

**YOUNG  
FABIANS**

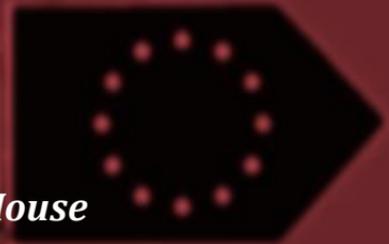
***POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS***

***WHAT IS THE FUTURE FOR  
BREXIT BRITAIN?***



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*All views expressed in this pamphlet are the authors own.*

## FOREWORD

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**T**he choice to leave the European Union decisively set the United Kingdom – and all of our lives – on a new path. Since then, in the 15 months of absolute chaos presided over by the Conservative Party, it has become abundantly clear that nobody knows where this new path leads, or even what the first steps on it are. The future of Brexit Britain is shrouded in uncertainty.

The tragedy is that many of those who campaigned for Brexit absolutely don't care where we are heading, as long as their 'victory' is preserved. The likes of Boris Johnson, Andrea Leadsom and Nigel Farage are practicing the political jujitsu that says: if you don't express full-fledged support for Brexit you're unpatriotic, while simultaneously disowning the reality of Brexit as 'other people are messing it up'. They have the superficial luxury of being unmoored from fact, accountability and shame.

Yet, for those of us who believe that politics is the practice of creating a better here and now for all of us and a brighter future for generations to come, the task remains the same: to define, set out and make real the best possible path we can, working from the situation we're in. The reality of Brexit makes that task harder, yet our responsibility to the future remains the same. We cannot despair and we cannot give in to self-interested political gamesmanship.

## What is the future for Brexit Britain?

That is why I recommend this Fabian Pamphlet, which poses the essential question of our time: What is the future of Brexit Britain? It sets out, starkly, the challenges we face in three areas of vital strategic interest to the future of this country.

The future success of advanced economies such as ours will disproportionately rely on those societies and economies being creative and innovative; digitally savvy and technologically advanced; and open to talent, cultures and people from all over the world.

As this pamphlet sets out, these are all areas in which the UK is deeply reliant on our relationship with the EU and the repercussions of the Brexit vote are already being felt. And yet its authors make clear in their writing – once you understand the reality of the current context in these areas, you can develop a path forward, even if it is not the one that might have been.

That is our task now and we must undertake it with the seriousness of purpose it and the people we serve deserve. I am grateful to the authors for making such a powerful contribution to that work.



**Dr Rosena Allin-Khan MP is the Labour Member of Parliament for Tooting**

**A** year on from the UK's EU referendum vote and there is still little clarity on what its future relationship with the EU will look like – but the immediate dangers are clear.

Firstly, there are growing concerns about the government's ability to simultaneously manage its withdrawal from the EU, while also coming up with proposals for its future relationship with the EU and countries around the world. With the repatriation of EU competence to the national and regional levels, a healthy debate in and outside of Parliament will become all the more necessary to hold negotiators to account.

Identifying areas of shared concern with the EU would also help move the debate from one of opposition to collaboration.

Secondly, there is a growing sense of resentment within the British public and expectations will need to be managed carefully. The result already split the country along national and regional lines and recent polls show that many Britons feel that traditional left-right parties no longer reflect their values. Negotiations will be long and complex; as debates on the future of the UK take shape, political parties must seize the opportunity to make policy-making as inclusive as possible and accountable to the public.

Thirdly, the UK must ensure that Brexit does not lead to it to back away from its international commitments. Closely aligning the UK's interests

## What is the future for Brexit Britain?

with those of multilateral institutions would reduce the chances of the UK adopting a purely mercantilist foreign policy, which could damage its credibility as a promoter of democratic cooperation and good governance. But the UK must also recognise that the separation between domestic and international priorities is increasingly blurred and that foreign policy is now very much part of the public domain. Parliamentary and public support then should become a precondition for international action post-Brexit.

The UK's vote to leave the European Union will profoundly reshape the country's future – it's up to us to make sure it is one that benefits all.

**Georgina Wright is a research assistant and coordinator for the Chatham House Europe Programme**



## **SILICON BREXIT: PROTECTING BRITAIN'S DATA**

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Sam Greenwood, Young Fabians Member

**T**he EU has played an instrumental role in ensuring that data flows are managed in a secure manner. Its strategy included engaging with tech companies about the right to privacy, examining the role of private bodies in collecting data and dedicating significant expertise and effort to monitor the development of our online world. In leaving the EU, we have spurned these expertise and, as yet, have little to no internal infrastructure to replace it. The government has displayed a troubling ignorance of how the software that underpins our lives works, how the data-driven industries of the future economy are best supported and what it can do in the face of this new industrial revolution. Now blind, we are heading for a world of data-driven smart homes, an economy reliant on the effective development and exploitation of new technology and an ever greater reliance on an ever smaller group of tech companies for the delivery and maintenance of systems central to modern life. If we are to talk meaningfully about the future of Brexit Britain, we must consider its relationship with technology and data.

The Left needs a robust, evidence-based response to some of these questions. Given the

resources, time and word count available - this chapter can only be a small part of formulating a response. Rather the intent is simply offer an overview of the challenges ahead, the potential inherent in Britain's digital economy and highlight concrete policies as a starting point for discussion. Ultimately the aim is to encourage further research and debate in a policy area that, especially in relation to Britain's future outside the EU, has seen very little of either.

### ***The Practical Position***

On 7th August this year, the government announced with accompanying fanfare that it was to be 'overhauling' the UK's data protection laws<sup>1</sup>. Sweeping measures would address Britons' rights to have their data deleted, protect their rights to anonymity and tighten the regulation around companies' most intrusive uses of data. 'The new data bill will give us one of the most robust sets of data laws in the world' stated Matt Hancock, Minister of State for Digital<sup>2</sup>. While a positive step this episode overlooks many of the practical challenges facing the UK in future negotiations and highlights the government's consciously poor grasp of the situation.

To clarify, this overhaul 'is not a UK government initiative' as it was generally depicted in the

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/technology-40826062>

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

Government's statement of intent<sup>3</sup>. The alteration of data laws at this juncture is not a legislative choice but a necessity, bringing UK standards into line with the EU drafted General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) before the deadline of May 2018<sup>4</sup>. Further to this, the changes do not even entirely meet the draft of the GDPR - quietly dispensing with the EU's recommendation that government grant civil society groups the right to take up cases of data protection infringement without having been directly affected themselves<sup>5</sup>. This failure to be direct in the discussion of legislation does not bode well for the future debate in the UK and establishing a close technical and communications policy with the EU post-Brexit.

### ***The Legislation***

The primary issue is the complexity of this legislation. When the single minister in charge of 'Digital' - incidentally a post which covers everything from the creative industries, to defence, to infrastructure, to the economy and indeed most other areas of UK policy - describes a set of data laws, he is talking about a host of laws under constant redevelopment and scrutiny. This

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<sup>3</sup> Hancock, Matthew, (2017), 'New Data Protection Bill Our Planned Reforms' *General Data Protection Regulation: Call For Views*.

