

IMMIGRATION POST-BREXIT

A FAIR, FLEXIBLE AND FORWARD-THINKING IMMIGRATION POLICY

STEVEN WOOLFE MEP



www.leavemeansleave.eu

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The Author - Steven Woolfe MEP

Steven Woolfe is an independent Member of the European Parliament, elected in 2014 to represent the North-West England constituency.

He is a member of the powerful Economic and Monetary Affairs Committee, which oversees EU laws regulating the UK's financial services sector.

Before becoming an independent MEP, he was migration and financial affairs spokesman for the United Kingdom Independence Party. During the Brexit campaign he was widely recognised for championing a fair, ethical and robust migration policy outside of the European Union that acknowledged the skills of immigrants and the need for a positive tone in the debate.

During the EU referendum campaign, Steven worked across party lines and alongside leading Brexit campaigners such as David Davis, Nigel Farage, Liam Fox, Owen Paterson and John Redwood to campaign for a 'Leave' vote.

Steven was born in Moss Side, Manchester and grew up in Burnage as the eldest child in a family of four. Having won a scholarship to St Bede's RC Independent College he went on to study law at Aberystwyth University. He practised as a barrister at the Inner Temple, before spending much of his professional career in the City of London as general counsel and compliance officer for investment banks, law firms and hedge funds.



Foreword by The Rt Hon Owen Paterson MP

There is no doubt that the future of immigration policy ranked among the most emotive subjects of the Brexit campaign. To the detractors on the Remain side, concerns over immigration amounted to nothing more than racism or xenophobia, but they are nothing of the kind. Rather, the morphing of the free movement of labour established by the Treaty of Rome to the free movement of people established at Maastricht and confirmed at Lisbon is simply the clearest manifestation of the notion that we do not run our own country.

The overwhelming majority of Britons – emphatically including those who voted to Leave – feel absolutely no resentment towards workers or students from overseas, recognising and valuing the skills and experience which they bring. In that spirit, and in the finest of British traditions, the United Kingdom will continue to provide a welcome and a home to visitors from abroad. Whether they are eye surgeons from Bangalore or skilled abattoir workers from Eastern Europe, it is manifestly in our national interest to be as open as possible in attracting the best talent from across the world.



To take just one example, there are an estimated 67,000 seasonal workers of non-UK origin in UK agriculture, doing an enormous amount of vital work. The last Seasonal Agricultural Workers' Scheme came to an end in 2013 – when freedom of movement was extended to Romania and Bulgaria – but a new scheme will need to be devised once freedom of movement ceases. In keeping with the outlook of this report, the new system will need to be flexible and forward-thinking, ensuring among other considerations that welfare standards for employees are maintained. Schemes of this type have enjoyed success elsewhere, and New Zealand's Recognised Seasonal Employer Scheme in particular has been suggested as international best practice. In the months and years ahead, we must be alive to the lessons we can learn from all around the world and a truly global perspective should inform our thinking across the whole range of immigration policy, from refuge and asylum to educational opportunities and the most highly skilled.

Steven Woolfe is to be commended for compiling a fascinating report. At this exciting time, when at last we have the opportunity to decide our own, independent policies, it is important that the debate is shaped by considered, pragmatic voices. I hope that many of Steven's very interesting ideas will be taken up and investigated further to shape a confident new approach, working in the best interests of the United Kingdom.

Rt Hon Owen Paterson MP

Executive Summary

The 23rd June 2016 marked a turning point in the future of the UK's immigration policy. For decades consecutive governments were unable to control our borders and reduce overall levels of immigration. They had been hampered in doing so because a large part of UK policy had been effectively outsourced to the European Union through rules on freedom of movement. The UK government will, for the first time in over 20 years, have full domestic control over all the UK's immigration policy, procedures and rules.

This report focuses on two aspects. Firstly, it presents a factual argument supporting controlled immigration against uncontrolled, mass migration. Secondly, it argues that post-Brexit, we should implement a new migration policy that is fair, flexible and forward-thinking.

The proposal is for a new bespoke British working visa system, which is tailor-made for Britain in the 21st century. It will be a system that reflects the mood of the British public and reduces net immigration levels to a sustainable, manageable level.

In summary, the key proposals are:

- 1) UK policy on immigration needs a new direction based on a philosophy of being fair, flexible and forward-thinking.
- 2) The UK should introduce a bespoke British working visa system, its aim being to reduce net migration to around 50,000 per year. This would bring migration levels down to those last seen in the mid-1990s.
- 3) The new system will be overseen by a revamped Migration Advisory Council that will set targets on numbers, the criteria for visas and points and will report to Parliament, who will vote annually on the numbers.
- 4) The public understand that immigration can bring benefits and that any system should not discriminate against any person of talent or skill from wherever they come from. Therefore, there should be no cap on highly skilled workers, entrepreneurs, investors or those now in the highly skilled Tier 1 visa category.
- 5) There should be a moratorium on unskilled visas for five years, subject to specified exemptions laid out by the Migration Advisory Council. This will place a greater emphasis on the training, education and employment of 826,000 16-24 year old UK citizens who are currently unemployed or inactive (as of December 2016).
- 6) The Migration Advisory Council will implement a new temporary work permit scheme for seasonal agricultural workers. There will be a 50,000 annual cap for these temporary visas, tapering numbers down after the first full year of leaving the EU. This will encourage businesses to train replacements. These temporary visas will be capped at six months.
- 7) There should be no further restrictions on student immigration. International students are an asset to the UK economy and their time studying in UK universities fosters valuable cultural ties. They should continue to be

counted in quarterly migration statistics.

- 8) In respect of the NHS, an independent body should be established to assess safe staffing levels. Exemptions should be made to allow additional skilled health workers from overseas if required, but consideration should be given to introduce a capping system and in turn increase the number of UK citizens working in the medical profession.
- 9) Border force technology and systems we use to monitor those entering the UK will be upgraded. An effective working visa system should be integrated with National Insurance and passport controls so accurate monitoring of numbers can take place.
- 10) Those who are granted temporary working visas would not be eligible to social benefits or housing benefits. A new immigrant will only be entitled to benefits after having paid taxes at a set level for five years.
- 11) We will end family reunion for international students and temporary workers.
- 12) Current EU nationals will be given the right to remain indefinitely, as long as the EU grants the same rights to UK citizens living in Europe.
- 13) Any EU nationals who enter the UK after March 29th 2017, the day Article 50 was invoked by the UK government, should not have the right to remain indefinitely.
- 14) The UK will review its visa revenue charges as part of its Brexit negotiations with the European Union. In the event of the EU placing onerous tourist and travel restrictions on UK citizens, we will consider introducing a standard tourist fee similar to the United States ESTA. This would add additional investment to the Border Force system, allowing an increase in staffing levels and greater technology improvements. Charges for visas – particularly for Tier 1 and Tier 2 migrants – will be put out for consultation.
- 15) To improve integration and reduce segregation in our communities, British law will be regarded as supreme and a Royal Commission will be established to review how best to build a more cohesive society. Practices such as FGM are illegal, however there needs to be a way to deliver a successful prosecution.

Message from the author

For the past two and a half years, I have been living and breathing the complicated, emotionally volatile and politically charged issue of immigration. I've been on every news channel, political programme and countless radio stations to discuss current immigration levels and government policy. I've spoken to businesses – large and small, think tanks, politicians and campaign groups. I've discussed, weighed up and analysed the economic impacts of more or less immigration into the UK. I was the first British politician to visit the newly opened Calais camp on a dark, wet December evening before it became popular with the artist adjutants.

There are particular occasions that remain with me and stir me to work towards getting the right immigration system for our country. During the referendum, I would knock on doors on council estates in the North of England and the Midlands, similar to the one I grew up on. I remember meeting men and women lost without a job, struggling to find work, or in work but suffering with depressed wages. These people said no one cared about them - and that their financial security had been negatively impacted by the influx of cheap European labour since 2004.

I remember the death of a young boy on a beach in Greece, one of so many that died making the arduous trip across the Mediterranean having been invited and encouraged by EU politicians. As a father, it is an image seared on my brain. Mass immigration into the UK and open borders within the EU was and continues to foster hopelessness at home and tragedy aboard.

Consecutive British governments have failed to create a migration system that works for our country and our citizens. Levels of migration have contributed to a 4.7 million rise in the UK population over the last ten years¹. Even for non-EU migration, which they control, governments have failed in their attempt to create a fair and robust system.

Whether it was their inability to distinguish between genuine asylum applicants and economic migrants; to preventing criminals from gaining access at our ports; or determining with any degree of accuracy the link between immigration, national insurance numbers and visas, government migration policy has left Britain less secure and more divided – and many of its citizens significantly poorer.

