

Praise for *Libraries and Sanctuary*

‘The first book in a very welcome new series from Facet Publishing, *Libraries and Social Justice*, John Vincent’s volume is a timely reminder, sadly, of the essential contribution libraries have made – and must continue to make – in supporting refugees and other new arrivals.

Commendably accessible and well-researched, it outlines the recent debates around new arrivals, challenging some of the language used to describe these people, and gives historical and contemporary context for the reasons why people may become displaced and the multiple barriers that new arrivals face. Whilst the author gives us an overview of what libraries have done in the last seventy years to practically address the needs of new arrivals, as well as highlighting the academic research that has often informed this work, this book is ultimately a very readable and practical guide for library staff to consider their own service development – right now – for all new arrivals, offering useful examples and case studies from the UK and elsewhere.’

Dave Percival, Library and Archive Services Manager, Portsmouth

‘The Libraries of Sanctuary movement simply would not have been possible without John. His in-depth knowledge of libraries and how they can be a place of welcome and solidarity has been pivotal in setting up the Libraries of Sanctuary programme and supporting its growth into the flourishing network that it is today. If you want to know why libraries have to be at the centre of the movement of creating welcome for all, you need this book.’

Sian Summer-Rees, City of Sanctuary Chief Officer

‘Libraries are a vital part of our society, offering access to information and knowledge to everyone and a welcome to people newly arrived in the country, signposting them to national and local services, and hosting them to meet and share their experiences with others. Yet libraries are often regarded as “easy targets” for cuts and closures, disregarding the enormous positive impact they have on people’s lives.

This important new book explores some of the historical background and shows both how society has responded to new arrivals to this country and how libraries have developed their provision to meet changing needs, often in difficult circumstances.

We need more libraries, not fewer!’

Peter Tatchell, Peter Tatchell Foundation

Libraries and Sanctuary

Libraries and Social Justice

Series Editor: John Vincent

Independent writer, researcher and trainer on libraries, museums and archives

Social justice can be defined as including the equality of access to resources, equity, participation, diversity and human rights. It is a direct response to historical and contemporary challenges in communities and in society, and is a topic which garners much passion and discussion. Where the latter is frequently lacking, however, is in libraries where we are all meant to feel welcome. Libraries serve the community but in order to do so properly, they must support and represent everyone, whether that be people seeking sanctuary, people who identify as LGBTQ+, young people in care, those living in poverty and/or with mental health issues, as just a few examples.

This pioneering series examines how areas of social justice are dealt with by all types of library and information service, with the purpose of making this information easily accessible to all those interested. Consisting of practical and digestible guides, the series will become an important reference for people wishing to explore, read around or start in a particular area of work. In addition to practical advice, topics are provided a historical and political context, together with case studies to ensure that the *Libraries and Social Justice* series encourages good practice across the library and information sectors.

The Editor welcomes submissions from practitioners and scholars from across the information sector, including librarianship, archives, recordkeeping, classification, knowledge management and beyond.

Libraries and Sanctuary

Supporting Refugees and Other New Arrivals

John Vincent

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About the Author

John Vincent has worked in the public sector since the 1960s, primarily for Hertfordshire, Lambeth and Enfield public library services, including as a young people's librarian and senior manager.

In 1997, he was invited to become part of the team that produced the UK's first review of public libraries and social exclusion, from which 'The Network – tackling social exclusion in libraries, museums, archives and galleries' originated and which he now coordinates. As part of this, John runs courses and lectures, writes, produces regular newsletters and e-bulletins, and lobbies for greater awareness of the role that libraries, archives, museums, and the cultural and heritage sector play in contributing to social justice.

John is particularly interested in supporting work with people seeking sanctuary and other 'new arrivals' to the UK; with young people in care, and with LGBTQ+ people. This has involved participating in the Welcome To Your Library project (2004–7); working with Libraries Connected West Midlands and partners to produce the *Libraries of Sanctuary Resource Pack* (2021); developing the 'Access to Books and Reading Projects for Young People in Public Care: the librarians' training kit' project (2004); and co-chairing the CILIP LGBTQ+ Network Steering Group. He is also currently the Chair of the CILIP Benevolent Fund.

