

ENGLISH HISTORIOGRAPHY ON «COLOURED» IMMIGRATION TO BRITAIN

Представлено огляд досліджень британських та американських учених, присвячених історії «кольорової» імміграції у Велику Британію в повоєнний період. Розглянуто роботи, в яких проаналізовано вплив расового компоненту на формування і здійснення британської імміграційної політики, а також праці, в яких представлено дискурс про расу і міграцію в їх різнобічних аспектах.

Ключові слова: Велика Британія, «кольорова» імміграція, міжрасові відносини, імміграційна політика, дискримінація, громадянство.

Представлен обзор исследований британских и американских ученых, посвященных истории «цветной» иммиграции в Великобританию в послевоенный период. Рассмотрены работы, в которых проанализировано влияние расового компонента на формирование и осуществление британской иммиграционной политики, а также работы, представляющие дискурс о расе и миграции в их разнообразных аспектах.

Ключевые слова: Великобритания, «цветная» иммиграция, межрасовые отношения, иммиграционная политика, дискриминация, гражданство.

This article presents review of studies of British and American scholars on the history of coloured immigration to Britain in the post-war period. We consider the studies that discuss the impact of the racial component in the formulation and implementation of UK immigration policy, as well as the works representing the discourse about race and migration in their various aspects.

Key words: Britain, coloured immigration, race relations, immigration policies, discrimination, citizenship.

This article deals with modern English historiography and the research of the phenomenon of immigration and international immigration policy, which developed mainly in the 1980's and 1990's. It is about immigration of citizens of the British colonies to Britain that came about at the end of the Second World War and that which continued well into the 80's of the twentieth century. In this paper, studies by British and American researchers will be assessed. This research deals with analysis of issues like «race», «race relations» and «racism». Colour immigration, as it is referred to in English literature, meaning immigration of those who were formerly citizens of the British Commonwealth. These were especially those people from the Caribbean, from India and Pakistan. This immigration came about in the 1950's and 1960's as a result of recruitment of workers that the British government initiated at the end of the Second World War. This was done in order to improve the financial situation

in Britain at that time. This wave of immigration is differentiated from others that Britain had previously known. It was especially differentiated by the source of the immigrants who were dark-skinned.

There is no doubt that this influx was an integral part of the global processes that were linked to movement of population between countries in the post-war period. Therefore, in order to understand the development of the parameters of the immigration policy made by British administration regarding the coloured population in general and to observe the process of the design of the legislation against immigration that was founded on a racist base from a general and encompassing perspective, the author finds it correct to turn to historiography research papers that were devoted to studies of this phenomenon in various, different ways. In the opinion of the author, this direction will facilitate a deeper understanding of the considerations and main

standpoints that prevailed in British Government circles. These were revealed not only with their immigration policies, but found expression also in the definition of British citizenship that was redefined for the first time by new legislation which took shape as the British Nationality Act of 1981. From the time after the Second World War the Western countries found themselves having to cope with streams of immigrants. Following this and especially after the post-Soviet countries tried to find legislative solutions to the immigration issues, and to newly define the nationality boundaries, Britain's attempt to control the situation seems unique and interesting in the context of wider research into these phenomena.

The first category of research examines the immigration phenomenon from the perspective of an attempt to come close to the answer to the question that was asked by many researchers of «How can we return the country to its previous condition?» In their research on international immigration, the researchers focused on three main topics that in the opinion of the author are supposed to serve as guidelines in the research of coloured immigration to Britain as well. The topics are as follows:

1. The function of a sovereign state in the development of rules of entrance and exit from that country. Also, how to cause and enable control and monitoring of immigration and the factors that limit it;

2. The integration of immigrants into the host society and the role of the state in this integration;

3. The influence of the immigration on the political behaviour of the local citizens as voters and how this political behaviour influenced the actions of the immigrants themselves.

The American political science researcher, Myron Weiner argues that the international immigration in the last decade endangers international stability and security. Weiner agrees with the views of Arthur Schlesinger, an American historian and an adviser to the American president, J. F. Kennedy, who saw the immigration to USA in the 1990's and its multicultural aspects as factors that would bring about a collapse of society and a fragmentation of a united America. A study of the root of the

immigration raises the argument that national states are vulnerable to threat from globalization that threatens them from without, and from multi-cultural influences from within [45, 208 p.]. Weiner adds and argues that the threat of immigration- globalization and multiculturalism are the causes of intensifying xenophobic and nationalistic feelings that have been observed of late in Western democracies. Even the most developed and industrialized democracies are endangered by instability because of the great rush of non-desirable immigrants and large numbers of refugees [48].

