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**

Navigating Sanctuary, Symbolism, and the Welsh Language: The Stories of Women Resettling in Cymru/Wales

Submitted to Swansea University in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Sarah Tierney

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Crynodeb

Yn erbyn cefndir o rethreg a llunio polisi gelyniaethus, datganodd Llywodraeth Cymru ei bwriad i fod yn Genedl Noddfa, y gyntaf o'i bath y byd. Mae'r traethawd rhyngddisgyblaethol hwn yn tynnu ar fewnwelediadau ymchwil cyfranogol gan ymateb i'r datganiad am droi Cymru'n Genedl Noddfa. Mae'n mapio realiti ailsefydlu 17 o fenywod sy'n ceisio noddfa yn y wlad ac sydd wedi'u lleoli mewn ardal drefol yn y de-ddwyrain, ac mewn ardaleodd gwledig a threfol yng ngogledd Cymru (Cymru/Wales o hyn allan), gan gynnwys barn 3 o'u Gweithwyr Cymorth.

Mae'r traethawd ymchwil hwn yn ystyried storïau y menywod trwy brism iaith a hunaniaeth. Fodd bynnag, mae amrywiol ffactorau geo-wleidyddol a chymdeithasol (croestoriadol) yn llywodraethu realiti mewnfudo ac ailsefydlu gorfodol, yn enwedig mewn cyd-destun datganoledig ac ieithoedd lleiafrifol fel Cymru/Wales. Mae'r realiti cymhleth hwn yn gofyn am ddadansoddiad cymharol gymhleth. Felly, mae'n well deall y traethawd ymchwil hwn fel pedwar naratif cydgysylltiedig, y mae pob un ohonynt yn ffurfio, yn effeithio ar, ac yn newid gwead adsefydlu yng Nghymru. Y naratif cyntaf yw rheoli a llywodraethu ymfudo gorfodol goruwchgenedlaethol: yn enwedig felly hanes byd-eang y gofalu sy'n digwydd adeg ymfudo gorfodol, a'r berthynas rhwng datblygiadau cychwynnol y maes a dulliau ailsefydlu presennol yr UE, y DU a Chymru/Wales. Mae'r ail naratif yn archwilio'r lefel aml-genedlaethol ac yn dadansoddi'r broses o warantu dadleoli mewn trafodaethau cyhoeddus ac wrth lunio polisi, a defnyddiwyd ymateb rheoli ffiniau Ewropeaidd 2015, 'Brexit', a rhethreg yr Amgylchedd Gelyniaethus ('Hostile Environment' yn Saesneg) i enghreifftio'r honiad hwn. Mae'r trydydd naratif yn cymryd persbectif cenedlaethol, ac yn rhoi'r ffocws ar Gymru, gan ddadansoddi'r cysyniad o Gymreictod a'r iaith Gymraeg, gan gynnwys adroddiadau hanesyddol mewn perthynas â natur ymylol y Gymraeg. Wedi'i ddylanwadu'n sylweddol gan y ddadl gyfredol ar ieithoedd lleiafrifol, ond hefyd gan straeon y cyfranogwyr eu hunain, mae'r naratif hwn yn edrych ar Gymreictod o safbwynt dad-diriogaethol, gan herio dadleuon sy'n rhwymo lle wrth rai bobl ac wrth iaith benodol. Mae'r naratif olaf yn tynnu ynghyd ddadl y traethawd, gan dynnu ar ddamcaniaethau pŵer symbolaidd a'r wladwriaeth i archwilio profiadau ceisio noddfa yng Nghymru/Wales, gan godi cwestiynau ynglŷn â photensial symbolaidd ieithoedd lleiafrifol i hwyluso a chyfrannu at ddarpariaethau noddfa (Bourdieu, 1991). Gan ddefnyddio'r fframwaith cysyniadol a'r gronoleg hon, a chan gynnwys straeon y cyfranogwyr, mae'r traethawd ymchwil hwn yn canfod bod adsefydlu yng Nghymru, i rai cyfranogwyr, ond nid pawb, yn cael ei nodweddu gan elyniaeth i fewnfudo a cheisio lloches, yn enwedig y cysyniad o warantiad. Fodd bynnag, mae adsefydlu'n dod o hyd ymhellach i nodwedd symbolaidd unigryw (nad yw'n cael ei defnyddio ddigon) sy'n galluogi menywod sy'n ceisio lloches, mewn rhai achosion, i ddatblygu'r ymdeimlad fod ganddyn nhw rywbeth i'w gyfrannu ac mae'n hwyluso cysylltiad ag ardal yr adsefydlu. Y nodwedd honno yw'r iaith Gymraeg.

Er ei fod wedi'i ddylanwadu'n sylweddol gan leithyddiaeth Gymdeithasol, yn enwedig o ran y dull ymchwil cyfranogol ac ymgynghorol a fabwysiadwyd ar gyfer casglu data, mae'r traethawd hwn yn mabwysiadu ymagwedd agored a hyblyg at theori ac ymarfer. Mae'n tynnu ar gysyniadau sy'n gysylltiedig â Daearyddiaeth, Cysylltiadau Rhyngwladol, Hanes, ymhlith eraill, i ddarparu dadansoddiad cynhwysfawr a throsolwg o adsefydlu. Mae'r dull rhyngddisgyblaethol hwn yn galluogi gwell dealltwriaeth o sut mae prosesau llywodraethu, yn y gorffennol a'r presennol, yn enwedig yn lleol, yn genedlaethol ac yn rhyngwladol, yn

effeithio ar fywydau bob dydd a straeon pobl sy'n cael eu gorfodi i ffoi o'u cartrefi. Yn hollbwysig, fodd bynnag, mae'n amlygu cymhlethdod ailsefydlu yng Nghymru, y dylanwadau arno, yr hyn sydd ganddo i'w ddysgu i eraill, ei fethiannau hefyd, gan ddarparu fframwaith ar gyfer ymchwiliadau i Gymru/Wales yn y dyfodol, ei haddewid ynghylch darparu noddfa, a rôl yr iaith Gymraeg yn y ddarpariaeth honno yn y dyfodol. Wrth wneud hynny, mae'r traethawd ymchwil hwn yn dangos potensial Cymru/Wales i symud y tu hwnt i ddarparu noddfa symbolaidd, gan awgrymu dulliau posibl o sicrhau dyfodol adferol, croesawgar ar gyfer adsefydlu yng Nghymru (Edwards a Wisthaler, 2023).

Abstract

Against hostile rhetoric and policymaking, the Welsh Government set out to become the world's first Nation of Sanctuary. This interdisciplinary thesis draws on participatory research insights to respond to the Nation of Sanctuary declaration. It maps out the resettlement realities of 17 sanctuary-seeking women based in urban South-East and urban and rural North Cymru/Wales, including the views of 3 of their Support Workers.

This thesis considers the women's stories through the prism of language and identity. However, ranging (and intersecting) geopolitical and social factors govern the realities of forced migration and resettlement, particularly in a devolved, minority language context such as Cymru/Wales. This intricate reality necessitates a comparably intricate analysis. Hence, the thesis is best understood as four interconnected narratives, which each make up, affect, and alter the fabric of Welsh resettlement. The first narrative is supranational forced migration management and governance. Critically, global histories of forced migration protection, and connections between initial developments with present-day EU, UK, and Welsh approaches to resettlement. The second narrative explores the multi-national level and analyses the securitisation of displacement in public discourse and policymaking, with the 2015 European border control response, Brexit, and Hostile Environment rhetoric used to exemplify this claim. The third narrative takes a national perspective, and looks inward at Cymru/Wales, analysing the concept of Welshness and the Welsh language, including historical accounts of Welsh language peripheralisation. Influenced significantly by current minority language debate, but also the participant's stories, this narrative presents Welshness from a de-territorialised perspective, challenging ascriptions which bind place to certain people and to specific languages. The final narrative connects the thesis debate, drawing on theories of symbolic power and the state to explore sanctuary-seeking experiences in Cymru/Wales, raising queries regarding the symbolic potential of minority languages to facilitate and contribute to sanctuary provisions (Bourdieu, 1991). Utilising this conceptual framework and chronology, including the participants' stories, this thesis finds resettlement in Cymru/Wales, for some but not all participants, to be characterised by immigration and asylum hostility, not least securitisation. However, it further finds a unique (and underutilised) symbolic entity which enables sanctuary seeking women, in some instances, to mobilise capital and facilitate connection to their resettlement context. Namely, the Welsh language.

While influenced significantly by Sociolinguistics, particularly regarding the participatory and consultative research approach adopted for data collection, this thesis takes an unbounded approach to theory and practice. It draws on concepts associated with Geography, International Relations, History, among others, to provide a comprehensive

analysis and overview of resettlement. This interdisciplinary approach enables a greater understanding of how governance, past and present, not least national, multinational and supranational, affects the everyday lives and stories of people forced to flee their homes. Importantly, however, it further highlights the complexity of Welsh resettlement, its influences, insights, and oversights, providing a framework for future investigations of Cymru/Wales, its Sanctuary pledge, and the role of the Welsh language in future sanctuary provisions. In so doing, this thesis demonstrates the potential of Cymru/Wales to move beyond providing symbolic sanctuary, hinting at potential approaches to restorative, welcoming futures in Welsh resettlement (Edwards and Wisthaler, 2023).

Declaration and Statement

DECLARATION

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Signed

Date .....30 May 2024.....

STATEMENT 1

This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Where correction services have been used, the extent and nature of the correction is clearly marked in a footnote(s).

Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.

Signed ...

Date .....30 May 2024.....

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I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for electronic sharing after expiry of a bar on access approved by the Swansea University.

Signed ...

Date .....30 May 2024.....