John is co-author of *Public Libraries and Social Justice* (2010), and author of *LGBT People and the UK Cultural Sector* (2014). In 2018, his report *Libraries Welcome Everyone: six stories of diversity and inclusion from libraries in England* was published by Arts Council England.

In 2014, John was awarded the CILIP CDEG Special Diversity Award, and in September 2014, became an Honorary Fellow of CILIP.

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Finally, my thanks to Pete Baker at Facet Publishing, whose support and encouragement – and unflappability! – throughout this process has been immense.

Abbreviations

ACET	Adult Continuing Education and Training
AGM	annual general meeting
ARAP	Afghan Relocations and Assistance Policy
BME	Black and Minority Ethnic
BTCDC	Barton and Tredworth Community Development Centre
CILIP	Chartered Institute of Librarians and Information Professionals (now CILIP: the Library and Information Association)
CILLA	Cooperative of Indic Language Library Authorities
CISSY	Campaign to Impede Sex Stereotyping in the Young
CLEAR	City Life Education and Action for Refugees
CTPSR	Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations
DCMS	Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport
DOTW	Doctors of The World
EAL	English as an Additional Language
EEA	European Economic Area
EHRC	Equality and Human Rights Commission
EIA	Equality Impact Assessment
EMAG	Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant
ESOL	English for Speakers of Other Languages
EU	European Union
EUSS	EU Settlement Scheme
FE	Further education
GARAS	Gloucestershire Association for Refugees and Asylum Seekers
GRT	Gypsy, Roma and Traveller
HMPS	Her Majesty's Prison Service
HSR	Hastings Supports Refugees
ICT	information and communications technology

IFLA	International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions
ILR	Indefinite Leave to Remain
JCWI	Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants
LAASLO	Local Authority Asylum Support Liaison Officer
LASER	London and South East Region library interlending bureau
LGBTQ+	lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer/questioning (with + equalling all the other people within this umbrella term)
LSEE	London School of Economics and Political Science Research on South Eastern Europe
MBC	metropolitan borough council
MEAS	Minority Ethnic Achievement Service
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
NGO	nongovernmental organisations
NHS	National Health Service
NRPF	no recourse to public funds
NUI	National University of Ireland
ONS	Office for National Statistics
PEP	Political and Economic Planning
PHF	Paul Hamlyn Foundation
PLA	public library authority
PSED	Public Sector Equality Duty
RCO	Refugee Community Organisation
RNLI	Royal National Lifeboat Institution
RTÉ	Raidió Teilifís Éireann
SCONUL	Society of College, National and University Libraries
SEALS	SElection, Acquisition and Loan System
SGBV	sexual and gender-based violence
SLS	Schools Library Service
SOGICA	Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Claims of Asylum
SWRLS	South Western Regional Library Service
TPL	Toronto Public Library
UKIP	United Kingdom Independence Party
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WTYL	Welcome To Your Library
YOI	Her Majesty's Young Offender Institution

Introduction

This book is the first in a new series from Facet Publishing, 'Libraries and Social Justice'. Books in this series are intended to be introductions to each topic, looking briefly at the background, then at how libraries have responded in the past and, particularly, at what provision libraries – of all types – are making now. They will be practical guides, the key idea being that you can take away ideas to develop your own service provision, find out more about the topic, and discover sources should you wish to read more widely.

This title, *Libraries and Sanctuary: Supporting Refugees and Other New Arrivals*, sadly, could not be more timely. As I write, the after-effects of the humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan are still very much with us, and war has broken out as Russia invades Ukraine, causing millions of people to flee their country.

How can libraries (and library and information workers) respond? This book intends to provide some practical starting points.

The book begins by looking at terminology (many of the terms we use have considerable 'baggage') and at the range of reasons why people may be forced to flee their countries. This includes people being forced to flee conflict and persecution; people migrating to avoid changing climates, environmental degradation and the lack of work, education and other opportunities; and people coming to the UK for other reasons. New arrivals to the UK can include people seeking sanctuary (refugees, asylum seekers); people coming to the UK to work; international students; people coming to the UK for family reunion/reunification; returning UK citizens; and 'irregular' migrants – there will be more on all these groups later, and, in looking at this, it introduces aspects of political responses in the UK.