It has had an exhausting effect on the British people's tolerance for those coming to work in the UK and helping those seeking asylum as particularly seen during the Mediterranean crisis of the past two summers.

Polls consistently indicate that a clear majority of British people want to see a reduction in net migration. As of August 2016, it was the issue picked most often by respondents (34 per cent)². Yet there is increasing anger at politicians, members of the media and the London intelligentsia who seem to ignore and belittle those who expressed concern.

By leaving the European Union and the single market, we will begin to have full domestic control of our immigration system. Our government now has the opportunity and the

1 ONS Annual Population Survey

2 <http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/uk-public-opinion-toward-immigration-overall-attitudes-and-level-of-concern/>

mandate to make the necessary immigration changes required.

However, we must accept that leaving the European Union will not solve all of the problems with our current immigration system. Taking back control from the EU is just the first step, and this report sets out what steps the government should take.

Our migration system should reflect who we are as a nation, but also reflect changes in public opinion. As of 2019, there should be a bespoke British migration policy – a system which combines a points system used in other countries and the work permit system proposed by Migration Watch. It should be a system tailor-made to Britain and her needs; a system which is fair, flexible and forward-thinking.

This report sets out a clear view of the changes that are needed to be made by government, both to reduce overall net migration once we have left the European Union, but also to meet the needs of our 21st century economy.



Steven Woolfe MEP



1. Philosophy vs. policy – A new direction is required

Immigration has always been part of our nation's history, our culture and our growth. Over the centuries it has taken many forms. In the case of the Norman Conquest it came through force, leading to death and destruction of our native population. Sometimes it came through helping those fleeing persecution, as was the case for European Jews and Ugandans. Other times it came through invitation, like for those coming from the West Indies or indeed the European Union. On the whole, immigration has been welcomed by the British people and, despite occasional difficulty, it has been positive for the nation.

From the mid-1980s, things began to change in a way that would lead us to where we are now - with a system that is flawed and unworkable. This was a direct consequence of a radical change in philosophy. Back then, we invited millions of citizens from Commonwealth countries to live in the UK because we needed to fill jobs left vacant by the deaths of so many men and women in WWII - and because those countries fought alongside our troops and had a shared belief in Britain.

This changed dramatically under Tony Blair's Labour government and with our membership of the common market. In 1997 net migration was 48,000, but it rose to 140,000 after just one year¹. Under New Labour, the rate of inflow between 1997 and 2010 equated to one migrant arriving every minute². Between 1997 and 2010, net annual immigration quadrupled, and the UK population was boosted by more than 2.2 million immigrants, more than twice the population of Birmingham.³

Those who supported higher immigration argued the UK population was ageing and new younger migrants could be put to work, with their taxes bailing out creaking public services and a pensions system under strain. They were supported by many multinationals who wanted to make the UK a low wage economy. They promoted the view that our existing workforce did not have the necessary skills required and that the only answer was to import unskilled labour from the EU⁴. This, they said, would increase our population and stimulate growth.

A more unpalatable position adopted by some sections of the Labour Party was that a large wave of immigration would "rub the Right's face in multiculturalism."⁵ They hoped newcomers would vote Labour, consigning the Conservative Party to electoral oblivion.

Open borders also met the overall political ambition to break down the bonds of national identity and create a unified European nation administered by the EU institutions.

The philosophical ideology of these arguments, in some cases, may have had meaning. But the decision to completely comply with EU freedom of movement was ultimately undemocratic. It excluded the electorate from choosing how their country developed and fostered a burning resentment. Accusations of racism were widely used to undermine anyone who argued that this was the wrong approach.

Such factors ultimately resulted in the British people saying no to European Union

3 <https://www.migrationwatchuk.org/briefing-paper/355#link2>

4 <https://www.migrationwatchuk.org/briefing-paper/355#link2>

5 <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2015/mar/24/how-immigration-came-to-haunt-labour-inside-story>

6 Oxford Economic Adequate Labour Supply 2004 to 2008

7 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/law-and-order/6418456/Labour-wanted-mass-immigration-to-make-UK-more-multicultural-says-former-adviser.html>

membership at the ballot box, in what was the biggest democratic exercise in the history of British politics.

When we examine the headline numbers, it is not hard to understand why. Gross immigration running at 600,000 and net migration from the EU at over 150,000⁶ both demonstrate the failure in planning and the weakness at the heart of the system.

At its very heart, it was a system with entrenched discrimination. An EU citizen was regarded as superior to a citizen from elsewhere in the world. We were not accepting talented people from all four corners of the globe. We had an open door to white, Caucasian Europeans and an increasingly closed door to Africans, Asians and Americans. A fair and robust British migration system should not distinguish between a doctor from India or Germany, provided they speak the language and have the skills we need.

The philosophical outlook for our new policy must be one that embraces the world and protects our own citizens. We need an immigration system that is fair, flexible and forward-thinking. Fair in its outlook, flexible in practice and forward-thinking for our economy. Brexit is not about splendid isolation – it's about reengaging with the world, without our wings clipped by the European Union. A new positive immigration system should reflect that.

Immigration is not an insular, one-dimensional issue which affects our economy alone. Levels of migration affect every aspect of government policy from employment, GDP, housing, infrastructure, public transport, population growth and more⁷. Controlled migration will benefit our economy, society and public services. For far too long, record levels of net migration has meant it has been doing anything but⁸. Our new immigration system post-Brexit should continue to encourage skilled workers, especially in those industries in which we are lacking supply, but place strict restrictions on low and unskilled labour.

If we have an immigration system post-Brexit which controls and limits economic migration, we will be in a stronger position to accept more genuine refugees. Reducing economic migration to a lower, more manageable level will turn the tide of public opinion towards offering more help to genuine candidates for asylum.

We need an immigration system that is compassionate – a system that allows for responsible migration. Brexit doesn't mean pulling up the drawbridge. We must have a system which encourages the best and the brightest to migrate and settle here. We can achieve all of these things and still reduce net migration year on year with a migration system fit for the 21st century.

From the moment we leave the EU, that day is day zero for the government on immigration. If they fail to curb migration levels and make the necessary changes needed, many of which are referenced in this report, it will no longer be the fault of our EU membership, but of our own government.

7 <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/migrationstatisticsquarterlyreport/dec2016>

8 <https://www.migrationwatchuk.org/key-topics/public-services-infrastructure>

9 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-38167225>

2. Why we need to reduce net migration into the UK

2.1 Employment and Wages

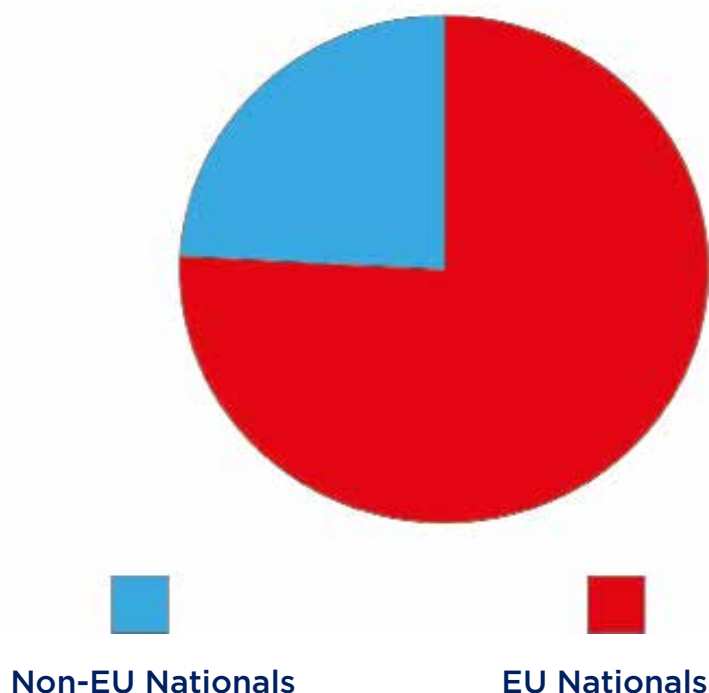
Immigration and employment go hand in hand. The number one issue on the doorstep during the EU referendum campaign was mass immigration and the effect it has had on wages and jobs.

The reality of being a member of the EU, with an open door to 27 other nations and over 430 million people, is that technically any EU citizen could move to work in the UK. In the year ending 2003, net migration from the EU stood at just 15,000, rising dramatically to 87,000 in 2004¹. Ever since, the levels have been uncontrollable and, due to the economic disparity of EU nations, new migrants have mainly been low skilled.

This type of low skilled inflow has saturated this part of the UK jobs market, with dire consequences for less well-off people in many communities.

In the year ending September 2016, there were 825,000 National Insurance registrations and 76 per cent of those were from EU citizens². This is an additional 825,000 people placed in or searching for work, and thus has placed a huge strain on the UK employment sector.

