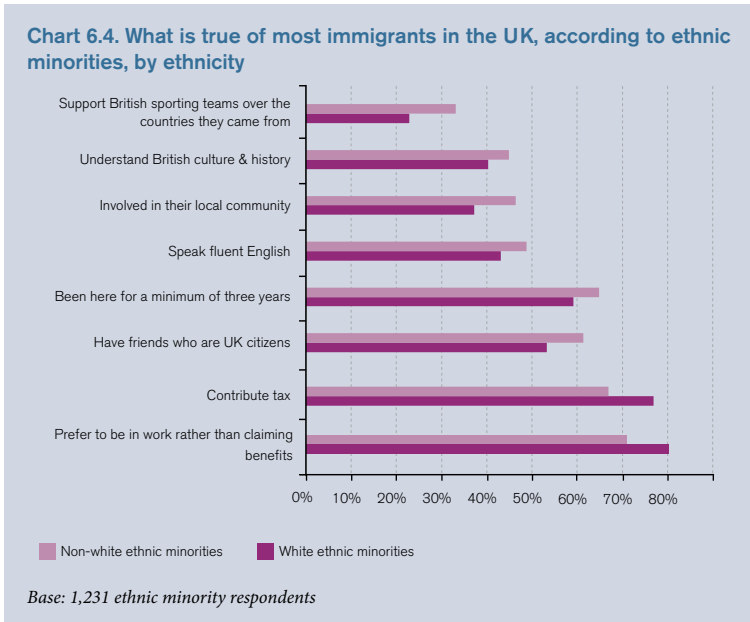
The contrast between the responses of ethnic minorities and those of the wider population in Chart 6.3 is stark. Ethnic minorities are far more likely to believe that immigrants are integrated into British society than the wider population.

In Chapter Three, we explained that the integration of immigrants is valued and prioritised by both ethnic minorities and the public more generally. Indeed, we explained that there exists an ‘integration consensus’, signifying widespread prioritisation of the issue and concurrence on the attributes of a well-integrated immigrant. As we have shown in this chapter however, there is a significant divide between ethnic minorities and the wider population on the extent to which integration is seen to be actually occurring. While there is agreement that integration should happen, ethnic minorities are much more likely to believe that integration is currently taking place.

This conclusion relates to a point made in Chapter Five. There, we underlined that while ethnic minorities want broadly similar things from our immigration system as the wider population – a system that is effectively managed and which prioritises those who contribute – they are much more positive about the outcomes that are actually being delivered currently by the system. In other words, for ethnic minorities, there is a smaller gap between what the immigration system should be doing and what it is doing. This chapter has demonstrated that this applies also to integration. While the wider public want immigrants to integrate, ethnic minorities are far more likely to believe that this is currently happening.

There is some variation amongst ethnic minorities on the degree to which immigrants are seen to be integrated. Interestingly, we found respondents of white minority background to be more likely to agree that immigrants are integrated in economic respects, and respondents of a non-white minority background to be more likely to say that immigrants are integrated in cultural respects. This is illustrated in Chart 6.4. For instance, 77% of white minority people say that most immigrants contribute tax compared to 67% of non-white minority people. By contrast, 37% of