One of the common factors shared by the people included in this book is that they have all faced hostility, possibly because of the colour of their skin, or their language, or their supposed behaviour – or because of some new prejudice, such as anti-Chinese, anti-east and southeast Asian feelings and

anti-Semitism in the wake of the coronavirus pandemic (see, for example: Parveen and Huynh, 2021; Qian, 2021; Dawson, 2021; Ng, 2021; Human Rights Watch, 2020; Detzler, 2020); and anti-Russian feelings following the invasion of Ukraine (Qureshi, 2022), what the Institute of Race Relations (and others) have called xenoracism (Fekete, 2001).

At the time of writing, there is renewed interest in terminology, particularly around the increasingly disliked term 'BAME' (Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic), and, interestingly, drawn from debates and a survey, Inc Arts (as part of their #BAMEOver campaign) have drafted A Statement for the UK which challenges a lot of shortcuts in describing people – and also suggest:

Too many words? Want an easy acronym? A simple collective term?

There isn't one. We choose not to be reduced to an inaccurate grouping.

But what we have in common is that we are . . .

'People who experience racism'. This term will require you to then articulate who you are referring to, and may, depending on context, refer to Western Asian people, Irish people, Jewish people and others whose oppression is not captured by current terminology. Please use with awareness the phrase 'people who experience racism', and don't make it an acronym ever.

(Inc Arts, 2020, 3–4)

So, 'people who experience racism' is an additional term that I will use to describe whom we are talking about in this book.

It is clear that there is no easy term that encompasses all this. Having looked at terms used by other organisations, I have opted for 'global migration and mobility' as my overall description, with more specific terms as required – shorthand to 'new arrivals'.

Chapter 2 then looks at the UK's responses to new arrivals from the 1950s onwards: has the UK always provided a welcome? And what effect has our past had on our responses today? This chapter highlights some particularly significant issues (such as the tension between welcome and hostility), institutional racism, the idea of the 'hostile environment', the Windrush scandal, and the impact of Brexit, before summarising what the position in the UK is today.

Chapter 3 asks 'What does any of this have to do with libraries?'. At a formal level, it includes policy responses, but also has personal accounts from three library workers, setting out the impact on their lives and work of being 'new arrivals' at some points in their lives.

Chapter 4 outlines the historical response from libraries, starting with an introduction to libraries' relationship with the idea of sanctuary, primarily since the 19th century, and then focusing on library initiatives since the 1940s,

looking briefly at some of the work around welcoming new arrivals in the 1960s and 1970s, and highlighting significant pieces of work from the 1980s until now.

Chapter 5 outlines the barriers there are to the take-up of library services by new arrivals and begins to set out ways in which we can start to dismantle these.

Chapter 6 then looks at what libraries are doing today. This is set within the context of the Libraries of Sanctuary's key components, summarised as Learn, Embed and Share – these are used to shape this chapter. This is full of practical examples and case studies, very much the heart of the book.

Chapter 7 looks at what we can learn from elsewhere, drawing particularly on academic libraries' 'Project Welcome'; the ECHO Mobile Library; and work at Toronto Public Library.

Chapter 8 tries to draw conclusions from all this and looks at some ways forward.

This is supported by a number of appendices, including the main countries of origin of people seeking asylum; a note on immigration status; a note on funding (mainly historical, but with strong reminders of what we can learn from the past); a brief look at the supply of library materials (again mostly historical); a suggested training course outline; some sources of information about new arrivals locally and regionally; a note on effective communications; and an outline of what 'community cohesion' is and where the term came from.

From my experience of having written about, discussed and run courses on migration for many years, it is also clear that some people – and some people in libraries – are just not aware of the realities of life for people who have experienced global migration and mobility, who are seeking sanctuary in the UK and/or who have experienced racism. I will discuss this later, particularly in the section of the book that looks at the current migration position in the UK.

Finally, throughout the book, I have referred to 'library staff' – by that I mean all people involved with libraries, including paid staff at all levels and volunteers.

Definitions and Scope of the Book: When We Talk About 'Refugees and Other New Arrivals', Who Exactly Do We Mean?