Figure 1. National Insurance Number Registrations (YE September 2016)



10 ONS Long term International migration by Citizenship data

11 <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/migrationstatisticsquarterlyreport/dec2016>

Furthermore, research from the House of Lords points to how mass, uncontrolled migration from the EU has pushed down wages of the low paid in Britain. A working paper from the Bank of England also recently accepted that unsustainable levels of migration causes wage compression. His report states clearly that a “ten percentage point rise in the proportion of immigrants working in semi/unskilled services leads to a 1.88 per cent reduction in pay”¹.

Therefore, net migration numbers hovering around 300,000 annually², together with those that are not captured in official figures, is preventing wages rising in line with inflation for native, British workers, noticeable at the lower end of the skills classification scale and in some cases causing job displacement.

The question is what can the government do to improve this situation post-Brexit.

Firstly, we need to change our current visa system and introduce a distinct bespoke British working visa system that will fit our own national needs. It must be a system that is fair, flexible and forward-thinking. This can be achieved by adopting a working visa system that applies to every nationality equally and that recognises the skills needed for different sectors.

The first stage is to revamp our Migration Advisory Counsel (MAC) to take on board the new philosophy of reducing net migration dramatically. An annual net migration figure of 50,000 is highly obtainable, returning us to levels not seen since the mid-1990s. The MAC would be statutorily required to consider annual assessments of the levels of immigration required, assess the criteria for points and report to parliament for a vote on numbers.

The UK has benefitted considerably in business, education, sport, science and many other areas by having good highly qualified people from other parts of the world wanting to live, study and work here. In several important sectors of our society we need to be aware of the current requirement for flexible work schemes attracting foreign-born workers. In the areas of agriculture, health services, science and education there must be a flexible and varied regime. The MAC should consider permitting no limit on the number of working visas - or permits - for highly skilled people who currently qualify under the highly skilled Tier 1 system. The fee for Tier 1 and Tier 2 visas should be put out for consultation.

The MAC would introduce a working visa system for all other categories of migrant worker. The work visa would be connected to passports and national insurance numbers and be limited to 50,000 people a year. This would include a specific visa for short-term temporary workers, which includes those in agriculture and health services. In areas such as entertainment and performance art a fast track system could be implemented.

The MAC should assess annually the numbers but seek to taper downwards towards 50,000 as better training and more home grown workers are able to fill more areas of employment.

¹² <http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/research/Documents/workingpapers/2015/swp574.pdf>

¹³ <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/migrationstatisticsquarterlyreport/dec2016>

However, the expanded work visa system should work alongside a five-year moratorium on unskilled workers to allow the country breathing space to readjust, improve infrastructure and to rebalance our economy and employment sector. In addition, new migrants with working visas would not be entitled to benefits until they have paid into the tax system for five years.

With the UK witnessing such an intense level of migration over the past decade, this five-year period is critical for the health of our economy.

Furthermore, we must spend money on improving our data collection and control system. Over 100 million people a year come to our shores as visitors, workers and students – and we need a border system that can cope. We currently only spend 0.25 per cent of our national budget on immigration controls³. We need to double that.

In terms of employment, our system should require all those coming to the UK to have a passport (not ID card). That passport must have a working visa applied to it. If you obtain a working visa (whether you use it or not) an automatic national insurance number should be awarded. If you choose to work, that NI number is activated and only applies for the period of your working visa. Once the visa expires, so does the person's right to work and remain in the UK.

By ending free movement of people from the EU, we will help the low skilled employment sector. According to the Labour Force Survey, in the last ten years, 1.25 million workers from EU member states have arrived in the UK. Of these people, only 22 per cent (273,000) people would qualify for a working visa in the UK under current regulations⁴.

EU citizens should receive the same treatment as non-EU citizens. If we extended this policy to EU citizens once we invoke Article 50, and only offer working visas to skilled workers, this would potentially reduce net EU migration to the UK by more than 100,000 a year⁵.

Such a policy would have a positive impact on the UK because migrants coming here for work purposes will only be offering a skill that is required in the UK. They will also have demonstrated they can support themselves whilst living here and will have a job in place before they arrive.

14 <https://www.migrationwatchuk.org/briefing-paper/348>

15 <https://www.migrationwatchuk.org/briefing-paper/391>

16 <https://www.migrationwatchuk.org/briefing-paper/391>

2.2 NHS

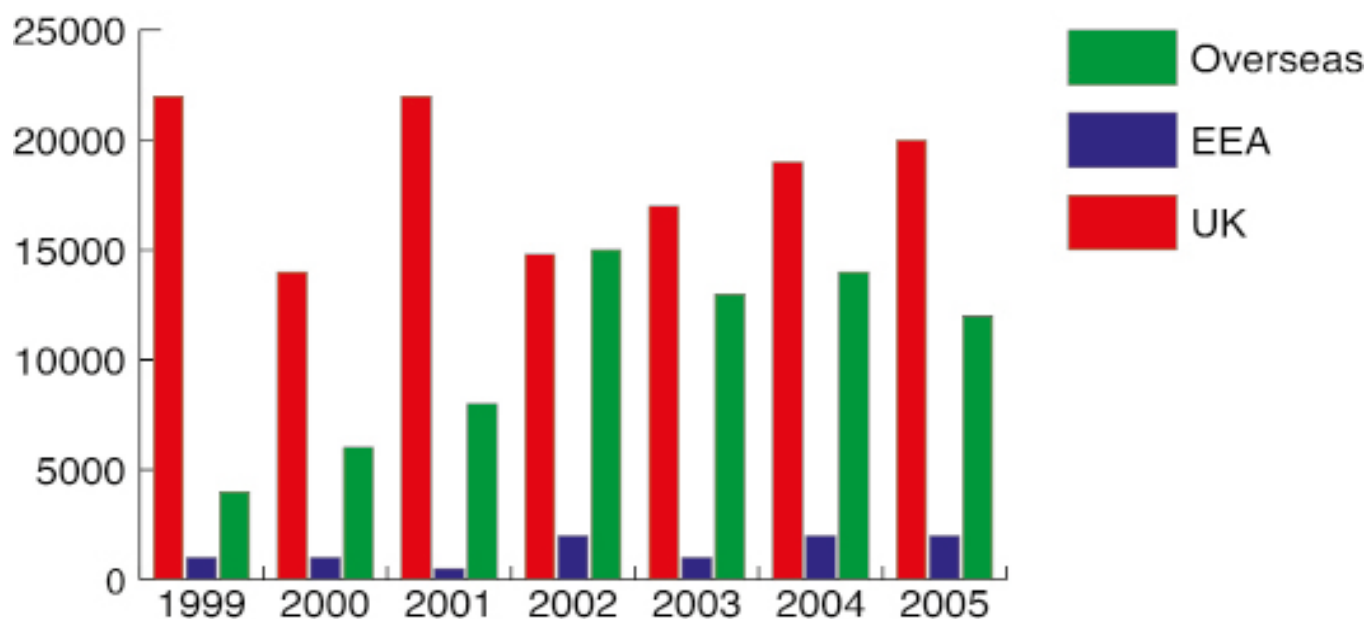
The immigration debate is at its most contentious when it turns to healthcare and the NHS. From questions of health tourism to claims that the NHS would collapse without immigration, both sides of the argument have failed the public by using emotive rhetoric and not evidenced reason.

According to the English Health service records, ten per cent of registered doctors and four per cent of nurses and midwives come from within the EU. In total, that is just 55,000 of 1.2 million employees. Many more come from outside the EU and have done for a considerable number of years.

What is clear is that the UK needs additional NHS staff to cope with increasing demand on its services, caused by an ageing population and uncontrolled immigration.

If the UK does not train enough of its own doctors and nurses, nor keep those it trains, we will continue to rely on migration. The new migration policy proposed in this report will continue to welcome the skilled doctors and nurses we need from the EU and non-EU countries, but will encourage the development of more home grown talent.

Figure 2. Initial admissions to the register by UK country, European Economic Area countries and overseas countries



This figure shows the change in numbers coming onto the register since 1999. The source for the data presented here is the Nursing and Midwifery Council's Statistical Analysis of the Register.

Governments have made different decisions on levels of NHS staffing. In Labour's second term post-2001, there was a sharp rise in the number of nurses from overseas. By 2003 more than half of all new nurses were non-UK nationals, in contrast to 1992 when non-UK nationals made up just ten per cent of new nurse registrations.