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.techuk.org/insights/news/item/11168-gdpr-to-be-implemented-through-the-data-protection-bill>

<sup>5</sup> Javier Ruiz Interview 09/08/17

complexity creates two major challenges. First and foremost is keeping up with these developing laws. Before the end of the year the EU is set to make decisions on how to tackle hate-speech online, whether to grant traditional media outlets the right to monetise their own content (as opposed to Google), and consumer rights protection.<sup>6</sup> While Britain will be able to engage in the legislative processes, it will also be directly subject to these developments up to departure in March 2019. Keeping up with the breadth and detail of new EU legislation will require bureaucracy and expertise not currently to be found in a subsection of the Department of Culture, Media and Sport. If Britain wishes to keep trading in Europe, to maintain the ‘rubber stamp’ that allows a free-flow of data between ourselves and the continent we will need to maintain these standards and keep adhering to much of this ‘evolving’ regulation<sup>7</sup> - but with reduced capacity to monitor developments.

The second challenge is the potential weakening of current legislation. At its most extreme, losing the cover of EU institutions opens the door to those seeking to undermine Net Neutrality alongside raising the prospect of further intrusion into personal privacy and restrictions on access and

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<sup>6</sup> Hate Speech -<http://www.politico.eu/pro/eu-may-legislate-on-how-internet-giants-flag-remove-illegal-content/> Traditional Media- <http://www.politico.eu/pro/european-peoples-party-tries-to-forge-unity-on-copyright-proposal/> Consumer Rights -

<sup>7</sup> Javier Ruiz interview 09/08/17

flexibility online<sup>8</sup>. Brexiteers on the left and right believe there is only way forward and that it will be driven by and driving UK interest. It is true that ‘if you wanted to have a really perfect system, obviously having a smaller, more nimble institution and having more flexibility could help’.<sup>9</sup> However, as he points out, ‘in practice it would hard to see these [sorts of] opportunities materialise’, in the current climate, the dry detail of technical legislation makes retreat more likely than progress<sup>10</sup>.

### ***Threats***

One threat stems from lobbying. While companies are not obliged to reveal their lobbying expenditure in the UK, social media giants notoriously spend vast sums on lobbying in the States, with Google parent Alphabet spending just under \$9.5 million dollars on lobbying for the first half of this year alone.<sup>11</sup> The issues these companies lobby for range from nuclear energy to immigration, but the core of their spending has gone towards weakening Anti-Trust and privacy legislation<sup>12</sup>. When Britain

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<sup>8</sup> <https://www.savetheinternet.com/net-neutrality-what-you-need-know-now>

<sup>9</sup> Javier Ruiz interview 09/08/17

<sup>10</sup> Ibid

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.opensecrets.org/lobby/indusclient.php?id=B13&year=2017>

<sup>12</sup> Alphabet -

<https://www.opensecrets.org/orgs/lobby.php?id=D000067823>

removes itself from the EU, Parliament can reasonably expect to experience the intensive lobbying endured both by its European counterpart and the legislature of the United States. It will need to be clear on its policy position from the start to safeguard the rights of citizens.

To date, and in spite of lobbying in Brussels, the EU has represented a bulwark against the growing tech monopolies: fining Google €2.4 billion for breaching Anti-Trust regulation earlier this year, enshrining the right to be forgotten in 2014 and continuously seeking to shutdown sweetheart tax deals made by individual states<sup>13</sup>. These rulings by the ECJ and the data protection policies devised and defended by the infrastructure of the EU are robust and not reflected anywhere else in the world. Even America fails to offer its citizens a similar level of protection. A European Parliament study comparing the two systems of data protection ran into immediate difficulties when researchers found that ‘a majority of the EU data protection standards

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Facebook -

<https://www.opensecrets.org/orgs/lobby.php?id=D000033563>

Amazon -

<https://www.opensecrets.org/orgs/lobby.php?id=D000023883>

<sup>13</sup> EU Anti-Trust Fine

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/27/technology/eu-google-fine.html?mcubz=0>, Right To Be Forgotten

[http://curia.europa.eu/juris/document/document\\_print.jsf?doclang=EN&docid=152065](http://curia.europa.eu/juris/document/document_print.jsf?doclang=EN&docid=152065), Sweetheart Tax

<https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/aug/30/apple-pay-back-taxes-eu-ruling-ireland-state-aid>,

cannot be found in US law' with law enforcement regularly breaching individual rights in the name of National Security<sup>14</sup>. If Britain leaves the Single Market and rejects the European Court of Justice, it will remove itself from the unique protection of systems which have continually reasserted the right of Governments to demand reasonable taxation, the rights of citizens to exert some control over their data and kept a close eye on the less-desirable practices of Silicon Valley.

A further threat to current legislation is the inconsistent nature of the Conservative Government itself. While DCMS seems to share legitimate concerns about maintaining high-standards of data-protection regulation, highlighting the importance of the EU Commission's adequacy decision, the Home Office and the Prime Minister continue to rhetorically play these protections off against national security<sup>15</sup>. Not only has the Investigatory Powers Act granted the government far-ranging powers of surveillance with questionable oversight, but all signs point to a desire in the Tory top brass to go further. How these intrusions will prevent repeated hacks against UK-based companies, stop malware from bringing essential services to a halt as it did in May this year or make up for the lost Cybersecurity research, funding and support from

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<sup>14</sup>[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/536459/IPOL\\_STU%282015%29536459\\_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/536459/IPOL_STU%282015%29536459_EN.pdf)

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-outlines-proposals-for-shared-approach-on-data-protection>

Europe is not immediately apparent<sup>16</sup>. What is apparent is that the priorities of government, or at the very least the Home Office, are far removed from protecting the rights of the individual online and, separated from the rights legislation that would undermine such steps, it is easy to see online freedom being further curtailed post-Brexit.

Beyond the moral and political arguments for maintaining Britain's 'world-class [data-protection] regime' after Brexit, there is also a pressing economic need.<sup>17</sup> Post-Brexit, would require a rubber stamp from European Commission, known as an adequacy decision, in order for the UK as a whole to retain access to data from European companies. Calls to water down legislation, and intense lobbying, will need to be managed carefully.<sup>18</sup> While it is possible for individual companies to gain this rubber stamp in spite of national standards through a set of Binding Corporate Rules, individual applications by every UK company looking to use European data would be an unsustainable state of affairs. Moreover, it would be sabotaging one of Brexit Britain's potential future assets, its digital economy.

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<sup>16</sup> [http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/policies/eu-cyber-security/cybsec\\_comm\\_en.pdf](http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/policies/eu-cyber-security/cybsec_comm_en.pdf)

<sup>17</sup> Queen's Speech

<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/queens-speech-2017>

<sup>18</sup> <https://ico.org.uk/for-organisations/guide-to-data-protection/binding-corporate-rules/>

Currently, and in direct contrast to its leading standard of data protection, Europe lags behind China and the United States both in terms of direct investment in wireless broadband and in the development of its digital economy. As Peter Wilding highlights in his slim volume on how to approach Brexit Britain, ‘the digital economy accounts for 4 per cent of the EU economy compared to 6 per cent in the US and 7 per cent in China’<sup>19</sup>. The UK, despite continual missed targets in every area from broadband coverage to uptake by small and medium size enterprises, is Europe’s leading digital economy. Employing 5% of people in the UK as of 2014, and worth £118.4 billion in 2015, the digital economy, combined with the UK’s extensively consumed creative industries and linguistic advantage, is ripe for expansion and development<sup>20</sup>.