Introduction

At the time of writing, much of the world is acknowledging (again) just what a grip racism (and political populism) have, and so it is also timely to confront a major issue around migration to the UK: are there some people who seem to be welcome and some who are not? Is this based solely on skin colour, or is there more to it? And does this level of welcome fluctuate?

Writers have acknowledged the perception that some people are seen as 'Good Immigrants' (i.e. those who seem to fit in) (see, for example: Hirsch, 2018; Shukla, 2017) – what makes some new arrivals 'good' and others not? New arrivals from Hong Kong are an example.¹ As journalist Jeevan Vasagar argues, the view of them is partly based on stereotypes:

Immigration has always been a contentious issue in Britain. So why, as the UK opens a path to citizenship for millions of Hong Kong residents, is it different this time?

Hong Kong Chinese are seen as a model minority, successors to the status of Ugandan Asians: a 'thrifty', 'entrepreneurial' and 'family-oriented' community who will skimp to send their children to private schools and boost Britain's economic fortunes, while quietly demonstrating that other ethnic minorities could be equally successful if they worked a little harder.

(Vasagar, 2021)

We have seen this even more clearly with the welcome offered by the UK – albeit haphazardly – to people fleeing Ukraine, yet people seeking sanctuary from other countries are not provided with the same level of support (see for example Sajjad, 2022).

In addition, the perception of refugees is often very limited and/or stereotyped: ‘... everything made about refugees is by someone else and they are represented in offensive ways. Either refugees are criminals or saints. There is no mention of the challenges people go through, things aren’t black and white.’ (Mračević, 2020)

Refugees and other new arrivals – seeking sanctuary

Introduction

People have migrated – for a variety of reasons – ever since the development of the earliest societies. However, the concept of ‘asylum’ (helping people to seek refuge and offering them protection) developed more recently, originally as a religious obligation, but later taken on by nation states (Wikipedia, 2021c; Lock, 2020; Asylum Insight, 2016).

Historical background

After the end of World War 1 (1914–18):

... the international community steadily assembled a set of guidelines, laws and conventions to ensure the adequate treatment of refugees and protect their human rights. The process began under the League of Nations in 1921.

(United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2011, 1)

There were further efforts to clarify the position of people fleeing for their lives after World War 2:

In July 1951, a diplomatic conference in Geneva adopted the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (‘1951 Convention’), which was later amended by the 1967 Protocol. These documents clearly spell out who is a refugee and the kind of legal protection, other assistance and social rights a refugee is entitled to receive. It also defines a refugee’s obligations to host countries and specifies certain categories of people, such as war criminals, who do not qualify for refugee status. Initially, the 1951 Convention was more or less limited to protecting European refugees in the aftermath of World War II, but the 1967 Protocol expanded its scope as the problem of displacement spread around the world.

(United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2011, 1)

Current position

At the present time, around the world, more people than ever are being forced to flee to seek safety and sanctuary elsewhere.

Many of these people would be covered by the formal United Nations Convention definition of a refugee – a person who has ‘. . . a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion . . .’ (Refugee Council, 2020).

However, there are also people seeking safety and sanctuary for other reasons, including:

- changing climates and environmental degradation
- lack of work, education and other opportunities
- their sexuality and/or gender identity.

Terminology – and the problems with binary definitions

City of Sanctuary² recommend using the term ‘people seeking sanctuary’ rather than defining people by their immigration status. This is a positive, useful point; however, to understand more about what people in different categories face, we are going to look here at the terms and how they define people’s status, as this has an impact on what services they require and how able they are to access them, as well as some of the attitudes taken towards them.

This issue is explored further in Rebecca Hamlin’s book, *Crossing* (Hamlin, 2021), in which she argues that we often oversimplify things by using binary divisions, for example (in relation to border crossing) safe/dangerous, planned/spontaneous, desirable/threatening, legal/illegal, deserving/undeserving, genuine/fraudulent, citizen/alien . . . and migrant/refugee:

If we look closely at migration, we see that people with multiple and various motivations use the same routes and defy categorization at every turn. To be sure, some border crossers are totally forced and some are purely voluntary, some are solely economically motivated and some are exclusively politically motivated, some may be morally deserving of assistance and some may not be. But these distinctions fall along continua and elude clear-cut binaries.