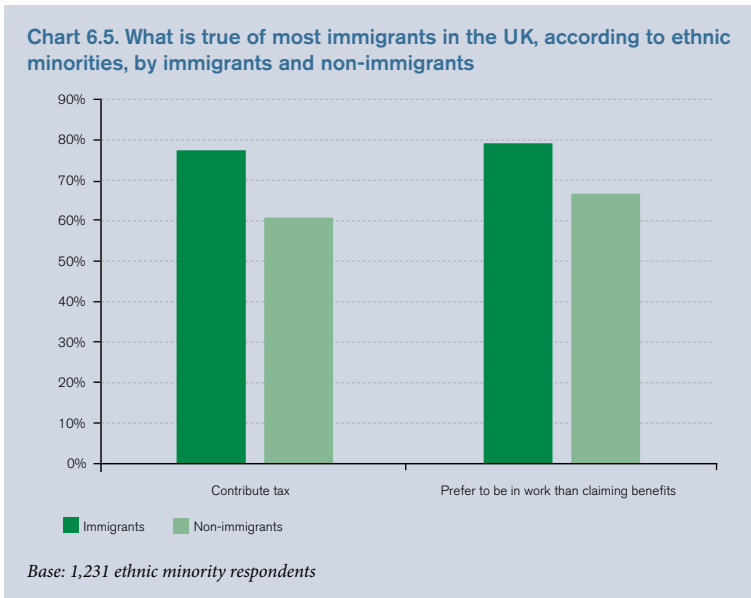
white minority people say that most immigrants are involved in their local community compared to 46% of non-white minority people.



Although these statistical differences are not especially large, they are consistent across the range of economic and cultural factors considered. This indicates a possible difference in emphasis between white ethnic minorities – the majority of whom are citizens of a European country other than the UK – and non-white ethnic minorities on the degree to which immigration is seen as a primarily economic phenomenon or a cultural one.

On this same question of what is true of most immigrants, we found a related difference between ethnic minority respondents who are immigrants and those who are not: economic and cultural measures of integration are viewed differently. On cultural measures of integration, immigrants and non-immigrants share similar views of how integrated most immigrants are. However, on economic measures, immigrants

are more likely to think that most immigrants are integrated than non-immigrants. This is illustrated in Chart 6.5.



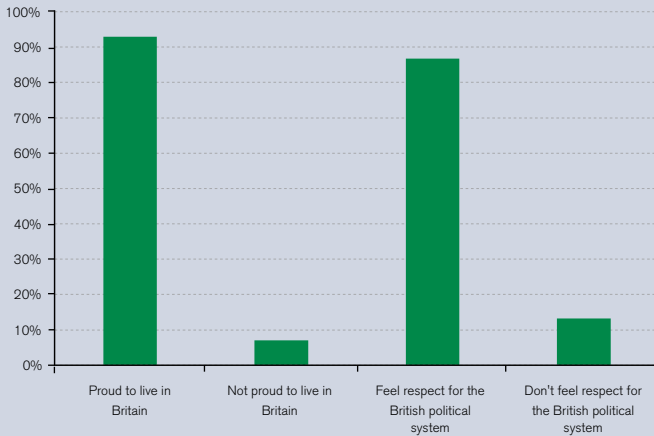
The integration of immigrants

As nearly half of our polling sample were themselves immigrants – people born outside the UK and whose parents were also born outside the UK - this provided us with an opportunity to go beyond respondents' perceptions of integration, discussed in the previous section, and use the responses of immigrants to assess levels of integration directly. By drawing on the personal perspectives of immigrants, we add to the existing evidence base on levels of integration in the UK.

In Chapter Three we explained how integration is primarily conceived in terms of either contribution, national identification or social mixing. We have already established earlier in this chapter that a high proportion of immigrants believe that most immigrants contribute, for example pay tax. In this section we assess levels of national identification and social

mixing. First, we explored levels of national identification by asking immigrants about the pride and respect they have for Britain. As Chart 6.6 illustrates, an overwhelming majority of immigrants, 93%, are proud (either very proud or somewhat proud) to live in Britain. Furthermore, 87% of immigrants feel respect for the British political system.