This is not to say that it isn’t already growing, the National Institute of Economic Research recorded a 22 per cent growth rate in the digital economy in 2013<sup>21</sup>. This unfocused potential has led Wilding hangs his hopes for Britain’s renewed ‘higher productivity trajectory’ and economic success on the recognition and effective

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<sup>19</sup> Wilding, Peter, *What Next* (2017), 97

<sup>20</sup><http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-7610>

<sup>21</sup> Rosso, Anna and Nathan, Max et al., ‘Measuring the UK’s Digital Economy with Big Data’ *National Institute of Economic and Social Research*.

development of Britain's sizeable digital economy as a core part of Britain's appeal to Europe<sup>22</sup>. There is merit in this idea, not that it has yet been recognised by the Conservatives. Labour MP, Chi Onwurah, summed up contemporary Government policy perfectly when, in a speech on the questionably named Digital Economy Bill she pointed out that:

*The [Digital Economy] Bill is not only notable for its inability to respond to the challenges it sets itself; it should be infamous for not even considering the challenges the digital economy presents. It has little to do with the digital economy itself and much to do with the Government's culture of cowardice when it comes to addressing the key challenge of the digital economy: data.*<sup>23</sup>

### **An Opportunity for Britain to Lead**

The need for seamless data flows between ourselves and the continent, dependent on a robust defence and development of data protection laws, has already been highlighted above - as has the Government's inadequate comprehension of and response to the challenges of data. What has not

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<sup>22</sup>Wilding, Peter, *What Next* (2017), 96

<sup>23</sup> Onwurah, Chi (2016)

<https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2016-09-13/debates/C7307674-5BCC-491A-AF94-410BFCC24B01/DigitalEconomyBill?highlight=digital%20economy#contribution-68F7F229-8EC3-47F8-B795-3379860A9070>

#contribution-68F7F229-8EC3-47F8-B795-3379860A9070

been highlighted is the potential for Britain to lead the way in this area. The EU has been discussing development of a Digital Single Market for the best part of a decade but is yet to successfully marry the 28 member states' competing priorities and wishes in a future digital settlement – although it was highlighted as a priority for Juncker's Commission. If brought to fruition this market is predicted to add £340 billion worth of growth to the EU economy as businesses across the Union gain access to the continent's 500 million potential digital consumers.<sup>24</sup> As Europe's leading digital economy, the potential for Britain to shape and drive the process forward is apparent. Should the digital market of goods and services be shaped in line with British standards - with Britain opening its growing digital economy to others - there is reason to hope that such a gesture could help smooth turbulent and bitter relations.

### ***Policy recommendations***

Lord Hannay, former permanent representative to the EU, reflected that Britain's problem was its willingness to block proposals combined with its failure to propose any of its own. His resolution was that 'the more we generate positive suggestions, the less we will find ourselves reacting defensively to

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<sup>24</sup> European Policy Centre - [http://www.epc.eu/dsm/2/Study\\_by\\_Copenhagen.pdf](http://www.epc.eu/dsm/2/Study_by_Copenhagen.pdf)

other people's'<sup>25</sup>. This is as true for the Left, whose current Brexit policy is relatively nebulous, as it is for Britain as a whole. A robust, positive response must be built on concrete suggestions and, whilst the resources and time available to the author make substantial policy suggestions untenable, there are a few policy suggestions that may be drawn from this chapter.

- **First, the need to maintain a high standard of data protection law.**

Maintaining control over the data we produce, with the respect for privacy and anonymity that entails, is key to remaining an active and responsible member of the international digital debate. Surrendering this position to private interests, to questionable intrusions in 'the national interest' or to a simple inability to maintain legal and infrastructure standards would be a significant failure with the potential to further jeopardise our digital economy and our international standing. The Left must take the lead in both highlighting the potential of our digital wealth and warning of its fragility. This entails a simple, second recommendation:

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<sup>25</sup> Hannay in Wall, *A Stranger in Europe*, (2008), pp. 76-77

- **Secondly, the establishment of a separate digital department in government.**

The digital world impacts all aspects of our lives. The net offers significant opportunities such as leading Europe in the development of telecommunications infrastructure, bolstering our creative industries and driving new discoveries in Britain's leading Universities. Yet, in its disruption of existing industries, driving down of wages and undermining of public, private and personal security other developments pose a significant threat to be guarded against. Whilst private organisations such as the Open Rights Group, Tech UK and a host of other bodies continue to monitor, analyse and advise, it is an area of enough importance to warrant a body which can learn from and work with these organisations to produce forward-thinking, detailed policy.

- **Finally, to take the lead in Europe to create a digital single market.**

The UK retains full membership of the European Union until March 2019 and so remain Europe's leading digital economy - there is no reason that the foundation and leadership of a lucrative digital single market should be beyond the grasp of Brexit Britain, even a Brexit Britain outside of the wider single market. The Labour Party still has a

significant number of talented MEPs in strong positions within the EU, rather than assuming that they possess lame-duck status and leaving our fate to a talentless Conservative negotiating team, why not use the talent and resources we have to drive forward a better settlement with Europe.

### ***Conclusion***

The purpose of this chapter was to offer a starting point for further research and debate in a policy area that, especially in relation to Britain's future outside the EU, has seen very little of either. Much has necessarily been curtailed or simplified to ensure clarity but hopefully the final suggestions are not too fantastical as a result. By highlighting a key focus for negotiations, a practical change to better handle the policies involved and an ambitious suggestion for moving forward, this brief closing list should hopefully call the reader to consider how we should comprehend, develop and build a functioning Brexit Britain.

## **WHERE'D EVERYBODY GO? WHY BREXIT HAS LED TO AN EXODUS OF EU ARTISTS AND WHAT THIS MEANS FOR ARTS EDUCATION IN THE UK**

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Tess Reidy, Young Fabians Member

**F**or many European artists living in the UK, Brexit has brought back the familiar trajectory of doomed love. First denial, anger, the realisation of rejection and, finally, the need to move on. More than a year on from the referendum result, many artists have already left the country. Countless others are preparing to go.

Designer, artist, and curator Matylida Krzykowski is one. As a Polish person who had lived in the UK since 2009 she says it felt "traumatic" to be here during the campaign and she was shocked and hurt to find out that people she knew had voted to leave. "I felt uncomfortable in what was supposed to be my home," she says. Within months of the result she decided to pack up her things and relocate to Basel<sup>26</sup>.

Krzykowski isn't alone. "It feels like being in a relationship and then them turning around and saying they don't want to be with you," says Marina Stanimirovic, a 29-year-old jewellery designer from Paris who moved to Berlin in August 2017. "I was

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<sup>26</sup> Designer, artist, and curator Matylida Krzykowski. Telephone interview, July 2017

already wondering about the ridiculousness of prices but Brexit really did something, it gave me a reason to go. As a French person arriving in London six years ago it felt like Britain was really open-minded, I felt welcome. Now I know that I'm not."<sup>27</sup>

### ***Why EU artists are leaving***

So why are many artists so ready to pack up and leave? As well as feelings of rejection, many creatives are leaving because they are concerned about losing EU funding. According to the Arts Council - the creative sector accesses EU money for a range of projects and programmes which over the last three years have ranged from €5,000 to €2.4 million - programmes such as Creative Europe, Horizon 2020 and Erasmus+ are all in jeopardy and will be determined by the Brexit negotiations<sup>28</sup>.