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List of Acronyms

United Nations Human Rights Council	UNHRC
United Nations High Commission for Refugees	UNHCR
United Nations	UN
World War II	WWII
The Nation of Sanctuary: Refugee and Asylum-Seeker Plan	NoS
The European Union	EU
The European Asylum Support Office	EASO
Non-Governmental Organisation(s)	NGO(s)
Welsh Strategic Migration Partnership	WSMP
Syrian Vulnerable Person Resettlement Scheme	SVPRS

List of Conferences

The premise of this thesis, including theoretical approaches, contextual chapters, and participant stories, have been presented at the following conferences:

Conference	Topics	Form	Date
WISERD 2023 Annual Conference, Bangor University	Full PhD premise (all chapters, including data)	Presentation	June, 2023
Dysgu Cymraeg, Cardiff University	Theoretical premise and data	Presentation	May, 2023
Seminarau Ymchwil y Gymraeg, Prifysgol Abertawe, Swansea University	**Contextual Chapter 1** Hostile Environment timeline (2012-present) **Literature Review 2:** Symbolic Power **Methodology** Full premise **Data** North Wales based data. **Conclusion** Symbolic potential of the Welsh language; devolved/centralised power nexus (symbolic power premise).	Presentation	May, 2023
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences Postgraduate Conference, Swansea University	**Contextual Chapter 1** Hostile Environment timeline (2012-present) **Literature Review 2:** Symbolic Power **Methodology** Full premise **Data** North Wales based data. **Conclusion** Symbolic potential of the Welsh language; devolved/centralised power nexus (symbolic power premise).	Presentation	May, 2023
New Perspectives on Migration: Early Career Researcher and PGR Symposium (WISERD)	**Contextual Chapter 1** Post WWII framework, Refugee Convention and State Sovereignty, post war and postcolonial induced displacement; **Contextual Chapter 2:** Securitisation of forced migration; Brexit, Hostile Environment (timeline); 2015 European Border Control	Presentation	January, 2022

	Response; 'Schengen as a global apartheid system' (Holzberg, 2019); Nation of Sanctuary; Wellbeing for Future Generations Act (2015); Race Equality Action Plan (2021) **Methodology** Full premise		
Arts and Humanities Postgraduate Research Conference, Swansea University	**Contextual Chapter 1** Post WWII framework, Refugee Convention and State sovereignty, post war and postcolonial induced displacement; **Contextual Chapter 2:** Securitisation of forced migration; Brexit Hostile Environment; 2015 European Border Control Response; Possession Paradox; Nation of Sanctuary. **Methodology** Full premise	Presentation	July, 2021
Language Policy and Planning Conference, McGill University	**Contextual Chapter 1** Post WWII framework, Refugee Convention and State sovereignty, post war and postcolonial induced displacement; **Contextual Chapter 2:** Securitisation of forced migration; Brexit Hostile Environment; 2015 European Border Control Response; Nation of Sanctuary. **Methodology** Full premise	Presentation	July, 2021
WISERD PhD Poster Competition	**Contextual Chapters 1:** State Sovereignty and refugee categorisation **Contextual Chapter 2:** Brexit, Hostile Environment, Nation of Sanctuary Securitisation theory, **Methodology:** Full premise **Literature Review 2:**	PhD Poster	June, 2021

	Language, power and forced migratory categorisation		
The Centre for Welsh Politics and Society (CWPS) Postgraduate Conference, Aberystwyth University	**Contextual Chapters 1:** 2015 European Border Control Response. **Contextual Chapters 2:** Brexit, Hostile Environment and Covid-19 and Nation of Sanctuary Plan.	Presentation	January, 2021

Glossary of Key Terms

Cymru/Wales	Throughout this thesis, place names in Cymru/Wales will appear either in a bilingual format or, if appropriate, in the Welsh language form only (see page 28 for elaboration).
EURODAC	Eurodac is a database for the EU's asylum fingerprints. The database contains the fingerprints of all people applying for asylum in each EU Member State, as well as people apprehended for irregular border crossing to the EU. An aim of EURODAC is to ensure compliance with the Dublin Regulation: to determine which EU member state is responsible for examining an asylum application. As of 1st of January, 2021, the UK no longer has access to EURODAC.
Frontex	Frontex is the European Border and Coast Guard Agency. It works with EU Member States and Schengen-associated countries with the management and guarding of the EU's external borders.
Hostile Environment	First mentioned in 2012, the hostile environment refers to sets of policy measures, acts, laws, and legislative principles with the aim of making life as difficult as possible for people living in the UK without the necessary documentation, in the hope that they will voluntarily leave.
International Human Rights Law (IHRL)	IHRL is an aspect of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). It lays down obligations which states are bound to adhere, regarding the "basic civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights that all human beings" are entitled to receive from and within a state (OHRC, 2021).
No Recourse to Public Funds	A person has no recourse to public funds when they are subject to immigration control (defined in section 115 of the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999). This results in a person not being able to claim public funds, such as benefits and housing assistance.
Possession paradox	Possession paradox refers to the theory that people forced to migrate are unable to claim rights bestowed by IHRL and the Convention, despite being entitled to them, due to two principal factors. First, at the time of their asylum application, people forced to migrate present as individuals without state membership. Second, the ability of the person who is forced to migrate to then claim rights is

	dependent on the state they have presented to granting them, since rights, although universal, are tied to state membership and state enactment.
Protocol (1967)	The Protocol was an amendment to the Refugee Convention (1951), removing the temporal and geographical limits of refugee status application.
Refugee/Geneva Convention	The Refugee or Geneva Convention is a set of legal documents which define the status of a refugee. They further outline the obligation of states to protect refugees. 149 states are party to the Refugee Convention, including the UK.
Right to Family and Private Life	Article 8 of the Human Rights Act outlines a person's right to a private life, a family life, a home, and correspondence (letters, telephone calls and emails, for example) without Government interference.
State Sovereignty	State sovereignty refers to a state's entitlement to exclusive jurisdiction over its territory. It implies that states can "decide who among non-citizens shall be allowed to enter and remain" (Goodwin-Gill, 2014:37). According to El-Enany (2021), state sovereignty is a higher order than those it subjugates in order to categorise and control membership and allegiance.
United Nations High Commission for Refugees	The UNHCR is a globalised "organisation dedicated to saving lives, protecting rights and building a better future for refugees, forcible displaced communities and stateless people" (UNHCR, 2021)
Universal Declaration of Human Right	This document was drafted on 10 December 1948. It was established as a "standard of achievement for all peoples and nations", noting the "basic civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights that all human beings should be able to access in states" (OHRC, 2021)
Windrush Scandal	Windrush was a political controversy, which emerged in 2018. It related to Commonwealth citizens (born British citizens) who were wrongly affected by the UK Government's 'Hostile Environment' legislation. In some instances, people affected by Windrush scandal were detained, denied legal rights, and deported from the UK by the Home Office. This occurred due to the Home Office destroying thousands of landing cards and other records, resulting in people lacking the required documentation to prove their right, as British Citizens, to remain in the UK.

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First and foremost, I would like to thank all the women who participated in this thesis, who generously gave me their time to share their stories. Without their invaluable insights and contributions, it would not have been possible to complete this thesis. I learnt so much from each participant, and their stories, both documented as part of this thesis, as well as the experiences not included, will remain with me for the rest of my life. I hope I have shared, framed, and analysed their accounts just and true to their experiences.

I also owe a great deal of thanks to the organisations, communities, and individuals I connected with to conduct this research, especially the Support Workers who contributed their thoughts and experiences to this thesis. Through their connections and support of people seeking sanctuary, I was able to get to know potential participants and pursue this research. I am therefore very thankful for this opportunity, and for the hard work of individuals in supporting and facilitating sanctuary. I hope to stay in touch with these individuals and communities as they continue their incredible work throughout Cymru/Wales.

I am very thankful to my family and friends, for allowing me the time to talk through my ideas, findings, and reflections. Their support has been unwavering. I would also like to thank my colleagues and employer for supporting me to pursue this PhD. Without their support, I would not have been able to move to part-time working hours to pursue this project. I am very grateful for this opportunity, and to be able to continue working throughout the PhD process.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Aims and Objectives

This thesis brings to the fore the stories and experiences of 17 women with sanctuary seeking backgrounds (re)settling in communities throughout Cymru/Wales. Through the prism of language and identity, this thesis shares the women's stories, as well as the views of 3 of their support providers, to connect, differentiate, and present the realities of life in Cymru/Wales for women forced to migrate.

Investigations are focused on three regions: urban Casnewydd/Newport, urban and rural Gwynedd, and urban Wrecsam/Wrexham. Comparing the women's stories and intersecting experiences based on location aims to reveal whether the women's perceptions and experiences differ between the north and south, not least urban and rural contexts. This regional comparison offers further insight into understanding how (possible) local enactments and negotiations of (re)settlement in the different regions, particularly regarding interactions with the Welsh language, can bring, among many things, status, connection, or perhaps exclusion, in some cases.

These regions are significant. They differ, not only in their use of the Welsh language, but in the demographics of their populations, their political representation, their votes on Brexit, their sanctuary status and their official role in resettling people with sanctuary-seeking backgrounds (see Section 6.1 for regional specific information). Hence, this thesis seeks to reveal the similarities, contradictions, and unique experiences of women (re)settling or having settled in Cymru/Wales. To this end, this thesis provides insight toward answering the following questions:

i. How does the securitisation of forced migration in UK rhetoric and policymaking impact the language, identity, and experiences of women seeking sanctuary in Cymru/Wales, and how does the concept of symbolic power and the state support this analysis?

ii. How, and in what ways, do women from sanctuary-seeking backgrounds perceive and interact with Welsh and Welshness in the different regions of analysis, and how far do these understandings enact symbolic connection, differentiation, or exclusion?

iii. And finally, to what extent is the Welsh Government's Nation of Sanctuary addressing the full panoply of inequities faced by people forced to flee their homes, particularly women?

1.2 Research Rationale

The number of people forcibly displaced throughout the world is continuing to grow, and research engagement is following suit (see Section 2.1). However, in the context of Cymru/Wales, engagement is still in its early nascence. There is an emerging body of research, albeit small in scale, into the experiences of sanctuary seeking mothers and parents in the Welsh context (Shobiye & Parker, 2022; Prowlee, 2022); in the role of Cymru/Wales as both a Nation of Sanctuary and tolerant nation (Bernhardt, 2020; Guma et al., 2019; Edwards & Wisthaler, 2023); in sanctuary seekers' participation in Welsh language learning, and experiences of homemaking in Cymru/Wales (Higham, 2021; Higham, forthcoming; Parker, 2018).

However, most research to date focuses on urban south-east communities, particularly dispersal centres.[1] Northern and rural communities have received little to no engagement, despite their role in supporting resettlement under the 'all-Wales' approach to (re)settlement (Augustyniak & Higham, 2019; Woods, 2022).[2] Further still, narrations of Welsh and Welshness assume a relatively subsidiary position in current sanctuary debate, despite the potentiality of the Welsh language to be a powerful tool for social integration (Lewis, Higham & Chick, 2023). Similarly, the discursive practices and experiences of women from sanctuary seeking backgrounds as individuals (re)settling throughout Cymru/Wales, including their relationship with institutional and socio-political discourses, remains predominantly unexplored. The thesis, therefore, contributes insight to debate at a pivotal moment (see Section 1.7).