Chart 6.6. Whether immigrants are proud to be British and feel respect for the British political system

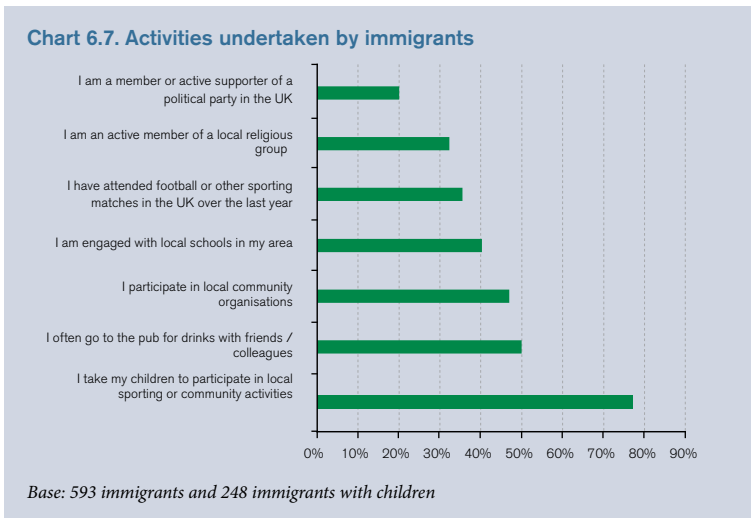


Base: 593 immigrants, minus those who responded 'Don't know'

These very high rates of pride for living in Britain and respect for the British political system indicate widespread identification and association with Britain amongst immigrants. This chimes with other work indicating that migrants tend to arrive in Britain with positive conceptions of British democracy and political institutions.²⁷ Insofar as integration is understood in terms of national identification, these are encouraging signs.

27 Shamit Saggar, Will Somerville, Rob Ford and Maria Sobolewska, "The impacts of migration on social cohesion and integration", https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/257237/social-cohesion-integration.pdf (2012).

In order to shed light upon levels of social mixing, we asked immigrants about their participation in their local community and broader activities undertaken. As Chart 6.7 highlights, for those immigrants who have children, 77% take their children to participate in local sporting or community events. For the activities available to immigrants more generally, 50% go to the pub with friends or colleagues and 47% participate in local community organisations. For the remaining activities considered, a smaller minority participated. Twenty percent of immigrants are members or active supporters of a political party.



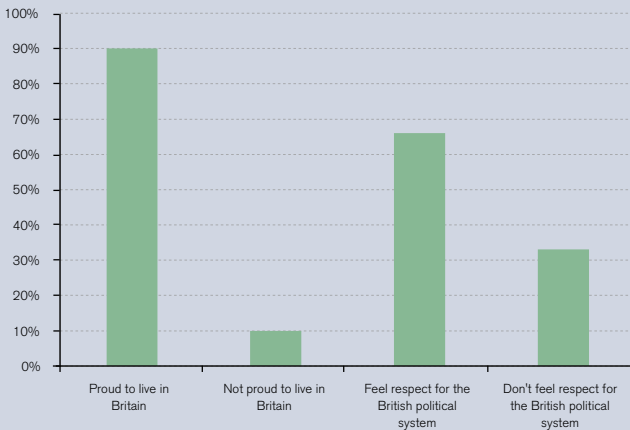
The integration of ethnic minorities generally

So far, where we have discussed integration, it has been the integration of immigrants specifically which has been the focus. However, integration is an issue which extends more broadly to different social and demographic groups, including those whose parents or grandparents were immigrants. Academics and policymakers are often interested in the question of how integrated into wider society ethnic minority groups are generally.

In our polling of ethnic minorities, approximately half of the respondents were born in the UK and had parents or grandparents who were born abroad. We felt that exploring their levels of integration was relevant for a report on immigration because it signifies the long term impact immigration has on wider levels of integration. Immigration impacts upon levels of integration in the short term insofar as immigrants integrate, but also in the long term insofar as ethnic minorities who are the children and grandchildren of immigrants integrate. This is especially important given that 78% of the public believe that immigration has given rise to some communities living separate lives from the rest of society. In this section we add to the existing evidence base on the integration of non-immigrant ethnic minorities whose parents or grandparents are immigrants.

As Chart 6.8 illustrates, an overwhelming majority of ethnic minorities respondents who are not immigrants, 90%, are proud (very proud or somewhat proud) to live in Britain. Sixty six percent feel respect for the British political system.