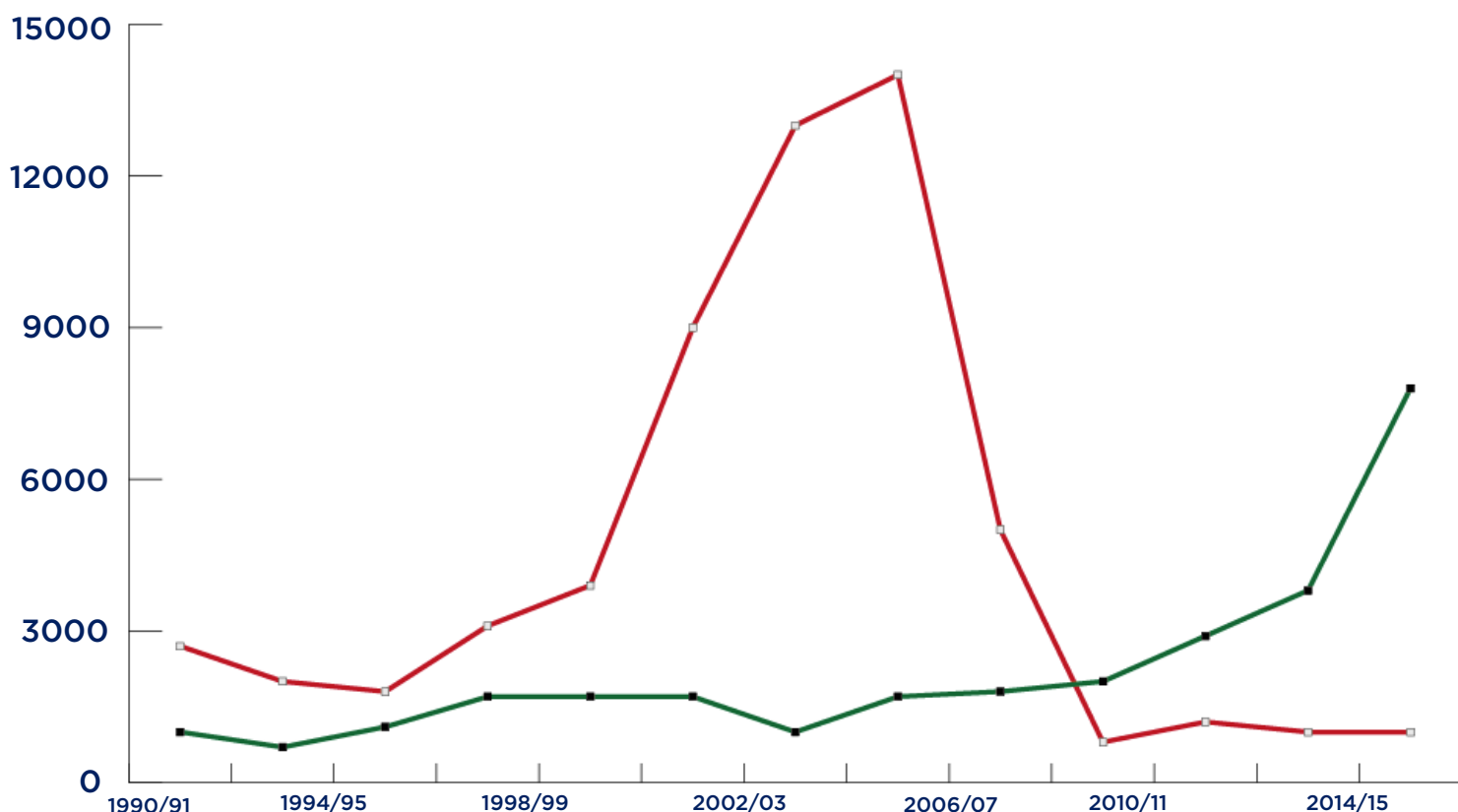
The UK stands out among EU member states in relying on the developing world as its primary source for nursing. This drives patient:clinician ratios in poorer countries ever higher, though it is a trend that has slowed substantially in recent years.

Following the accession of the A8 countries into the EU in 2004, the immigration pattern, especially for nurses, changed again. While overall imports slowly declined, the number from Asia plummeted as nurses from Eastern Europe arrived in their place.

Diversity has been used as a fig leaf for import dependence, which comes from these two features of central planning. It takes time to train good staff and we don't know how many at any point we need. Current EU free movement rules automatically recognise clinical qualifications without any of the licencing exams or language tests that non-EU nurses must adhere to.

Figure 3. Where new nurses trained overseas

World region of training for newly registered nurses trained abroad



*European Economic Area: EU Countries plus Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway
 Source: Nursing and Midwifery Council data provided to the Royal College of Nurses



The lack of control and lack of planning have created a situation where shortages are perennial and we are caught in a vicious circle where overworked nurses are giving up and emigrating, only to make the situation worse for those newly qualified.

It is clear that whilst the UK turns to training more of its own staff and retaining those who are considering leaving, there will be a need for specialised working visas for nursing. This also applies to those working in care homes across the country. The MAC should offer working visas for a specified three year period for nursing and care homes with a target number annualised. This number should be reduced over time as training improves recruitment levels.

Within the UK, health tourism is a major issue and puts a great deal of strain upon the NHS. “According to the Government, there is a plausible range of around £100m to £300m attributable to health tourism.”¹ The government’s proposal, calling for foreign nationals to pay in advance for non-urgent care, should be welcomed.

By leaving the EU and introducing a stricter requirement for migrants to have health insurance to live and reside in the UK, this will decrease health tourism significantly in the future.

17 https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/251909/Quantitative_Assessment_of_Visitor_and_Migrant_Use_of_the_NHS_in_England_-_Exploring_the_Data_-_FULL_REPORT.pdf

2.3 Housing

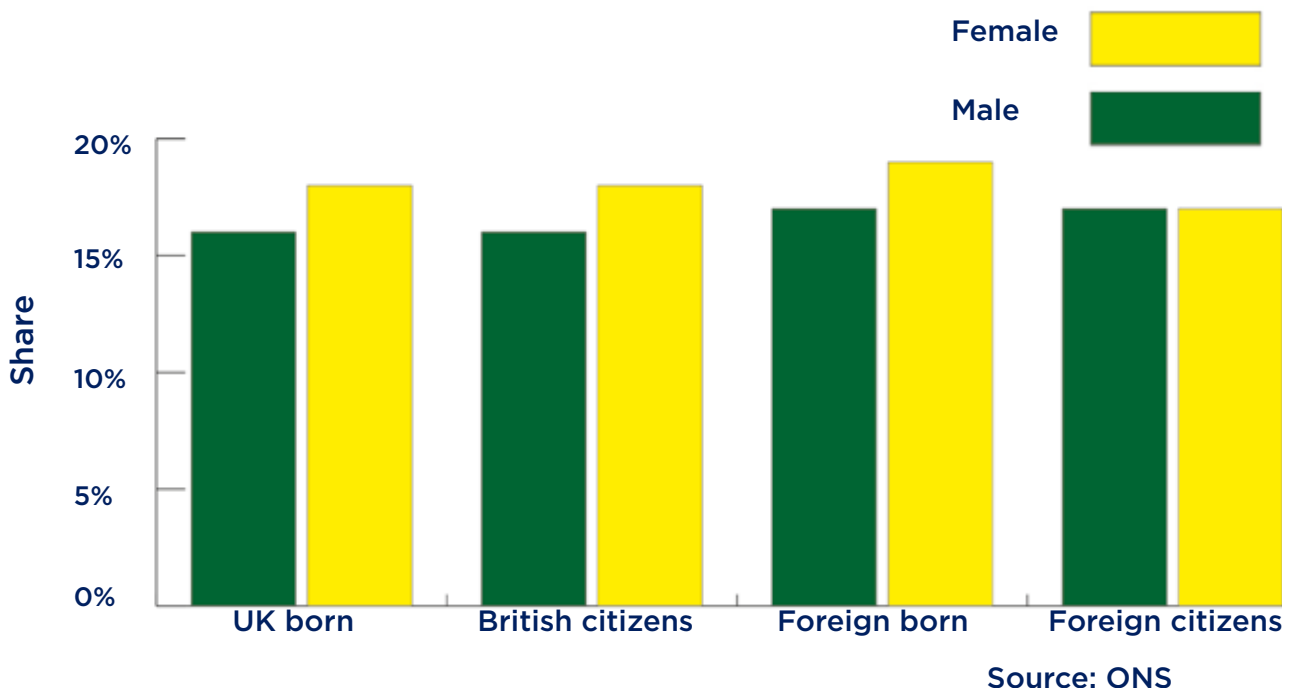
In the United Kingdom, it is apparent there is a housing crisis that is worsening each year. This is largely due to increased demand, as a result of people living longer, more broken families, more students, an increasing birth rate amongst certain sections of the community and high levels of net migration.

Migration Watch estimates that 45 per cent of the increase in housing demand is due to migration. Sustained mass migration over the past decade has put an unnecessary strain on infrastructure and services, of which housing is fundamental.

