

**Public Opinions toward Windrush Scandal under
Britain's Hostile Environment Immigration Policy:
A Comparative Content Analysis of The Guardian
and The Telegraph**

By

Yu-Han Peng

彭育涵

Submitted to the Faculty of
Department of International Affairs in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Arts in International Affairs

Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages
2020

WENZAO URSULINE UNIVERSITY OF LANGUAGES
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

This senior paper was presented

by

Yu-Han Peng
彭育涵

It was defended on

November 30, 2019

and approved by

Reviewer 1: Yu-Jane Chen, Associate Professor, Department of International Affairs

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Reviewer 2: Samuel C.Y. Ku, Professor, Master Program on Southeast Asian Studies

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Advisor: Daniel Lin, Associate Professor, Department of International Affairs

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Copyright © by Yu-Han Peng 彭育涵

2020

Public Opinions toward Windrush Scandal under Britain's Hostile Environment Immigration Policy: A Comparative Content Analysis of The Guardian and The Telegraph

Yu-Han Peng, B.A.

Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages, 2020

Abstract

The Windrush scandal, which ignited many criticisms, broke out in 2018. This national scandal has resulted from Britain's "hostile environment" immigration policy and its mistreatment of its own citizens. It was the press coverage contributing to the break out of this national scandal. Though the press tended to report the scandal in a negative tone, they in fact reflected polarized debates under the immigration issue in the UK. Hence, the case study investigated the public opinions reflected from left and right-wing newspapers on the Windrush Scandal under the hostile environment immigration policy. The data for the qualitative content analysis study came from The Guardian and The Telegraph. A total of 288 news articles were extracted from the former, and 99 from the latter.

The four main debates of Windrush Scandal were used to filter and analyze the collected news articles. The results showed that both newspapers had consensus on the existence of anti-immigration sentiment in the UK; racism and moral issues were reflected from hostile environment immigration policy; the lack of tolerance in Britishness was prevalent; and concerns about EU migrants and recurrence of other Windrush Scandal still existed. The debates from the two newspapers indicated that consensus did exist, but political polarization was still prevalent in British politics and media.

Keywords: Windrush Scandal, hostile environment, immigration, political ideology

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
Background	1
Motivation.....	4
Research Purpose	4
Research Questions	5
Contribution	5
Limits	6
Delimits.....	6
LITERATURE REVIEW	7
Windrush Generation and the Post-War Immigration Policy	7
Windrush Generation	7
Developments of Post-War Immigration Policies.....	8
Hostile Environment Immigration Policy	11
Windrush Scandal	16
Debates over Windrush Scandal under Hostile Environment Policy.....	19
Public Concerns toward Immigration	19
Theories of Immigration Policy-Making	20
Main Debates over Windrush Scandal	23
Significance of the Two Newspaper Outlets in the UK	25
METHODOLOGY	27
Research Design.....	27
Sources of Data	28
Instrumentation and Data Collection	28
Tools for Data Analysis.....	30

DATA ANALYSIS	31
Public Opinions on The Causes of Hostile Environment Immigration Policy	34
Public Opinions on The Effects of Hostile Environment Immigration Policy	37
Public Opinions on The Issues of Identity and Belonging of Black Britons	44
Public Opinions on The Immigration Status of EU Migrants Post-Brexit	45
Summary	47
CONCLUSION.....	49
Discussion.....	49
Conclusion & Suggestion	53
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	54

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Data Collection from The Guardian and The Telegraph	31
Table 2. The Results of Coding.....	33

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure. 1 A complete overview of historical cases review.....	18
Figure. 2 The process of data collection	29

INTRODUCTION

Background

Immigration has been a hot issue and highly debated among the United Kingdom. Considering it was one of the key factors in the Brexit referendum when citizens who favored Brexit claimed to take back control of the UK borders and jobs. Public concerns over the immigrants make UK policymakers attempt to draw up policies to manage migration.¹ Thus, how the government formulates the immigration policy is important and absolutely not to be underestimated. Effective immigration policy will bring harmony to both nationals and migrants while ineffective immigration policy may lead to the violation of human rights and other related moral issues.

The Windrush scandal, which ignited many criticisms, outbroke in 2018. This national scandal has resulted from Britain's "hostile environment" immigration policy for immigrants. It was the press coverage contributing to the break out of this national scandal.² News articles about the stories began to emerge in November 2017.³ As more and more cases appear, it eventually became a scandal in 2018 and triggered anger from the public. The "Windrush Scandal" refers to Commonwealth citizens who suffered from Britain's hostile environment policy. Most of them were from the Caribbean countries, they are also known as the "Windrush Generation." Those people who came from Britain's Commonwealth countries after World War two, with the permissions by Britain's government, they came to Britain to support the labor

¹ Dhananjayan Srisankarajah Will Somerville, Maria Latorre, "United Kingdom: A Reluctant Country of Immigration," (Migration Policy Institute 2009).

² Niamh Quille, "The Windrush Generation in Britain's 'Hostile Environment': Racializing the Crimmigration Narrative" (University of Oxford, 2018).

³ Nadia Khomami and Goda Naujokaityte, "How the Windrush Scandal Led to Fall of Amber Rudd – Timeline," *The Guardian*, 30 April 2018.

shortages and help Britain to rebuild their homeland. However, as the hostile environment policy was introduced in 2012, Theresa May, the UK Home Secretary at that time, said:” The aim is to create, here in Britain, a really hostile environment for illegal immigrants.”⁴ Afterward, the hostile environment policy has come to affect the Windrush Generation in 2018.⁵ Many of them couldn’t provide documents to confirm their rights to stay in the UK, they were refused to access healthcare and have faced deportations. Windrush Generation have faced the violation of human rights under the hostile environment policy. Moreover, the Windrush scandal has led to the resignation of the Home Secretary, Amber Rudd, in the same year.

Apparently, debates on the Windrush scandal were all over the national newspapers. Theresa May also got blamed by her words to create the “hostile environment” which people can easily perceive this in some national newspapers. Both left and right-leaning British newspapers were criticizing about government’s treatments to the Windrush Generation, especially the left-leaning newspaper outlet, The Guardian. Furthermore, not only newspaper outlets but also the Labour party criticized the Conservative Party that "rotten at the heart of Government" by focusing on immigration targets and creating an unwelcome environment.⁶ It is obvious to see the conflicts between humanity and immigration policy in Windrush Scandal under the hostile environment immigration policy. As far as it concerned, the Windrush Scandal brought tremendous harm to the UK society, it made the United Kingdom become an unwelcoming environment for immigrants and has already led to mistrust from the public.

⁴ Joanne Moseley, "Immigration: White Paper Sets out Post-Brexit Rules for Migrants," *Irwin Mitchell Solicitors*, 19 Dec 2018.

⁵ Quille, "The Windrush Generation in Britain's 'Hostile Environment': Racializing the Crimmigration Narrative."

⁶ Natasha Clark, "Whose Fault? Labour Were First to Suggest ‘Hostile Environment’ for Immigrants, Emily Thornberry Admits as She Wades into Windrush Row," *The Sun*, 22 Apr 2018.

The Windrush Scandal indicated the problems of policymaking in the UK. The UK government changed the term “hostile environment” policy into “compliant environment” policy after the Windrush Scandal.⁷ In fact, the government did not terminate the hostile environment policy but still made it continue in the future. As we know, effective immigration policy will bring harmony to both nationals and migrants. Unfortunately, the hostile environment policy did not seem to be an effective immigration policy and has got blames for violating the human rights of the Windrush Generation. Those who suffered from hostile environments have been negatively affected in various aspects.

The scandal indicated the conflicts between immigration policy and humanity. The UK government’s hostile environment policy was initially aimed to restrict the illegal immigrants and prevent those who didn’t have official documents to prove their citizenship from accessing housing, education, employment, healthcare, banking, and other basic services.⁸ In terms of the UK government, its goal was to reduce illegal immigration and protect the basic rights and public welfare of the UK citizens. As the reduction of immigration is a target in the Conservative Party, it is controversial that the hostile environment’ was its political strategy. Also, from the economic aspect, illegal immigrants might increase the burdens of public services, so it might become one of the considerations in formulating the hostile environment. Furthermore, the awareness of national security and national identity rationalized the hostile environment immigration policy. Conversely, in terms of Windrush Generation, they have been deprived of their basic human rights and dignities under the hostile environment immigration policy.

⁷ Russell Taylor, "Impact of ‘Hostile Environment’ Policy Debate on 14 June 2018 " (House of Lords).

⁸ "The Hostile Environment for Immigrants: How Theresa May Has Created an Underclass in the UK", Global Justice, <https://www.globaljustice.org.uk/resources/hostile-environment-immigrants>.

British newspapers took a vital role to broadcast the Windrush Scandal. Despite their political ideologies, both left and right-leaning newspaper outlets criticized the way that the UK government treated the Windrush Generation, and how exactly the hostile environment affected them. The generally negative tone of public debate appears in the headline of UK national newspapers. However, were all debates the same? Was something slightly different from left and right-leaning newspapers?

Motivation

To understand the debates from the different political spectrum is important. The newspapers tend to broadcast the news with their political ideologies. However, in the case of Windrush Scandal under hostile environment immigration policy, newspapers tended to report in a negative tone, this phenomenon shows that most of the British people were ashamed of the government's mistreatment of Windrush Generation and were compassionate for them. Yet, were all the debates the same? The author will investigate public opinions and debates from two newspaper outlets in the UK. The Guardian, the left-leaning newspaper which supports the Labour Party; and The Telegraph, the right-leaning newspaper which supports the Conservative Party. The choice of one left and right-leaning newspaper outlets aim to extract public opinions from different political ideologies and give readers a broader understanding of this study issue.

Research Purpose

The purpose of the study is to investigate the public opinion reflected from two newspapers on Windrush Scandal under the hostile environment immigration policy. As two newspaper outlets with different political ideologies, The Guardian with left-

leaning and The Telegraph with right-leaning. The author will extract public opinions from two newspapers with different ideologies in order to give readers a deep understanding of the Windrush Scandal and hostile environment immigration policy. In addition, this research paper enables readers to understand about immigration issue in the United Kingdom, and how the UK citizens react to it when facing a contradiction to violation of human rights and restricted immigration policies.

Research Questions

Research Question 1: What were the public opinions toward the causes of hostile environment immigration policy reflected from two newspaper outlets?

Research Question 2: What were the public opinions toward the effects of hostile environment immigration policy reflected from two newspaper outlets?

Research Question 3: What were the public opinions toward the issues of identity and belonging of Black Britons reflected from two newspaper outlets?

Research Question 4: What were the public opinions toward the immigration status of EU migrants post-Brexit reflected from two newspaper outlets?