Chart 6.8. Whether ethnic minorities who are not immigrants are proud to be British and feel respect for the British political system



Base: 638 ethnic minority respondents who are not immigrants, minus those who responded 'Don't know'

This evidence demonstrates that being proud to live in Britain is not restricted to immigrants, but extends more generally to the vast majority of ethnic minorities. Indeed, Policy Exchange has found that individuals from different ethnic minorities are much more likely to self-identify as ‘British-only’ than those of white ethnicity.²⁸ On the other hand, ethnic minority individuals who are not immigrants are markedly less likely to be positive about the British political system than immigrants. While immigrants to Britain arrive in the country full of optimism and positivity regarding Britain and its political system, this optimism seems to somewhat dissipate in future generations.

Turning to the issue of social mixing, the existing evidence on this issue points in different directions. There is some evidence to suggest that the integration of ethnic minorities in the UK is a success story. For example, the proportion of the population that is of mixed-race has risen markedly, particularly for children under five.²⁹ However, there is other evidence to suggest Britain still has much more to do to improve social mixing. The OECD has found that the children of migrants in Britain are more likely to be segregated in the school system than in comparable countries.³⁰ Worryingly, teenagers are now less likely to have friends of other ethnic backgrounds than people in their twenties and thirties.³¹

Chart 6.9 illustrates the activities which ethnic minorities who are not immigrants undertake in their community. For those who have children, 78% take their children to participate in local sporting or community events. For the activities available more generally, 53% participate in local community organisations; 52% go to the pub with friends or colleagues; 32% are members of a political party or active

28 Rishi Sunak and Saratha Rajeswaran, *A portrait of modern Britain* (London: Policy Exchange, 2014), 8.

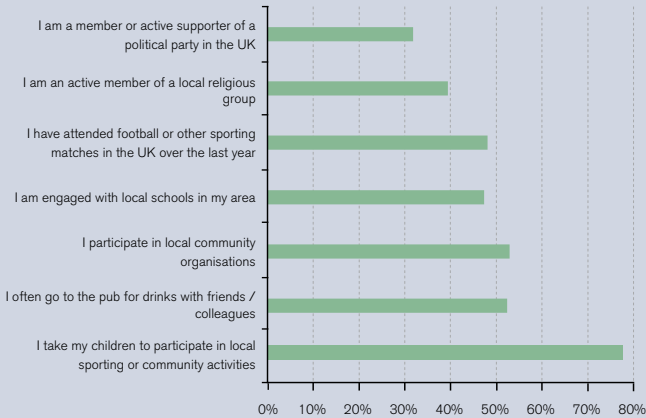
29 The Economist, “Into the melting pot”, *The Economist*, 8 February, 2014.

30 OECD, “Education at a glance”, <http://www.oecd.org/edu/highlights.pdf> (2012).

31 John Bingham, “Multiculturalism in reverse as teenagers buck trend towards integration”, *The Daily Telegraph*, 29 June, 2014.

supporters. For every activity considered, ethnic minorities who are not immigrants are more likely to participate than immigrants.

Chart 6.9. Activities undertaken by ethnic minorities who are not immigrants



Base: 638 ethnic minority respondents who are not immigrants and 245 ethnic minority respondents who are not immigrants with children

In this chapter we have shown that, across both economic and cultural measures, ethnic minorities are more likely to believe that integration has been successful than the wider population. We have also drawn upon the experiences of both ethnic minorities who are immigrants and those who are not to contribute to the evidence base on levels of social mixing and nation identification. Immigrants have very positive conceptions of Britain and its political system, but this enthusiasm is weaker amongst ethnic minorities who are not immigrants.

Conclusion

The aim of this report was to unearth the views of people from ethnic minority backgrounds towards immigration to help inform our year-long project of shaping a balanced policy agenda on immigration for the centre-right of British politics.

We found that ethnic minorities do indeed have distinctive views on immigration, contrasting in many respects with those of the wider population. Our report examined what the views of people from ethnic minority backgrounds are on: the policy priorities for immigration; which types of migrants should be let in; the impact of immigration; and the extent of integration.