The House of Lords Select Committee on Economic Affairs says that to sustain the increasing demand for housing, 300,000 homes a year need to be built. This equates to one new home every two minutes¹. Furthermore, the Exchequer Secretary to the Treasury said “the modelling suggests that in order to keep the house prices to earnings ratio constant, somewhere between 250,000 and 300,000 homes per year need to be built.”²

Figure 4. Share in social housing: Place of birth, citizenship and gender

Chart provided by: www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk



18 <https://www.migrationwatchuk.org/key-topics/housing>

19 <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld201617/ldselect/ldeconaf/20/20.pdf>



The demand for affordable housing is rising every month. In 2015 there were 1.24 million people on the social housing waiting list in England alone¹. According to the Migration Observatory, “UK-born individuals and foreign-born individuals have similar levels of participation in social housing. However, not all migrants are eligible for social housing. In order to be eligible, migrants must have, in general, settlement status or be a national of the EEA. About 17 per cent of UK-born and 18 per cent of foreign-born individuals live in social housing (2016).”²

Rent prices are forever on the rise, forcing more people on to social housing lists for the exact reason they cannot afford to rent or buy privately. With increasing levels of immigration year upon year, plus the UK’s ever growing ageing population, housing demand will never be met.

As EEA citizens currently have access to social housing, introducing a new tailored immigration policy upon leaving the EU will help ease the pressure immediately and a five year freeze on low skilled migration will also allow for our housing sector to catch up with current demand levels.

The working visa system that this paper proposes would not automatically permit family reunions and those on short term agricultural or healthcare visas would not have a right to housing benefits, child benefits or any other benefits for a minimum of five years. All of these measures will help relieve demand on our creaking housing sector.

20 <https://www.migrationwatchuk.org/key-topics/housing>

21 <http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/migrants-and-housing-in-the-uk-experiences-and-impacts/>

2.4 Prisons

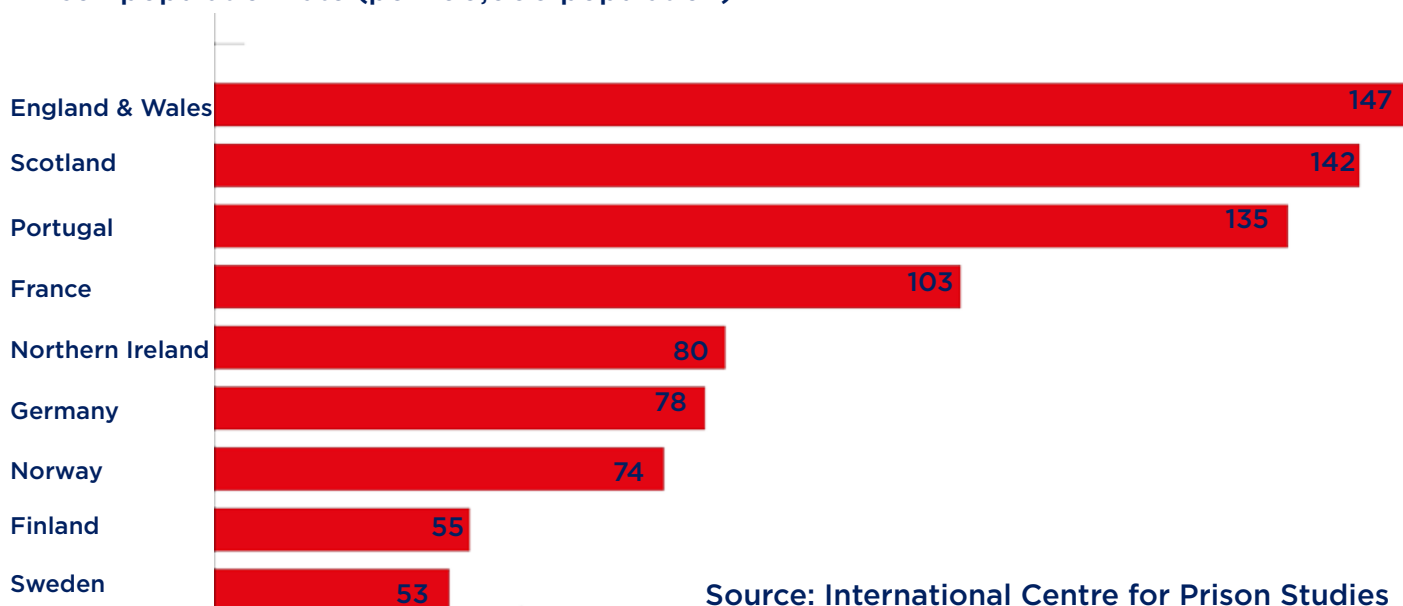
Foreign nationals (non-UK passport holders) currently make up 12 per cent of the prison population in England and Wales. On 30th June 2016, there were 9,980 foreign nationals in prison¹. These prisoners come from 172 countries—but over half are from nine countries (Poland, Ireland, Romania, Albania, Jamaica, Lithuania, Pakistan, India and Somalia).

There was a rapid increase in foreign national prisoners between 2002–08. Numbers rose by nearly 50 per cent, compared with a 13 per cent increase in British nationals over the same period. Since then, numbers have steadily fallen due to the ‘Facilitated Returns Scheme’ (FRS) launched in October 2006 and the ‘Early Release scheme’ (ERS), whereby a prisoner can return home up to 135 days early, and serve the rest of their sentence in their home country.

This system has helped reduce the number of foreign nationals in our prisons across the UK, but comes at a cost. For ERS, the cost for the UK Border Agency was £6.3 million in 2009/10².

Figure 5. Imprisonment rates across Western Europe

Prison population rate (per 100,000 population)



Source: International Centre for Prison Studies

22 www.justice.gov.uk - Foreign national prisoners
23 www.gov.uk - FOI release: Early Removal Scheme (ERS) and the Facilitated Returns Scheme (FRS) 2 July 2010

The Ministry of Justice estimate that in any given month, as a result of the ERS scheme, 400 extra prison places are made available. This represents a saving to the National Offender Management Service of approximately £1.2 million per calendar month¹.

At the end of October 2016, according to the 'Focus Prisoner Education' website, 77 of the 117 prisons in England and Wales were overcrowded². Over 70,000 people were being held in a system designed to hold just 50,000.

Initially, when police time, court costs and other procedural matters are taken into account, it costs £65,000 to imprison a person in this country and a further £40,000 for each year they spend incarcerated.

Prisons are under immense strain - and while a lack of prison space, government cuts, people living longer and higher crime rates are all major factors - the volume of foreign nationals in our prisons has also contributed to the additional pressure.

Figure 6. Summary of prison function 2014-15

Function	Certified Normal Accommodation	Average Population	Direct Resource Expenditure	Cost per Place	Cost per Prisoner
Male category B	6,251	6,325	£164,793,339	£26,363	£26,053
Male category C	30,408	31,463	£650,171,742	£21,382	£20,665
Male dispersal	3,314	3,183	£138,929,122	£41,918	£43,650
Female closed	601	585	£15,350,486	£25,534	£26,255
Female local	2,941	2,768	£98,150,995	£33,369	£35,465
Female open	248	185	£5,812,765	£23,439	£31,435
Male closed YOI (ages 15-21)	2,867	2,480	£83,522,165	£29,131	£33,679
Male YOI young people (ages 15-17)	1,269	749	£48,403,518	£38,138	£64,660
Male local	24,582	32,374	£724,753,694	£29,484	£22,387
Male open	4,507	4,127	£74,503,428	£16,530	£18,054
Other	355	0	£5,006,723	0	0
Totals	77,344	84,238	£2,009,397,979	£25,980	£23,854

Source: National Offender Management Service

Averages and Expenditure figures have been rounded to the nearest integer. Totals were formed from unrounded figures and therefore may not equal the sum of the rounded parts.

By taking control of our border system with an integrated passport and visa system the government will be able to introduce tougher policies to prevent those with a history of criminal activity from coming to the UK. Furthermore, by leaving the EU, the government can extend the FRS and ERS schemes to EU nationals and, in the long run, reduce the foreign born prison population and its associated costs.

2.5 Border Security

Border Staff and Documentation

The new migration policy proposed in this report can only be successful if it is enforced properly.

The Migration Advisory Council should be tasked with providing a report on how a new working visa system will help encourage greater security of our borders and assist the task of those seeking to protect us.

There needs to be an immediate increase in Border Agency staff of 2,500. There must also be greater investment in database technology to ensure all passport and visa holders are counted in and out and to identify overstayers, including those on student, tourist or work visas. There must be an end to the current system of calculating how many people come to this country using a survey at airports.

Entry and exit checks must be properly put in place for all scheduled commercial international air, sea and rail routes. The UK needs enough border force staff to carry out such tasks and they need to be trained in the new advanced technology.