Contribution

Due to the importance of the Windrush Scandal among UK society, this research paper aimed to investigate British public opinions from two newspaper outlets that hold different political ideologies respectively. Thus, this research paper will demonstrate the public opinions from two major political stances which can show the concerns of the UK's society toward the Windrush Scandal. There have been researches studied on the impact of hostile environment policy to the UK society but the relatively little study on examining the public debates and opinions from

newspapers toward the Windrush Scandal. This research will also give readers a comprehensive understanding of Windrush Scandal, as the issue including the contradiction with policy, human rights violation, citizenship, immigration issue, political ideologies and so on, the Windrush Scandal has become a significant issue which should never be ignored.

Limits

It may be difficult to extract British public opinions from the whole society, so the author chose two representative newspaper outlets to extract public opinions from it. Moreover, due to the research time limit, the author was unable to choose many UK national newspapers to extract and analyze the collected articles, thus two representative and high-quality newspaper outlets will be selected within the study.

In addition, this research aimed to analyze the debates in a selected and focal period in which the Windrush Scandal erupted, so it couldn't cover all the debates and public opinions since this issue is still ongoing and existing among the UK society.

Delimits

Using the content analysis as a research method has a limitation on all the usual biases and problems of sampling, the author can only collect the data from two newspaper outlets based on the keywords on her checklist. The keywords including "Windrush" and "hostile environment," it is possible that the author will collect the repeated and irrelevant news by entering these two keywords, so the process of data sampling should be careful and rigorous.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Windrush Generation and the Post-War Immigration Policy

Windrush Generation

Those arriving in the UK between 1948 and 1973 from Caribbean countries have been labeled the “Windrush” Generation.⁹ The ship MV Empire Windrush, which docked at Tilbury in 1948 was the first ship sailing from the Caribbean to the UK during the post-war period. The passenger ships brought workers from Jamaica, Trinidad, Tobago, and other Commonwealth countries, many arrived in the UK as children and traveled on their parents’ passports.¹⁰ The Windrush Generation came to the UK in order to support the labor shortages after World War II. As nationals of Commonwealth countries, the Windrush Generation emigrated from the Caribbean before the 1971 Immigration Act took effect could reside and work freely in the United Kingdom. They were also having a legal right to British citizenship. According to estimates by Oxford University’s Migration Observatory, almost 600,000 migrants arrived in the UK from Commonwealth countries before 1971, including Windrush arrivals.¹¹ The Windrush Generation was expecting to start their new life in their “mother country.” However, they wouldn’t know there were many of the racial stereotyping, cultural misunderstandings and hostile environments in their upcoming life in the UK, and they wouldn’t expect there would be a ‘Windrush Scandal’ which totally turned their life upside down.

⁹ "Windrush Generation: Who Are They and Why Are They Facing Problems?," *The BBC*, 18 April 2018.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ "Commonwealth Citizens Arriving before 1971," The Migration Observatory at The University of Oxford, <https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/commentaries/commonwealth-citizens-arriving-before-1971/>.

Developments of Post-War Immigration Policies

The following literature review will outline the developments of post-war immigration policies in Britain. And those immigration policies have come to affect the Windrush Generation in 2018. In a country that has “long been suspicious of foreigners,”¹² we can observe that the development of its immigration policies was gradually restricting immigration, especially being strict on ‘colored immigrants.’

Before and after World War II, many Commonwealth immigration entered Britain. The support of the free movement of people before the war was because Britain wanted to sustain the links between its colonies and aspire to world leadership.¹³ Yet, after the war, Britain faced low unemployment and labor shortages, so it recruited many foreign workers who were mostly Commonwealth immigration, such as West Indians, Indians, and Pakistanis.¹⁴

In 1948, Britain formulated its own citizenship law—British Nationality Act 1948. The act aimed to provide for a new status of citizens of the United Kingdom and colonies (CUKC). Before this act, whoever belongs to the British colonies were called ‘British subjects.’¹⁵ The act is particularly important to Windrush Generation and other Commonwealth immigration. Because it was the first time that citizenship was defined and put on a statutory footing, which means the status of British subjects would be equal to the status of Commonwealth citizens.¹⁶ In the same year, the arrival of *Empire Windrush* from Jamaica brought workers to Britain. As the act came to effect and the immigration of Commonwealth would be lawful in agreement with

¹² Mary Bosworth and Mhairi Guild, "Governing through Migration Control: Security and Citizenship in Britain," *The British journal of criminology* 48, no. 6 (2008).

¹³ Eytan Meyers, *International Immigration Policy: A Theoretical and Comparative Analysis* (Springer, 2004).

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ "Types of British Citizens," Sable International, <https://www.sableinternational.com/british-citizenship/different-types-of-british-nationals>.

¹⁶ Quille, "The Windrush Generation in Britain's 'Hostile Environment': Racializing the Crimmigration Narrative."

the British Nationality Act 1948, there were more and more Commonwealth migrants coming to Britain. Nevertheless, the mass amount of immigration prompted Cabinet to discuss what measure might be taken to limit 'colored immigration.'¹⁷ As Randall Hansen pointed that 'the British Nationality Act was never intended to sanction a mass migration of New Commonwealth citizens to the United Kingdom.'¹⁸ it was argued that the further restriction on immigration must be taken.

Further restriction on Commonwealth immigration led to Immigrants Act 1962 and 1968. In 1958, the large scale of immigration of diverse race composition caused race riots in Nottingham and Notting Hill.¹⁹ The public hostility toward colored immigrants created pressure for the British government. The British government told the Indian and Pakistani governments to restrict the issuing of passports, but it ended up resultless.²⁰ Afterward, the Conservative government passed the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962, it created the voucher systems which required Commonwealth immigrants who wanted to enter Britain need to obtain employment vouchers and hold a passport issued by the British government, not by the colonial government.²¹

Meanwhile, the political campaign for further restrictions was still ongoing. It was the mass flow of Kenyan Asians led to the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1968, which passed by the Labour government. In order to restrict the immigration of Kenyan Asian, it introduced the concept of "'patriality'". It rejected 'all citizens of the United Kingdom and colonies with no substantial connection to the UK (by descent, birth, marriage or adoption) to enter the UK.'²² In accordance with this act, the

¹⁷ Randall Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Postwar Britain* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2000).

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Meyers, *International Immigration Policy: A Theoretical and Comparative Analysis*.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Quille, "The Windrush Generation in Britain's 'Hostile Environment': Racializing the Crimmigration Narrative."

²² Meyers, *International Immigration Policy: A Theoretical and Comparative Analysis*.

Kenyan Asians were less likely to qualified than Commonwealth immigrants from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, because white people were more likely to have parents or grandparents who born in the UK, and easier to have substantial connection to the UK. In other words, it was race-based citizenship in order to eliminate immigration.²³ The previous study has shown “the clear intention of ‘patriality’ was to control colored immigration from the Commonwealth while allowing unrestricted access to most white Commonwealth citizens of British descent.”²⁴ At this juncture, the definition of British citizenship was getting more and more controversial.

The Immigration Act 1971 remained the patriality and introduced ‘the right of abode’. The patriality reduced lots of Commonwealth citizens to come to the UK, on the other side, those who were not subject to the restriction would be given the right of abode in the United Kingdom.

The Windrush Generation made eligible for the right to abode in the UK. According to the Immigration Act 1971, “the citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies who was ordinarily resident in the UK for any continuous period of five years” can be given the right to abode.²⁵ The Windrush Generation has arrived during the 1950s, so they would definitely have lived in the UK for more than five years, and should have all been granted the indefinite leave to remain. However, those people were not compelled to apply for any documentation to confirm their status and right to abode at that time, this became a notable point because most of the Windrush Generation lacked the documentation to prove their legitimate status in the future.

According to the Migration Observatory at Oxford University, 50,000

²³ Quille, "The Windrush Generation in Britain's 'Hostile Environment': Racializing the Crimmigration Narrative."

²⁴ Meyers, *International Immigration Policy: A Theoretical and Comparative Analysis*.

²⁵ "Right of Abode (RoA)," GOV.UK, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/right-of-abode-roa/right-of-abode-roa>.

Commonwealth-born persons currently in the UK, may not yet have applied any official documents.²⁶

The British Nationality Act 1981 introduced the definition of citizenship by replacing ‘patriality.’ The Act created three main categories of citizenship: British citizenship, British dependent territories citizenship, and British overseas citizenship. It ruled that only those who had the ‘right to abode’ could be the British citizens (the first category); British dependent territories citizenship and British overseas citizenship would not be granted citizenship and have the right of free access and residence in the UK.²⁷ The Windrush Generation was entitled to British citizenship as well as the right of abode. Yet, as Windrush Generation were not compelled to apply for the documentation and passport to prove their citizenship, this was again becoming the main problem in 2018 — The Windrush Scandal.

Hostile Environment Immigration Policy

After a series of restricted immigration policies, the UK aimed to create a hostile environment for illegal immigrants. The definition of ‘hostile environment’ policy refers to a range of measures aimed at identifying and reducing the number of immigrants in the UK with no right to remain.²⁸ Theresa May, who was the Home Secretary in 2012 pledged that: “The aim is to create here in Britain a really hostile environment for illegal migration.”²⁹ In the discourse of an early Parliamentary debate, Theresa May explained that,

²⁶ "Commonwealth Migrants Arriving before 1971, Year Ending June 2017," The Migration Observatory at The University of Oxford, <https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/commonwealth-migrants-arriving-1971-year-ending-june-2017/>.

²⁷ *International Immigration Policy: A Theoretical and Comparative Analysis*.

²⁸ Taylor, "Impact of ‘Hostile Environment’ Policy Debate on 14 June 2018".

²⁹ James Kirkup and Robert Winnett, "Theresa May Interview: ‘We’re Going to Give Illegal Migrants a Really Hostile Reception’," *The Telegraph*, 25 May 2012.

We want to ensure that only legal migrants have access to the labor market, health services, housing, bank accounts, and driving licenses. This is not just about making the UK a more hostile place for illegal migrants, it is also about fairness. Those who play by the rules and work hard do not want to see businesses gaining an unfair advantage through the exploitation of illegal labor. They don't want to see our valuable public services paid for by the taxpayer, used and abused by illegal migrants.³⁰

When most of the criticisms about hostile environment went to Theresa May and Conservative Party because of her strong statements, however, it was argued that the term 'hostile environment' has first appeared in the speech of Labour MP Laim Byrne: "What we are proposing here will, I think, flush illegal migrants out. We are trying to create a much more hostile environment in this country if you are here illegally."³¹

The hostile environment immigration policy was introduced by the Immigration Act 2014 and 2016. These two acts have caused the poor treatment and hostility to both Windrush Generation and illegal immigrants. Since the hostile environment immigration policy was intended to make life difficult for people who were not able to provide the documents or passports to prove their status in the UK, the Immigration Act 2014 and 2016 were targeted to those "illegal migration" by preventing them from accessing their basic needs and rights. For instance, housing, employment, healthcare, banking, and driving, which the government believed that the policies could make illegal migrants leave voluntarily.³² In short, The Immigration Act 2014 consisted of several measures such as limiting access to public services while the

³⁰ Home Office and The Rt Hon Theresa May MP, "Speech by Home Secretary on Second Reading of Immigration Bill," ed. Home Office (House Of Commons Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition government, 2013).