The report revealed seven main findings:

- **Ethnic minorities want the same immigration policies as the wider public**

Competence and contribution are prioritised by ethnic minorities as characteristics for our immigration system: strong border controls and letting in those immigrants who will best benefit Britain. Ethnic minorities also place a considerable emphasis upon the integration of immigrants. These policy priorities are shared by the wider public and so mark points of significant agreement and consensus between ethnic minorities and the wider population.

However, despite this broad agreement, ethnic minorities place less of an emphasis on reducing the number of immigrants than the wider population. They are also more likely to want an immigration system that treats immigrants compassionately.

- **Ethnic minorities are more welcoming of different types of immigrants**

Ethnic minorities are markedly more welcoming of immigrants than the population as a whole. Ethnic minorities are more likely to say that particular examples of immigrants, from skilled professional and manual workers to asylum applicants, should be admitted. They are also more likely to say that for different kinds of immigrants, the numbers should not be reduced or should be increased.

- **Ethnic minorities are more positive about the impact of immigration**

On both economic and cultural measures, ethnic minorities are significantly more positive about the impact of immigration on Britain than the wider population. While ethnic minorities do recognise that immigration has brought challenges, such as increased racial tensions, their overall perception of the impact of immigration is much more positive than that of the wider population.

- **Ethnic minorities believe that integration has been successful**

As with the wider population, ethnic minorities believe that the integration of immigrants is important. In contrast to the wider population however, ethnic minorities are more likely to believe that integration is actually occurring and that it has been successful. Across a range of economic and cultural measures of integration, contribution, national identification and social mixing,

a high proportion of ethnic minorities agree that immigrants are integrating. We found that immigrants themselves are particularly likely to agree.

- **Different ethnic groups have different views of immigration**

Black Caribbeans and Black Africans are particularly welcoming of immigrants. Across different examples of immigrants and different types of immigrants, they are more likely to say that immigrants should be admitted. Chinese people are the least welcoming in this regard. Relatedly, Black Caribbeans and Black Africans place relatively little emphasis upon reducing the number of immigrants as a policy aim; Indians and Pakistanis place the most emphasis upon this. There is also evidence to suggest that those from white minority backgrounds are more likely to view immigration as economically successful – for example, agreeing that most immigrants pay tax – whereas those from non-white minority backgrounds are more likely to see it as culturally successful.

- **Immigrants are positive about Britain**

Immigrants have very positive conceptions of Britain. They are proud to live here and feel respect for the British political system. This high level of national identification is a key indicator of successful integration. In terms of policy priorities, immigrants want broadly the same things from our immigration system as ethnic minorities generally, as well as the wider population.

- **Ethnic minority views on immigration represent a political opportunity for the centre-right**

With support growing amongst ethnic minorities, the centre-right in Britain, and the Conservative Party in particular, has the opportunity to further strengthen its appeal. Our polling finds that immigration is one of the key policy areas which the party

must address if it is to persuade more ethnic minority voters to consider voting for it. Rather than pursuing an unbalanced agenda that focuses primarily on caps and further clampdowns, the party should focus on developing a narrative on immigration that ensures that the positive contributions, both economic and social, that most immigrants – and children and grandchildren of immigrants – make to Britain is reflected. It should develop a policy agenda that prioritises immigrants who contribute and that places competent management of the system at the forefront of debate.

Annex: Polling questions

[If not considering Conservative]

1) Which of the following would you say is the number one reason you are not currently intending to vote for the Conservative Party?