(Hamlin, 2021, 3)

Rebecca Hamlin argues that this leads to making false assumptions, and she highlights three:

Refugees and migrants have distinct and distinguishable motivations for crossing borders (p. 9)

Refugees are the neediest among the world's border crossers (p. 13)

True refugees are rare (p. 16)

These oversimplifications in turn lead to further issues – as an example:

So, people who cross borders to save themselves from starvation, for example, are sometimes labeled 'survival migrants' to whom very little is owed . . . (p. 4)

Here, Rebecca Hamlin has drawn on work by political scientist Alexander Betts, who has questioned the existing definitions:

In the context of the changing nature of forced displacement, who should have an entitlement to cross an international border and seek asylum? Given that the refugee regime was a product of its time and mainly provides protection to only a narrow group of people fleeing targeted persecution, how can we conceptualize the broader category of people who today cross an international border and are in need of protection because of serious human rights deprivations? If 'refugee' is a legal-institutional category defined by state practice, how can we stand apart from that and render visible the situation of the many millions of people crossing borders in failed and fragile states such as Zimbabwe, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Somalia, people who are often in desperate need of protection and yet frequently fall outside the refugee framework? Should these people also be entitled to asylum?

(Betts, 2013, 10)

Because of these wider issues (environmental change; food insecurity; state fragility), Alexander Betts has argued that we need a new term, 'survival migration':

This book therefore chooses to adopt a new term for the broader category of people who should have a normative entitlement to asylum based on human rights grounds. It does so in order to render visible a population that is not currently recognized as refugees within the dominant interpretation of a refugee in international law, and yet are outside their country of origin because of a very serious threshold of human rights deprivations.

(Betts, 2013, 22)

Other writers have also questioned the logic of having a binary approach, for example HOPE not Hate's Joe Mulhall:

The reasons that people make the journey are extremely complex.

Overwhelmingly, though, the primary ‘push factors’ are conflict and economic migration. The latter is often greeted with scepticism in Europe, framing these migrant stories as a simple economic ‘choice’, yet the truth is usually more complicated, as Jusselme from the [UN’s International Organisation for Migration] explains: ‘It is indeed a choice, but within your economic migration, what part is a choice and what part is you being forced to actually move?’

(Mulhall, 2021, 256)

At the same time, it is vital that the political background to migration is not lost (or hidden), otherwise the result may be a depoliticised narrative (Sergi, 2021). In a piece written in February 2022, researcher Seb Rumsby argued that migration was a result of global inequality:

So if we really want to reduce migration, we must treat it as an inevitable by-product of inequality and address the root causes – instead of simply blaming smugglers or washing our hands of the migrants’ plight.

(Rumsby, 2022)

It is worth beginning by also briefly considering ‘sanctuary’. ‘Sanctuary is struggle’ is how Alison Phipps³ powerfully described it in her keynote presentation (Phipps, 2020) on the first day of the Universities of Sanctuary Conference 2020 – she went on to talk about sanctuary being both inside ourselves (finding a place of safety) and within our institutions (which may be a struggle to find). If anyone had a view that sanctuary is somehow cosy, this talk changed minds.⁴

The next section of this chapter looks at some of the key definitions.

Refugees and asylum seekers

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, a refugee is:

A person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his [*sic*] nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself [*sic*] of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his [*sic*] former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.

(Refugee Council, 2020)⁵

A person seeking asylum is:

A person who has left their country of origin and formally applied for asylum in another country but whose application has not yet been concluded.

(Refugee Council, 2020)

However, in the UK:

... a person becomes a refugee when government agrees that an individual who has applied for asylum meets the definition in the Refugee Convention[:] they will 'recognise' that person as a refugee and issue them with refugee status documentation. Usually refugees in the UK are given five years' leave to remain as a refugee. They must then must apply for further leave, although their status as a refugee is not limited to five years.

(Refugee Council, 2020)

At the time of writing, there is continued discussion around accepting people seeking asylum in the UK; as Refugee Action emphasises:

The right to seek asylum is a legal right we all share. It isn't illegal to seek asylum, because seeking asylum is a legal process. It also isn't illegal to be refused asylum – it just means you haven't been able to meet the very strict criteria to prove your need for protection as a refugee.