All information will be handled in accordance with the UK's strict data protection laws and the commission will operate under a mandate to significantly reduce the numbers of people migrating to the UK.

Biometric visas should become the norm and fingerprints and face recognition should be checked at border ports - and checked against the ones stored on any visa documentation. This technology will help alleviate queues and staffing issues and will also put a stop to the problems with identity theft and fraudulent documentation.

We should consider a standard visa revenue system including a tourist visa charge along the lines of the US ESTA system. This is something that should be put out for consultation. All visa revenue should be ring fenced for spending on our border force and improved systems, ensuring we have strong, competent procedures in place to ensure proper checks are carried out correctly.

Use of fraudulent documentation at border control will result in any visa being revoked and the individual will be subject to a deportation order and a five-year ban on any visa application to enter the UK.

Those with incorrect paperwork will be made to leave the UK immediately and any persons who have good reason to appeal can do so in a deportation centre for a maximum of one week.

False identity documentation will also be subject to further investigation to establish the source producing fraudulent passports and identification on the black market.

Security

When we travel, whether it be for a holiday or for business, we always want our journey to be as hassle and queue free as possible. However, with the added security threats we live with today we know that stringent safety and security checks are a necessity.

It is in the government's interest to ensure that border and security staff are well equipped and trained to deal with both disruptions and terror threats.

Therefore, border force staff must have the resources required and work closely with the police. They must have the powers to be able to detain persons they see as an imminent threat to the public.

The profiling of people going through customs should be done without stereotyping individuals but should also be carried out with common sense. Border force officers should be trained for this, to the highest level.



2.6 Segregation in Britain

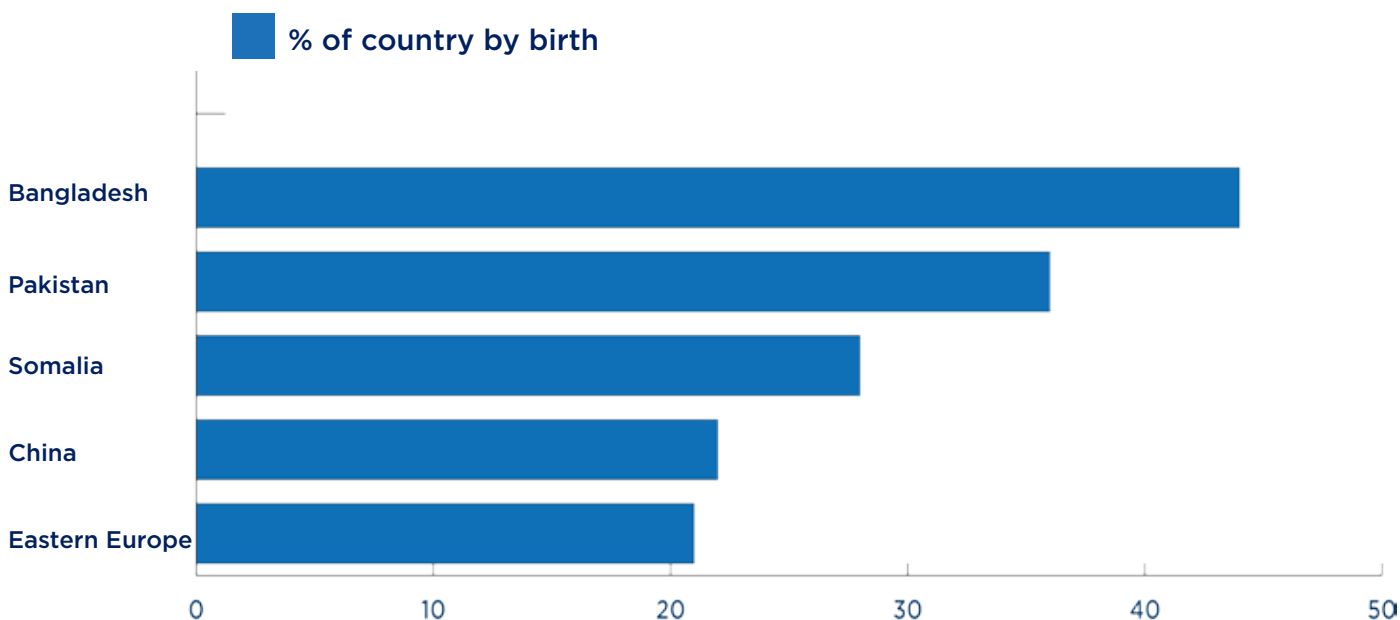
Britain is a diverse nation with a long history of immigration. While the debate around migration is often seen through an economic prism, it is important to consider the social impacts and the knock on effects within communities up and down the country.

Over the last two decades, total gross annual immigration to the UK has doubled, from around 300,000 people per year prior in 1997 to more than 600,000 in 2015¹.

This is a huge change over such a short period of time. It is suggested that some towns and cities were struggling to adjust to an influx of foreign nationals where patterns of settlement are dependent on ethnicity, faith and cultural differences, as well as job opportunities.

Segregation is becoming an ever-increasing problem. The study carried out by Dame Louise Casey found “high levels of social and economic isolation in some places, and cultural and religious practices in communities that are not only holding some of our citizens back, but run contrary to British values and sometimes our laws.”²

Figure 7. Top five nationalities: Women with poor spoken



*Eastern Europe includes Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia

Source: Casey Review

26 The Casey Review, A review into opportunity and integration: Dame Louise Casey DBE CB, December 2016
27 The Casey Review, A review into opportunity and integration: Dame Louise Casey DBE CB, December 2016

Her study also shows the transition of equality to women and the importance of successful integration. Unfortunately, we have seen the lack of English language skills being used in some communities and this hinders the understanding of rights and services available to women and pushes them further into social isolation.

Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and 'honour' based crimes are a growing concern when looking at cultural segregation. There were 5,700 newly recorded cases of FGM reported in England in 2015-16, according to the first annual statistics published by the Health and Social Care Information Centre¹.

In places where segregation is high there is evidence of higher crime, placing an added burden on publicly funded policing. It also causes much more unease and social unrest within the community as a whole. Interestingly, Casey shows that in poorer parts of Britain where segregation is demonstrably a problem, the unease about immigration was not limited just to white British communities. The Casey Report shows that in one northern town, the long-standing Pakistani ethnic community felt very unsettled by an increase in the Roma population.

Overall, lack of integration only feeds into the hands of those who hold racist views; people who wish to segregate communities and social groups further. Many will use cultural issues to hide their genuine xenophobic attitudes to foreigners and hide behind those who have genuine concerns over numbers, British culture and positive integration.

The issue of integration does not have a simple solution and will take time to address. A new immigration policy is fundamental.

Firstly, British law should be regarded as supreme and no other law can in any way shape the decision of our courts or judges. Therefore, a Royal Commission should be established to determine the extent that other cultural laws can be made compatible with UK law whilst allowing religious practice to be followed.

Secondly, ways should be found to increase prosecutions against practices such as FGM.

Thirdly, English must be an essential requisite for a working visa. When levels of immigration are manageable, integration is more practicable. Reducing immigration will not have an immediate impact and will not solve current problems, but it will enable us to build a more cohesive society in the medium term.

Figure 8. Best and worst integrated places: overall

Best Integrated	Overall Score	Least Integrated	Overall Score
1. Amersham	2.09	160 - Boston	-3.36
2. Sutton Coldfield	1.91	159 - Wisbech	-2.57
3. Loughton	1.87	158 - Oldham	-2.36
4. Potters Bar	1.87	157 - Spalding	-2.2
5. Letchworth Garden City	1.72	156 - Bradford	-2.1
6. Stretford	1.71	155 - Batley	-1.97
7. Bushey	1.69	154 - Halifax	-1.94
8. West Bridgford	1.68	153 - Blackburn	-1.93
9. Rickmansworth	1.65	152 - Keighley	-1.9
10. Esher	1.63	151 - Accrington	-1.85

3. Current UK visa system

Visas explained – current system

Currently, UK immigration policy is based on a five-tier system for working visas, followed by various other visa areas. Below is an overall summary of each visa, including the specific requirements for which and the length of stay permitted.

Working visas

TIER 1 – HIGHLY SKILLED (INVESTORS AND ENTREPRENEURS)

In the year ending September 2016, there were 4,519 tier 1 visas granted¹. This is a very low figure in comparison to other visas, however there is a cap on most tier 1 visas, hence the number stays very low. They are divided into different categories.

Tier 1 (exceptional talent) visa

To apply for this visa, the applicant has to be endorsed as a recognised or emerging leader in the fields of science, medicine, engineering etc. and must obtain a minimum point score.

Under this visa, the applicant does not need to be sponsored by an employer in the UK and can change jobs without having to notify the UK Border Agency.