A spokesperson from the British Council said that if the UK does not continue to participate in Creative Europe post-Brexit, it will still be able to partner (but not lead) on projects as a 'Third Country'. However, this would mean severely diminished access to EU funds. For the artists themselves, this is a big worry. "As an EU resident in the UK I got a bursary for my studies and because I've been a resident in the UK for more than five years, I can apply to a lot of bursaries and

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<sup>27</sup> Marina Stanimirovic, jewellery designer. Face-to-face interview, June 2017

<sup>28</sup> Arts Council spokesperson. Email exchange August 2017

residencies and things like that,” says Marie Jacotey, a 28-year-old French artist, who has been in the UK for six years and is looking to move to Portugal or Greece. “By coming out of the EU I fear a lot of these opportunities will go out of the window.”<sup>29</sup>

Stanimirovic agrees and says this was a factor in her decision. “A lot of art funding comes from the EU. For instance, I only paid for half of my studies at the Royal College of Art because this was funded by the EU. This is the kind of thing that people worry they will lose out on.”

There are other practical considerations too. “Our members are concerned about freedom of movement and potential changes to visa, import and export rules,” said Jeanie Scott, executive director of a-n The Artists Information Company, the UK's largest visual arts membership body, who says they are seeing increasing evidence of EU national artists planning to leave as a direct result of Brexit<sup>30</sup>.

In a Young Fabian roundtable discussion on the subject, Mike Kane, Shadow Schools Minister, raised similar concerns. “Brexit is so complicated that I can’t see how we get a standard on who we allow free movement for but we need some sort of reciprocal agreement upon exit in 2019 that allows

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<sup>29</sup> Marie Jacotey, artist. Telephone interview, July 2017

<sup>30</sup> Jeanie Scott, executive director of a-n The Artists Information Company. Telephone interview July 2017

musicians and artists to travel,” he said. Without this, Kane thinks the UK arts scene will be worse off. “Collaboration raises the standard between cities and these players are global now. Restricting that will see a decrease the standard.”<sup>31</sup>

### ***What next for the UK arts scene***

So what does this all mean for art and culture in Britain today? Whilst issues such as access to the single market and border controls dominate the news agenda, there are major ramifications for the arts scene. During the referendum campaign, famous artists including sculptor Antony Gormley, children’s illustrator Axel Scheffler and photographer Rankin were all vocal in their support of keeping Britain in the EU. Now, there is real concern about what this exodus will jeopardise the UK’s leading position in the arts world.

John Kampfner, chief executive of the Creative Industries Federation, which has called on the government to retain freedom of movement for EU workers and guarantee rights for EU nationals currently working in the UK, says the UK arts industry relies heavily on international talent and collaboration. He questions whether Britain will continue to be an open and inviting place for artists.

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<sup>31</sup> Young Fabian roundtable discussion: Will Brexit and the exodus of EU artists residing in the UK lead to more arts education investment in British schools? With Mike Kane MP, Shadow Education Minister, 11 July 2017. House of Commons, Portcullis House

“It’s one thing to permit people to work in a country but it’s quite another to welcome them. Our challenge is to do both because if we don’t they will go elsewhere and this will affect the leading status of the UK in the arts industry.”<sup>32</sup>

Kamphner is right to be worried. Due to the de-prioritisation of arts education, which goes back decades now, there are great skills shortages and there is concern that school curriculums and art education is making it increasingly difficult to find enough skilled Brits to meet the ever increasing demands of this growing sector.

### ***Is there a way to keep the artists***

Although there is talk of reciprocal visa agreements, there is also a strong possibility of increased paperwork and complex visas required for European artists to live and work in the UK. Any introduction of visas or other barriers to movement that cost time and money to resolve would, inevitably, impact more on less established artists. Visa restrictions already discourage many new and emerging music acts from visiting the US, making them ever more dependent on Europe as the first international market to explore. With the UK potentially less accessible, the scene may become more insular and inward-looking, which can be a positive and negative thing.

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<sup>32</sup> John Kampfner, chief executive of the Creative Industries Federation. Telephone interview July 2017

Plus, when cities such as Berlin, Leipzig and Lisbon offer a cheaper, hassle-free and vibrant alternative, many artists many want to save themselves the both of living in Britain and simply pack up their materials and flee. Or worse, not come here at all.

### ***Will Britain recover***

Despite worries such as these, some remain optimistic. Kampfner is hopeful that Brexit may have positive consequences for the arts. “There is always natural attrition - people naturally move countries and move from job to job - but at the same time this is finally a chance to train up Brits and give the government the message that the arts are intrinsic not just to a good education system but to a strong economy,” he says.

He views the creative sector as “the engine of economic growth for the UK” and if there is going to be more employment available to UK citizens, British schools need to be training kids up in areas such as dance and sound engineering and there needs to be a revision of the way music, arts, drama and design technology are taught and prioritised in schools.

So, is he right to be optimistic, could Brexit really have positive ramifications for arts education in schools? Kane isn't so sure. He says that schools are being “massively squeezed” at the moment and arts funding is unlikely to be put at the front of the queue. “£3bn is being taken out of the system over

the next three years, which equates to an 8% cut. On average secondary schools are laying off the equivalent of six teachers and in primaries, it's two."

With facts and figures such as these, Kane thinks that Tory cuts are making Kampfner's hopes for Brexit and the future of arts education nothing more than a pipe dream. Already schools are pulling music curriculums and squeezing arts funding, and in the name of austerity and he thinks it is set to get worse. "Some schools in west Sussex are now threatening a four day week, they're under so much pressure. And where do schools cut first? They don't cut literacy or their numeracy programmes, they cut their arts programmes," he says. "We're not just talking drama, music, singing and dance, we're talking all the extra curricular activities; the shows that they put on where people get a real sense of what it's like to perform."

This is something he feels particularly strongly about because as a child he had the chance to perform on stage and he reckons it gives particularly working class kids a huge advantage. "That's being squeezed out of the system over the next few years on the basis of austerity," he says.

Rather than investing in drama and arts based subjects, Kane thinks that when the pressure is on, those are the things that get crippled and of course the private independent sector is not facing those budgetary subjects. Some fear that arts careers are increasingly the preserve of the rich whose parents

can afford to bankroll them when starting out. Kane thinks this is set to get worse throughout the creative sector, with privately educated pupils being more likely to have the skills for the jobs.

“The scenario you’ve painted is some sort Shangri-La, that these people [European artists] go away and there’s a whole load of people that will take these jobs, but if you’re not investing at GCSE level and in clubs for kids at primary school and educational colleges are being cut and how we can train up this new generation for these jobs? The evidence from my city is there is a real dearth of people even on top of having free movement of labour currently.”

### ***Policy recommendations***

- One of the most exciting commitments of the general election campaign was Jeremy Corbyn’s promise to give every child the chance to learn a musical instrument. This was part of his second Labour leadership campaign and is there again in the Culture for All section of the 2017 manifesto, though the specific promise he had made previously to pay for every child to get the chance to learn an instrument and act on stage has now been massaged somewhat into an “arts pupil premium” presumably designed to let schools determine cultural priorities.

- As well as this, a Labour government could commit to ensuring that all schools offer extracurricular arts performances in order to give state educated students the same chances as those in the private sector.
- The Labour Party should encourage collaboration between UK and EU artists by campaigning for reciprocal visa agreements in order to make working and exhibiting abroad a smooth process.

The hope is that with a Labour government, policies such as this could help tackle the hole in the industry left by the exodus of EU talent.

### ***Conclusion***

Meanwhile, for this generation, whatever the outcome of the negotiations, the damage may already have been done. The exodus is well underway. Britain's public finances are in worse shape to withstand a recession than they were on the eve of the 2007 financial crash a decade ago and we face the twin threat of a fresh downturn and Brexit.