My decision to focus on women seeking sanctuary in Cymru/Wales aims to contribute knowledge to emerging debate, providing much needed data to positively inform Welsh policy and practice, especially concerning agentive gendered advocacy and care across Cymru/Wales for women with varied migration statuses and ascriptions. Women are,

[1] In response to the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act, dispersal centres refer to regions set up to resettlement sanctuary seekers in 2001 (see Section 3.3.4)

[2] The 'All-Wales' plan refers to the pledge of all 22 Local Authorities in Cymru/Wales to contribute to resettlement provision, further supporting the vison of Cymru/Wales as a Nation of Sanctuary (WSMP, 2023).

therefore, the focal point of this investigation, not because they circulate differently in the global economy to their male counterparts — often as spouses, daughters, mothers, and dependents of male migrants — but because women have, and continually are, present in migratory flows, with unique and intersectionalised experiences, despite their relative invisibility as agentive global citizens (Bailey, 2012). As the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) (2020) notes, women who seek refuge are likely to experience gendered violences prior, during and post the resettlement process. These violences range from a "lack of affordable childcare, safety (including domestic violence and harassment), social isolation, difficulties accessing female medical General Practitioners [...] gender discrimination in the labour market […] and racism" (UNHCR, 2020a:5-7; see Sections 3.1 and 5.3 for elaboration on women and forced migration).

Thus, while Welsh Government agendas, such as The Nation of Sanctuary – Refugee and Asylum Seeker Plan (2019), present the view that Cymru/Wales is a hospitable nation for people seeking sanctuary, some investigations indicate that public perception, not least the outcomes of policy outputs, contradicts this (Guma et al., 2019; Bernhardt, 2022). A recent report conducted by the Women's Equality Network Wales (2022) notes that the COVID-19 Pandemic in Cymru/Wales has uncovered stark and gendered inequities in Welsh society. As the report explains, "gender inequality cannot be compartmentalised and the little progress [Cymru/Wales] had made was fragile and not strongly embedded". Considering these realities, it felt imperative to explore the experiences, not least the "specific and unique […] protection needs" that women who have experienced forced migration require from and within resettlement communities, uncovering whether Cymru/Wales is, indeed, offering sanctuary (UNHCR, 2020:4).

1.3 Contextualising the Narrative: The Language-Identity Continuum

> "[There] is a difficulty (if not [an] impossibility) of understanding migration and mobility from a single disciplinary perspective".
>
> (Brettell & Hollfield, 2023: 9)

This thesis is underpinned by Sociolinguistic theories of language and identity, particularly the view that while identity is fluid and influx, it is configured, positioned, and influenced by power relations in society, including language (Bourdieu, 1989; 1991).

O'Rourke (2022:62), for example, highlights that it is impossible to fully understand the nature and dynamics of "human society" without contextualising and centralising the

"complex enveloping cocoon of language". Since language is often regarded as a means to present and convey identity, the importance of identity is similarity positioned. Identity is often cited as a central framework to understand connections and divergences between people and places, individuals, and groups, the local and global, and affiliations (or not) with place or the state (Bornman, 2004; Cadena-Camargo et al., 2020). In this regard, the language-identity continuum is considered key to studies of forced migration.

However, the conceptual expansion of identity, or, as Hall (1996:1) writes, its "veritable discursive explosion" to refer to all aspects of being, has led to a loss of meaning in some instances (Verkuyten et al., 2019). Brubaker and Cooper (2000), for example, note that the expansion of identity results in its conceptual inability to address the wealth of variation, fluctuation and revision which takes place throughout identity-making processes. As the authors write:

> "People everywhere […] always have had particular ties, self-understandings, stories, trajectories, histories, predicaments. And these inform the sorts of claims they make. To subsume such a pervasive particularity under the flat, undifferentiated rubric of 'identity', however, does nearly as much violence to its unruly and multifarious forms as would an attempt to subsume it under the universalist categories such as 'interest'" (2000: 34; cited in Jenkins, 2014:14-15).

To ensure the relevance and significance of identity is maintained, Verkuyten et al. (2019), in their analysis of identity in the context of immigration, highlight that identity work requires grounding in reality. In other words, for identity as a conceptual framework to bare meaning, particularly in contexts of forced migration, it is essential to define it, contextualise it, and apply it in real terms. The thesis, therefore, draws on concepts from Geography, History, and International Relations, among others, to frame the research perspective, presenting how language and identity, specifically in contexts of forced migration, are influenced significantly by external socio-political factors and power relations.

Hence, this thesis utilises and interweaves theories of securitisation with observations of power, language, and the state, to demonstrate how (potential) historical inequities in the nascence of forced migration protection, not least in terms of gender, have led to the securitisation and classification of sanctuary-seeking identities in Cymru/Wales. Not only this, but this thesis brings an additional variable to the discussion. It debates whether

(dis)parity in devolution and historical accounts of Welsh language peripheralisation in British polity and policy have rendered Welsh (language) identity (in)accessible.

However, this thesis questions this ascription, raising the possibility that processes of minoritisation have, instead, contributed to imagined narratives of symbolic connectivity and welcome. For example, as a recent Commission (2024:28) into the constitutional future of Cymru/Wales found, views of the substate expressed through the medium of Welsh are "almost entirely in favour of greater autonomy, often more in favour of the EU and likely to support policies that promoted societal goals (tackling poverty, minority rights, environmental measures)." This thesis, thus, seeks to uncover to what extent Cymru/Wales, especially Welsh-speaking Cymru/Wales, can and are fully providing sanctuary, given the constraints of prescribed identity politics.

1.4 Developing the Thesis: Motivation and Influences

Before proceeding with this thesis, it is essential to iterate that I do not have experiences of forced migration. Instead, I share an affiliation with the hosting context, Cymru/Wales. My interest in the experiences of people who are forced to migrate initially developed during my undergraduate degree. My undergraduate degree coincided with the 2015 European Border Control Response, with the UK's 2016 European Union referendum, and with multiple migration policy developments and restrictions (see Chapter 3 for discussion).

Momentum in my interests developed further in the final year of my degree. I volunteered in a centre supporting people forced to migrate in Calais, France, less than a year following the destruction of the so-called 'Calais Jungle'. Whilst at the centre, I researched with fellow volunteers for my undergraduate dissertation. The dissertation focussed on volunteer perceptions of the multilingual repertoires of people forced to migrate living, at the time, in Calais. My dissertation found that volunteers perceived people with 'good English', that is, speakers of a standard variety, as more likely to achieve a positive asylum outcome in the UK, compared with their multilingual or non-English speaking counterparts. At this point, I began to notice how borders extend beyond the physical, and are instead, multi-layered, complex, entrenched and enacted through everyday encounters. Without realising it then, I was already interested in the intersection of securitisation with sociolinguistics, but also, the importance of interdisciplinary perspectives when engaging in contexts of forced migration.

Forced migration was not my only area of interest at that time. I was also interested in the Welsh language, particularly Welsh identity, and language ideologies. Having learnt Welsh

and spent a significant amount of time in Cymru/Wales throughout my life, my interest in these topics were by no means new. Thus, on the one hand, I wrote and read about forced migratory experiences and language in contexts of border crossing. On the other hand, I looked inward at my local community, reading and writing about Cymru/Wales and Welshness. My interests in both fields became fine-tuned during my Masters.

In 2018, I began a Masters in an interdisciplinary linguistics programme. During this time, significant developments in UK immigration legislation were underway, especially following the publication of the Windrush Scandal. The Scandal and ensuing investigations in its wake, prompted me to look more deeply into the UK's immigration history, including potential inequities, injustices, and connections with colonialism. During this time, I also supported women to learn English in a refugee and asylum-seeking women and children's centre and gained experience working at an international development and humanitarian Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO). The women and children I met in the centres, as well as my professional experiences and studies, led me to broaden the scope of my research interests from migration in the context of Sociolinguistics to an interdisciplinary perspective of resettlement. One the one hand, these experiences led me toward exploring connections and divergences between English language learning and border control, particularly influenced by Wodak's (2011) co-location of language assessment procedures with state perceptions of immigration and asylum. On the other hand, however, they further remoulded my interests from a general interest in forced migration to a gendered perspective.

It was not long until my newer interest in forced migration and long-standing engagement in Cymru/Wales and Welshness collided. A panel discussion in 2018 — 'Cymraeg i Geiswyr Lloches a Ffoaduriaid' [Welsh for Asylum Seekers and Refugees] — initially connected my two interests. My now supervisor, Dr Gwennan Higham, spoke in this discussion about the possible benefits of learning Welsh for people resettling in Cymru/Wales. This discussion led me to write an essay for my Master's degree about the Welsh language ideologies and perceptions of Welsh identity among two people with refugee backgrounds living in north Cymru/Wales. The second occurrence, which became the tipping point of my interests, was the Welsh Government's implementation of the Nation of Sanctuary Plan in 2019. The plan engaged my interests due to its development against a backdrop of growing hostility in the UK towards myriad people with migration backgrounds. The publication of the plan further led me to question whether, and how, the Welsh Government were tackling the full panoply

of inequities produced and reproduced by hostile rhetoric toward people with a migratory background.

Following these occurrences, my interests refocused. I began to explore similarities and differences in policy and planning between Westminster (UK) and the Senedd (Cymru/Wales). These explorations looked at Welsh language ideologies and identities, while also engaging in sanctuary resettlement experiences. In the final part of my Master's degree, a new variable joined my interests. I participated, as part of my degree, in an exchange programme with a university in South America and worked as a research assistant in critical pedagogy and English language education in secondary schools. My undergraduate dissertation prompted my initial interest in ethical research methods. However, my research during this exchange solidified my appreciation of, not only ethical approaches to research, but in personalised, flexible, and creative participant led research activity. It is a combination of all these interests, creative and consensual methodologies, the stories of people forced to migrate, and Welshness, that have undoubtedly led me to pursue the approach to this project.

The starting point of this project began by identifying the divergences between the Welsh Government's Nation of Sanctuary Plan and the politics of the Hostile Environment. A central facet of this initial approach questioned the viability of Cymru/Wales' turn from UK hostility and its (possible) move to equitability. However, throughout these initial investigations, the impossibility of separating Cymru/Wales from centralised Governance and polity became clear. Critically, I realised that positioning the Senedd and Westminster in stark binary erases the realities, nuances, and contradictions of the resettlement experiences of people living in the UK with forced migratory experiences. In doing so, I uncovered that viewing Cymru/Wales as distinct from UK governance disregarded the limitations posed on the Nation of Sanctuary plan by Hostile Environment rhetoric. Not only this, but I realised a binary and distinct view leaves little room to acknowledge where and how the Nation of Sanctuary plan may fall short (c.f. Bevan Foundation, 2023).