³¹ Alan Travis, "Officials Launch Drive to Seek out Illegal Migrants at Work," *The Guardian*, 16 May 2007.

³² "The Hostile Environment for Immigrants: How Theresa May Has Created an Underclass in the UK".

Immigration Act 2016 built upon the powers based on the Immigration Act 2014 and reinforce implementations on the “illegal working.”³³ It means that the government was trying to enlarge its authorities’ power with respect to immigration control.

There were five main parts to be discussed in these two Immigration Acts.³⁴ In terms of housing (the right to rent) and banking, the government required landlords and banks to check the immigration status of their tenants and customers. Landlords were responsible for carrying out the work of immigration officers.³⁵ Once they found that their tenants didn’t have the correct documents to prove their status, they could evict tenants and should report to the Home Office. Same, if banks found their customers were unable to provide correct documents, they have the rights to freeze or even close their customer’s accounts. Since the Immigration Act 2016, landlords could face the penalties and be fined up to £3,000 by the government if they fail to conduct the immigration check on their tenants.³⁶

Regarding the employment rules, in which the government tried to reinforce measures, it was originally illegal to hire someone without permission to work in the UK. However, the hostile environment policy raised stronger sanctions on both employers and employees.³⁷ If employers failed to conduct checks on their employees or hire someone who couldn’t prove their status in the UK, they would face prosecutions by the court.

Moreover, to restrict the “illegal migrants” from accessing healthcare, the UK National Health Service (NHS) is obliged to provide the patient’s personal

³³ Taylor, "Impact of ‘Hostile Environment’ Policy Debate on 14 June 2018 ".

³⁴ "Immigration Act 2014 Explanatory Notes," ed. UK Government (United Kingdom: TSO (The Stationery Office), 2014).

³⁵ "The Hostile Environment for Immigrants: How Theresa May Has Created an Underclass in the Uk".

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ "Immigration Act 2014 Explanatory Notes."

information to the Home Office. Also, patients who don't have correct documents to prove their immigration status would be denied medical care.

In terms of the driving license rules, as Theresa May announced in the early Parliamentary debate, the government started to revoke and refuse driving licenses for those who were "considered" illegal in the UK. In addition to the measures mentioned above, the new deportation rules "deport first, appeal later" policy was introduced by the Immigration Act 2014.³⁸ It became a slogan which the government implemented its hostile environment policy, it aimed to deport those foreign criminals before they had a chance to appeal. However, this policy has become one of the tipping points which resulted in the Windrush Scandal, as innocent people being deported before they could have a chance to appeal, there was rarely a chance to prove their innocence after deportation.

Whether the hostile environment policy worked was doubtful, but debates were all over society. It was argued that the hostile environment policy consisted of discrimination. For instance, about the housing (the right to rent) regulations, landlords were given responsibilities to check the immigration status of their tenants, however, it also gave racist landlords a chance toward the discrimination. A mystery shopper exercise done by the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants (JCWI) found that: "Checks are not being undertaken uniformly for all tenants, but are instead directed at individuals who appear 'foreign'," so landlords are less likely to rent their house to black and minority ethnic (BME).³⁹ Evidence of discrimination attitudes of hostile environment can be shown in another study, it suggested that the hostile

³⁸ "'Deport First, Appeal Later' Policy Ruled Unlawful," *The BBC*, 14 June 2017.

³⁹ "Passport Please: The Impact of the Right to Rent Checks on Migrants and Ethnic Minorities in England," (The Joint Council for The Welfare of Immigrants, 2017).

environment “creates both direct and indirect forms of discrimination.”⁴⁰ Therefore, it is conceivable that the discrimination can appear in every measure in the hostile environment policy, those immigration officers, police and landlords holding their prejudice toward color people will happen. The hostile environment immigration policy is just making the UK a more hostile and unwelcoming country for immigrants.

Officials from different parties also raised lots of concerns over the hostile environment. Richard Fuller MP (Conservative) said that,

the problem is that it is very difficult for someone to see that a person is an illegal immigrant. What they see is someone who is different. Does the Home Secretary not accept that, within this law, there is the potential for discrimination to be increased if this is pursued too aggressively?⁴¹

However, Theresa May didn't respond to the racial discrimination issue directly, she emphasized again that these measures must be taken to ensure the UK citizens' rights. There was also MP agreed that this policy is fair in order to control and manage immigration.⁴²

By this point of view, so how does the hostile environment connect to the Windrush Generation? As the author noted previously, the Windrush Generation were not compelled to apply for any documentation to confirm their status during the Immigration Act 1971 and British Nationality Act 1981. It is no doubt that the Windrush Generation are British citizens and they do not need papers to claim their rights to access public service and basic needs. However, as the government took action on the hostile environment, those who didn't have the right documents to prove their legitimate rights were facing threats of deportations and being rejected by public

⁴⁰ Joe Crawford, "More Than a Hostile Environment: Exploring the Impact of the Right to Rent Part of the Immigration Act 2016," *Sociological Research Online* (2019).

⁴¹ "Daily Hansard Debate," ed. House of Commons (The UK Parliament 2015).

⁴² "Windrush: What Is the 'Hostile Environment' Immigration Policy?," *The BBC* 2018.

services. Moreover, the hostile environment immigration policy has led to racial discrimination to some extent, the Windrush Generation as part of minorities, it pushed them into the edge.

Windrush Scandal

The hostile environment policy got blame for the Windrush Scandal in 2018. The Windrush Generation, while not the targets of hostile environment policy, may have suffered because of the hostile environment policy. Although the policy did cause some of the illegal immigrants to leave voluntarily, it also created fears and insecurity to those who should be qualified as British citizens. Despite the Windrush Generation are living legally in the UK, they were denied by NHS treatments, public services and they lost jobs and the right to rent. They have received Home Office letters and threatened with the detention and deportation, some of them have been deported before they had rights to appeal and proven innocent. According to the BBC, the Windrush landing cards were destroyed in 2010, when Theresa May was the Home Secretary. The landing cards were used by officials to help Windrush Generation prove their legitimate rights in the UK. Yet, the former Home Secretary, Alan Johnson told the BBC that:” the decision to destroy landing cards for Windrush migrants was taken under Labour Party in 2009.”⁴³

It was The Guardian first revealed the Windrush Scandal and started to report the news. The first case was a woman, Paulette Wilson, who threatened with deportation after fifty years in the UK, she has been working and paying taxes, but has been wrongly detained and almost wrongly deported back to Jamaica, the country she left

⁴³ "Windrush: Alan Johnson Says Landing Cards Decision Was Made in 2009," *The BBC*, 20 April 2018.

when she was ten and has never returned back.⁴⁴ The media played a crucial role to reveal this political scandal since the Guardian reported the first case, the Windrush Scandal has hit the headlines when more and more cases have revealed.

In 2018, Windrush Scandal has provoked outrage across the country. On 12 April 2018, the Caribbean diplomats have condemned the UK's awful treatment to the Commonwealth-born UK residents, "I am dismayed that people who gave their all to Britain could be seemingly discarded so matter-of-factly," said by a diplomat of Barbados.⁴⁵ Since then, public debates and criticisms raised higher and higher domestically. Ironically, it was also the timing that the public had more understandings about the Windrush Generation than in the previous fifty years ago. The Windrush Scandal was described as the "national shame" by the Labour MP, David Lammy. As the scandal was getting more and more serious, the Prime Minister, Theresa May apologized to the Windrush and Caribbean leaders while the Home Secretary, Amber Rudd resigned on 30 April.⁴⁶ Afterward, the new Home Secretary, Sajid Javid, changed the "hostile environment" into the term, "compliant environment" which made no difference with the essence of hostile environment.⁴⁷

Windrush Scandal has become the scandal of the ruling party— Conservative. Although the UK government valued the contribution the Windrush Generation had made and promised to make compensations and working groups to assist them, the UK government still didn't give up their hostile environment policy. Amber Rudd has once said:" I am concerned that the Home Office has become too concerned with

⁴⁴ Amelia Gentleman, "'I Can't Eat or Sleep': The Woman Threatened with Deportation after 50 Years in Britain," *The Guardian*, 28 November 2017.

⁴⁵ "Caribbean Nations Demand Solution to 'Illegal Immigrants' Anomaly," *The Guardian*, 12 April 2018.

⁴⁶ "Windrush Generation: Theresa May Apologises to Caribbean Leaders," *The BBC*, 17 April 2018.

⁴⁷ Taylor, "Impact of 'Hostile Environment' Policy Debate on 14 June 2018".

policy and strategy and sometimes loses sight of the individual.”⁴⁸ However, this is not simply a problem of ending the hostile environment policy, because the hostile environment policy was not only affected those who have been wrongly deported, it also left people lost their right to rent, to work and to live safely in the United Kingdom. In the latest report by the UK Home Office, it found that 83 individuals of the Windrush Generation could have been wrongly deported. The following figure showed the latest progress of Home Office dealing with the wrong deportation, also indicated the number of Windrush victims.⁴⁹

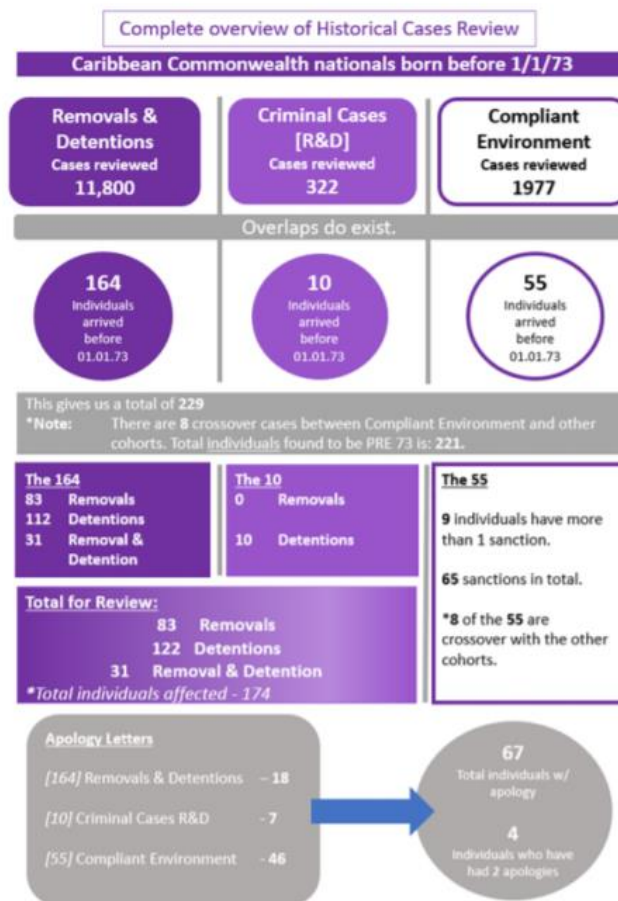


Figure. 1 A complete overview of historical cases review

Source: The UK Home Office, 2019

⁴⁸ "Windrush: Alan Johnson Says Landing Cards Decision Was Made in 2009."