- The Conservative Party cannot be trusted to protect the NHS
- The Conservative Party have failed to help improve living standards in the UK
- The Conservative Party have imposed unnecessarily severe cuts on the UK's public services
- The Conservative Party policies benefit the wealthy instead of helping those who are struggling to get by
- The Conservative Party have failed to meet their promise to eliminate the deficit and lost the UK its AAA credit rating
- The Conservative Party have failed to reduce immigration to the “tens of thousands” as they had promised to do
- The Conservative Party are too negative towards immigrants and unfairly blame them for the country's problems
- The Conservatives have introduced too many liberal policies such as gay marriage

- The Conservatives have not offered a referendum on the European Union during this Parliament and I don't trust them to hold one in the next
- The Conservative Party still has too many members who hold racist views
- I do not like my local Conservative MP / candidate
- I do not like David Cameron and would rather he was replaced as Prime Minister
- The Conservatives cannot win in my area, so I plan to vote tactically to keep out another party
- Some other reason

[If not considering Conservative]

2) What area or areas would the Conservative Party have to change about themselves before you would consider voting for them?

[tick all that apply]

- Change their policy towards the NHS
- Develop a better strategy for growing the economy and cutting the deficit
- Change their policy on immigration
- Stop their reforms to the education system
- Reduce the proportion of their senior roles held by white men
- Reverse the reforms they have made to the welfare system
- Abandon their scepticism towards the European Union
- Change their leader to someone other than David Cameron
- Change their candidate to represent my constituency
- I would never vote Conservative even if all these things were changed

3) How proud are you to live in Britain?

- Very proud
- Somewhat proud

- Not very proud
- Not proud at all

4) Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion?

- I feel respect for the British political and legal system
- I do not feel respect for the British political and legal system
- Don't know

5) Imagine the following potential immigrants wanting to come to the UK. In each case, please select whether you think they should be allowed to immigrate to the UK, or not.

[Yes, they should be allowed in / No, they should not be allowed in]

- Someone who is a highly qualified software engineer wanting to work in the UK, but who has no savings and does not have a specific job lined up in the UK in advance
- Someone who has no job, but has several million pounds in savings and wants to buy property in the UK and shares in UK companies
- A professional sports player who has been offered a chance to play with a sports club in the UK
- A pensioner from another EU country who has a moderate pension and wants to buy a house and retire in the UK
- A temporary migrant worker from Eastern Europe who comes each summer to work on a farm in the UK picking fruit
- A qualified care worker who has been offered a job working in a care home for the elderly in the UK
- A man from Kenya with no job and no savings who is looking for a better life for themselves
- A South Korean woman who is married to a British man and has two children with him, where he works full time on the minimum wage
- A Chinese student who wants to pay to come and study for 3 years at a UK university

6) Imagine the following refugees who are seeking asylum in the UK. In each case, please select whether you think they should be granted asylum in the UK, or not.

[Yes, they should be allowed in / No, they should not be allowed in]

- A woman who has suffered serious domestic abuse in her country of origin, where the authorities refuse to offer her protection
- A man who has been threatened with the death penalty in his country of origin because he is homosexual
- A family whose country of origin is suffering a civil war and who are facing serious threat of violence
- A woman from a strongly Muslim country who has been threatened with execution because of her Christian beliefs
- A man who has been subjected to imprisonment and torture because he has led political protests against the authoritarian regime in his country of origin
- A couple fleeing a natural disaster that has devastated their homeland

7) Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion?

- It is important that new immigrants to the UK make efforts to integrate into British society
- It doesn't matter whether new immigrants to the UK make efforts to integrate into British society
- Don't know

8) How important do you think each of the following factors is in determining when an immigrant can be considered a fully-integrated UK citizen?

[Rank from most important to least important factor]

- Speaks fluent English
- Contributes tax
- Understands British culture & history

- Has friends who are UK citizens
- Is involved in their local community
- Has been here for a minimum of three years
- Supports British sporting teams over the countries they came from
- Prefers to be in work rather than claiming benefits

9) Some people say that the following things are important for being truly British. Others say that they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is?

[Very important / Fairly important / Not very important / Not at all important]

- To have been born in Britain
- To have British citizenship
- To have lived in Britain for most of one's life
- To be able to speak English
- To be a Christian
- To respect Britain's political institutions and laws
- To feel British
- To have British ancestry

10) Which of the following do you think is or is not true for most immigrants currently in the UK?