So does anyone even want to stay? "I wouldn't consider returning," says Krzykowski. "I've just got back from London and during dinner with around ten people - all creative practitioners and most of them freelancers - it turned out that it has never been so tough for them to find jobs and work.

Without exaggeration all of them spoke about leaving London and some of them were already in the process of packing.”

Award winning designer Tom Gottelier agrees. He and his American wife left the UK for LA last September, largely as a result of the referendum. "People are getting out. It's like a pre-emptive strike," he says. "Last week, a friend went back and packed his flat up and he's gone to Barcelona. Yesterday, another Dutch friend had two friends from Holland drive over with a van and she went back to Amsterdam. At this rate there will be no creativity left."<sup>33</sup>

Others agree. French-born Marlène Huissoud studied at Central St Martins and has been named as one of the UK's rising stars by the Design Council. She moved to London six years ago and had planned to stay here. She says the result has been “devastating” for her. More than anything she says she can't continue with this feeling of instability as she has a business to run. As a result, despite buying a house in London just two months before the referendum result, she is now in the process of moving to Paris. “The feeling of insecurity is very present and I don't feel stable here anymore,” she says. “How can you not secure the stay of millions of Europeans in a country where they pay taxes, invest their time and hopes?”<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Tom Gottelier, designer. Telephone interview July 2017

<sup>34</sup> Marlène Huissoud, designer. Email interview July 2017

Even those that have been here for decades say the time has come to move on. Fabio Fragiaco is a 49 year old designer and lecturer at Leeds College of Art and doesn't think he can live with uncertainty of life in the UK post Brexit. "I've been in England for 23 years now and this is the first time I feel unsure of where I want to be and what I want to do and that's because of all the discourse around the EU and the current situation." He says he is considering moving to Munich or Brussels. "I'm worried about it because at end of day I'm almost 50 and not knowing what the future holds can be quite scary, the need now to reinvent my life and future. Whatever I have invested up to now might be worthless because I may have to start from scratch and for me that is the scary part."<sup>35</sup>

For these people, life has moved on already. But for the next generation of artists in the UK, time, money and thought needs to be spent on how best to appreciate the creative industries, train up new talent and encourage diversity in the arts.

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<sup>35</sup> Fabio Fragiaco is a 49 year old designer and lecturer at Leeds College of Art. Email interview July 2017

## **THE PRICE OF GAY RIGHTS: POST-BREXIT TRADE DEALS AND RENEGOTIATING DOMESTIC ANTI-LGBT LEGISLATION**

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Mercedes Broadbent, Young Fabians Member

**F**or the first time in decades, the UK may be in a position to negotiate its own trade deals.

This assumption relies on several outcomes: that we inherit negotiations after we have left the Single Market and the customs union, and that once we inherit this, it is irreversible. If we retain access to the Single Market, we almost certainly will retain the existing trade deals we have as a member of the European Union. However, although it is Labour Party policy, sensibly, to retain Single Market access, it is looking increasingly likely that by the time of the next election we will be in the position where the May government will have begun trade negotiations with individual nation states, and permanently left the Single Market.

This is likely to be a lengthy and complex process but it offers an opportunity that has not truly ever been taken up in trade negotiations before: to prioritise LGBT human rights in trade deals. It may seem strange that human rights could be part of a trade negotiation but almost anything can form part of a negotiating position, it is merely a question of priorities. It seems drastically unlikely that a Conservative government, already ideologically divided, would ever prioritise LGBT

issues-- an area where its MPs and members are already divided. So if we ever want to see a situation where LGBT rights are prioritised in our trade deals, it will inevitably fall to a Labour government - one which values and strengthens, rather than undermines, human rights.

There is some precedence for this, although not much. It mainly involves objection from political actors to trade treaties which would actively harm the strengthening of LGBT rights, rather than the opposite - treaties which seek to actively affirm them. The Us Congressional LGBT Caucus - inevitably made up solely of Democrats - criticised the Trans Pacific Partnership for the inclusion of Brunei and Malaysia in the treaty, which was made without efforts to challenge their extremely brutal domestic LGBT legislation. In 2013, the European Parliament raised reservations with the Cotonou Agreement, which governs relations with Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific regions, as the parliament wanted passages about sexual orientation included in the treaty. The parliament's objections at the time were led by Sir Michael Cashman, of the Labour Party, who wanted explicit inclusion of non-discrimination based on sexual orientation included in the treaty.

It is tempting, when considering the question of what we should prioritise, to pick countries to focus on where homosexuality is illegal. There are 72 countries in the world where it is illegal to be gay, usually involving direct criminalisation of gay male

sex, and such laws tend to have a direct knock-on effect to the treatment of lesbians and trans people. In many of these countries, there is also direct criminalisation of lesbian sex and of gender non-conforming behaviour. It would seem obvious that trying to reduce the legal penalties for homosexuality is what a humane government would focus on.

But it is important, in trade negotiations which incorporate human rights concerns, to avoid unintended consequences, and unfortunately, when it comes to negotiating for LGBT rights, the potential for this is very great. Open and obvious pressure from the UK in countries with the harshest regimes and most shocking treatment of their LGBT populations may be the most likely to have a massive backlash if a less generous trade deal is promised to countries who will not cede to the UK's demands. The most striking recent example of this is the unintended consequences of the women's shelters opened by western aid agencies and charities in Afghanistan after the invasion and reconstruction. They are viewed as a western "imposition" and have hampered the efforts of local feminists to make their case in their country, and many have since closed, as the money to keep them open has dried up, leaving many women in unimaginable peril. If the UK makes it more difficult for local LGBT populations on the ground in practice, the principle of trying to improve human rights through trade is worthless.

However, suggesting that nothing at all can be done is also obviously completely unacceptable. As an alternative, prioritising improving workers' rights in countries which currently do not have protections for LGBT people in the workplace may be a better alternative. There are many countries, if we leave the Single Market, with which the UK will have to negotiate trade deals where homosexuality is not illegal, but there are no discrimination protections for LGBT people. These are likely to be easier to incorporate into a trade agreement that may include levels of employment standards, and if successful could serve as a springboard to try and push states which criminalise homosexuality in later trade negotiations.

There is some precedence for this. The controversial Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) agreement had elements supported by the American equivalent of the TUC, the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) because TTIP would have increased employment protections and standards for American workers. Engaging with trade unions in countries before negotiations start and throughout may be a profitable way to garner local support for increased LGBT rights, especially if the trade negotiations also call for increased employment rights around elements such as hours, conditions and pay. Local support is necessary to change attitudes as well as laws, and involving trade

unions would be a start towards the path of increasing the possibility of LGBT involvement with society.

### ***Policy recommendations***

- Prioritise improving workers' rights when carrying out trade deals in countries which currently do not have protections for LGBT people in the workplace.
- Get local support to change attitudes as well as laws.
- Engage with trade unions in countries before negotiations start and throughout to garner local support for increased LGBT rights, especially if the trade negotiations also call for increased employment rights around elements such as hours, conditions and pay.

## **IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION IN A POST-BREXIT BRITAIN**

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Leo Gibbons-Plowright, Young Fabians Member

**F**or many of our communities, real wages have fallen since 2008. In many towns in the north and midlands, house prices have stagnated or even declined, people there have not accrued wealth relative to those in our cities and the South East. Our country has never felt more divided. While prosperous metropolitan centres voted to Remain - elsewhere, in rural areas, market towns and ex-industrial centres our country voted heavily to Leave.