⁴⁹ The UK Home Office, "Update to the Hase on Windrush: 10 June 2019," ed. Home Office (Home Office, 2019).

Debates over Windrush Scandal under Hostile Environment Policy

Before going deeply into the main debates on the Windrush Scandal, it is important to understand the theoretical perspectives on immigration and immigration policymaking. As migration is a cross-cutting issue that touches the heart of political science.⁵⁰ It not only influences the society from the political aspect but also economic and cultural aspects.

Public Concerns toward Immigration

We should first understand what the public concerns toward immigration are. As Roger Bootle wrote in his book, there are four main concerns.⁵¹ Firstly, the concern is not immigration itself, it is because of the “mass” immigration. It is possible that the benefits of immigrants will cause the loss of existing residents. Secondly, national identity. Many British people think their country is already “full up.” People feel that their cultures, traditions, and securities are under threat from those who come from other countries. Thirdly, the cost of public welfare. The mass immigration is widely perceived to lead to “congestion problem” about traffic, housing and public services. Fourthly, immigration will take jobs away and reduce the real wage of indigenous people. It is argued that mass immigration will lower the wage of unskilled and lowly skilled people.

Accordingly, immigration should face challenges since opponents of immigration have perceived their coming as threats. A study suggested that three main challenges will be faced by immigrants: (1) the citizenship (2) identity problem

⁵⁰ Caroline B Brettell and James F Hollifield, *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines* (Routledge, 2014).

⁵¹ Roger Bootle, *The Trouble with Europe: Why the Eu Isn't Working, How It Can Be Reformed, What Could Take Its Place* (Hachette UK, 2015).

(3) social welfare exclusion.⁵² In terms of citizenship, most of the country recognized that before obtaining citizenship, people should have the settlement status. Those citizens will be granted permanent resident status, free from deportation, the right to work, the right to access public services and welfare, and the right to receive education and work training. However, it is possible when citizens who originally were immigrants cannot have the rights above-mentioned because the government and society still treat them as “foreigners.” In relation to identity problems, immigrants may face cultural conflict and hard to get involved in a dissimilar culture society. Last, in terms of social welfare exclusion, as a mass amount of immigration will arise exclusivity of receiving country, then immigrants will become the scapegoat to blame for, those opponents of immigration will perceive their coming as a threat to the welfare system and society. The three main challenges also highlighted the problem that Windrush Generation has been treated as “foreigners” before the Windrush Scandal erupted in 2018.

Theories of Immigration Policy-Making

To get a better understanding of immigration policy-making, it is inevitable to understand the theories of immigration policy-making from distinguished scholars.

Theories explaining immigration policy can be categorized into three main groups⁵³: (1) Theories that focus on the economic competition between existing residents and immigrants (2) Theories that focus on the impact of international relations as well as multilateral agreements on immigration policy (3) Theories that focus on cultural conflicts between different groups. In the first group, the

⁵² Youngkey Shiau, "Immigration and Nation-States: A Citizenship Perspective," *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 6, no. 2 (2010).

⁵³ Meyers, *International Immigration Policy: A Theoretical and Comparative Analysis*.

representative theory is The Marxist approach, which presented by Beard, Gorz, Marshall, Marx, Castells, Nikolinakos, Castles and Kosack, Miles and Bovenkerk et al.⁵⁴ The Marxist approach argued that “economics factors” and a “class-based political process” shape the immigration policies. In the second group, the representative theory is the National Identity approach. National identity shaped by a country’s culture, history, tradition, and experience.⁵⁵ This factor-based approaches can explain to Britain’s immigration policies because of its empire background. “The very notion of Great Britain’s ‘greatness’ is bound up with empire.” Stuart Hall once said.⁵⁶ Moreover, another argument from Anderson supporting the national identity as a key factor in regarding the UK’s immigration policies. Anderson said: “colonialism was key to the creation of whiteness as a national identity.”⁵⁷ And according to Meyer: “Through colonialism, native British considered themselves as the leaders of a hierarchy of nations, underpinned, implicitly or explicitly by a belief in the supremacy of whiteness as being most worthy of rights and resources.”⁵⁸ In the third group, the representative theory is the Realist approach. It argued that the military conflicts among states affected immigration policies.

Nevertheless, each of the theories has its own weakness and only explain the immigration policies in one aspect. Meyers’ theory is, therefore, more comprehensive to explain immigration policy from different aspects.⁵⁹ Meyer introduced the theory of socio-economic and foreign policy factors to explain the shaping of immigration policy. There are five factors to be introduced: (1) the state of the economy (2) the

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Agnieszka Zogata-Kusz, "Theoretical Perspectives on Immigration Policy and Politics," *Contemporary European Studies*, no. 01 (2012).

⁵⁶ Tim Adams, "Cultural Hallmark," *The Guardian*, 23 September 2007.

⁵⁷ Bridget Anderson, *Us and Them?: The Dangerous Politics of Immigration Control* (OUP Oxford, 2013).

⁵⁸ Quille, "The Windrush Generation in Britain's 'Hostile Environment': Racializing the Crimmigration Narrative."

⁵⁹ Meyers, *International Immigration Policy: A Theoretical and Comparative Analysis*.

volume of immigration of dissimilar composition (3) wars and external threats (4) foreign policy considerations (5) ideological cycles which understood as general racist and liberal attitudes. Among the five factors, Meyer argued that “the volume of immigration of dissimilar composition” influenced Britain’s immigration policy the most. The post-war immigration policies from The Immigrants Act 1962 to The British Nationality Act 1981, have primarily been influenced by this factor. As the author mentioned previously, since British Nationality Act 1948 has come into effect, the British Cabinet has already shown its concerns about the mass number of immigrants from the West Indies, because those immigrants were in different races and in different colors from native British. The factor is also obvious in The British Nationality Act 1981, it introduced the distinction between “patrials” and “non-patrials” which means the Act created the distinction between different races.

Meyer also mentioned the arguments related to the policy on illegal (undocumented) immigration. Which we can also get more understanding of the hostile environment policy-making by his point of view. He argued that if the illegal immigrants are expected to stay in the country in long term and obtain citizenship, then the volume of immigration of dissimilar composition and ideological cycle factors are likely to influence the immigration policy.⁶⁰ On the other hand, if the illegal immigrants are expected to return or deport to their original country, the aforementioned factors are less likely to influence the immigration policy.⁶¹ Although Meyer’s theory is comprehensive, available for explaining different aspects and has been recognized by other scholars.⁶² The important factor (especially when it comes to Britain’s immigration policies) — national identity is however excluded from

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Zogata-Kusz, "Theoretical Perspectives on Immigration Policy and Politics."

Meyer's theory. After having a complete understanding of public concerns on immigration and the factors of shaping immigration policy, the main debates over Windrush Scandal under the hostile environment policy will be discussed in the next section.

Main Debates over Windrush Scandal

The outbreak of Windrush Scandal made intense debates over the UK society. It is undoubtful that the Windrush Generation, while not the targets of hostile environment policy, has been subjected to poor treatment under its implementation. There were four highly debated points that related to Windrush Scandal. In addition, Parliamentary debate and other public debates sources would be drawn upon to assist in formulating these four focal points.

Firstly, the public was debating the causes of the hostile environment policy. According to a live debate video shot by Channel 4 News, which is the main news program on British television broadcaster.⁶³ Campaigners and politicians have discussed the causes of the hostile environment policy in a different way. Some argued that hostile environment policy is about reducing illegal immigration, the other argued that the policy is about persecuting people who have a right to be in the UK, and the anti-immigrant sentiment was driving to this policy.

Secondly, the effects of hostile environment policy have always been the most controversial point since the Windrush Scandal has erupted. The opponents of this policy have called for an end to this policy because opponents believed that all this policy has brought to the UK were negative impacts. For instance, Windrush

⁶³ *Windrush Generation: The Scandal That Shook Britain Explained and Debated*, (Channel 4 News 2018), News and politics.

Generation who lacked documentation to prove their indefinite leave to remain has been excluded from the social welfare system. The UN Special Rapporteur on Racism has claimed that hostile environment policy measures can lead to racism and discrimination.⁶⁴ In addition, some opponents from Labour Party argued that the hostile environment was the policy that Conservatives seek to cut the immigration numbers no matter the cost. On the other hand, while most of the people recognized that the current government mishandled the problem of Windrush Scandal, yet a statistic from YouGov showed that 71% of British people still overwhelmingly supporting the hostile environment policy.⁶⁵ The results implied that the public still intended to reduce illegal immigration and keep the hostile environment policy after the Windrush Scandal.

Thirdly, the Windrush Scandal has exposed the issues of identity and belonging of Black Britons. Some campaigners argued that “it was part of government failure and systematic discrimination of the Windrush generation over the last seventy years in undermining the citizenship status and human rights.”⁶⁶ The Windrush Scandal caused the identity and belonging problem of the minority group, the “white Britishness” may have played the role in shaping this political scandal. As Anderson once said: “colonialism was key to the creation of whiteness as a national identity.”⁶⁷

Fourthly, the immigration status of EU migrants post-Brexit has also been an issue which highly debated. The Windrush Scandal, this immigration issue, brought serious concerns to the EU migrants about their situation after Brexit. As the foreign minister of St Kitts and Nevis, Mark Brantley said: “The UK government's handling

⁶⁴ Taylor, "Impact of 'Hostile Environment' Policy Debate on 14 June 2018 ".

⁶⁵ Anthony Wells, "Where the Public Stands on Immigration," (YouGov, 2018).

⁶⁶ Windrush campaigner Patrick Vernon OBE, "A Plan for Righting the Wrongs of the Windrush Scandal," Black History 365.

⁶⁷ Anderson, *Us and Them?: The Dangerous Politics of Immigration Control*.

of the Windrush generation might have implications for Brexit.”⁶⁸ The EU migrants in the UK might have concerns toward their settlement in the UK, especially after the Home Office has mistreated of the Windrush Generation, so they might lose trust in the UK government.