Simon Huntington, an American political scientist, furthers this approach and foresees that immigration will cause a threat to national security [19, p. 28-46]. A researcher of economics and social policy, George Borjas, lays down this assumption and alludes to it in the title of his well-known work, «Friends or Strangers» [5].

Mass immigration from third world countries pose a financial threat because it impoverishes and dilutes the human resources of the society that absorbs them and changes their social structure by the marked growth on one hand of the wealthy that stand at the top of society, and on the other hand, the disenfranchised that find their place at the bottom levels. The middle class is stressed, and its social and financial efforts are not enough to bolster the capitalist democracy.

Peter Brimelow in his discussion on immigration writes the premises that talk of the threat to security and hints at cultural and racial influences. He portrays the stream of non-white immigrants into Western societies as a cultural threat that could lead to political instability of liberal democracies [8].

Migration researchers, Anthony Messina, Aristide Zolberg and Gary Freeman cast doubt on the argument that immigration endangers the society that is absorbing this immigration. Zolberg argues that democratic nations never lost control of immigration, and that the researchers exaggerated when they depicted the severity of the immigration crisis [50, p. 1-15]. A. Messina and G. Freeman pointed out Britain as a liberal democracy that has managed to have control over her borders [26, p. 130-154; 10, p. 297-300]. According to Freeman's theory, immigration is a process that obligates the

absorbing country to consider the price they are paying for this immigration. For him, political party interests are the unifying factor. The coalitions that support immigration prevent liberal democracies from limiting immigration even if the economic situation demands a more conservative (policy) [11, p. 881-902]. G. Freeman admits that immigration policy is largely dependant on ideological and cultural causes as well as institutional causes. These causes distort the interests of different groups in the economy like the worker's unions, for example. Therefore, in Freeman's opinion, one should differentiate between political standpoints of professional workers like programmers, engineers, etc. and the standpoint of workers who are not professional, (blue collar workers) like builders and service people. Freeman also notes that there is another difference between communities in the United States, Canada and Australia, that are continuing to expand their immigration policies, and between countries in Western Europe, like Britain that until this day have not managed to overcome the crash that was brought about by immigrants from what were previously British colonies and by foreign workers, but have not yet come to establish a position about immigration policy. Freeman advises the Western democratic countries to formulate a uniform immigration policy [12, p. 86-109].

An alternative to Freeman's approach to immigration policy is put forward by an American researcher, James Hollifield [17]. He studies the state from the combined founding (ideas) of a group of studies. From his point of view it is more difficult to explain the results of immigration policy than it is to explain the immigration policy itself. In Hollifield's opinion, it is possible to study the phenomenon of immigration as a function of the following dimensions: 1. economic forces like push-pull, supply-demand. 2. social network 3. human rights. The dimension of human rights is the key to understanding how open or closed a country is. According to Hollifield's approach, immigration policy is determined in government institutions and laws and therefore it is very important to focus on the evolution of rights of immigrants [16, p. 57-90]. However, in connection with the topic of our study, it is possible to speak about de-evolution of the

rights of immigrants in Britain. Hollifield's approach places a dilemma in the face of liberal countries. On one hand, the global economy forces them to be more open to absorbing immigrants, and on the other hand, the local political and constitutional powers move the country in a more conservative direction in order to protect social obligations they have to the local population and in order to preserve civil institutions and sovereignty.

The book «Migration Theory» edited by James F. Hollifield and Carrilin B. Brettel, makes a serious contribution. It speaks from a theoretical and methodological standpoint and is for everyone who deals with research questions that are linked to the phenomenon of immigration in general [7]. The book is a form of dialogue between disciplinary fields of knowledge that deal with international immigration from the point of view of a number of disciplines like history, demography, economics, sociology, anthropology, political science and law.