'Take back control'. It was a phrase that resonated in the hearts and minds of millions of Britons leading up to the Brexit vote. Simple and direct, it spoke to our desire for autonomy, agency, and sense of control over our lives and our communities. For many who voted to Leave, the issue of immigration was totemic. Taking back control meant taking back our borders. The desire to cut immigration was the central to the Brexit result last year.

Many have pointed to fact that areas with the lowest levels of immigration tended to vote to Leave. Of the 270 districts that had a lower proportion than average of people born outside the UK in 2011, in 229 (85%) the majority voted to exit

the EU<sup>36</sup>. However, what this ignores is the rate of change, and impact this has. Boston in Lincolnshire has a relatively low numbers of migrants, but this Brexit stronghold has seen their migrant population soar over the last 15 years. In areas where the foreign-born populations increased by more than 200% between 2001 and 2014, a Leave vote followed in 94% of cases<sup>37</sup>.

According to an Audit Commission Report's entitled 'Challenge of Migrant Workers', there was the failure of central government in the early 2000s to anticipate the large numbers of EU Citizens arriving from Accession countries in a relatively short space of time<sup>38</sup>. This influx of new migrants from Eastern Europe led to integration challenges at a local level. It has been felt by some that the nature

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<sup>36</sup> Ackrell, R. and Lawton, C. 2016. *The Conversation*. (Online). (Accessed 16th August 2017) Available from: <http://theconversation.com/hard-evidence-how-areas-with-low-immigration-voted-mainly-for-brexit-62138>

<sup>37</sup> The Economist. 2016. 'Britain's immigration paradox', *The Economist*. 8th July 2016. P1, (Accessed 16 August 2016) Available from: <https://www.economist.com/news/britain/21701950-areas-lots-migrants-voted-mainly-remain-or-did-they-britains-immigration-paradox>

<sup>38</sup> Audit Commission. 2007. 'Crossing Borders: Responding to the local challenges of migrant workers'. *Audit Commission*. (Online). (Accessed 11th August). Available from: <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20150423154441/http://archive.audit-commission.gov.uk/auditcommission/aboutus/publications/pages/national-reports-and-studies-archive.aspx.html>

of freedom of movement, despite its proven economic benefits, is not socially and politically sustainable.

In essence, Britain needs reform that will allow the sustained economic benefits of freedom of movement while remedying the impact it can have on community cohesion. If we allow ourselves to withdraw from those economic benefits, we will make our task so much harder. If funding for schools, social care and housing are diminished, the path to regaining trust will get only get steeper. The blame placed on immigration for the lack public resources and localised jobs, will not dissipate if net numbers fall.

The Conservative Party is committed to a hard-Brexit and Labour equivocates on whether staying permanently in the Single Market is still on the cards. At the moment there seems to be a consensus forming that places removal freedom of movement as an absolute, and the primary goal of our withdrawal process.

### ***What will be the effect?***

Jonathan Portes, professor of economics and public policy at King's College London, and Guiseppe Fortes, Research Assistant at the National Institute of Economic and Social Research, have detailed the impact of reducing migration post-Brexit and have suggested its negative impacts on per capita GDP will be significant, potentially approaching those

resulting from reduced trade after Brexit<sup>39</sup>. By contrast, the increase in low-skilled wages resulting from reduced migration is expected to be, if at all, ‘relatively modest’<sup>40</sup>.

The study by the Centre for Economics and Business Research found that every major wealth-creating sector would be affected negatively by a hard-Brexit. Manufacturing would be hit if there were tariff barriers to EU trade and the creative industries to receive a “body blow” if there were strict controls on immigration<sup>41</sup>.

The European Institute at the London School of Economics reported that there was ‘little doubt that the inflow of labour from the EU has had a beneficial effect on the supply of labour and that many public services, in particular, rely on EU workers. EU citizens of working age are significantly more likely to be in employment than their

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<sup>39</sup> Fortes, G. and Portes, C. 2016. ‘The Economic Impact of Brexit-induced Reductions in Migration’. *National Institute of Economic and Social Research*. (Online) (Accessed 13 August 2017) Available from: <https://www.niesr.ac.uk/sites/default/files/publications/The%20Economic%20Impact%20of%20Brexit-induced%20Reductions%20in%20Migration%20-%20Dec%2016.pdf>

<sup>40</sup> Ibid

<sup>41</sup> CBER. 2016. How the UK’s Key Sectors Link to the EU’s Single Market. *Report for Open Britain*. (Online). (Accessed 14 August). Accessed from: <https://cebr.com/reports/how-the-uk-economys-key-sectors-link-to-the-eus-single-market/>

indigenous counterparts and make a positive contribution to the UK's public finances'<sup>42</sup>.

In a nation still recovering from de-industrialisation and the hollowing out of local labour markets decades in the making - those citizens still earn £16 per week lower than they did before the 2008 crash<sup>43</sup> - the idea that cutting net migration, particularly numbers of low-skilled migrants, will be the first step to national renewal seems misplaced.

### ***Hard-Brexit***

In a Young Fabian roundtable with Ben Gidley, Associate Professor and Senior Researcher at COMPAS (2011-2015) and Jonathan Portes, there was broad consensus that problems with a Hard Brexit were two-fold.

On one hand, there were concerns that ending freedom of movement would not actually bring about a dramatic decrease in net migration. It is anticipated that when negotiating new trade deals outside the EU, other nations will push the UK hard

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<sup>42</sup> Begg, I. and Mushovel, F. 'The economic impact of Brexit: jobs, growth and the public finances'. *European Institute, London School of Economics*. (Online) (Accessed 17 August 2017)

<sup>43</sup> Chapman, B. 2016. 'UK salaries less than they were 12 years ago, official figures reveal'. *The Independent*. (Online) (Accessed 17th August 2017). Available from:

<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/business/news/uk-salaries-less-wages-down-inequality-ons-statistics-a7381671.html>

for concessions on migration. A report by Global Future was highlighted, which stated that when all the different factors are taken into account, ‘the potential reductions in net migration become vanishingly thin.’<sup>44</sup>

The second concern was the economic impact of a Hard Brexit would hit our already squeezed public services. Stretched public services and resources add an extra burden, particularly effecting those on low incomes and in insecure employment. The allocation of resources is a known sore point that can drive a wedge between migrant communities and their host communities.

Indicators before the EU referendum pointed towards a coming reduction in net migration to the UK<sup>45</sup>. As Jonathan Portes highlighted, the very high levels of recent inflow, from Bulgaria and Romania for example, is likely to be reflecting the impact of the lifting of transitional controls and it seems likely that this would soon run its course.

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<sup>44</sup> Global Futures. 2017. The Brexit Immigration Myth: Ending EU Freedom of Movement Will Not Make a Dramatic Difference to Net Migration. *Global Futures*. (Online) (Accessed 14 August 2017) Available from: <http://ourglobalfuture.com/2017/02/brexit-immigration-myth/>

<sup>45</sup> Fortes, G. and Portes, C. 2016. ‘The Economic Impact of Brexit-induced Reductions in Migration’. *National Institute of Economic and Social Research*. (Online) (Accessed 13 August 2017) Available from: <https://www.niesr.ac.uk/sites/default/files/publications/The%20Economic%20Impact%20of%20Brexit-induced%20Reductions%20in%20Migration%20-%20Dec%202016.pdf>

Employment growth has also slowed in the UK while unemployment is falling across the EU and Eurozone. There is evidence to suggest migration from some EU countries responds to exchange rate changes and that the economic impact of Brexit on growth output and employment will disincentivise migrating to the UK. The current exodus of migrants from the UK was most marked among eastern Europeans, with a fall in immigration from the EU8 countries to 48,000 (down 25,000) and a rise in emigration to 43,000 (up 16,000). Net migration has already fallen to 248,000 (down 84,000), the lowest level since 2014<sup>46</sup>. If we remain in the Single Market & Customs Union, the signs show that net migration will continue to fall.