Significance of the Two Newspaper Outlets in the UK

To analyze the public opinion reflected from different ideologies, The Guardian and The Telegraph were chosen due to their prominence and high readership. Broadsheet newspapers are generally known to be more objective and with higher standards than the tabloids, focusing on the facts rather than attracting readers.⁶⁹ In other words, broadsheets like The Guardian and The Telegraph are regarded as “quality” and “serious” journalism while tabloids are regarded as “popular” journalism which focuses on attracting readers. Both The Guardian and The Telegraph represent large-quality newspaper in the UK, and represents different political spectrum, The Guardian is the leading center-left quality newspaper while The Telegraph is the bestselling center-right quality newspaper.⁷⁰ Therefore, this is the reason why they were deemed appropriate to compare in this research paper.

The choice was intended to give two representative samples from two main political stances in the UK. Since the two newspaper outlets hold different political positions respectively, the author believes that public opinions can be extracted from two main groups and integrate different opinions on Windrush Scandal.

Newspaper plays a key role in shaping public opinions and debates. People choose which newspaper they want to read in terms of their interests, political stances

⁶⁸ "Windrush: 'Implications for Brexit'," *The BBC*, 18 April 2018.

⁶⁹ Laura Lindström, "Media Framing of Immigration: A Comparison of Newspaper Coverage in Sweden and the United Kingdom During the 2016 Brussels Terrorist Attack," (2017).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

and so on. Therefore, newspaper outlets will focus on public interests in particular subjects to attract their readers.⁷¹ Public opinions and newspaper can interact with one another, and this is the reason why the author can extract public opinions from the newspaper and analyze the debates on a specific policy or topic.

Moreover, elite mass media has influenced all over the country. The Guardian and The Telegraph can be seen as the elite mass media in the UK. The readers of the elite mass media were just part of the whole society; however, its influence is very far-reaching.⁷² Those elite mass media are good at doing investigate reporting, it aims to explore the information that others might ignore.⁷³ To sum up, the author, therefore, believes that The Guardian and The Telegraph are significant in regards to Windrush Scandal issues, and can be used to extract public opinions and debates based on these reasons.

⁷¹ Catherine Happer and Greg Philo, *The Role of the Media in the Construction of Public Belief and Social Change*, vol. 1, 2013 (2013).

⁷² Michael G Roskin, *Political Science: An Introduction* (Prentice Hall, 1997).

⁷³ *Ibid.*

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

This research adopted the one-shot case study. Based on the approach of content analysis, the researcher utilized a content analysis checklist. The purpose of using the checklist was to extract public opinions and debates from two newspaper outlets. The Guardian, left-leaning newspaper and The Telegraph, right-leaning newspaper hold different political ideologies toward the Windrush Scandal, so the author will, therefore, show how two newspapers coverage on the Windrush Scandal.

By using this content analysis checklist, the author can collect the news articles, go through the coding process and investigate public opinions toward Windrush Scandal under the hostile environment policy. The data was collected to answer five research questions:

1. What were the public opinions toward the causes of hostile environment policy reflected from two newspaper outlets?
2. What were the public opinions toward the effects of hostile environment policy reflected from two newspaper outlets?
3. What were the public opinions toward the issues of identity and belonging of Black Britons reflected from two newspaper outlets?
4. What were the public opinions toward the immigration status of EU migrants post-Brexit reflected from two newspaper outlets?

The following section will focus on how to utilize the content analysis method and to implement the data collection and data analysis.

Sources of Data

The public opinions toward Windrush Scandal were extracted from the news articles in two newspaper outlets— The Guardian and The Telegraph. The news articles between 12 April to 12 May 2018 were downloaded from the Nexis Uni online newspaper database. (Former Lexis Nexis Academic)

Instrumentation and Data Collection

The following figure 2 illustrates the process of data collection in this research paper. In the data collection process, this research used content analysis methodology and applied QDA Miner Lite software to code the collected news articles. The qualitative content analysis methodology has allowed the author to interpret and make logical inferences by coding the collected news articles.

By first entering the Nexis Uni databank, then applying search keywords into the search engine: “Windrush” Or “hostile environment.” Then, check the collected news articles by the content analysis checklist, and articles were manually coded, for instance: “T 20180412 The Windrush Scandal.” and “G 20180413 The Windrush Scandal.” Afterward, the author coded and edited the collected news articles. The QDA Miner Lite software was applied in this coding process. In the content analysis checklist, the themes will enable the author quickly to retrieve and classify the data.

The author had collected 307 news articles from The Guardian and 170 news articles from The Telegraph. The total amount of collection of articles was 477 news items.

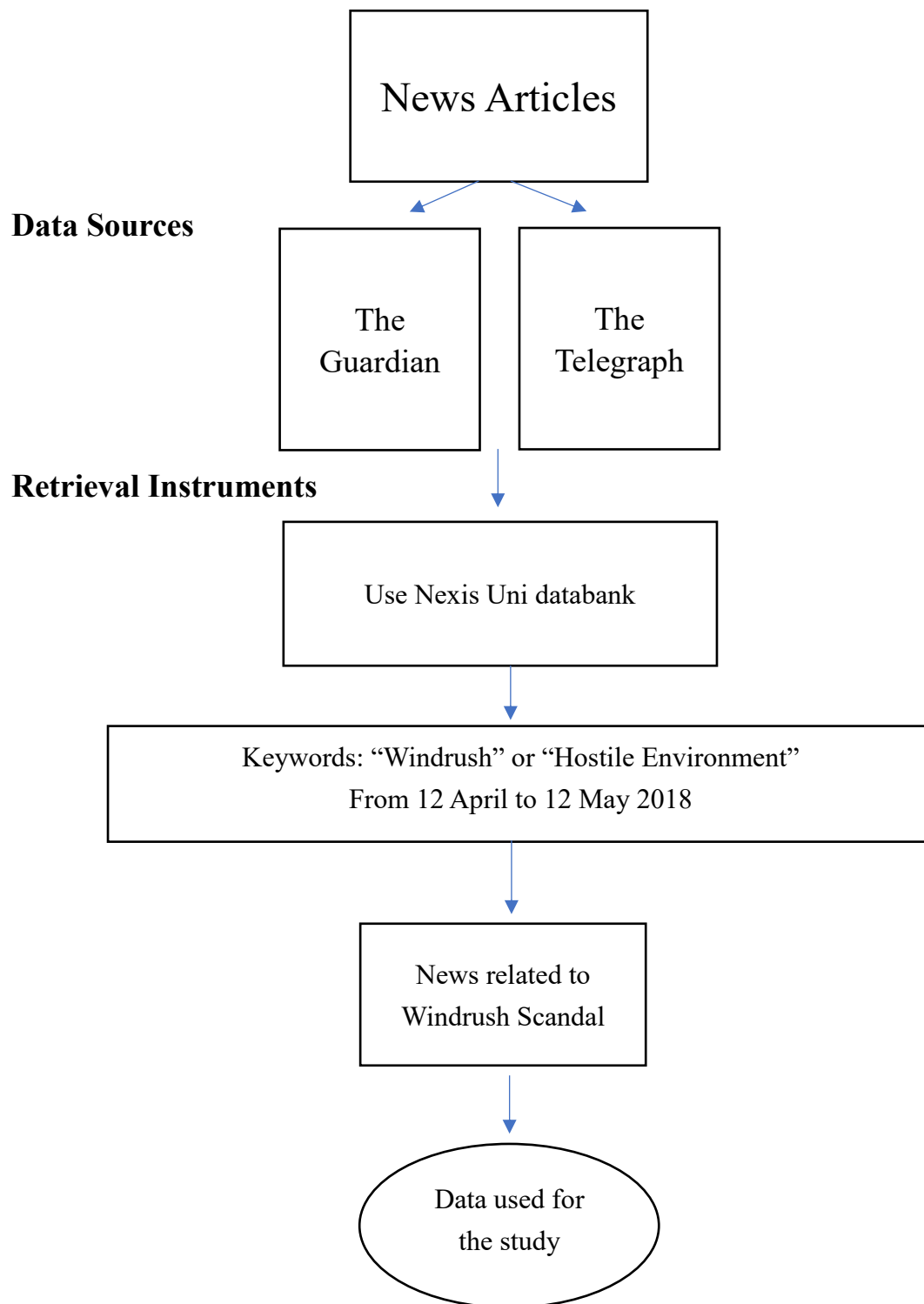


Figure. 2 The process of data collection

Tools for Data Analysis

The data analysis process has been carried out by qualitative data analysis. The author utilized the QDA Miner Lite software to classify the collected news articles into themes.

Using QDA Miner Lite was very helpful to investigate the public opinions. The collected news articles have been classified into four themes, which were (1) the causes of hostile environment policy (2) the effects of hostile environment policy (3) the issues of identity and belonging of Black Britons (4) the immigration status of EU migrants post-Brexit. As the data was related to the causes of hostile environment policy, then it was classified into theme one; the data which related to the effects of hostile environment policy, it was classified into theme two and so on.

By following the steps above mentioned, the author was, therefore, able to analyze the collected news articles and extracted the public opinions toward Windrush Scandal from these news articles.

DATA ANALYSIS

The data used for this study came from two newspaper outlets: The Guardian and The Telegraph. The author used two keywords, “Windrush” and “hostile environment” to extract news articles with the period between 12 April 2018 and 12 May 2018. By entering the keywords: “Windrush” or “hostile environment” through the Nexis Uni databank, 307 articles were collected from The Guardian and 170 articles from The Telegraph.

After gathering a total of 477 articles, the author read through all the articles and filtered out 19 repeated and irrelevant articles from The Guardian and 71 from The Telegraph. Therefore, the available news articles for the final analysis were 288 from The Guardian and 99 from The Telegraph. Table 1 illustrated the number of news articles from the two sources.

Table 1. Data Collection from The Guardian and The Telegraph

Newspaper	Orientation	Articles	Repeated and Irrelevant	Results
The Guardian	Center-left	307	19	288
The Telegraph	Center-right	170	71	99
Total		477	90	387

Source: edited by the author

The number of collected news articles within a month indicated that this selected period generated the intensive public debates over the UK society. In addition, as The Guardian is the left-leaning newspaper, the collected news articles from it were much more than The Telegraph with the right-leaning. The higher proportion data represents that the left-leaning newspaper has been highly critical on the Windrush Scandal under the Conservative Government.

The author separated the collected data into two groups — The Guardian and The Telegraph. Then, the author categorized these articles into four indicators. During the coding process, the author identified variables under the four indicators to search and further analyze the data, which illustrated in Table 2. Based on the research purpose of this study, the author set up four research questions based on the four indicators. The four questions were as follow:

1. What were the public opinions toward the causes of hostile environment policy reflected from two newspaper outlets?
2. What were the public opinions toward the effects of hostile environment policy reflected from two newspaper outlets?
3. What were the public opinions toward the issues of identity and belonging of Black Britons reflected from two newspaper outlets?
4. What were the public opinions toward the immigration status of EU migrants post-Brexit reflected from two newspaper outlets?