Considering this, I sought to start from the beginning, mapping out the historical connections and tensions between Cymru/Wales and the UK against a backdrop of the nascence of forced migration management (post-WWII). Specifically, its intersection with colonialism and how these overlapping realities remain embedded within the blueprint of European society today, especially contemporary migration governance (c.f. Mayblin, 2017). This view, as chapter 2 and 3 further indicate, was influenced significantly by Dr Nadine El-Enany's work, 'Bordering Britain: Law, Race and Empire' (2020). Using these interests and experiences to

foreground the thesis, I then returned to Sociolinguistics, looking at theories of language and identity to present the experiences of people seeking sanctuary throughout Cymru/Wales, particularly women. The final influence, a consensual and creative methodology grounded in participant participation, culminated in the finalisation of the thesis agenda.

Throughout the three years conducting the PhD, numerous other factors altered the project's trajectory. For example, during second and final year of the PhD, I worked with a university Sanctuary programme. This role entailed supporting students and academics experiencing displacement to safely access work at study at university. It further entailed supervising research projects regarding the experiences of students with a forced migratory background in UK Higher Education. This role, and the research projects, without doubt, confirmed the importance of my approach to the thesis. The role further opened my eyes to understand how being able to access safe and legal routes to sanctuary, such as the Home for Ukraine Scheme (2022) or Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme (SVPRS, 2014), significantly impacts experiences of and within the resettlement context. In other words, then, this experience enabled me to observe the importance of safe and legal routes in supporting with sanctuary provisions. The role, in this way, demonstrated the paramount importance of providing a historical overview of forced migration protection regimes, not least acknowledging historical and social inequalities in forced migration governance (e.g. Chapters 2-3).

My role was not the only influence in my approach to the thesis. In March 2022, I took a 6-week pause in my PhD studies due to an unexpected close family bereavement. At the end of the 6-weeks, I began taking small steps to reintegrate myself into work. These steps included drawing illustrations of the participants. On the one hand, this was a form of procrastination, but on the other, visualising the women behind the data encouraged me to reconnect with the project. I then began incorporating the drawings in conference presentations alongside the participants' quotes and reflections. This method of data presentation was positively received. At the time of creating the illustrations, I did not intend to include them in the final project. However, I began seeing value in having a visual representation of what the person may look like alongside their stories, rather than a table of pseudonyms.

I realised this method made the data more accessible, enabling people unfamiliar with contexts of forced migration to observe and connect the women's experiences, through

visual clues, to real life contexts. This method further ensured the anonymity of the participants and adhered to the requests made by the organisations I worked with to keep exact data regarding individual participant nationality and route to resettlement confidential. The time I spent away from writing and creating these illustrations thus made me reflect on my practices as a researcher, encouraging me to take an alternative and more personal approach to the sharing of stories.

The final factor which influenced the outcome of the project was a recent publication by Dr Catrin Wyn Edwards and Dr Veronica Whisthaler: 'The power of symbolic sanctuary: insights from Wales on the limitations and potential of a regional approach to sanctuary' (2023). This paper made me reflect on my approach to connect migration governance between the Senedd and Westminster. The notion of symbolic power explored by Edwards and Wisthaler encouraged me to investigate this theory in depth, bringing in a sociolinguistic dimension to notions of symbolism and resettlement. The interdisciplinarity nature of this project, therefore enabled me to connect and adapt the notion of symbolic power to analyse the Welsh context. Critically, the women's accounts of the Welsh language. It is all of these experiences and influences combined, that resulted in the final shaping of this thesis.

1.5 Terminology: Sanctuary Seekers?

For Sajjad (2018:3), "there is a dizzying array of labels to describe those who cross an international border". Bloch and Dona (2018) bring an additional dimension to this suggestion. The authors share insights on the impact of using categories to understand "lived experiences [as] individuals do not fit neatly into bureaucratic boxes" (Bloch & Dona, 2018). However, what Sajjad and Bloch and Dona both appear to agree on, is that language use, and particularly the (social) categorisation of people forced to migrate, is continuously evolving (see Section 2.3 for in-depth discussions).

Exploration of people forced to migrate, consequently, requires considerable care. It is essential to ensure that the involuntarily nature of these migratory experiences are considered and recognised. Prowlee (2022), in her exploration of sanctuary seeking mothers in Cymru/Wales, brings an additional dimension to this discussion, carefully considering terminology differences between Cymru/Wales (Senedd) and the UK (Westminster). In line with Welsh Government proceedings, Prowlee refers to people forced to migrate in Cymru/Wales as 'sanctuary seekers', and when referring to the UK context (and elsewhere), she uses the term 'people forced to migrate'.

This thesis concurs with Prowlee's conscious language choices. However, a minor adaption has been made in consideration of Edwards and Wisthaler's (2023) remarks. As Edwards and Wisthaler note, although the term sanctuary seeker may hint to the Welsh Government's intention of "detoxifying the language used in relation to asylum" to align with its inclusive policy rhetoric, the use of 'person seeking sanctuary' or 'sanctuary seeker' as an umbrella term for migrants of various immigration statuses […] is somewhat misleading given that not all migrants in Wales have access to the same rights, protection and services." Critically, then, labelling (categorisation) is fraught with issues of power and control, subjugation, but also elevation. The context of Cymru/Wales is no exception.

This thesis, therefore, uses contextually bound terminology. This means that when referring to people who experience forced displacement, this thesis either uses the term 'people/person forced to migrate', or 'people/person with a forced migratory background'. The use of background, in most cases, seeks to illuminate how actions of forced migration — the immediate need for the movement of people across international borders — often reflects a moment in time in the resettlement process. When exploring resettlement data in Section 3.3.3-4, legal terminology is used to address differences and disparities in access to rights, protections, and services (e.g. refugee/asylum seeker). However, when specifically referring to the Welsh context, the term used is 'sanctuary seeker', or 'people/person with a sanctuary seeking background' is used. The implication of categorisation, consequently, requires significant scrutiny. Section 2.3 explores this in-depth.

1.6 Other Language Considerations

As the reader progresses throughout this thesis, it will become clear that place names, including the naming of Cymru/Wales, will appear either in a bilingual format or, if appropriate, in the Welsh language form only. This decision lies in accordance with placename recommendations made by the Welsh Language Commissioner. As the Commissioner notes:

> "If the difference between the Welsh form and the 'English' form consists of only one or two letters, the use of a single form is recommended, with preference being given to the Welsh form […]. However, recognised variations should be acknowledged (Caeriw/Carew, Biwmares/Beaumaris, Y Fflint/Flint, Wrecsam/Wrexham)" (Senedd Cymru/Welsh Parliament, 2021:3).

Accurately reflecting legislative bilingualism in Cymru/Wales, particularly Welsh language culture, heritage, and history through references to Welsh language place naming, aims to

acknowledge the increasing debate at the time of writing for the return of placenames to Welsh (ap Rhisiart, 2022; see Section 4.2). Hence, this decision seeks to provide a full and comprehensive illustration of resettlement realities in their broader, Welsh context.

Bilingualism, and if possible, the use of the Welsh language form for place names, further aligns with the recommendations made by the Wellbeing for Future Generations Act (2015).[3] One of the principal tenets of this Act, as Prys and Matthews (2022:403) note, outlines the importance of promoting a "vibrant Culture and thriving Welsh language" in Cymru/Wales (Future Generations, 2015). In their analysis of wellbeing and minority language engagement, Prys and Matthews (2022:401) further found that highlighting and adequately reflecting bilingualism further ensures "minority groups have opportunities to engage with their culture". Thus, the active use of Welsh language placenames throughout this thesis mirrors not only current debate, but key legislative goals in Cymru/Wales, with the primary aim of challenging "the monolingual image of life in the UK […]promot[ing] multilingualism and multiculturalism" instead (Lewis, et al., 2023).

1.7 A Note on Timings

The timeframe for conducting this thesis is significant. Over three-years, five separate UK Home Secretaries took up post, with numerous policies and legislations relating to immigration and asylum introduced (see Figure 3). In the last few weeks before submitting this thesis, new immigration and asylum legislation was passed — the Safety of Rwanda (Asylum and Immigration) Bill (2024) — and a general election called in the weeks following. This period also saw the outbreak of new and continued wars, conflicts, and instability throughout the world. For example, in 2021, political instability and continued conflict arose in Afghanistan (2021-present). 2022 saw the outbreak of the Russian-Ukraine war (2022-present), and 2023 saw humanitarian catastrophe unfold in Israel and Palestine (2023-present). Owing to significant increases in violence in Mali, Ethiopia, Myanmar and Ukraine, Vision of Humanity (2023) further marked 2022 as the "deadliest year for armed conflict since the 1994 Rwandan genocide, and the deadliest in the history of GPI [Global Peace Index]".

[3] The Wellbeing for Future Generations Act is significant to this thesis. This Act addresses the importance of improving social, cultural and environment wellbeing in Cymru/Wales. It requires public bodies in Cymru/Wales to "think about the long-term impact of their decisions, to work better with people, communities and each other to prevent persistent problems such as poverty, health inequalities and climate change." (Future Generations, 2015)

Alongside geo-political tensions, this thesis also occurred during and post the Covid-19 Pandemic. Irrespective of the pandemic, it is frequently noted that people forced to migrate, particularly women, are significantly and structurally disadvantaged in their host communities, particularly in the UK. The Runnymede Trust (2022) attributes this disadvantage to "an array of exclusionary, disciplinary, and racist [policy and planning] measures to make [life] as difficult as possible". Berg (2022) further disaggregates this perspective, implying that women who are forced to migrate are disadvantaged owning to educational attainment, language skills and gendered inequalities and violence. The impact of the Covid-19 pandemic for sanctuary seeking communities, therefore, coincides with many other challenges, disadvantages and inequalities that pre-dated the pandemic (Finlay et al., 2021; Cameron et al., 2021).

In fact, as many researchers document, the Covid-19 pandemic has, without doubt, exacerbated pre-existing inequities faced by communities and people forced to migrate. Turning to the impact of Covid-19 in the context of the UK, Crawley (2021:5) presents how Covid-19 was an "amplifier of existing inequalities", devastating people from forced migratory backgrounds, as they are "often the poorest and most disenfranchised of all migrants and their identities and needs for protection [are] both racialized and gendered". Referring to a lecture by António Guterres, Secretary-General to the United Nations (UN), Crawley explained that:

> "Covid-19 has been likened to an x-ray, revealing fractures in the fragile skeleton of the societies we have built. It is exposing fallacies and falsehoods everywhere: The lie that free markets can deliver healthcare for all; the fiction that unpaid care work is not work; the delusion that we live in a post-racist world; the myth that we are all in the same boat. Because while we are all floating on the same sea, it's clear that some are in superyachts while others are clinging to drifting debris" (Guterres 2020; cited in Crawley, 2021:4).