With this visa, the individual can stay in the UK for five years and four months. They can apply to extend the visa for a further five years. Also, they can apply for settlement once they have been in the UK for five years.

There are fees involved when applying for this visa. There are two stages of the process; Stage one endorsement fee of £287 and stage two application fee of £287.

There are requirements attached to this visa:

Can – work, do voluntary work, and bring family members with you.

Can't – get public funds and work as a doctor or dentist in training.

29 <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/migrationstatisticsquarterlyreport/dec2016>

Tier 1 (investor) visa

The investor visa applies if you want to invest £2,000,000 or more in the UK and have access to these investment funds on applying. You can only apply for this visa if you are from outside the European Economic Area and Switzerland.

With this visa, you can stay in the UK for three years and four months, and can apply to extend the visa for a further two years.

The application fee is £1,530 and there is also a requirement for an additional health surcharge.

There are requirements to follow under this visa:

Can – invest £2 million or more in UK government bonds, work or study, apply to settle after two years if you invest £10 million and apply to settle after three years if you invest £5 million.

Can't – get public funds and invest in companies mainly engaged in property investment.

Tier 1 (entrepreneur) visa

In order to apply for this visa, you need to want to set up or run a business in the UK and have access to at least £50,000 funds to apply. Also, you need to be from outside the European Economic Area and Switzerland.

With this visa, you can stay for a maximum of three years and four months and can extend for another two years. You can also apply for settlement once you have been in the UK for five years.

There is a fee involved when applying for this visa, which is £1,204. You must also pay a health surcharge.

There are requirements attached with this visa:

Can – set up or take over one or more businesses in the UK, work for your business and bring family members with you.

Can't – do any work outside your business, get public funds.

Tier 1 (graduate entrepreneur) visa

To apply for this visa, the applicant has to be a graduate that's been officially endorsed as having a genuine and credible business idea, also from outside the European Economic Area and Switzerland.

Under this visa, you can stay in the UK for one year and also apply to extend for one further year. The fee to apply for this visa is £342, plus a health surcharge.

There are also requirements with this visa:

Can - bring family members with you and extend your stay in the UK.

Can't - get public funds, also settle in the UK on this visa.

TIER 2 - SKILLED WORKERS

In the year ending September 2016, there were 93,843 Tier 2 visas granted¹. This type of visa is the most popular out of the five. Before 2004, work related net migration was 23,000.

Tier 2 (general) visa

To apply for this visa, you need to have been offered a skilled job, be from outside the European Economic Area and Switzerland. Also, you need to have a certificate of sponsorship from a licensed sponsor before you can apply.

It costs £575 to apply for this visa and you also need to pay a health surcharge.

Individuals can stay for a maximum of five years and 14 days, but can extend this visa for up to five years as long as their total stay is not for more than six years.

There are requirements for this visa:

Can - work for your sponsor, do a second job as long as it is in the same sector and level as your main job up to 20 hours per week, voluntary work, study, bring family members with you.

Can't - get public funds, start working before the visa arrives, own more than 10 per cent of the sponsor's shares, and apply for a second job before starting work at the sponsored job.

30 <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/migrationstatisticsquarterlyreport/dec2016>

Tier 2 (intra-transfer) visa

To apply for this visa your overseas employer needs to have offered you a role in a UK branch of the organisation, and also be from outside the European Economic Area and Switzerland.

Under this arrangement, there are different types of visas that determine the length of stay.

Long term staff can stay more than 12 months and must be in a role that can't be filled by a new UK recruit. Short-term staff can stay less than 12 months and must be in a role that can't be filled by a new UK recruit. A graduate trainee visa is for transfers into graduate trainee programmes for specialist roles.

There are various fees depending on the type on intra-transfer visa you apply for:

- Short-term staff and Graduate Trainee: £454
- Long-term staff (up to three years): £575
- Long-term staff (more than three years): £1,151

And the length of stay also varies on the amount you earn and on the type of visa:

- Long-term staff (more than £155,300): nine years
- Long-term staff (less than £155,300): five years and one month
- Graduate trainee and short-term staff: 12 months

There are also further requirements under this visa.

Can – work for your sponsor, study, travel abroad and return to the UK, do a second job and bring family members with you.

Can't – get public funds and start working before you have your visa.

Tier 2 (minister of religion) visa

To apply for this visa you have to have been offered a job within a faith community in the United Kingdom. Also, you need to be sponsored and have a certificate before you can apply.

Its costs £574 to apply for this visa, and extra if you are applying to extend your stay. With this visa, the maximum time anyone can stay is three years and one month.

There are further requirements under this visa.

Can - work for your sponsor, do a second job, do voluntary work and bring family members (dependants) with you.

Can't - get public funds and start working before you get your visa.

Tier 2 (sportsperson) visa

To apply for this visa you need to be an elite sportsperson or qualified coach recognised by your sport's governing body as internationally established at the highest level. You also need to develop your sport in the UK and have your sport's governing body endorsing your application.

It costs £575 to apply for this visa and £664 to extend your stay. You also have to pay a healthcare surcharge.

There are requirements attached to this type of visa.

Can - work for your sponsor, have a second job, play for your national team in the UK, voluntary work and bring family members with you.

Can't - get public funds and start and run a business.

Tier 4 – Student visas

In the year ending September 2016, there were 200,653 student visas granted to non-EU nationals. This has fallen by two per cent compared to the previous year¹.

Tier 4 Student (general) visa

You can apply for this type of visa if you are aged 16 or over and have been offered a place on a course, have enough money to support yourself and can read and speak English.

It costs £322 to apply for this visa, plus a healthcare surcharge.

With this visa, you can stay in the UK up until your course finishes.

However there are further requirements attached to this visa.

Can – study and work depending on what level the course is.

Can't – get public funds and work as professional sports person.

Tier 4 (child) student visa

To apply for this visa, you have to be aged between four and 17 and want to study at an independent school in the UK. You also must have a place on a course, have enough money to cover the fees and have the consent of your parent or guardian.

There are fees attached. It is £322 to apply for this visa, plus a healthcare surcharge. With this visa, you can stay for the length of your course.

The extra requirements of this visa are as follows:

Can – study at an independent school and apply from outside the UK.

Can't – study at an academy or a local authority-funded school, get public funds and take a full time permanent job or be self-employed.

31 <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/migrationstatisticsquarterlyreport/dec2016>

Family reunion

In the year ending September 2016, there were 80,000 people coming to the UK for family reunion, both EU and non-EU nationals. There were 38,509 family route visas granted for non-EU nationals in the year ending September 2016.

Apply to join family living permanently in the UK

Family of a settled person visa – To apply for this visa your family member can be a British citizen, have settled in the UK and have asylum or humanitarian protection in the UK. Under this visa, you can apply to join your partner, parent, come to look after your child or come to be looked after by your family. You must also have a good knowledge of English.

There are various fees depending on the situation and also a requirement to pay an additional health surcharge:

- Joining your partner or parent: £956
- Coming to look after your child: £956
- Adult who needs to be looked after by a relative: £2,141

Furthermore, there are requirements under this visa:

Can - work (can't work if you have a visa to get married or to become a civil partner) and study.

Can't - get public funds for yourself or any dependents.

Asylum

In the year ending September 2016, there were 41,280 asylum applications. Also, 4,162 people were granted humanitarian protection under the Syrian Vulnerable Persons resettlement scheme in the year ending September 2016.

To be able to claim asylum in the UK, you must have certain criteria and documents to have your application accepted. To stay in the UK you must be unable to live safely in any part of your own country because you fear persecution there.

Furthermore, you would have to provide certain documentation for yourself and any dependants for the asylum screening. These include: passports/travel documents, police registration certificates, identification documents e.g. birth and marriage certificates and any other documents that will help the application.

For settlement in the UK as a refugee, you have to apply for a refugee/humanitarian protection visa. There are no fees attached to applying for this type of visa.

4. A bespoke British working visa system

Upon Britain's exit from the European Union, the government will regain control of our immigration policy. This paper proposes a fair, flexible, forward-thinking immigration framework.

After we have left the EU, future migrants from both EU and non-EU nations will have to apply through a bespoke British working visa system to be able to work in the UK.

4.1 EU negotiations

There are three principles that the government should adopt when considering our future migration policy. The approach taken in future negotiations must have the strength to affect our future immigration system.

- 1) Britain should leave the single market. The UK cannot cherry pick the good and bad bits. Staying in the single market means abiding by its four principles, including the free movement of people. This report welcomes Theresa May's commitment to leaving the single market.
- 2) Current EU nationals should be given the right to remain indefinitely. The government should make clear to EU citizens that have migrated to the UK under the current, legal framework as members of the EU - they have the right to stay, live, work and settle in the UK. We should not penalise those who abided by the rules - even if we don't like the rules themselves. We should offer this guarantee when the EU offers a similar guarantee to UK citizens living within the EU.
- 3) March 29th 2017 - the day Article 50 was triggered - should be the cut off for future migrants' right to remain indefinitely from that point forward.