The second group of research papers, in the opinion of the writer, is important to the understanding of the conception that led to political decisions of British politicians as to the legislation against coloured immigration that dealt with the subject of race and race relations. The attempt to define the relationship between races and racism caused great difficulty. Their definition changes constantly, depending on time and place. New circumstances encourage new conceptions of the phenomenon. In order to explain the differences between the races, historians and social science researchers tend to use less the biological arguments and use rather the theories that are based on social, historical and cultural factors. Modern research literature that is concerned with race and racism uses the distinction between the term «racism», and the term «racialism». «Racism» being the practice of institutional discrimination in the social system whose aim is to cause inferiority of the group being discriminated against. The term «racialism» refers to discrimination based on the belief in the inferiority of a certain racial group because of external attributes. Preconceived notions of this sort are based, in fact, on stereotypes and on an outlook that relies on only partial information, or distorted information about the group that is being

discriminated against. The resultant expressions of racism are not uniform in different countries and they have economic and political repercussions in different class and cultural contexts in different societies. Likewise, expressions of racism are always linked to economic, political and ideological relations [29, p. 126-130].

In contemporary English literature that deals with research of racism and theoretization of this phenomenon, the researcher Robert Miles made an attempt to analyze the topic of «racism» as an historical and cultural phenomenon from a neo-marxist standpoint. For this, the term «racialization» was brought into use and means *«those instances where social relations between people have been structured by the signification of human biological characteristics in such a way as to define and construct differentiated social collectivities»* [29, p. 75]. This process is correlated with conditions of the migrant workforce. The influences are a result of *«on the one hand the need of the capitalist world economy for the mobility of human beings, and on the other, the drawing of territorial boundaries and the construction of citizenship as a legal category which sets boundaries for human mobility»* [28].

A comprehensive book in the field of those theories that are linked to the issue of race is «Racial Theories», by Michael Banton, a British researcher [2]. This book displays theories that deal with research of racial issues and the relationship between different racial groups, in an attempt to define systematically a reservoir of terms and concepts to describe the relations between these groups, and with the goal of clarifying the few conceptual approaches circulated in the 19th century on the issue of race and race-relations. This book assists in the understanding of the processes that take place in the ethnic and social array in those countries whose population was not uniform in its ethnicity and to clarify the unique quality of relations in the social fabric of these countries.

An interesting perspective on the research of race relations and racism is brought up in the study of American researchers Michael Omi, Howart Winant. They tried to study the process of construction of reciprocal relations between

government, politics and racism. They argued that it is incorrect to think that the state is a merely external cause in the formulation of race-relations. The opposite is the case. *«The institution of state is racist at its base. In its stand far from involving itself (or interfering) in racial disputes, it in itself becomes more and more prominent in racial conflicts. «Every state institution is a racial institution, but not every institution operates in the same way. In fact, the various state institutions do not serve one coordinated racial objective; they may work at cross-purposes. Therefore, race must be understood as occupying varying degrees of centrality in different state institutions and at different historical moments»* [32, p. 76-77]. This approach illuminates the field of relationships between the state institutions and the immigrants from a different and important angle of the research on immigration.

Martin Baker's book, «The New Racism», adds a new viewpoint in the research into the issue of «race» and clarifies the path that the process of «racialization» took that amplified and restored the matter in the new conservative policies of the «New Tories» by the use of certain terminology and cultural stereotypes and mentality. This was done by members of parliament, politicians, the media, and even judges. Furthermore, this composition greatly helps in the understanding of the way that the economic and social problems that arose in the minority coloured communities in Britain caused the entire British society to move to the right on the issue of immigration. These problems also gave the communities who had come from the British Commonwealth the status of a black sheep and this status was used for the purpose of reaching political ends [3].

The contribution of studies that deal with research of coloured immigration to Britain from the British Commonwealth that have been published up till now, finds expression mainly in general surveys of the immigration phenomenon, or by general descriptions of the development of legislation against this immigration. Having said this, the existing research does not adequately address an integration of the political and ideological viewpoints and the place and purpose of national leaders. All these factors have influence on the process of formulation of

immigration and race policy. The research also does not clarify adequately the immigration and race policy in Britain. A short review of historiographical sources enables, on one hand, monitoring of historical events that came about as a result of coloured immigration to Britain at every stage. An example of this would be contemplation of the actions of the political elite of the conservative party, or the actions of the extremists. On the other hand, this review aids identification of the roots of conservative ideology in general, and the understanding of its continuation in the British political tradition, and the steps in the development of immigration and race policy from all its viewpoints. This in particular in the era of Margaret Thatcher as her stated goal was to stem the tide of dark-skinned citizens from the British Commonwealth into Britain.