However, it was accepted during discussions that things had to change and that standing still, allowing EU migrant numbers to ‘run their course’ and fall, would not tackle some of the fundamental issues surrounding immigration and integration in the country that led to the Brexit vote.

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<sup>46</sup> Fortes, G. and Portes, C. 2016. ‘The Economic Impact of Brexit-induced Reductions in Migration’. *National Institute of Economic and Social Research*. (Online) (Accessed 13 August 2017) Available from: <https://www.niesr.ac.uk/sites/default/files/publications/The%20Economic%20Impact%20of%20Brexit-induced%20Reductions%20in%20Migration%20-%20Dec%202016.pdf>

### ***Not standing still***

While 32 per cent of voters were put off voting Leave because of its association with racism, 53 per cent were put off voting Remain because of its dismissiveness towards immigration<sup>47</sup>. For too long, the progressive-Left has responded to concerns of immigration with economics alone. We know that arguments on the 'economic trade-off' on freedom of movement and immigration have failed to 'cut through' for many Leave voters. Focus groups have shown us UKIP/Labour swing voters will knowingly prioritise control of immigration/laws over the economy<sup>48</sup>.

But as Ed Miliband's former pollster, James Morris has pointed out, 'two-thirds of the country thinks as long as the system is well managed, migration can be good for Britain. Support for a significant increase in the number of refugees rises from 35 per cent to 58 percent if the system can be

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<sup>47</sup> Morris, J. 2016. 'We must respect people's desire for control'. *Fabian Society*. Facing the Unknown: Building a progressive response to Brexit. (Online) (Accessed 11 August) Available from: [http://www.fabians.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/FABJ4808\\_Europe\\_Report\\_130916\\_WEB\\_2.pdf](http://www.fabians.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/FABJ4808_Europe_Report_130916_WEB_2.pdf)

<sup>48</sup> Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research. 2016. 'The state of the Labour vote and priorities for the future'. *Greenberg Quinlan Rosner*. (Online). (Accessed 08<sup>th</sup> August) Available from: <file:///C:/Users/gibbonsplowrightl/Downloads/The%20state%20of%20the%20Labour%20vote%20-%20Dec%202016.pdf>

relied on to identify genuine refugees and help them integrate.’<sup>49</sup>

The focus must be shifted away from reducing net migration figures. Instead, our focus should be on better integration of migrant communities, particularly in areas of the country that have experienced a sharp increase in new migrant populations.

An in-depth study carried out for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation found that many people felt that immigration created pressure on public services, in which they and their family were likely to lose out<sup>50</sup>.

The Migration Observatory has highlighted that the ‘impact of immigration on public services is poorly understood at a local level and there are serious difficulties in measuring this due to a lack of data.’<sup>51</sup>. This was the main topic of conversation in

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<sup>49</sup> Morris, J. 2016. ‘We must respect people’s desire for control’. *Fabian Society*. Facing the Unknown: Building a progressive response to Brexit. (Online) (Accessed 11 August) Available from: [http://www.fabians.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/FABJ4808\\_Europe\\_Report\\_130916\\_WEB\\_2.pdf](http://www.fabians.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/FABJ4808_Europe_Report_130916_WEB_2.pdf)

<sup>50</sup> Walker, P. 2016. ‘Poorer voters’ worries on immigration fuelled Brexit vote, study finds’. *The Guardian*. (Online). (Accessed 13th August 2017) Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/dec/15/poorer-voters-worries-immigration-fuelled-brexit-vote-study-finds>

<sup>51</sup> Sumption, M. 2015. ‘Election 2015 Briefing – Impacts of Migration on Local Public Services’. *The Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford*. (Online). (Accessed 9th August). Available

the Young Fabian roundtable, *Bridging the Divide: Integration and Immigration in post-Brexit Britain* as well.

To tackle this, it was suggested that the main goal must be to rebuild trust and accountability on the issue. Labour needs policies that can reassure the public that agencies of the state have a greater grip of who is entering the country, where they are moving to and what occupations they are taking up.

### ***Policy recommendations***

- **Compulsory registration of EU migrants after three months would help local authorities understand better their levels of immigration and what pressure this would be adding to their local services.**

It would reassure sections of the public that EU migrants were being monitored and that local government had more 'control'. At the time of registering with a local authority, all EU migrants would pay for an upfront £100 levy - half of which will go into general government funds and a half would be put towards a Regional Immigration

Fund. EU migrants would therefore be seen making a symbolic, albeit small, contribution to the services they will invariably use. Once registered, EU migrants will be given a National Insurance Number. This will allow them to access benefits, including those offered through the Regional Immigration Fund (for example mentoring programs with business people who share their skills or sector interests).

- **A New and Improved Regional Immigration Fund**

After registering with a local authority EU migrants should be encouraged to integrate through supportive programs similar to the 'Inburgering' program in Belgium<sup>52</sup>. Mentoring schemes for new migrants, access to cross-community schemes, services to support access to the job market and improving skills such as CV writing and IT skills - these are some of the ways the government can offer support to migrants and help foster further civic engagement in their new communities.

A new Regional Immigration Fund would develop a two-pronged approach in dealing with the issues that have arisen over the past two decades

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<sup>52</sup> Collett, E. and Gidley, B. 2012. 'Attitudes to Migrants Communication and Local Leadership (AMICALL)'. *Compas*. (Online) (Accessed 13th August 2017) Available from: [http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/media/PR-2012-AMICALL\\_Transnational.pdf](http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/media/PR-2012-AMICALL_Transnational.pdf)

from freedom of movement. The fund aims to act in part as an enhanced version of the Migration Impact Fund which was scrapped by the Coalition Government. In the Young Fabian roundtable David Goodhart, Head of Integration Hub and Demography unit at Policy Exchange, stated that it would be good to have local authorities (and charitable organisations) bid for allocation from the Regional Immigration Fund – after providing 'solid evidence of infrastructure pinch points to smooth the rapid expansion of school places, for GPs surgeries and A&E departments under particular pressure and even for public housing'<sup>53</sup>.

The Regional Immigration Fund aims to respond to the problems caused by high migration into localities as identified by local authorities and to deliver benefits to the established resident population. The registration of EU migrants sets about to offer timely local data on the scale of migration that will feed into the Regional Immigration Fund to help effectively direct resources to priority areas.

The focus of the Fund would be to benefit the established resident community by providing additional funding for local services. Local

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<sup>53</sup> Goodhart, D. 2016. 'Immigration and Integration post Brexit: A Policy Exchange Agenda'. *Policy Exchange*. (Online) (Accessed online 09 August 2017) Available from: <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/immigration-and-integration-after-brexit-aug-16.pdf>

authorities would bid on funds by setting out the issue, with evidence, and the action that the council wishes to take. Then they would be encouraged to highlight the issues of social cohesion in their areas and how they plan to use the funds to improve integration and foster better community relations. A local action plan would need to be drawn up identifying the biggest integration barriers in their area and how they seek to remedy them.