4.2 How will our new working visa system work?

Britain's new working visa system should work under a strict remit to reduce migration levels over the long term to reflect public opinion and pressure on government budgets and public services. It will combine a points based system with a work permit system. If a potential migrant gains the required amount of points, they will be able to be considered for a working visa - or permit. Gaining the required points will not result in the automatic granting of a working visa. Other requirements will need to be met.

A lot is spoken about an 'Australian Points Based System'. Their migration system is tailored to their needs. A simple replica of this system will not suffice for the UK. Australia has different economic needs and has a much lower population than the UK, with a larger amount of land mass.

This sort of system is flexible. It will never be unchangeable. The government, alongside its Migration Advisory Council will still remain in control and will have the flexibility to change and tweak aspects of the policy as and when.

4.3 Working visa requirements

Future migrants from within the EU will be subject to the same rules that non-EU migrants are currently subject too. Working visas will only be granted if the satisfactory amount of points is reached. The level is set by government. The points system will take into account education, qualifications and suitability for a job.

However, a work visa will only be granted once these other requirements are met:

- The applicant has a job offer, sponsored by a company and a minimum annual salary of £35,000.
 - To ensure a high level of English is spoken, visa applicants must successfully complete a language test. Official, nationally recognised qualifications in English will count favourably in application.
 - Applicants must have a five-year health insurance contract to prevent dependency on the National Health Service.
 - Satisfactory level of savings, depending on which visa applied for.
- These rules are to ensure all future migrants are self-sufficient for the length of their work permit, without any reliance on the state and welfare department. All migrants will receive the same rights as natives after a five-year period settlement period in the UK. This is to ensure migrants have paid into the system for a minimum length of time before they can claim back.

4.4 Key proposals

- Complete five-year moratorium on low skilled visas.
- A new temporary worker scheme encompassing a seasonal agricultural workers scheme. 50,000 annual cap tapering numbers down after the first full year of leaving the EU, to encourage businesses to train replacements. Maximum visa length of six months.
- No cap on highly skilled tier 1 visas.
- End family reunion for international students and temporary workers (tier 5).

Tier 1: Highly skilled (i.e. investors, CEOs, highly talented individuals)

There should be no initial cap placed on this type of visa and our system should encourage highly skilled migration. Categories under this tier are: entrepreneur visa, exceptional talent visa, graduate entrepreneur visa, investors' visa.

This sort of visa can vary in length from a minimum of three months up to five years depending on job length. After the maximum five years has been completed, highly skilled migrants have three options:

1. End their current employment contract and return home. 30 days to return home.
2. Extend their visa for a one-year period. In that time, they then have a maximum six months to apply for citizenship or apply for a continuation of their visa for an additional four years (max period ten years).
3. Leave the country once the extension period is over, rescinding their rights to citizenship and a continuation of their visa.

After ten years on a tier 1 visa, highly skilled migrants must either return home or apply for citizenship. No visa renewal after ten years.

Tier 2: General and skilled

This tier is made up of 4 categories: general visa including shortage of occupancy list, inter-company transfer, minister of religion and sports person visa.

The cap of 20,000 on shortage of occupancy list should be retained but reviewed on an annual basis by the migration advisory committee with a long term objective of tapering the numbers as education system develops and businesses train replacements.

The government should continue to enforce the rule that all jobs must be advertised in the UK first, before general visas are approved. All applications for a general visa will only be accepted if a job worth £25,800 is on the table.

There should be no cap on the other categories.

The same rules of visa limits and citizenship should apply to tier 2 as it does with tier 3.

Tier 3: Low skilled migration

There will be a complete five-year ban on low skilled visas, apart from temporary exemptions for specific sectors to be tapered down year-on-year.

The UK should not grant any low skilled visas for a minimum of five years to ensure businesses are forced to train replacements and to ease pressure for our communities, public services and infrastructure which have seen an unprecedented level of inward migration over the past decade as members of the EU.

Temporary workers scheme

A temporary worker scheme should come under this tier, encompassing a seasonal agricultural workers scheme. This would give access to less skilled workers to work in the UK on a temporary basis.

- 50,000 cap on temporary worker scheme for first year after Brexit, including six-month transitional period, decreasing down to 30,000 from year two.
- Visa requires job sponsorship from a UK licensed company, only a visa for that job, no access to benefits or NHS, can't bring family members, can't take a permanent job, a minimum of £1000 pounds in a bank account, no right to remain indefinitely.
- Visas can be awarded for between a three-months and six-months.

Tier 4: Students

There are three different categories under this tier: general student visa, short term study visa, child student visa.

There should be no cap the number of international students coming to the UK. All student visas are only granted with a sponsorship from an official UK institution.

Visas should only be granted for the duration of the course, with a 60 day period after to leave the country. To crack down on over stayers, universities must keep a record of a current address whilst migrants are studying at their institution. Failure to do so could result in a fine.

After an education course has been completed – visa holders will have to apply through the same work visa system to come back to the UK for work.

Tier 5: Temporary workers (i.e. Charity workers, religious workers)

Temporary workers currently make up 45,000 per year in the annual migration numbers.

There should be a cap on this tier of migration. Furthermore, migrants will not be able to bring over family members, due to the short nature of visas.

Maximum visa length reduced from 12 months to six months. Same requirements will exist: can't take second job, no access to benefits.

Family union

This should remain relatively unchanged from the current system, apart from an end to family reunion under a student or educational visa.

Family of a settled person visa – To apply for this visa your family member has to be a British Citizen, have settled in the UK and have asylum or humanitarian protection in the UK. Under this visa, applicants can apply to join your partner, parent, come to look after your child or come to be looked after by your family. Must also have a good knowledge of English.

There are various fees depending on the situation and also will have to pay a health surcharge on top of this fee:

Joining your partner or parent: £956

Coming to look after your child: £956

Adult who needs to be looked after by a relative: £2,141

Dependents must be able to prove that they can sustain themselves for the duration of the visa. They can work, but have no access to public funds for themselves or other dependents until after five years. This policy will remove the right for family reunion under a student or educational visa and also there will be no housing provision.

Asylum

The UK should continue to abide by the international treaties on refuge and asylum. As a prosperous nation, we have a moral duty to continue to provide genuine refuge and asylum to those in most danger.

Asylum must be granted to those genuinely fleeing war zones, where their lives are in genuine danger.

In addition, the Humanitarian Protection Visa and the Vulnerable Persons Relocation Scheme should come under the Asylum category.

However, it is essential to make the system secure and avoid abuse. There needs to be more investment in our court services so they can effectively deal with the backlog of cases. Failed asylum seekers must be removed immediately, amendments to legislation that permits claimants to stay for family reasons or when crimes have been committed should be removed. Eventually, a better resourced system will allow those genuine asylum seekers to settle in the UK whilst eliminating cases where the system is being abused.



5. Conclusion

This document seeks to present an argument against current levels of mass migration and to present a positive, outward-looking and new migration policy for the United Kingdom post-Brexit.

Mass migration has put pressure on infrastructure, housing, public services and compressed wages of the low skilled. It's clear that the public want to see a reduction in migration levels. The Brexit vote was not explicitly about immigration, but it's undeniable that migration levels were an important part of the referendum debate.

When controlled at a sustainable level, immigration benefits and enriches our country. The arguments for pulling up the drawbridge and enacting a complete shutdown of migration are as flawed as the arguments for a complete open door. By leaving the European Union, there can now be a happy medium, in which the government has full control of inward migration but can set a level that benefits business, industry and society as a whole.

Brexit has given the UK government a golden opportunity to change the UK's immigration policy for the better. As members of the European Union, we essentially outsourced our immigration policy to the EU. With the UK on a path to leaving the European Union, the government not only has the domestic power to reduce immigration, but has the moral responsibility to make significant changes in line with public opinion.

Under a bespoke British working visa system, we will have a immigration policy which is fit for 21st century Britain. It will be a system that reflects public demand for reducing overall numbers and a system that enhances our economic prosperity going forward.

This system will not only give the government ultimate control, but also ultimate flexibility to tweak and change as it sees fit year on year. At its heart, this system is fair and ethical. It doesn't treat citizens of some countries differently to others. It reflects who we are as a nation - outward-looking, forward-thinking and open minded.

As the immigration debate continues, we always must remember to treat each other with the upmost respect. The conduct of the debate in the corridors of Westminster should set the standard for the debate on the street corner or in the pub. As politicians, we have a responsibility to have an honest but responsible debate on immigration.

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