While the women's stories scarcely referred to the pandemic itself, their reflections address how socio-political systems in the context of the UK and Cymru/Wales impact resettlement. Thus, despite Covid-19 and geo-political tensions not being a central factor in the data, and perhaps then, not a significant element of the women's experiences *per se*, both act as a pervasive backdrop in the narrative of this thesis, influencing the data collection process and methods significantly.

The timing of this thesis also comes at a pivotal moment for Cymru/Wales. While conducting this thesis, an independent Commission into the constitutional future of Cymru/Wales was established (2022-2024). This Commission (2024) is significant. It represents a turn in Welsh Government perceptions of devolved-centralised governance. Prior to the Commission, the Welsh Government positively portrayed Welsh participation in UK unionism as "a voluntary association of nations taking the form of a multi-national state, whose members share and redistribute resources and risks amongst themselves to advance their common interests" (Welsh Government, 2019b).

Recent debate regarding the constitutional future of Cymru/Wales challenges this earlier assertion. The Welsh Government's Counsel General and Minister for the Constitution criticised, what they considered to be, the "UK Government's unilateral and destructive approach to devolution" (Antoniw, 2023). The Counsel General went as far as to suggest that the UK Government regularly breaches the Sewel Convention and "repeatedly pushed ahead with legislation in devolved areas without the consent of the Senedd". The Commission expands on these remarks, explaining that "[s]ince the referendum on the UK's membership of the EU, the Westminster Parliament and UK Government have overridden the conventions designed to protect devolution several times" (2024:11). Perhaps unsurprisingly, then, early evaluations by the Commissions reviewed the "viability, benefits and risks of the current devolution settlement, assessing whether there was indeed a problem which required constitutional reform to resolve" (2024:11). From the offset, the Commission concluded that there was both appetite and necessity for constitutional reform in Cymru/Wales and "continuing as we [Cymru/Wales] are is not a viable option because the powers of the devolved institutions are unstable, and vulnerable to being changed without the consent of the people of the Wales" (2024:11).

In the weeks before submitting this thesis, the Commission published its final review. Depending on the trajectory taken by the Welsh Government, the implication of the report, although unknown at the time of writing, is likely to have significant implications on life in Cymru/Wales. While the devolution of immigration and asylum is not proposed as a recommendation to protect the devolution model, the report nevertheless re-energises the politics of Welsh difference and persistence. Critically, then, its potentially positive affect on sanctuary-seeking communities should not be underestimated.

1.8 Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into 9 Chapters. This structure enables for the contextualisation and positioning of the research, demonstrating how the thesis contributes to discussions on sanctuary-seeking experiences in Cymru/Wales, especially gendered experiences. However, due to the complexity of interdisciplinary research, this structuring is also practical. It seeks to support the reader to decipher the impact and interrelation of small-scale and larger-scale factors governing resettlement realities. In this regard, the ensuing chapters are both stand-alone and interrelated.

Chapters 1 (current chapter) introduces the research. See Section 1.1 - Section 1.4.

Chapter 2 is the first of two contextualising chapters. Chapter 2 begins by providing an overview of contemporary global migration trends, briefly outlining the UK border regime and the Welsh Government's alternative response (2.1). The chapter then turns to reflecting on the establishment of forced migration protection following World War II and its implication for contemporary state approaches to resettlement (2.2). Finally, the chapter draws to a close by debating issues of language choice when discussing people forced to migrate (2.3). Particular attention is paid to the equitability of refugee status and migration categorisation, given the findings of the discussion in Section 2.2.

Chapter 3 is the second of the two contextualising chapters. It contributes and adds depth to discussions in Chapter 2, providing a thorough analysis of the forced migration policy context and response in Europe, the UK, and Cymru/Wales. This chapter begins by debating theories of securitisation, revealing how forced migrant protection regimes are influenced by discourses of security (3.1-3.1.2). It then turns to analysing the influence of the 2015 European border control response in accelerating current hostility in the UK border regime, not least the outcome of Brexit (3.2). Finally, it explores the contemporary UK border regime and response, before turning to analysing the Welsh context (3.3).

Chapters 2 and 3 purposefully avoid providing a traditional chronological account of protection regime development. Instead, the chapters seek to illustrate how approaches to forced migration, both in policy and public perception terms, are not linear but are instead haphazard, resulting in contemporary hostility and the securitisation of migration.

Chapter 4 begins the literature review. It debates socio-political and linguistic constructions of Welsh identity, paying particular attention to the extent to which Welsh-British relations

have resulted in the gatekeeping of Welsh identity and Welsh language ownership. In so doing, this literature review highlights the (possible) myriad experiences of women during (re)settlement in Cymru/Wales.

Chapter 5 continues and concludes the literature review. It draws on and adapts conceptualisation of symbolic power and the state to demonstrate the impact and interrelation of realities raised throughout Chapters 2-4. Critically, how global and national developments in forced migrant protection regimes, post-World War II to present, render forced migrant identity as a securitised entity. In so doing, this section addresses the structural and social implications of seeking sanctuary in Cymru/Wales, highlighting avenues of negotiation, contestation, and the potential to mobilise capital and facilitate connection. Central to this discussion is the role of the Welsh language in sanctuary provisions, particularly its impact on resettlement experiences.

Chapter 6 explains the methodological approach adopted for this research, as well as the chosen methods for data collection: Focus-Groups, Interviews, Photography, and Connection Circle activities. It further appraises the methodological model, exploring the ways in which the model seeks to equitably research with people forced to migrate. This chapter further introduces the participants, and explores the demographic data of the three locations - urban Casnewydd/Newport, urban and rural Gwynedd, and urban Wrecsam/Wrexham.

Chapter 7 is dedicated to data analysis. It explores the specific and unique experiences of the 17 women from forced migrant backgrounds living in Cymru/Wales, as well as the views of the professionals supporting them (1 Support Worker, 1 Support Volunteer and 1 Project Coordinator). The chapter begins by outlining the processes followed to explore the resettlement accounts of each participant. The chapter then reveals how and why the identified themes were selected for discussion, calling attention to data of relevance (add section link). Finally, the chapter then shares the four main identified themes, Communication, Community, Inequality and Gender, as well as the sub-themes emerging from each topic.

Chapter 8 explores the data presented in Chapter 7, discussing and contextualising the findings with reference to the main research questions, as well as previous empirical and theoretical studies regarding forced migrant-background resettlement and gendered resettlement experiences in urban and rural Cymru/Wales. This section further

contextualises the data with reference to policy developments of forced migration planning in Cymru/Wales and the UK more generally.

Chapter 9 concludes the research by summarising key findings. It reflects on the data and thesis' contribution to knowledge of urban and rural, not least gendered experiences, of forced migration in the Welsh context. In doing so, this section further appraises the research, highlighting the limitations of the study. Finally, this section considers areas in need of future research and critical engagement.

Contextual Chapter: Supranational

Chapter 2: A Background Story

'[...] having the door open doesn't mean everybody's going to come through the door [...]'

Support Worker, Joined Interview (July 2022) in Wrecsam/Wrexham

Overview

This chapter is the first of two contextual chapters. It outlines the interdisciplinary research perspective and theoretical positionality adopted and adapted throughout this thesis. It explores the nascence of forced migration protection regimes, as well as issues with legal and social categorisation, with the principal aim of revealing the (possible) impact of historical approaches to forced migration on present-day governance. This chapter, thus, acts as a backdrop to Chapter 3, which delves into the forced migration policy context in Europe, the UK and, more specifically, in Cymru/Wales.

This chapter begins by setting out the current status of global forced migration trends, including briefly outlining the UK's role and reception of people forced to migrate. This section then turns to introducing the Welsh context and its approach to immigration (an in-depth analysis of the UK and Welsh policy context can be found in Chapter 3). Following this, it explores the establishment of forced migration protection following World War II (henceforth, WWII). Theories from Refugee Law, Geography, and International Relations are applied to debate the legal and social contradictions incurred by the post-war European asylum regime, outlining its implication for present-day forced migration policy, social mobility, and asylum processes. It is almost impossible to discuss forced migration without direct reference to the post-WWII period. While this framework is employed in countless research projects about forced migration in Cymru/Wales and beyond, it remains fundamental to understand forced migration, particularly in a European and UK context. The gravity of its impact, and the impossibility of fully comprehending forced migration without reference to this period, necessitates considerable care and attention.

Finally, attention is paid to the impact of forced migration on identity, particularly gendered experiences of forced migration. Semantic considerations are further paid to people experiencing displacement. Critically, questions are raised regarding the equitability of the

legal categorisation of personhood, especially considering the themes debated throughout this chapter. This section, thus, turns to offering a Sociolinguistic analysis of forced migration categorisation, exploring how adopting a Sociolinguistic lens can be beneficial when exploring (possible) inequities in policy and planning.

The Glossary of Key Terms should be read alongside this Chapter. References to these key terms appear throughout each section.

2.1. Forced Migration: A Pressing Issue

Today marks the highest level of forced displacement in recorded history (Refugee Council, 2020). As the UNHCR (2023) reports, over 89.3 million people worldwide became displaced from their homes in 2021. Predictions for 2022 reveal further increases, estimating that 101.1 million people were subject to displacement (1 in 78 people). Reports further confirm that the vast majority (69%) of people forced to flee their homes originate from five countries: Afghanistan, Myanmar, South Sudan, Syria, and Venezuela (UNHCR, 2022a). Despite being a prominent topic of discussion in European politics, neighbouring countries – especially upper-middle income to low middle-income countries in the Global South – remain the primary hosts for most people seeking refuge (UNHCR 2022b; Eleftheriadou, 2018).

Owing to the eruption and continuation of wars, poverty, socio-political uncertainty, and climate change, among many other variables, forced displacement is on an upward trajectory. As far back as 2006, the Stern Report (cited in Gill et al., 2011) estimated that approximately 150-200 million people will be displaced by the middle of the twenty-first century. The UNHCR share this analysis, warning that:

> "If ongoing conflicts remain unresolved and the risks of new ones erupting are not reined in, one aspect that will define the twenty-first century will be the continuously growing numbers of people forced to flee and the increasingly dire options available to them" (UNHCR, 2022).

For many researchers exploring asylum contexts in the UK, "dire options" are a pertinent reality. Qureshi and Mort (2021), for example, describe the UK asylum regime as "two-tiered" and "discriminatory", while Shobiye and Parker (2022) suggest it is an abusive and corrosive system with gendered and racialised implications. El-Enany (2020), on a similar

note, attributes the UK asylum processes to the spoils of colonial categorisation and racial ordering. Thus, what the authors and reports all suggest, then, is a link in the UK between seeking refuge and systemic and structural violence.