Table 2. The Results of Coding

Concept	Codes	Sub-Codes	G	T
Windrush Scandal	1. The Causes of Hostile Environment Immigration Policy	Illegal Immigration- Reduction	19	38
		Immigration Target	28	10
		Anti-Immigration	26	11
	2. The Effects of Hostile Environment Immigration Policy	Affected Aspects	94	37
		Responsibility	92	46
		Effectiveness	18	21
		Violation of Human Rights	57	19
		Racism and Discrimination	49	15
		New Home Secretary with Compliant Environment Policy	32	21
		3. The Issues of Identity and Belonging of Black Britons	Britishness	18
	Second Citizenship		13	3
	4. The Immigration Status of EU Migrants Post- Brexit	Immigration Status	47	22
		Recurrence of Scandal	24	13

Source: edited by the author

Public Opinions on The Causes of Hostile Environment Immigration Policy

There were three sub-codes under the causes of hostile environment immigration policy. They were: illegal immigration reduction, immigration target, and anti-immigration.

On illegal immigration reduction. A total of 57 articles reflected a few diversities under the consensus. 38% of the article from The Telegraph and only 7% from The Guardian were talking about this issue. They all agreed that illegal immigration reduction was one of the main reasons that made the hostile environment came to effect, but they hold slightly different opinions under this consensus.

Regarding The Guardian, it indicated that the hostile environment policy did originally aim to reduce illegal immigration in the UK. Just like Conservatives pledged to create here in Britain a really hostile environment for illegal migration. However, The Guardian also reported that “the standard of identifying illegal immigration was decided by the Conservative Government and UK society.” Within this standard, Government has judge immigrants based on their race and where they originally came from. A news article on 30 April 2018 stated that “Windrush Generation have been treated like criminals in “their own country (the UK).” From this point of view, it reflected that the left-leaning newspaper tends to emphasize the anti-immigration within the Conservative Party.

On the other side, The Telegraph indicated that reducing illegal immigration is the core reason to hostile environment. A news article of 18 April 2018 indicated that “the Conservative Government, rightly, tries to bear down on the corrosive, anti-social phenomenon of illegal immigration.” Another news articles on 4 May 2018 pointed out that “if the UK society wants to have a high number of people flowing across their borders, and also want to control that flow, and access to jobs and public services, the

border must come inland.” As Windrush Scandal was mostly due to the hostile environment immigration policy, The Telegraph tried to give justice to this immigration policy, it indicated that Home Office incompetence on Windrush should not lead British to abandon a vital tool against illegal immigrants. Three pieces of evidence showed that The Telegraph emphasized the importance of reducing illegal immigration and rationalized the implementations of hostile environment.

The analysis above showed two newspapers had slightly different views under consensus. Based on their ideologies, The Guardian tended to point out the anti-immigration within the Conservative Party while The Telegraph tended to strengthen Conservative stances on reducing immigration and how it transferred to practical immigration policy.

On immigration target. A total of 38 articles reflected diverse debates from two newspapers. 10% of the article from The Guardian and also 10% from The Telegraph were talking about this issue. Even The right-leaning Telegraph admitted that immigration policy did exist, but two newspapers still hold extremely different opinions upon this issue. It was clear that the ideologies have also played a vital role in this issue.

In the Guardian, it showed that it was Conservative’s immigration target in formulating the policy. The Guardian used the “target-driven immigration policy” in articles on 28 April 2018 and 8 May 2018 to demonstrate that the successive Conservative governments’ target to bring net migration below tens of thousands has led to the hostile environment. When Amber Rudd admitted there was a removal target of illegal immigration, The Guardian rephrased Amber Rudd's statement and expressed that “Conservatives government was being too focused on reaching its immigration target” so it ignored the “individual cases” and the rights of

Commonwealth citizens. Another news article on 17 April 2018 stated that “immigration target was supported by rightwing think tanks, politicians as well as Brexiters.” Three articles emphasized the internal immigration target of Conservative Party.

However, regarding The Telegraph, it claimed that there was nothing wrong with the immigration target. Though the immigration target was one of the reasons for formulating hostile environment policy, the Telegraph did not blame for it but had another perspective. A news article on 2 May 2018 strongly stated that “government should not abandon targets for clamping down on illegal immigration because this is what British want — control of who comes to their country.” From this point of view, the right-leaning newspaper noted the importance of bringing illegal immigration down and gave strong support on Conservative’s immigration target.

The analysis above indicated a political polarization upon this issue. Two newspapers demonstrated completely different statements on immigration target as a reason for formulating policy, these statements would, therefore, give big influences on the receivers.

On anti-immigration. A total of 37 articles reflected the anti-immigration sentiment among UK society. 9% of the article from The Guardian and 11% from The Telegraph were talking about this issue. Both newspapers demonstrated a central idea that there was anti-immigration sentiment within the UK society, and it was one of the key factors of shaping the hostile environment immigration policy.

Regarding The Guardian, it indicated that anti-immigration was the main reason for the hostile environment. It argued that the UK has long been suspicious of immigration. Moreover, it pointed out that the anti-immigration sentiment not only existed in the UK society but also rooted in the Conservative government. It again

blamed the Conservative on its bad treatments to the Windrush Generation. A news article on 30 April 2018 indicated that “anti-immigration rhetoric created the demand for the hostile environment policy.” Again, these statements were reflections of blaming Conservative Party.

From the view of The Telegraph, it didn't write anything about anti-immigration sentiment within Conservative. But in both articles, it demonstrated that the anti-immigration mood did exist in the UK society, and it became a reason for formulating hostile environment immigration policy. A news article on 19 April 2018 pointed out that “Windrush Scandal is tragic, but it should not be used to stop sensible immigration controls.” It reflected that right-leaning newspaper was avoided accusing Conservative as an anti-immigration party.

The analysis above indicated that even the British themselves recognized the anti-immigration sentiment in their society. Since the UK has long been suspicious of foreigners, this argument can not only reflect on the hostile environment immigration policy but also the current Brexit situation.

Public Opinions on The Effects of Hostile Environment Immigration Policy

There were six sub-codes under the effects of hostile environment immigration policy. They were: affected aspects, responsibility, effectiveness, violation of human rights, racism and discrimination and the new Home Secretary with compliant environment policy.

On affected aspects. A total of 131 articles reflected similar agreements in two newspapers. 33% of the article from The Guardian and 37% from The Telegraph were talking about this issue. Since the hostile environment policy has affected Windrush

Generation in various ways, two newspapers had a similar consensus on what affected Windrush Generation externally.

Both newspapers pointed out that Caribbean immigrants have threatened with deportation after they were unable to prove their right to live and work in the UK. Many of those arrived before the 1971 Immigration Act have lacked documents to prove their rights because they were not asked to do so. Windrush Generation are British, so they felt no need to seek naturalization or apply for the requisite paperwork. Both newspapers indicated that due to the hostile environment immigration policy, citizens have been denied accessing public services, medical treatments from National Health Service (NHS) and even died because they couldn't afford the enormous fees and be denied by NHS. In addition, citizens have also threatened by detention and deportation because they couldn't prove their citizenship. Despite Windrush Generation spent almost their lives in the United Kingdom and paid taxes, the hostile environment policy still gave massively impacts on them. The Guardian and The Telegraph, both pointed out the affected aspects on Windrush Generation and showed compassionate that "seventy years after Windrush, many Caribbean migrants struggle to justify their existence."

On responsibility. A total of 138 articles reflected similar agreements in two newspapers reflected some diversities under consensus. 32% of the article from The Guardian and 46% from The Telegraph were talking about this issue. They all have a consensus that the Home Office should take some responsibilities in terms of Windrush Scandal. Yet, since the selected time period has covered the time when 2018 UK local elections took place, ideology has played a critical role in deciding who were responsible for the effects of hostile environment immigration policy.

Regarding The Guardian, it indicated Amber Rudd and especially Theresa May should take responsibilities. Most news articles pointed out that “the incompetence of both government and Home Office is ‘destroying’ lives” and have mistreated the Windrush Generation. Yet, most news articles also condemned that Theresa May was who originally created the hostile environment for illegal immigrants, and Amber Rudd misled the Parliament. A news article on 2 May 2018 indicated that Diane Abbott, members of Labour Party, have already raised the problem in 2014 about hostile environment policy, worrying that these measures could be used to against “people who are British. But appears as if they might be immigrants. But the obsession of reducing immigration in Conservative Party led to the Scandal.” The Guardian stated.

From the view of The Telegraph, it blamed the incompetence of Home Office handling Windrush Scandal. Yet, it showed compassionate to the Conservative Party. A news article on 18 April 2018 showed that “the Home Office, like any other organization, makes mistakes.” News articles reported that Theresa May and Amber Rudd apologized to the victims and promise to compensate them. The Telegraph also pointed out that the decision of destroying Windrush landing cards was made by the Labour Government. From this point of view, in terms of Conservative should take all responsibilities, the right-leaning newspaper was not as aggressive as the left one.

The analysis above indicated the two newspapers attacked the opposite party because of the local elections. The Guardian strongly condemned the Conservative Prime Minister Theresa May, but The Telegraph showed more understanding of the Home Office and the Conservative politicians.

On effectiveness. A total of 39 articles reflected polarized debates from two newspapers. 21% of the article from The Telegraph and only 6% from The Guardian

were talking about this issue. In terms of the effectiveness of hostile environment policy, two newspapers gave different explanations.

In The Guardian, it implied that hostile environment is a toxic policy that needs to cease. It pointed out that hostile environment is an ineffective immigration policy that only brought fears to people who were British but being kicked out of their country. Also, The Guardian revealed that the policy raised morality issues in UK society. A news article on 30 April 2018 showed that “The Windrush Generation will not get justice until it is the policy that is changed.” It reflected that left-leaning newspaper completely opposed to the effectiveness of hostile environment.

Conversely, The Telegraph tended to show supports to hostile environment policy. A news article of 21 April 2018 indicated that “what has happened to Windrush Generation is cruel, unfair and must to be remedied, but the British cannot allow it to be used to overturn good policies.” Another news article on 19 April 2018 pointed that “even skeptical studies find the policy increases the illegal immigration number leaving the UK voluntarily, so government should not reverse the policy but extend it to include other services.” Based on both news articles, it reflected that right-leaning newspaper considered hostile environment immigration policy as an effective policy that should be continued and reinforced.

The analysis above showed political polarization upon this issue. The Guardian emphasized the morality issues brought by the policy, and how it negatively affected Windrush Generation. Yet, The Telegraph lighted the policy has worked and achieved the initial purpose of reducing illegal immigration which made people leave voluntarily.

On violation of human rights. A total of 76 articles showed the inhumanity within the policy. 20% of the article from The Guardian and 19% from The Telegraph

were talking about this issue. Both newspapers demonstrated that hostile environment policy deprived the basic rights of Windrush Generation and showed public sympathy for them. However, two newspapers used different tones to illustrate the inhuman aspect of the policy.