[Is true for most / Is not true for most]

- Speaks fluent English
- Contributes tax
- Understands British culture & history
- Has friends who are UK citizens
- Is involved in their local community
- Has been here for a minimum of three years
- Supports British sporting teams over the countries they came from
- Prefers to be in work rather than claiming benefits

11) Thinking only about immigrants you know well personally, which of the following things do they do in your local community? If you do not personally know any immigrants to the UK, please select “Don’t know” for all options.

[Yes, they definitely do / Some of them / To an extent / No, not at all/
Don’t know]

- Attend football or other sporting matches
- Are active members of a local religious group
- Are members or active supporters of a political party in the UK
- Go to the pub for drinks with friends / colleagues
- Participate in local community organisations
- Engaged in local schools
- Take their children to participate in local sporting or community activities

12) Which of the following things are true about you personally?

[True/ Not true]

- I have attended football or other sporting matches in the UK over the last year
- I am an active member of a local religious group
- I am a member or active supporter of a political party in the UK
- I often go to the pub for drinks with friends / colleagues
- I participate in local community organisations
- I am engaged with local schools in my area
- I take my children to participate in local sporting or community activities

13) In terms of the impact immigration has had on Britain over recent decades, how much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

[Strongly agree / Somewhat agree / Neither agree nor disagree / Somewhat disagree / Strongly disagree / Don’t know]

- Immigration has provided skills for our economy
- Immigration has diluted our national identity
- Immigration has depressed wages for British workers
- Immigration has enriched British culture
- Immigration has led to an increase in crime
- Immigration has helped support our NHS
- Immigration has increased racial tensions

14) What do you think the impact of immigration has been on British culture?

[Strongly agree / Somewhat agree / Neither agree nor disagree / Somewhat disagree / Strongly disagree / Don't know]

- It has increased the range of food available
- It has improved the quality of our sporting stars
- It has increased the threat of terrorism in the UK
- It has led to some communities living separate lives from the rest of society
- It has weakened traditional British values
- It has led people from white, working-class backgrounds to feel abandoned by modern Britain
- It has led to greater understanding and tolerance of different backgrounds
- It has brought valuable different perspectives to British music and arts

15) If you had to pick one benefit that immigrants have brought to the UK over recent decades what would it be?

- More varieties of food
- Cultural diversity
- Entrepreneurs who have started new businesses
- Skilled workers to contribute to our economy

- A more outward looking country with connections around the world
- Doctors and nurses to help staff our NHS
- Something else (please state)

16) Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion?

- The government should focus on getting the overall number of immigrants down, even if that makes it harder to get the kinds of immigrants who contribute substantially to our economy and society
- The government should focus on getting the kind of immigrants who contribute substantially to our economy and society, even if that makes it harder to get the overall number of immigrants down
- Don't know

17) Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion?

- The government should focus on getting the overall number of immigrants down, before worrying about whether immigrants that do come to the UK are integrating into British society
- The government should focus on making sure that immigrants to that do come to the UK are integrating into British society, before worrying about getting the overall number of immigrants down

18) If you could make two changes to government policy on immigration, what would they be?

- Withdraw from free movement of workers rules in the EU
- Tighten the immigration cap on immigrants from outside the EU
- Increase the period before new immigrants can claim benefits from 3 months to at least a year
- Increase the level of border policing to cut down on illegal immigration
- Accept more refugees from Syria, Iraq and other war-torn countries

- Make the visa system for tourists and entrepreneurs more efficient to encourage them to come to the UK
- Abolish the immigration cap on immigrants from outside the EU
- Provide free English classes to all new immigrants to the UK
- None of these

19) What would be the main characteristic of an ideal immigration system?