However, refugees and asylum seekers make up just 0.6% of the UK's total resident population and claims for asylum are far less than in other high-income countries in Europe (The Migration Observatory, 2022). The UK Government has further outlined its intent to administer additional restrictions on immigration. The Conservative Government's (2019a) Manifesto denotes their leadership will "finally […] subject [immigration] to democratic control, allowing us [sic] to get overall numbers down" (The Conservatives, 2019b). In a more recent statement, a former Home Secretary for the UK explained that developments in immigration control has the overall aim of making it "easier for our friends to come to and contribute to the UK, but harder for those we do not want to come here" (Home Secretary, 2022). Alongside a stark curtailment of criteria for asylum claim eligibility, restrictions on those seeking sanctuary within the UK are increasing (see Chapter 3 for an in-depth discussion).

The hostile language and policies adopted regarding immigration and asylum by the UK Government are often contrary to the narratives set forth by the Welsh Government (Guma et al., 2019). Although the UK Government has exclusive jurisdiction over the Welsh border context, Cymru/Wales appears to present a vision of Wales as a hospitable nation – at least in areas of devolved power (Lewis, Higham & Chick, 2023). Following an emergency summit in response to the 2015 European Border Control response, Cymru/Wales committed to becoming the world's first Nation of Sanctuary. This commitment became formally outlined in the 2019 Nation of Sanctuary Plan, with further pledges made two months later by then First Minister Carwyn Jones, who officially announced the Welsh Government's aim of becoming a Feminist administration (Bernhardt, 2020). Yet, as Guma et al. (2019) point out, the Welsh Government's positive vision remains predominantly situated at a discursive level. In particular, the authors explain that, so far, the Welsh Government's agendas have failed to significantly impact the attitudes and ideologies of everyday people in Cymru/Wales, especially regarding anti-immigration sentiments, which, according to Guma et al. (2019), tend to reflect the general consensus throughout the UK.

Hence, to understand Welsh resettlement and sanctuary provisions, particularly connections and divergences between multi-national (UK) and national (Cymru/Wales) resettlement policies, practices, and perspectives, it is essential to briefly layout the current devolved-centralised power structure. As the Welsh Government, for example, noted, "the four

governments being in practice each exclusively responsible within their territories for the exercise of relevant functions, are not, and must not be seen as, in a hierarchical relationship to one and another". (Welsh Government, 2019b: 11). However, according to the Institute for Government (2023), Welsh devolution officially occurred in 1999, and Cymru/Wales lacked law-making power until 2011. Further still, Cymru/Wales had few powers over taxation until 2019, and has fewer law making powers, to date, than Scotland and Northern Ireland. This reality, as Connell (2019:5) explains, has resulted in Cymru/Wales being largely required, until recently, to "rely on the power of the purse and 'soft' policy instruments such as guidance, encouragement, and facilitation".

To understand the tensions between global flows of migration and State (or indeed, Substate) responses, it is essential to map out policy developments, especially their underlying and fundamental principles, objectives, and influences. The ensuing discussion will thus focus on the establishment of forced migration protection following WWII, paying particular attention to the ways in which states party to the Convention, including the UK, can circumvent "the rights of refugees, as well as the legal obligations of States to protect them" (UNHCR, 2022b). In so doing, the following discussion outlines the protection initiatives and humanitarian efforts committed to in the aftermath of WWII, including addressing (possible) successes and limitations of historical declarations for present-day state and sub-state protection regimes.

2.2. Post-WWII: The Development of Forced Migration Protection

Border-crossing is neither new nor a recent phenomenon. Europe has a long-standing tradition of people entering and exiting its borders from numerous regions worldwide. Bloch and Dona (2018), however, point out that global geopolitical strife in the 20th and 21st centuries resulted in significant demographic and policy developments in the European context, especially following the atrocities of WWII. To meet the changing demands in the movement of people across international borders during this period, developments in international law, policies, and obligations began, enabling European states to strategise and control the new ebbs and flows of contemporary mobility.

The post-war period saw the establishment of three pillars for international obligation: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) in 1950, and the Geneva Convention in 1951. The 1948 Declaration of Human Rights (henceforth 'Declaration') represented the first internationally binding code of moral conduct for sovereign states to adhere to, setting forth a 'cosmopolitan' vision of

community beyond the confines of state conduct (Haddad, 2003). In other words, the Declaration intertwined refugee law with human rights law and *vice versa*, noting that "everyone has the right to seek and enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution" (Article 14.1). Hence, the declaration aligned significantly with the later aims of the UNHCR. That is, to reinstate the principles outlined by the 1921 League of Nations — that refugee crises are matters of humanitarian concern to the international community, warranting "international cooperation and burden-sharing" (Ogata, 1990:10). Referring to the League of Nations, Welsh language Politician and Literary Critic, Saunders Lewis, noted that it was an attempt to challenge imperialism and material nationalism, and to foster rather an appreciation of diversity. As Lewis explained:

> "[Mae] ymerodraeth yn beth i gywilyddio o'i blegid, a […] [ph]ob ymgais at unffurfiaeth mewn bywyd gwleidyddol yn arwain i ryfel a dinistr. Ymgais yw'r hyn a elwir yn Gynghrair y Cenhedloedd [...] i ddatod cadwynau celyd cenedlaetholdeb materol"
>
> [empire is something to be ashamed of, and [...] every attempt at uniformity in political life leads to war and destruction. The so-called League of Nations is an attempt [...] to untie the hard shackles of material nationalism] (Lewis, 1926)

Building upon international human rights developments, the 1951 Geneva Convention (henceforth 'Convention') further enshrined in law the entitlement of those seeking third-state protection within signatory states. The Convention subsequently provided a differentiated definition of individuals able to claim "asylum from persecution" (Article 14.1). Drawing on Article 1 of the Convention, refugees were (and presently are) characterised as individuals who cross international boundaries due to their inability to receive the protection of their former state (UNHRC, 2011). As the Convention ensues, the granting of third-state protection then depends on a "well-founded fear of persecution" relating to a person's race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion (Murray et al., 2013). An asylum seeker, according to the UNHCR, is similarly defined. They are viewed as people who claim refugee status, but whose claim is yet to be determined (European Parliament, 2015). The Convention thus established a duty on party states to protect people forced to flee their homes. A principal factor of this is Article 33 of the Convention – the agreement of party states to non-refoulment (Kaya, 2017). Critically, this Article refers to the obligation of signatory states to refrain from sending a refugee back to a country which may result in the infringement of their rights outlined in

Article 1 of the Convention, that is, the rights granted by the Declaration. The Convention thus formed the basis of protection and assistance that party states should provide all people subject to refugee status.

While the Convention, to date, includes the most widely accepted definition of a refugee, acting as a blueprint for the proposed treatment of people fleeing persecution, Hentges (2002:106) questions the equitability of its application and categorisation. As Hentges argues, at the time of their institutionalisation, humanitarian protection was considered a necessary (militarised) action by then Allied forces to "secure the future fate of Europe" following the millions of displaced European persons caused by WWII. El-Enany (2020:137) contextualises this view, highlighting that although the Convention was amended by the 1967 Protocol, resulting in the global application of refugee status, the formalisation of the rights of asylum was "geographically limited to refugee movements 'resulting from events occurring in Europe' prior to 1 January 1951". Critically, El-Enany raises that the Convention's definition did not include trajectories to and within Europe from the Global South or then colonised nations experiencing post-war and post-colonial induced displacement (c.f. Capstick, 2021). Drawing on Mablin (2017), El-Enany further explains that the Convention's definition of a 'refugee' was created to fit existing refugees in Europe, despite leaders of former colonies repeatedly challenging this ascription. El-Enany thus suggests that the definition and categorisation of refugee status by the Convention originates with "only White European refugees in mind" (2020:137). For El-Enany, then, the intent of refugee status was to "erase the role of colonialism" in creating instability which led to increased movements of people forced to flee their homes.

Like El-Enany, other researchers also suggest that the Convention is exclusive. The European Parliament (2015), for example, addressed that the Convention's definition of refugee status sought to intentionally exclude people experiencing internal displacement, people migrating for economic purposes, victims of climate change or natural disasters and people fleeing violence, but who are not subject to discrimination which amounts to persecution. For Hajdukowski-Ahmed (2008: 32), the limitation of refugee status is further based on its emergence as a Eurocentric and gender-blind concept, a critique also raised by the UNHCR in 2002:

> "[H]istorically, the refugee definition has been interpreted through a framework of male experiences, which has meant that many claims of

> women and of homosexuals have gone unrecognised" (cited in Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2014:399).

Despite UNHCR acknowledging the need for gender sensitivity through establishing exceptional guidelines,[4] Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2014:399) reflects that the Convention's definition of refugee status still fails to address its restrictive definition. In fact, Fiddian-Qasmiyeh remarks that the Convention presents a significant oversight in terms of gender. The author explains that the Convention associates women, not least people considered as "other social groups—such as children and members of the LGBTQI+ community—with 'different', 'extraordinary', and 'unconventional' experiences and forms of persecution" (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2014:399). In so doing, the Convention, for Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, differentiates their protection as necessitating "special effort" by hosting states (2014:399). For the author, this not only questions the presumed gender neutrality of the Convention, but also raises "whether 'adding and stirring' women, children", and members of the LGBTQI+ community "via [...] 'exceptional' guidelines adequately address the conceptual biases and protection gaps emerging when assessing the causes of forced migration" (see Section 3.1.3 for discussions of gendered identity and forced migration) (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2014:399).

Thus, despite the 1967 Protocol alterations, by establishing the primary techniques for mapping and standardising mass displacement regimes, Malkki (1995:497) asserts that post-war Europe signified and situated the "genealogy of 'the refugee'" alongside a clash of interest between the development of modern state sovereignty, International Human Rights Law, and the legal categorisation of personhood against a backdrop of Europeanism, and perhaps even androcentrism (El-Enany, 2020; Fiddian-Quasmiyeh, 2014). Arlettaz (1999) synopsises 20th century politics, noting that:

> "political discourse is unequivocal about the fact that there is no individual subjective right to asylum but only the right of the State to grant it in reference to the tradition, independence, customs, opportunity, reason, prosperity and security of the Confederation and

[4] In 2002, the UNHCR introduced a guidance document called the 'Gender-Related Persecution within the context of Article 1A(2) of the 1951 Convention and/or its 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees' to support with gender related claims for protection. The UNHCR have further produced numerous guidance documents in relation to this matter, such as:

I. UNHCR Handbook for the Protection of Women and Girls (2006).
II. Improving Asylum Procedures Comparative Analysis and Recommendations for Law and Practice Key Gender Related Findings and Recommendations (2010).