(Refugee Action, 2016)

However:

... there is no obligation on refugees to claim asylum in the first safe country they reach, although many in fact do. The UK receives a tiny number of refugees compared to other countries in the EU and beyond. There are multiple reasons why refugees might want to move on from refugee camps or travel to find family members or better prospects. If they do so, and would face a well founded fear of being persecuted in their home country, they are still refugees.

(Yeo, 2019)

There is information about the main countries from where people claim asylum in Appendix 1 and on the different levels of immigration status in Appendix 2.

Refugee resettlement programmes

Resettlement is the transfer of refugees from an asylum country to another State that has agreed to admit them and ultimately grant them permanent settlement.

(United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2020)

Unlike asylum seekers, who can apply for asylum only in the UK, resettled refugees are identified abroad by the UN, and then transferred to the UK.

(Walsh, 2021, 3)

In the period 1 January 2010 to 31 December 2020 some 29,500 refugees were resettled in the UK:

... 75% were citizens of Middle Eastern countries, and 18% were citizens of sub-Saharan African countries. Most were nationals of Syria: 68%.

(Walsh, 2021, 13)

However, the humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan from August 2021 onwards also meant that there were calls for a new resettlement route to be agreed for Afghans who have worked for British forces⁶ – even though the UK's record on taking Afghan refugees is variable, as Open Democracy claim that: 'The Home Office has rejected at least 76 Afghan nationals' requests for asylum in 2021 alone – including ten women and a girl' (Williams, 2021).

There has been considerable discussion about the terms under which Afghan refugees are able to enter the UK. According to BBC News coverage, the then Foreign Secretary, Dominic Raab, did not confirm how many Afghan refugees would be able to come to the UK but said the UK was 'a big-hearted nation' (Morton, 2021). However, this statement has been criticised, for example by journalist Amelia Gentleman, who said that:

This is not a picture which many Afghan asylum seekers in the UK will recognise. Over the past 20 years, the Home Office has gone to extreme lengths to return thousands back to the country which they had risked their lives to flee.

British officials have faced repeated criticism from international refugee organisations for the frequency with which young Afghan asylum seekers have been denied formal refugee status when they turn 18, despite having spent large parts of their childhood in the UK; many have subsequently been forcibly returned to the country they left years earlier.

(Gentleman, 2021b)

At the time of writing, changes to these lifelines for Afghan refugees were being made regularly: for example, in Dec 2021, further changes to immigration rules were announced, which:

... narrow the criteria for being accepted onto the ARAP scheme, and are retrospective. In other words, they apply to all decisions made after 16:00 on 14 December 2021. As a result, people who were advised by UK government officials (sometimes very highly placed) to make ARAP applications, and reassured that they should qualify, may not now be eligible – even if they have already lodged that application.

(Pinder, 2021)⁷

To conclude, here are the words of journalist Akhtar Mohammad Makoi:

I have made a career reporting on war, but what I always wanted to report on was peace. Peace is an emotional word for every Afghan; we have no sense of how it would actually look. It is in every Afghan's destiny to witness war. A deadly guarantee to every generation.

(Makoi, 2021)

Since February 2022, the conflict in Ukraine (after Russian forces invaded the country) has dominated the news. By the end of March 2022, some 4.1 million people have left Ukraine, and an estimated 6.5 million people have been displaced within the country (Wikipedia, 2022a). A similar situation with regard to people seeking sanctuary appears to exist, with, as *Guardian* journalist Simon Jenkins described it, the refugees encountering the hostile environment:

When the surge began Johnson won headlines by promising to let in 200,000 'eligible' Ukrainians. It turned out that 'eligible' meant only those with direct, immediate relatives, though even this didn't include the parents of anyone over 18. Only after an eruption in the House of Commons did Johnson make what he presented as a grand concession, to include grandparents. By the weekend it emerged that of 5,535 laboriously completed online applications, just 50 had been granted. More than 1000 have already entered the much smaller Republic of Ireland.

(Jenkins, 2022)