In British historiography, the topic of race-relations merited much attention from many researchers. The subject was studied by researchers from a wide and varied range of disciplines such as sociology, history and law. The first studies were conducted by sociologists who researched the way that the first black immigrants from the Caribbean who were absorbed in the British cities. The researchers who based themselves on Marxist and Webberian theories analyzed the conditions of the minority communities from the viewpoint of their integration in the social structure in general and the working class in particular [19; 37; 30]. The sociological research focused on the phenomenon of racial discrimination by the native population that was brought against the immigrants that affected the finding of housing and employment, and the cessation of educational and health services. In addition, the researchers attempted to explain the ideological background that was at the base of and cause of the growth of a discriminatory attitude towards dark-skinned immigrants by the host population [1]. In addition there were those researchers who criticized the direction that the actions of the local government took, but the emphasis of their study was that government policy as regards the relations between communities should aspire to harmony and less discrimination [38]. In the 1960's and almost all through the 1970's no serious research was done on the subject of «coloured» immigration

by British researchers. The main reason for this dearth of research on the subject of immigration was the consensus that prevailed during that period in both political camps, the labor and the conservative, as far as immigration and race-relations was concerned. Only the American researchers refer to the questions as to why and how the leading British parties managed to preserve the consensus on immigration that prevailed in the political system and what was the place of the subject of immigration and race in the general elections in that era [21; 41, p. 46-72]. However, the chronological framework of those studies ends in the 1970's.

The researchers began intensive study of immigration from the Commonwealth to the British Isles especially in the period from the 1980's. However, the studies from this period can be characterized as descriptive and portrayed only the narrative story of the chronicles of immigration from the end of the nineteenth century until the 1980's. In these studies, the researchers dealt with a categorization of the immigrants and the circumstances that brought them to the United Kingdom and only in a minor way did they speak about the politics of the immigration [47; 18].

British researchers, Jan Spencer and Randall Hansen indeed describe the process of the formulation of the British government's immigration policy between the years 1939-1991 in general, and mention the negative attitude and treatment that the British governments used towards the immigrants, but they do not focus on clarifying ideological views of immigration policy of the conservatives specifically. His main emphasis is on the question: how Britain came to be a multi-racial and multi-cultural society [40; 15]. The British researcher Peter Fryer continues the line of research of the researcher Allen in that he refers to the imperial roots that are at the foundation of the British Elite's political stand in the British Colonies [14]. There is no doubt that his study aids understanding of the significance and the place of racism in British policy, but he also exhibits an historical narrative of black British citizens in the U.K.

Two British researchers; the sociologist Robert Miles and the political science researcher, Ann Phizacklea set out in their work

the Marxist conception. According to this stance, capital development is bound to motion of the workforce. In the researchers' opinion, in the instance of Britain, the post-war immigration made the cheap, accessible workforce of the immigrants into a commodity, and because of this, in addition to them being of a different culture and mentality they were not «worthy», in the eyes of capitalist society, of humane treatment and being related to as human beings [31]. Even though in this study the researchers were busy with the conservative policy on the subject of immigration and race and their reference to the subject is partial and does not include all the points of view that come up in this body of research. Examples of these are the tendency to racism in the opinions of the state leaders at the time of the arrival of the first immigrants to Britain after the war, and the continuation of this racial policy all through the administration of all the British governments, the influence of ideological notions of the far right of the conservative policy, and the influence of the race riots on British public opinion.

The most important studies of immigration policy and its place in the ideology of the leading parties – the Labor Party and the Conservative Party, that were done by political science researchers and centered mainly around political and state activity of those making the decisions. They do not have in their wide frame of reference the link to historical viewpoints, and also lack the attempt to see the process of the molding of the conservative policy from additional standpoints like the influence of public opinion and the role of the media in this context, the place of state institutions like social security and health services, the involvement of the police forces, and the role of the Justice system.

The first prominent studies that examined the development of immigration and racial policy of the British governments in general and the conservatives in particular as regards the immigrants from the Commonwealth in the period after World War II, until the present day are the studies done by the British historian Layton Henry [22-24]. His book allows a chronological monitoring of the development of British legislation on the subject of the coloured immigration, and illuminates the important

points in this process like the influence of active politicians on the formation of immigration policy of the Labor and Conservative parties, and on British public opinion, the purpose of the fascist party, the National Front. Other points of interest are the increase of violence in poor districts of British inner cities, and the changes in British immigration policy in the context of European immigration policy. On the other hand, the researcher does not stress the clear racial bias in British government policy and does not the link and continuity between the racist immigration policy of Thatcher's government and between the extreme views of Powell, and the actions of the National Front, and it seems that the researcher does not have this on his agenda as a goal.