- A system under which there were fewer immigrants coming to the UK
- A system where only those who contribute to our economy and society are admitted
- A system that is well managed and efficient at keeping out illegal immigrants whilst letting desirable immigrants in as smoothly as possible
- A system that treats immigrants with compassion and understanding
- A system that allows no new immigrants whatsoever to the UK
- Something else [Please state]
- Don't know

20) Which of the following types of immigrants do you think the UK should accept more of and which do you think we should accept fewer of?

[Should accept more of / Have about the right number / Should accept fewer of]

- Students from abroad wanting to pay to study at UK higher education institutions
- Doctors from abroad to work in the NHS
- Skilled manual workers (e.g. plumbers, electricians)
- Skilled professional workers (e.g. lawyers, engineers)

- Wealthy individuals who wish to live in the UK and invest in UK businesses
- Professional athletes from abroad such as Premiership footballers who want to play for UK clubs
- Asylum seekers fleeing war-torn regions or persecution from oppressive regimes

21) Which of the following parties do you think have the best policies on immigration?

- Conservative Party
- Labour Party
- Liberal Democrat Party
- UKIP
- Don't know

22) What do you think of the Conservative Party's record on immigration since 2010?

- They have done well
- They have done badly
- They have done neither well nor badly
- Don't know

23) Thinking about refugees from war-torn countries such as Syria and Iraq, which of the following statements is closest to your opinion?

- The government has let in too many such refugees
- The government has let in too few such refugees
- The government has let in about the right number of such refugees
- Don't know

24) Last year, the government imposed restrictions meaning European migrants coming to the UK will have to show they are earning at least £149 a week for three months before they can access a range of benefits. Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion?

- The government is right to restrict migrants' access to benefits available to benefits in the UK in this way
- The government is wrong to restrict migrants' access to benefits available to benefits in the UK in this way
- Don't know

25) How long do you think new immigrants to the UK should have to be working in the UK before they are allowed to get access to UK benefits?

- None - they should have the same access as existing British citizens
- 3 months
- 6 months
- 1 year
- 2 years
- 4 years
- 10 years or more
- Never - immigrants to the UK should never be able to access UK benefits, no matter how long they have been working here
- Don't know

26) New rules introduced by the government require a British citizen married to a non-European citizen to have a minimum salary before tax of £18,600 to bring their spouse or partner to Britain. Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion?

- The government is right to restrict the ability of British citizens to bring their spouse or partner to the UK in this way

- The government is wrong to restrict the ability of British citizens to bring their spouse or partner to the UK in this way
- Don't know

27) How much do you think a British citizen with no children should have to earn before they are allowed to bring their non-European spouse or partner to the UK?

- Nothing - British citizens should always be able to bring their spouse or partner to live with them in the UK
- £10,600 (the point at which people start paying income tax, in 2015-16)
- £11,800 (working full time on the minimum wage)
- £18,600
- £22,000
- £30,000
- £40,000 or more
- Don't know

28) What do you think is the main motivation of the Conservative Party towards its stance on immigration policy?

- A desire to do what will most help the economy grow
- A desire to preserve British culture and values
- A desire to reduce burdens placed on public services and housing
- Trying to do whatever is most likely to win back voters from UKIP
- Racist attitudes held by some parts of the Conservative Party

Immigration is one of the most important issues the public are concerned about. This is despite tougher rhetoric and measures on immigration from successive governments in recent years. It is imperative that the centre-right develops a balanced agenda on immigration that allows the UK to benefit from the immigration it needs while addressing the challenges it brings. Bright Blue has been undertaking a year-long project to do exactly that.

This is the final report from this project. It demonstrates the distinctive views of ethnic minorities, including immigrants themselves, towards immigration. Their views are important, especially because they represent a growing proportion of the electorate. Ethnic minorities are more welcoming of immigrants and positive about their impact than the wider population, but value many of the same policy priorities.

These attitudes indicate that there is an opportunity for the centre-right to develop a balanced agenda on immigration which enjoys greater support. The focus should be on prioritising immigrants who contribute and placing competent management of the system at the forefront of the debate.



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