> the possibility of integrating asylum seekers, that is ultimately in reference to the will of national sovereignty exercised in all these fields, to the exclusion of any other consideration" (Arlettaz 1999: 21; cited in Piguet, 2020: 1588).

Lavenex (2001) appears to concur with both Malki's and Arlettaz' analyses, suggesting that enthralled in the tensions of refugee categorisation is the state. Specifically, Lavenex (2001) implies that by forming the principles of protection and, hence, the specification of state responsibility to citizens and non-citizens, the Convention laid out the fundamental foundations of state sovereignty. As Goodwill-Gill raises, the creation of state sovereignty results in a state having "exclusive jurisdiction over its territory", enabling it to decide who may enter and remain (Goodwin-Gill, 2014:37; OHCHR, 2021). According to this view, the protection granted to refugees by the Convention is thus dependent on the enforcement and interpretation of sovereign states, not least sovereign states party to the Convention. Yet, as the European Parliament (2015) point out, the Convention does not guarantee asylum-seekers the right to be granted refugee status, regardless of whether they fulfil the criteria to be categorised as a refugee. This decision, as the European Parliament continues, remains at the discretion of the specified state. As the European Parliament conclude, the Convention and Refugee Law, thus:

> "Neither articulate an explicit entitlement to asylum for the individuals concerned, nor impose an obligation on states to grant asylum. Individuals have a right to seek asylum, not to be granted asylum, and the states have the right to grant asylum, but no obligation" (European Parliament, 2015:1).

What The European Parliament, as well as Lavenex and Goodwill-Gill suggest, then, is that international refugee law, including human rights treaties such as the Convention and Declaration, link the "primacy of personhood to the state", centralising state sovereignty in matters of international law (Ghia, 2020). Agier (2008) and Achiume (2019) raise their concerns over the centrality of state sovereignty in enacting and controlling refugee rights. Both authors make the point that while the Convention was a collectivised effort to institutionalise the protection of forcibly displaced persons caused by WWII, its rooting in state jurisdiction and sovereignty leaves significant room for states to alter and amend criteria for entering and remaining within its territory. Achiume goes as far as to say that, in doing so, international law reflects the views and theories of liberal nationalists since it

defends the sovereign right to exclude and place limits and exceptions on admission, admitting only specific political strangers it deems as being otherwise at risk of persecution.

For some researchers, such as O'Neil (2008), the Convention, along with the Declaration, can exemplify a 'possession paradox' for individuals seeking refuge and asylum. As researchers holding this view explain, international legal rights, although universal, are unattainable without their granting by a state based on state membership and/or state entrant entitlements. Goodwin-Gill offers a synopsis of this, outlining that:

> "The refugee in international law occupies a legal space characterized, on the one hand, by the principle of State sovereignty and related principles of territorial supremacy and self-preservation; and, on the other hand, by competing humanitarian principles deriving from general international law […] and from treaty" (Goodwin-Gill, 1996:v; cited in Gammeltoft-Hansen, 2008:10).

The theoretical tensions raised by researchers between state sovereignty and the Convention, among other international laws, are thus crucial in understanding present-day migration policy and approaches. Not only this, but the Convention's institutionalisation of refugee rights apropos state sovereignty, therefore, formalises state membership and exclusion. As Lavenex (2001) concludes: "borders represent a condition for poplar sovereignty in a state[.] [They] create a sense of belonging and composition of its population - loss of control over immigration would threaten the basis of its legitimacy". The implication of state sovereignty will be referred to in Chapter 3 during discussions of the UK immigration and asylum policy. First, though, the proceeding section will turn to debating issues of the legal and social categorisation of people forced to migrate. Critically, it raises how discussing migration categories impact a person's experience of seeking sanctuary.

2.3 Questioning the Categorisation of People Forced to Migrate: A Sociolinguistic Perspective

> "[E]very description is a construct and constitutes an action that can be ascertained only by investigating the context in which the description occurs […]" and "[…] [i]n light of this, one might also expect that racist practices and discourse may

> be more easily masked and justified through the use of categorisations" (O'Doherty & Lecouteur, 2007:10; cited in Taylor, 2019).

Although Geographers, Law and International Relations researchers routinely challenge the confines and applicability of migration categorisation, they traditionally argue that categorisation can support the management of human mobility, state responses and responsibilities (Gormon, 2015). This view echoes Goodwin-Gill (1996:2), who observed that "the main purpose of any definition or description of the class of refugees is to facilitate and to justify aid and protection". Linguists, however, are wary of language use and its implications. According to Fairclough (1991), language reflects the dominant power hierarchies and social structures in society and can consequently contribute to the subjugation of specific communities (Bourdieu, 1991; see Section 5.1). Fowler (1991:4) similarly deliberates, noting that, despite the many ways of saying the same thing, differences in expressions "are not accidental alternatives". They "carry ideological distinction (and thus differences in representation)". In the context of forced migration, however, linguists have seldom challenged the language implication of migration categorisation beyond analysing its elicitation of attitudes through public discourse (Goodman & Spear, 2007). Linguists have, instead, tended to explore how language categories – such as speaking a 'native speaker' variety or 'non-standard' variety – can differentiate the positioning of people forced to migrate in the normative order (Warriner, 2007). There thus appears to be a significant scarcity in sociolinguistic analyses of how migration categorisation may create meaning and affect experience, especially in terms of policy and planning responses. By offering a sociolinguistic critique of the categorisation of people forced to migrate, this section will lay the groundwork for how categories present on a local, national, and international scale (discussed further in Chapter 3 and 5). As such, it reveals how categorisation, although fixed in legal terms (see Section 2.2), has social variability and, hence, differences in outcome and experience.

Forced migration is not a linear process of departing, border crossing, arriving and (re)settling. Broadly speaking, it is governed by external factors which necessitate immediate action and escape. Hence, people experiencing forced migration are often referred to "as a group of mobile persons [with] limited choices to decide when, where, and how to control their migratory process" (Stock, 2022:4958). Haddad (2005) contextualises this analysis, arguing that the categorisation of people forced to flee their homes instrumentally defines who they are, whether their circumstances warrant help, and how

they will behave and adjust to their host society. Haddad thus refers to how categorisation (e.g. refugee/migrant status) classifies individuals on a scale of legitimacy. The impact of this, as Haddad continues, results in people subjected to categorisation being powerless and vulnerable to the effect of its assigned value. In fact, for Findor et al. (2021: 263), among others, specific forced migratory categories, such as 'refugee', grant a person legitimacy for receiving help within third states, implying they are "morally deserving" and that "their situation is seen as involuntary" in comparison to those with 'migrant', or 'economic migrant' status. Yet, for Price (2009; cited in in Gibney, 2014:50), this moral distinction is central to refugee protection and is essential to sustain and maintain, since a refugee, according to Price, is different from other migrant categories, based on "her need for an alternative political membership (citizenship) rather than simply temporary protection".

Goodman and Speer (2007) complicate this view. The authors borrow from Bourdieu (1991) to explain that the recognition of categorisation (e.g., refugee status) "exercises by itself a certain power" (2007:166). For Goodman and Speer, power is thus granted to and held by individuals who can assume, use, or trade their category in a host society, e.g., asylum seeker to refugee, and then to citizen. Iikkanen (2019) adds depth to Goodman and Speer's argument. Iikkanen analyses language and migrant categorisations in Finland and explores how language creates social stratification and inequality. Critically, Iikkanen refers to how assigned value to mobility regimes across different states normalises the border crossing of some individuals, accepting their categorisation as 'regular' or 'legitimate' while simultaneously criminalising the crossing of others, deeming them 'illegitimate' or 'irregular' (Goodman & Speer, 2007; Stock, 2022). Thus, according to Iikkanen's findings, migratory categories are homogenous terms to describe people with an array of backgrounds, but, as Iikkanen continues, their individuality, characteristics and experiences become invisible due to their categorisation. In short, Iikkanen alludes to how the creation of categorisation enables states to, not only decide who may enter and remain within their territory (e.g. sovereignty) but it also makes it "easier for [...] friends to enter and remain and "harder for those we do not want to come here" (Home Secretary, 2022). To borrow from Gill (2014: 36):

> "[T]he movement of people between states, whether refugees or 'migrant', takes place in a context in which sovereignty remains important, and specifically that aspect of sovereign competence which entitles the state to exercise prima facie exclusive jurisdiction over its territory and

> decide who among non-citizens shall be allowed to enter and remain, and who shall be refused admission and required or compelled to leave".

Categorisation distinctions control and filter the entry of non-citizens to a hosting state, impacting the legal and moral obligation of host states to protect (or not) people forced to migrate, not least the reaction and reception of hosting communities. Hence, migration categories and their associated linguistic resources lead to the "emergence, maintenance, and negotiation, of social hierarchies" and boundary making (Pomme van de Weerd, 2020:13; see Section 5.1). For Stock (2022:4958), this highlights that "not every form of international mobility is valued equally […]" and how policymakers and the public view people who migrate "link[s] to social mobility". By social mobility, Stock refers to Bourdieu's definition of social class formation and struggle – a symbolic grapple for an economic condition and cultural distinction (Bourdieu, 1987). That is, the view that the categorisation of people "in homogeneous conditions of existence" perpetuates a contrasting but also exchangeable capital (e.g. economic, social, cultural, and symbolic) and, hence, the reinforcement of classification ascriptions (Bourdieu, 1984:101; cited in Hunkler et al., 2022). What can be taken from Bourdieu's analysis is that, although people may share the same migratory status (e.g. Refugee), their classification and hence positioning within society may be different based on the perceived value of their social identity. As such, migration categorisation, and its inherent classification, links inextricably with other forms of social identity and their inferred positioning and prescribed power within society – be it race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, or gender, among others. Categorising personhood is, thus, an essentialist, politically loaded and ideologically laden process, not least imposing on people's identities and the outcome of their resettlement. Migration categories, such as refugee, should therefore not be considered absolute nor in isolation. Instead, analysis of specific categories of existence should be viewed alongside an intersection of economic, social, cultural and symbolic distinctions, especially social identities. What this means, then, is that although an individual may be assigned the same legal status (refugee), the social categorisation of their status leads to differences in experience and reception, not only in policy and planning terms but also in local community reception; critically differentiating whether they are considered "friends [sic]" or whether "we do not want [them] to come here" (Home Secretary, 2022).