The researcher Katherine Paul is concerned with the attempt to define and clearly determine national British identity based on skin colour that was made in the event of the disintegration of the British Empire after 1945. This attempt did not stem from preconceived racist notions that were prevalent in the British population and among its leaders, but rather it stemmed from preferences and political goals of the political elite by way of the politicians' special expertise in keeping Britain «white» and preventing the entrance of «coloureds» into the country as far as possible [33].

The researcher Anthony Messina analyses the subject using a theoretical approach based on research of the British two-party political system that combines within the conception of the parties the liberality or non-liberality on the subject of immigration and race [27]. The discussion in Frank Reeves' book also focuses on the political decision making of British government personnel from all parts of the ideological spectrum, and is based on the generalized view of the processes of decision making in all their intricacy [36].

Another source of literature is a collection of essays edited by Zig Layton- Henry and Paul Rich. The attempt by the researchers to portray racial policy as a big political achievement that was attained by modern British politics, as done by way of emphasis of the fact that the art of managing race policy, (racecraft) of the political elite is expressed by a continuity of interests of the ruling party. This goes together with a search for each one of their special path, and the

laying of boundaries that are as wide as possible in order to manage it. The analysis is based on the accepted models in political science and includes subjects like employment, education and the relationship of the minorities with the police [25]. His approach is the same as that of John Solomos who analyses race policy and the phenomenon of racism in Britain as well [44].

Among the political leaders of the Tory government, with Margaret Thatcher at their head from 1979-1990, there was an imperialistic conception and discrimination expressed towards the coloured population. Bearing this in mind, it would be correct to mention the comment of the British researcher and philosopher Karl Popper about the importance of intellectual traditions. Popper argues that members of the elite understand and interpret every new situation in the light of intellectual tradition that they have been raised with. The imperial outlook of the conservative party stemmed from an intellectual tradition that consolidated and based itself on a theory of racism of British researchers from the period of British colonialization and whose roots went deep with Britons of subsequent generations [35].

The studies that clarify the political and ideological standpoint of Thatcher display the conservative position in a more general way and do not focus specifically on the issue of immigration and race. Among these studies is the book by a British researcher, Trevor Russell that should be mentioned. He examines the political tradition of the conservatives in general and especially the policy of the new conservatives under the rule of Margaret Thatcher [39]. Peter Jenkins's book examines the political basis of modern Britain and explains the success of Thatcher as Prime Minister of Britain during her nine year term of office (until 1988) with a retrospective consideration of the first years after the end of the war [20]. The book by the researcher Evans Brendan examines the unique quality of her political activity [6]. Two other books offer contributions of great worth to the understanding of the roots of the political tradition of Thatcher at the time of her running for office. One of these is a book written by

Thatcher herself, and the second is a biography of Thatcher by Hugo Young [42; 49].

We should not underestimate the value of the use of additional books. Without these, it would have not been possible to understand the political and state processes in depth that were in play in the formulation of the immigration and race policy of the conservative government in the Thatcher era. In addition to these influential processes, there was also the contribution and influence of the radical powers on this policy, especially that of the fascist party, the National Front [43; 9; 46; 13].

In addition to the essays that have been described earlier, one cannot ignore the studies on the subject of immigration and race from a theoretical viewpoint. These works have a significant weight in the understanding of state, political and economic processes that came about in post-war Britain on the backdrop of coloured immigration and everything that it implies. Vaughan Bevan's study, «The development of British Immigration Law» illuminates the subject of the entry of dark-skinned residents to Britain from the point of view of a lawyer [4]. Many examples of law applicable to immigrants on a variety of subjects like their civil and legal rights, their rights to health care, their possibilities of employment etc. makes it possible to follow the convoluted path of the discussion about immigration as it was expressed in the law. According to the researcher, understanding British legislation about «coloured entrants» and the way the immigration policy was managed needs to be done from within an historical perspective. He notes that it is no wonder that there were discriminatory attitudes and expression of preconceived notions by the British nation towards the dark-skinned citizens as this nation had been responsible for the slave trade and imperial rule the world over.

It should be noted that there has not been a study done that specifically followed the steps in the development of the conservative policy on the issue of immigration and race. Therefore, the attempt to make an adequate study to find the points that link between the ideological conceptions of the Labor party and the Conservative party and to prove the fact that the policy of immigration and race in the Thatcher era was actually a continuation of the British

imperialistic conception that held a clear discrimination character. This perspective appears justified in the study of coloured immigration to Britain.

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