Regarding The Guardian, it used a very negative tone to demonstrate the problems. A news article of 30 April 2018 showed that “each Windrush case is directly linked to a policy that ignores the principle of habeas corpus by imprisoning innocent people without reference to a judge or evidence of guilt.” It pointed out that the hostile environment policy was allowed to dehumanize and victimize British citizens. More aggressively, another news article of 19 April 2018 even stated that “Theresa May’s immigration policy seen as almost reminiscent of Nazi Germany.”

However, The Telegraph did not appear such an aggressive statement, but it admitted the inhuman way of policy. The Telegraph indicated the government should show more compassionate when dealing with the immigration issue.

The analysis above showed the different tones of criticism of hostile environment policy. This revealed that political ideology also played a key role in this issue.

On racism and discrimination. A total of 64 articles reflected a few diversities under consensus. 17% of the article from The Guardian and 15% from The Telegraph were talking about this issue. Both newspapers tended to agree the hostile environment policy revealed racism and discrimination, but political ideologies also played a vital role in shaping a few differences in public debates.

For the Guardian, it criticized the policy that led to racism, especially institutional racism. Given the fact that hostile environment policy has led to the mistreatment of Black Britons, The Guardian indicated that the policy turned

landlords, doctors, and teachers into border guards, “they can simply judge people based on their colors.” A news article on 27 April 2018 stated that “when people in government are talking about the Commonwealth, they are really talking about Australia, New Zealand and Canada, not the Caribbean countries.” It means that Conservative Party has targeted black people rather than white people. Another news article even indicated “the UK is now living through the rise of Conservative populism.” It believed that racism is part of the cultural DNA of this country, and most probably has been so from imperial times. These strong statements reflected left-leaning newspaper considers the policy brought racial and discrimination issues to Black Britons.

Regarding The Telegraph, it attacked the Labour Party’s antisemitism instead of mentioned institution racism within Conservative. A news article on 5 May 2018 showed that “Windrush Scandal did not hurt the Tories as clearly as anti-Semitism hurt Labour” Because the Conservatives apologized for Windrush but Labour did not do anything about it. The Telegraph also pointed the policy would affect minorities such as they were ill-treated because they were black, but it claimed that hostile environment policy was not a deliberate policy.

The analysis above indicated both newspapers agreed policy did somehow lead to racism and discrimination. However, The Guardian criticized the Conservatives were racist while The Telegraph struck back and pointed the Labour were racist.

On new Home Secretary with compliant environment immigration policy. A total of 53 articles reflected diverse viewpoints from two newspapers. 21% of the article from The Telegraph and only 11% from The Guardian were talking about this issue. The Guardian held negative, but The Telegraph held positive regarding the new Home Secretary — Sajid Javid and the rephrased “compliant environment policy.”

From the view of The Guardian, there was no difference in changing the name of hostile environment into compliant environment. Two news articles on 1 May and 2 May 2018 indicated that "Javid's compliant environment policy was just as hostile as Theresa May's. Also, it restated David Lammy's statements that "it is not possible to have a fair and humane immigration policy alongside the hostile environment which he described it as a cosmetic measure." It means that changing the terminology of compliant environment made no differences to the former one. It reflected that The Guardian strongly against the compliant environment policy because it considered the only way to solve the problem is to abandon the core value of hostile environment policy, not to rename it.

However, The Telegraph was very positive to Sajid Javid and the new compliant environment policy. News articles revealed a common message that "new Home Secretary is a fixer" and expecting him to discover a more effective and humane way of dealing with the Windrush Scandal. A news article of 8 May 2018 showed strong supports to Sajid Javid which said, "this first Asian Home Secretary epitomizes the best of the Conservative Party and the best of Britain". These messages reflected that The Telegraph was very confident in the new Home Secretary.

The analysis above indicated the political polarization regarding the new Home Secretary. The Guardian was pessimistic about the policy and Sajid Javid while The Telegraph believed Javid could bring new hope to the current nasty situation.

Public Opinions on The Issues of Identity and Belonging of Black Britons

There were two sub-codes under the issues of identity and belonging of Black British. They were: Britishness and second citizenship.

On Britishness. A total of 27 articles reflected the Britishness should be more tolerant and inclusive. 6% of the article from The Guardian and 9% from The Telegraph were talking about this issue. Since the Windrush Scandal generated debates about what is the real Britishness in Britain, two newspapers had similar concerns about the cultural identity issue.

Both newspapers hold similar perspectives when it comes to what is Britishness and showing the compassionate to Windrush Generation —the Black Britons. News articles claimed firmly that, “The Windrush Generation are the British people, their citizenship is, and always has been, theirs by right.” Both newspapers also stated that Windrush do not deserve these problems, they were part of the UK society and many of them always considered themselves as British since they born in the Commonwealth country which had not yet been independent before 1971. A news article from The Telegraph asked: “what if this was happening to an English white person, what would it be different?” By this point of view, it indicated that both newspapers have the same doubt that “whiteness identity” was considered to be “Britishness” and the awareness of the identity and belonging of Black British within these two popular broadsheets, represented a good sign that British people were noticing the rights of minorities in the UK society.

On second citizenship. A total of 16 articles also reflected consensus between the two newspapers. 4% of the article from The Guardian and 3% from The Telegraph were talking about this issue. Since the victims of Windrush Scandal lost their British citizenship because of a serious measure from hostile environment immigration

policy, two newspapers surprisingly agreed on the similar consensus that the act of depriving their citizenship and compensate them after the Scandal, created a class-citizenship to the minority group.

Both newspapers considered the series of measures of hostile environment created a sense of second-class citizenship to many Black British. It reflected that public was aware of deprivation of Windrush Generation's rights and their citizenship which they should have deserved.

Public Opinions on The Immigration Status of EU Migrants Post-Brexit

There were two sub-codes under the immigration status of EU migrants post-Brexit. They were: immigration status and the repeat of the Windrush Scandal.

On immigration status. A total of 69 articles reflected an overwhelming worry for the future immigration status of EU migrants. 16% of the article from The Guardian and 22% from The Telegraph were talking about this issue. Regarding the incompetence of Home Office in dealing with Windrush Scandal, both newspapers showed great concerns about the post-Brexit status for EU migrants who are currently settling in the UK. A few days after the Caribbean diplomat condemned the UK Home Office, a news article from The Guardian on 17 April 2018 demonstrated that "EU citizens in the UK are in danger too." It indicated that the Home Office hostile environment inflicted on Windrush citizens could abode ill for EU nationals in the UK. Another news article from The Telegraph of 19 April 2018 echoed that this issue is urgent, because "if Home Office was incapable of handling the immigration status of a small number of Windrush Generation, how is it possibly going to manage whatever system is put in place after Brexit." Fears over the uncertain future of EU migrant's immigration status post-Brexit generated debates and blames for The Home

Office. Another important issue under the debate was to reopen the discussion about ID cards or digital citizen identity, both newspapers agreed by this point of view and approved of this measure will benefit both EU nationals and people who are legally in the UK. Based on these statements, it showed that The Guardian and The Telegraph, both raised concerns about the uncertainty for EU nationals and agree to the ID cards measure regardless their political ideologies.

On recurrence of Windrush Scandal. A total of 37 articles reflected a few diversities under the consensus. 8% of the article from The Guardian and 13% from The Telegraph were talking about this issue. Although both newspapers showed similar concerns of future EU national's immigration status, they had a relatively different tone about the repeat of the Windrush Scandal on EU nationals. Apparently, political ideologies played vital role in this issue.

Regarding The Guardian, it indicated the against for hostile environment policy as it was the reason for Windrush Scandal repeat occurrence. A news article of 17 April 2018 indicated that "the EU migrant's rights are not secure, neither are those of Britons who live in another EU country." Because settled status will not work for everyone and will cause discrimination if "implemented as planned." The statements implied that the Windrush Scandal will still happen again on the EU migrants if the Conservative government still implement its hostile environment immigration policy as former. Another news article stated that "the Windrush Scandal confirms one thing very clearly to EU citizens that is, they cannot trust the UK government to protect their rights, and neither should the European Union." It showed the mistrust of the Conservative Government of handling the post-Brexit issue as well as Windrush Scandal.

From the view of The Telegraph, it also agreed to post-Brexit EU migration system could see the recurrence of Windrush Scandal. The right-leaning Telegraph did not deny the current uncertainty for EU citizens, but it defended the Conservative Party when receiving criticism from left-wing and EU officials. A news article on 18 April 2018 reported when the EU officials said they were worried “the EU migrants might face the same red-tape nightmare as Windrush Generation.” The Telegraph commented that the British Government has to ensure a smooth transition, but it should not “take lectures from an EU that itself has so many problems with immigration — from the effective free movement of terrorists across open borders to the terrible passport queues that hit tourists in 2017.” Another news article on 28 April 2018 demonstrated that “the opponents of Brexit are using the Windrush debacle as a way of dismissing all immigration policy.” Using the timing when the UK can take back control of borders, the controllers have allowed themselves to be “morally discredited.” Two news articles showed that while recognizing the chaos and uncertainty of future immigration system for EU, the right-leaning newspaper still show support to back the Conservative Party when coming to immigration issue.

The analysis above indicated that political ideology still played a key role in shaping immigration discourses. Both newspapers recognized the possibility of repeating the Windrush Scandal in the future EU immigration system, but they had a different extent of negative discourses.

Summary

The results showed that two mainstream newspapers were polarized when it comes to immigration issues. Nevertheless, The Guardian and The Telegraph reached consensus on the external affected aspects, the issues of identity and belonging of

Black Britons and the immigration status of EU migrants. Especially the left-leaning Guardian, it continuously attacked the Conservative's hostile environment policy in every debate, while the right-leaning Telegraph tends to defend the Conservative Party under some of the debated issues. In general, the data analysis can demonstrate the significance of Windrush Scandal in the UK society, it involved not only the political, economic but also cultural discourses.

CONCLUSION

Discussion

After the content analysis, the author would discuss further with the findings from each of the four indicators: the causes of hostile environment immigration policy, the effects of hostile environment immigration policy, the issues of identity and belonging of Black Britons, and the immigration status of EU migrants post-Brexit.

Discussion 1: The Causes of the Hostile Environment Immigration Policy

The findings revealed that reasons of illegal immigration, immigration target, and anti-immigration sentiment have formulated the hostile environment immigration policy. Even though two newspapers had polarized debates based on their political ideologies, they both implied that there was an anti-immigration sentiment among UK society.