What repeatedly came up in discussions on the Regional Immigration Fund at the Young Fabian roundtable was the stark differences in the country when it came to attitudes towards immigration and migrant communities. Studies undertaken by the IPPR have shown that in areas where migrant populations and the local community have had time to adapt to each other, are more likely to be able to manage immigration through better integration<sup>54</sup>.

Across the country, different communities are facing different challenges when it comes to integration and social cohesion. Mill towns in West Yorkshire struggle with long-standing immigrant populations and white British communities living parallel lives, while in areas in the East of England such as Lincoln we see communities feeling unease

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<sup>54</sup> Griffith, P. and Sachradja, A. 2014. 'Shared ground: Strategies for living well together in an era of high immigration'. *The Institute For Public Policy Research*. (Online) (Accessed 14th August 2017). Available from: <http://www.ippr.org/read/shared-ground-strategies-for-living-well-together-in-an-era-of-high-immigration#>

at the sharp increase in transient European migrant workers.

According to the Interim Report into Integration of Migrants, a 'lack of social integration has been shown to undermine trust between neighbours, to grow the fear of crime and bolster the prejudice which fuels the politics of recrimination and blame'<sup>55</sup>. Local authorities should be encouraged to develop schemes that promote "positive social interactions" between different communities.

When bidding for funding local authorities must clearly outline the community projects they want to foster. Projects can be 'communication programs' focused at helping ease peoples' concerns about an influx of a migrant population. An example of this would be Barcelona's "anti-rumour" campaign<sup>56</sup>.

Another variant would be 'educational programs' that help migrants understand and accept social and civic norms in their new country. Examples of this include the Women's Health in Women's Hands

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<sup>55</sup> APPG on Social Integration .2017. 'Integration Not Demoisation The final report of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Social Integration inquiry into the integration of immigrants'. *APPG on Social Integration*. (Online). (Accessed 17th August 2017) Available from: <http://the-challenge.org/uploads/documents/APPG-Integration-not-Demonisation-Report.pdf>

<sup>56</sup> Tarantino, F. 2014. 'The BCN Anti-Rumour Strategy and the BCN Anti-Rumour Network'. EU-MIA Research Report. *International Training Centre of the International Labour Organization (ITCILO)*. (Online) (Accessed 11th August 2017) Available from: [file:///Users/leogibbons/Downloads/EU-MIA%20Report\\_Barcelona.pdf](file:///Users/leogibbons/Downloads/EU-MIA%20Report_Barcelona.pdf)

campaign in Bilbao which promotes sexual and reproductive health among immigrant women, including prevention related to gender-based violence and issues related to cultural and sexual identity<sup>57</sup>.

Funds will be allocated to local authorities so they can enrol EU Migrants on ESOL (‘English for Speakers of Other Languages’) classes (if needed) upon their registration. Ben Gidley highlighted the groups identified as most in need of accessing ESOL. These were (a) low skill workers, including from the EU, who aren’t eligible for any free or subsidised provision plus are working long and unsocial hours, and (b) some women who are economically inactive due to caring obligations. We would recommend making it a mandatory requirement of employers of registered EU migrants to subsidise ESOL courses and to ensure leave for their workers attending classes.

The introduction of these policies should not be kept from the view of the public. Instead, they should be well publicised.

The introduction of mandatory registration and checks on EU migrants after 3 months should reassure the public that we are on top of monitoring migration and that no stone is being left unturned in checking the status of migrants and finding those

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<sup>57</sup> European Migrant Integration Academy. (Online) (Accessed 11th 2017) Available from: <http://www.eu-mia.eu/cases/programa-mujer-salud-y-violencia-women2019s-health-in-women2019s-hands>

who reside in the country illegally. The services that are funded in part by the Regional Immigration Fund should be open about where the investment is coming from (for example highlighting the £100 levy paid by EU migrants).

- **A Holistic Approach**

Of course, the policies outlined here won't in themselves be all that is needed. Our approach to immigration policy post-Brexit must be about regaining public trust on the issue. That means being honest and moving away from catch-all migration targets that are impractical and self-defeating. The target of reducing immigration to tens of thousands should be dropped.

There will need to be a more holistic approach to immigration policy. Along with the RIF, there will need to be more spending allocated to bodies that enforce workers right and the minimum wage to make sure employers of British workers are not being undercut and migrant workers are not being exploited. An ICM poll in July 2014 found that 82 per cent of people agree that 'the government must enforce the minimum wage so we have a level playing field and employers can't squeeze out British workers by employing immigrants on the

cheap'<sup>58</sup>. Those in low-pay and less secure jobs are particularly concerned on this issue. We should stick by Labour's 2015 commitment to introduce prosecutions and doubling of fines for those who fail to pay the national minimum wage. We should continue with the commitment to hire 1,000 more border control staff to clamp down on exploitation and trafficking.

### **Conclusion**

Polling done by British Future shows there is broad public support, across the political spectrum, for investing more in a system that can fairly deliver on whatever political choices are made about immigration policy<sup>59</sup>. The doors of public approval are open for more investment in tougher border controls, on tightening the regulation of markets to avoid the undercutting of wages and conditions and an introduction of a Regional Integration Fund.

The desire to reduce immigration does not develop in a vacuum. It is known that pressures on housing, on available child care and on frontline

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<sup>58</sup> Ballinger, S. Katwala S. and Rhodes M. 2014. How to Talk About Immigration. *British Future*. (Online) (Accessed 11th August) Available from: <https://www.britishfuture.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/How-To-Talk-About-Immigration-FINAL.pdf>

<sup>59</sup> Ballinger, S. Katwala S. and Rhodes M. 2014. How to Talk About Immigration. *British Future*. (Online) (Accessed 11th August) Available from: <https://www.britishfuture.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/How-To-Talk-About-Immigration-FINAL.pdf>

services, exacerbate the anxieties people feel about changing communities.

Complex Visa systems and a devolved immigration policies similar to the Canadian model would offer more ‘control’. However, these policies would come at a price. Jonathan Portes points out that bringing in such measures would be a bureaucratic nightmare and administratively incredibly complex. He also dampened down on the fallacy that freedom of movement has increased unemployment for British workers. A migrant worker might ‘take’ a job from a British worker directly, but they may also “create” one job – or indeed more than one job – for a British worker<sup>60</sup>.

Mandatory registration of all EU migrants, the Regional Immigration Fund, delivered with a new holistic approach to integration policies hopefully offers us another way forward. The UK can stay within the Single Market & Customs Union while targeting the reasons why immigration has become such a salient issue in the country over the last few years.

In 1995 when net migration was well under 100,000, two-thirds of Britons wanted it cut. The desire to reduce immigration amongst the public

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<sup>60</sup> Travis, A. 2016. ‘Are EU migrants really taking British jobs and pushing down wages?’. *The Guardian*. (Online). (Accessed 17<sup>th</sup> August). Available from:

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/20/reality-check-are-eu-migrants-really-taking-british-jobs>

will always exist. In a rush to 'take back to control' we might be chasing an oasis that we will never reach. However we leave the European Union it will involve difficult compromises - but a Regional Immigration Fund will show that we are serious about tackling the pressures of free movement while keeping its economic and social benefits open for the future.

What is the future for Brexit Britain?

## **WITH THANKS**

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