Such implication had been highly related to the formation of Windrush Scandal and hostile environment immigration policy. A study from YouGov showed that “71% of British people still overwhelmingly supporting the hostile environment policy”⁷⁴ after Windrush Scandal. Another study from Quille illustrated that “hostile environment policy is part of the process of criminalization of immigrants, reinforcing the convergence of immigration, illegality, and criminality to create a ‘suitable enemy’ against whom all social anxieties can be directed.”⁷⁵

Compared with the above two studies, the result highlighted that the formation of hostile environment policy mitigated the social anxiety about (illegal)immigration.

⁷⁴ Wells, "Where the Public Stands on Immigration."

⁷⁵ Quille, "The Windrush Generation in Britain's 'Hostile Environment': Racializing the Crimmigration Narrative."

Despite the tragic of Windrush Scandal, British people still overwhelmingly supporting this kind of policy. it reflected the anti-immigration within the UK society.

Discussion 2: The Effects of Hostile Environment Immigration Policy

The findings revealed that whether hostile environment policy was an effective immigration policy or not, it brought moral problems in Windrush Scandal. Two newspapers had polarized debates on whether it was or was not an effective immigration policy, but they both implied that hostile environment policy has led to racism and other moral issues.

Such implication had generated public empathy on Windrush Scandal. Quille's study indicated "The Windrush case study, in which there was unusually widespread public support of a marginalized migrant group, demonstrates that hostile environment policies have constituted an overreach of the criminal law. The Windrush generation, through their citizenship status, have highlighted the limits of the hostile environment policy."⁷⁶ Moreover, he pointed out that hostile environment policies can be said to both reflect racism and rely on racialized practices for their enforcement.⁷⁷

Compared with Quille's study, the result showed hostile environment policy was short of compassionate measure for the minority group, it reflected the negative effects such as racism and violation of human rights within the hostile environment immigration policy.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

Discussion 3: The issues of identity and belonging of Black British

The findings revealed that the reflection of national identity and its tolerance was a lesson from Windrush Scandal. Both newspapers had consensus on this issue, it implied that the national identity — Britishness, should be more inclusive for those visible minorities, just like Windrush Generation.

Such implication was a reflection of the anti-immigration society after Windrush Scandal. Quille's study demonstrated that "the clash between the Windrush generation and the hostile environment can, therefore, give us some small hope in that there is a feeling that citizenship and Britishness has been too restricted, and enforcement of legislation in a range of areas has been considered as 'too hostile' when it catches even British citizens."⁷⁸

Compared with Quille's statement, debates from The Guardian and The Telegraph were synchronizing with his statement. After Windrush Scandal, British people have started to rethink what is their national identity and recognize the Britishness shortages in tolerance.

Discussion 4: The Immigration Status of EU migrants Post-Brexit

The findings revealed that the uncertainty of the immigration system for EU migrants generated fears for them. Both newspapers showed concerns about the EU migrants and the repeat of Windrush Scandal. These concerns implied the incompetence of Home Office in dealing with Windrush case, and the imperfect hostile environment immigration policy.

Such implication showed the imperfect immigration policy may have impact on EU migrants post-Brexit. As Brexit was about taking back border control, growing a

⁷⁸ Ibid.

prosperous economy and perhaps, reminiscing British Empire era, an immigration policy with racist elements will lead the UK to become an unwelcoming immigration country. Quille's study indicated that "traditional colonial racism has morphed into 'xeno-racism', where fear and anxiety is directed not just against people of color, but also against other scapegoats, such as economic migrants, asylum seekers and those who rely on welfare benefit."⁷⁹

Compared with Quille's study, the result reflected that hostile environment immigration policy should be amended completely. In order to prevent EU migrants from becoming the scapegoat under this kind of immigration policy, the hostile environment should not be included in the future immigration system for the EU migrants.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

Conclusion & Suggestion

Although the left-leaning Guardian and the right-leaning Telegraph reflected polarized public opinions on Windrush Scandal under the hostile environment policy, there was still consensus agreed by both newspapers. The results showed that both newspapers had consensus on the existence of anti-immigration sentiment in the UK; racism and moral issues were reflected from hostile environment immigration policy; the lack of tolerance in Britishness was prevalent; and concerns about EU migrants and recurrence of other Windrush Scandal still existed. The debates from the two newspapers indicated that consensus did exist, but political polarization was still prevalent in British politics and media.

The Windrush Scandal was not a well-known current event like Brexit. However, its significance should never be underestimated. When British people decided to vote for Brexit, the anti-immigration sentiment has already existed in their society, the victims of Windrush Scandal was indirectly suffered from the anti-immigration mood and the hostile environment. It was tragic that an illegal immigration reduction immigration policy would be transformed into a weapon that targeted its own citizens and minority group. Despite the Windrush Generation was entitled British citizenship, the bias to immigration has rooted in the UK society and Windrush citizens have been suffering from it. It was also tragic that Windrush victims have been noticed by neither the public nor the government until the scandal erupted in 2018.

Nevertheless, we should all learn lessons from Windrush Scandal, by being more tolerant and giving up our bias when facing the immigration issue and the minority. Last but not least, policies like hostile environment should be reconsidered its effectiveness in the new era and this is desirable for future work.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, Tim. "Cultural Hallmark." *The Guardian*, 23 September 2007.
- Anderson, Bridget. *Us and Them?: The Dangerous Politics of Immigration Control*. OUP Oxford, 2013.
- Bootle, Roger. *The Trouble with Europe:: Why the Eu Isn't Working, How It Can Be Reformed, What Could Take Its Place*. Hachette UK, 2015.
- Bosworth, Mary, and Mhairi Guild. "Governing through Migration Control: Security and Citizenship in Britain." *The British journal of criminology* 48, no. 6 (2008): 703-19.
- Brettell, Caroline B, and James F Hollifield. *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*. Routledge, 2014.
- Clark, Natasha. "Whose Fault? Labour Were First to Suggest 'Hostile Environment' for Immigrants, Emily Thornberry Admits as She Wades into Windrush Row." *The Sun*, 22 Apr 2018.
- "Commonwealth Citizens Arriving before 1971." The Migration Observatory at The University of Oxford,
<https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/commentaries/commonwealth-citizens-arriving-before-1971/>.
- "Commonwealth Migrants Arriving before 1971, Year Ending June 2017." The Migration Observatory at The University of Oxford,
<https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/commonwealth-migrants-arriving-1971-year-ending-june-2017/>.
- Crawford, Joe. "More Than a Hostile Environment: Exploring the Impact of the Right to Rent Part of the Immigration Act 2016." *Sociological Research Online* (2019).
- "Daily Hansard Debate." edited by House of Commons: The UK Parliament 2015.
- "'Deport First, Appeal Later' Policy Ruled Unlawful." *The BBC*, 14 June 2017.
- Gentleman, Amelia. "Caribbean Nations Demand Solution to 'Illegal Immigrants' Anomaly." *The Guardian*, 12 April 2018.
- . "'I Can't Eat or Sleep': The Woman Threatened with Deportation after 50 Years in Britain." *The Guardian*, 28 November 2017.
- Hansen, Randall. *Citizenship and Immigration in Postwar Britain*. Oxford University Press, USA, 2000.
- Happer, Catherine, and Greg Philo. *The Role of the Media in the Construction of Public Belief and Social Change*. 2013. Vol. 1, 2013.
- "The Hostile Environment for Immigrants: How Theresa May Has Created an Underclass in the Uk ". Global Justice,

- <https://www.globaljustice.org.uk/resources/hostile-environment-immigrants>.
- "Immigration Act 2014 Explanatory Notes." edited by UK Government. United Kingdom: TSO (The Stationery Office), 2014.
- Lindström, Laura. "Media Framing of Immigration: A Comparison of Newspaper Coverage in Sweden and the United Kingdom During the 2016 Brussels Terrorist Attack." (2017).
- Meyers, Eytan. *International Immigration Policy: A Theoretical and Comparative Analysis*. Springer, 2004.
- Moseley, Joanne. "Immigration: White Paper Sets out Post-Brexit Rules for Migrants." *Irwin Mitchell Solicitors*, 19 Dec 2018.
- MP, Home Office and The Rt Hon Theresa May. "Speech by Home Secretary on Second Reading of Immigration Bill." edited by Home Office. House Of Commons Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition government, 2013.
- Naujokaityte, Nadia Khomami and Goda. "How the Windrush Scandal Led to Fall of Amber Rudd – Timeline." *The Guardian*, 30 April 2018.
- Office, The UK Home. "Update to the Hasc on Windrush: 10 June 2019." edited by Home Office, p.22: Home Office, 2019.
- "Passport Please: The Impact of the Right to Rent Checks on Migrants and Ethnic Minorities in England." The Joint Council for The Welfare of Immigrants, 2017.
- Patrick Vernon OBE, Windrush campaigner. "A Plan for Righting the Wrongs of the Windrush Scandal." *Black History* 365.
- Quille, Niamh. "The Windrush Generation in Britain's 'Hostile Environment': Racializing the Crimmigration Narrative." University of Oxford, 2018.
- "Right of Abode (RoA)." GOV.UK,
<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/right-of-abode-roa/right-of-abode-roa>.
- Roskin, Michael G. *Political Science: An Introduction*. Prentice Hall, 1997.
- Shiau, Youngkey. "Immigration and Nation-States: A Citizenship Perspective." *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 6, no. 2 (2010): 61-72.
- Taylor, Russell. "Impact of 'Hostile Environment' Policy Debate on 14 June 2018 ": House of Lords.
- Travis, Alan. "Officials Launch Drive to Seek out Illegal Migrants at Work." *The Guardian*, 16 May 2007.
- "Types of British Citizens." Sable International,
<https://www.sableinternational.com/british-citizenship/different-types-of-british-nationals>.
- Wells, Anthony. "Where the Public Stands on Immigration." YouGov, 2018.

Will Somerville, Dhananjayan Sriskandarajah, Maria Latorre. "United Kingdom: A Reluctant Country of Immigration." Migration Policy Institute 2009.

Windrush Generation: The Scandal That Shook Britain Explained and Debated. Channel 4 News 2018. News and politics.

"Windrush Generation: Theresa May Apologises to Caribbean Leaders." *The BBC*, 17 April 2018.

"Windrush Generation: Who Are They and Why Are They Facing Problems?". *The BBC*, 18 April 2018.

"Windrush: 'Implications for Brexit'." *The BBC*, 18 April 2018.

"Windrush: Alan Johnson Says Landing Cards Decision Was Made in 2009." *The BBC*, 20 April 2018.

"Windrush: What Is the 'Hostile Environment' Immigration Policy?". *The BBC*, 2018.

Winnett, James Kirkup and Robert. "Theresa May Interview: 'We're Going to Give Illegal Migrants a Really Hostile Reception'." *The Telegraph*, 25 May 2012.

Zogata-Kusz, Agnieszka. "Theoretical Perspectives on Immigration Policy and Politics." *Contemporary European Studies*, no. 01 (2012): 5-22.