As such, the language surrounding the legal and social categorisation of people who cross international borders is neither neutral nor objective (Burns et al., 2022). These tensions in origin and definition led Hajdukowski-Ahmed (2008) to argue for a re-categorisation of

forced migration statuses, especially 'refugee'. For Hajdukowski-Ahmed, new categories of forced migration statuses are required, especially in today's globalised world, to accommodate and acknowledge people's experiences as they occur, develop, and change. Bakewell (2011) appears to support Hajdukowski-Ahmed's analysis. As Bakewell explains, the categorisation, classification, and labelling of individuals fleeing their homes require its boundaries to extend but also to blur given the depth and breadth that "conceptual flora has grown" (Haddad, 2004:10). These perspectives appear to echo Shacknove's earlier analysis (1985:277; cited in Gibney, 2014:50), which suggested that the definition, and hence, categorisation of 'refugee' should be changed to incorporate all "persons whose basic needs are unprotected by their country of origin, who have no remain recourse other than to seek international restitution of their needs". What the authors all imply, then, is that it is essential to be consciously aware of language use when discussing the lives and experiences of people fleeing their homes. This thesis, however, postulates that while a re-conceptualisation of forced migration categorisation is required to acknowledge human movement and global flows as they occur and develop, it is imperative to contest classification occurrence, not least associated linguistic resources, within existing categories. Discussing the assigned capital value of migratory categorisation thus aims to reveal differences in capacity for social mobility (or lack thereof), thus exposing how migration statuses are a complex array of intersecting factors and social ascriptions which requires a nuanced and holistic outlook (Hunkler et al., 2022). As Sajjad (2018:20), for example, concluded:

> "[T]he politics of labelling and the criminalisation and securitisation of migration undermine the protection framework for the globally displaced".

This exploration will underpin one of the main areas of investigation throughout this thesis - the Nation of Sanctuary Plan. Before delving into the literature review (Chapter 4), an in-depth discussion of the UK and Welsh policy context will begin in the ensuing chapter.

Contextual Chapter (2/2): Multinational and National

Chapter 3: The Policy Context

Overview

This chapter elaborates on discussions introduced in Chapter 2. It precedes the literature review in Chapters 4 and 5 and is the second of the two contextualising chapters. This chapter begins by exploring the concept of securitisation, connecting the debates in Chapters 2 and 3 by situating each topic discussed within the logic of security. In so doing, it further demonstrates how securitisation influences responses to forced migration, both in historical and contemporary governing. This section thus addresses the link between initial developments in refugee protection, forced migrant categorisation, and contemporary issues of displacement, revealing how and why securitisation presents in forced migration discourses and state conduct policy.

Utilising the concept of securitisation, this chapter then turns to analysing the 2015 European border control response, evaluating its role in harnessing discourses of present-day immigration hostility, especially in the British context. This discussion alludes to debate initiated in Sections 2.2 (Post-WWII: The Development of Forced Migration Protection) and 2.3 (Questioning the Categorisation of People Forced to Migrate: A Sociolinguistic Perspective). Specifically, it explores the impact and intersection of historical approaches to forced migration and the classification of migration categorisation in facilitating contemporary European border control responses.

Using earlier sections as a backdrop, this chapter turns to the policy context in the UK. It begins by evaluating the Brexit debate, discussing how the Brexit campaign mirrors discourses of forced migration, not least the 2015 EU border control response. It then turns to paying close attention to forced migration policy and legislation developments since the onset of the Hostile Environment agenda in 2012 alongside resettlement data. However, references to immigration legislative developments from WWII to the present-day will also occur. Providing a brief historical narrative alongside an in-depth modern policy analysis aims to ensure an accurate representation of the British border regime.

Finally, the chapter draws to a close by utilising earlier discussions to explore the characterisation of the 'Welsh way' to forced migration management — the Nation of

Sanctuary Plan (2019). This final section of the chapter thus explores resettlement in the Welsh context, outlining the sub-state's contribution to supporting the resettlement of people forced to flee their homes. The analysis, however, aims to present a holistic view of Welsh resettlement which recognises the impact and intersection of Welsh Government approaches alongside the British border regime.

The Glossary of Key Terms should be read alongside Sections 3.1 and 3.2. References to these key terms appear throughout the section.

3.1 Theories of Securitisation and Forced Migration: Situating the Policy Analysis

Securitisation is a theoretical concept that refers to a state, not least the socio-political elite, extending their power and control. The principal aim of this action is to influence the general population to believe instances, like forced migration, are threats to security, warranting extreme measures to protect (make secure) the general population. For example, the Home Office's designation that "central to our safety, to our prosperity and to our very sense of nationhood" is "full democratic control of our borders" (Home Secretary, 2022). Securitisation, in this way, is a useful tool to apply when analysing the impact of immigration, asylum, and border control restrictions on people seeking sanctuary. Yet, perhaps owing to Cymru/Wales' devolved status and relatively small population of people forced to migrate, explorations of security in the context of Cymru/Wales, not least gendered experiences of forced migration in Cymru/Wales, are next to none. There is, thus, a significant dearth and an academic dispute about whether a security lens is suitable to apply to the sub-state (Paterson & Mulvey, 2023; Bernhardt, 2020). Despite this, the UK Government's approach to border control, which has exclusive jurisdiction over the Welsh border under UK governance, has faced considerable scrutiny (Paterson & Karyotis, 2022; Benwell, et al., 2023). Hence, before reviewing policy and legislative developments, not least the impact of the 2015 European border control response in harnessing contemporary hostility, this chapter begins by situating discussions within the logic of security/securitisation. It explores, not only the applicability of this lens for the Welsh context, but how security presented in discourses of forced migration, especially regarding its impact on the social identities of people forced to flee their homes.

Although securitisation is a lens through which this thesis interprets and debates legislative developments (Sections 3.2-3.3.4), it should neither be read in isolation nor considered

solely applicable to discussions in Chapters 1 and 2. Instead, securitisation is an integral building block of this thesis, referred to and built upon throughout each chapter. It is used as a means to connect and frame developments in protection agendas and immigration regimes (see Section 3.3), but also as a factor which intersects with social identity, the categorisation of personhood and, hence, the outcome and implication of resettlement experiences (Sections 2.3, and 5.2).

3.1.1 Defining (In)Security: A Sociolinguistic Perspective

Although deep-rooted in International Relations (IR), the concept of security has been adopted and adapted by numerous research fields for investigating forced migration, state governing, and border control (see Buzan et al., 1998 for clarity on developments in Security Studies). In Sociolinguistics, however, engagement with Security Studies is a recent endeavor (Arnaut et al., 2016; Rampton, 2022; Charalambous et al., 2021). While Security Studies, in the traditional IR sense, tend to observe macro-level constructions of security, insecurity, and threat, a recent reflection of its theoretical praxis by Sociolinguists demonstrates its suitability for analysing everyday micro-level practices of securitisation. Critically, Sociolinguists adopting the lens argue that traditional IR analyses which solely focus on security in state conduct fail to address the spectrum of institutionalised insecurities produced and reproduced by social and structural hierarchies and institutional inequities (see section 2.3 and 5.1). The ensuing sections, therefore, situate discussions within a macro-micro continuum, borrowing from sociolinguistic adaptations of security to explore how securitisation impacts forced migration policy and planning globally (e.g. post-WWII Europe - 2.2), but also multi-nationally (the UK – Section 3.3) and nationally (Cymru/Wales – Section 3.3.4).

Sociolinguists utilise and alter the IR model to explain how interactions become sites of security surveillance. As Rampton and Charalambous (2019) explain, securitisation results in "ordinary people (medical and education staff, landlords, employers, and so forth) [being] pressured to check the residence rights of their patients/students/tenants/etc" (see Section 3.3 for elaboration). Security, in this way, reveals how macro-level decision-making, such as national and international legislation, enacts in micro-level interactions (see section 5.1. for discussion on symbolic power). In other words, Sociolinguistic understandings of security are influenced significantly by the dismantling of state-centrism in Security Studies. This means that Sociolinguistic adaptations broaden the ontological range of security, exposing how state securitisation often results in insecurity and violence, both in physical and

structural terms. In so doing, Sociolinguistics acknowledges that inequality caused by structural and social hierarchies permeates and influences the private and public spheres (see Chapters 1 and 2). This permeation, in turn, contributes to the insecure designation of specific groups or communities (Moron & Jose, 2020).

Moving away from security to processes of securitisation, Hovil (2017:9) notes that securitisation refers to a political act in which the "designation of an existential threat require[s] emergency action or special measures." These threats, as Rampton and Charalambous (2019:78) share, are driven by suggestions and speculations that specific communities or occurrences present a risk to normativity (i.e. they are an insecurity). To contextualise this theory, Rampton and Charalambous (2019) frame securitisation as neither referring to the condition of being safe from harm nor in harm's way itself, but instead:

> "a practice of making 'enemy' and 'fear' the integrative, energetic principle of politics (read: insecure) […] displac[ing] the democratic principles of freedom and justice (read: secure)" (Huysmans, 2014:3; cited in Rampton and Charalambous, 2019:79. Text in parenthesis is my addition).

What the authors all hint at, then, is that securitisation is a speech act which perceives and presents an occurrence as an issue of security, resulting in extraordinary measures to ensure the "safety" and "prosperity" of "nationhood" (Home Office, 2022; Buzan & Wæver, 1998). For Beck (2017), though, a central aspect of altering a topic into an issue of security, of legitimising an extreme measure to protect (make secure) an identity, ideology or idea, is removing certain realities from the political sphere of "negotiation and contestation" and "away from public scrutiny" (Sajed, 2012:22; Moran & Teano, 2020). In other words, securitisation processes exploit pre-existing social and structural hierarchies for socio-political gain, enabling states and the political elite to ""conceal or reveal things which are already there" (Bourdieu, 1989:23; See Chapter 5).

Paterson and Mulvey (2023:107), however, raise that a central aspect of securitisation is "a significant audience" accepting an insecure designation and, therefore, the extreme measure to preserve security which, in the British context, is tolerating (supporting) processes of gaining "full democratic control of our borders" to "get overall [immigration] numbers down" (The Conservatives, 2019). This acceptance, in turn, results in securitisation being both a political and localised act in which irrational fear (personal or collective) aids socio-political agendas. Securitisation is, thus, not enacted and enforced solely by the

political elite like politicians or the mass media. Instead, securitisation also presents in local practices, perspectives, and actions. The outcome of this, then, is that securitisation is a process in which agents of securitisation (political and economic elites and the public) reach a shared understanding of a situation through their interpretation of the "seriousness of a threat […] and the urgent need to mobilise all available recourses to curtail its development" (Karyotis, 2012: 391; cited in Gray & Franck, 2019:276).

Yet, as Paterson and Mulvey (2023:107) warn, securitisation is a "normatively regressive process". Critically, the authors explain that securitisation invokes a problematic mindset, perpetuating a "threat-defence" outlook. For Beck (2017), this results in securitisation linking with radical (right-wing) politics. As Beck shares, securitisation is an extreme and politicised speech act separate from other political discourses due to its preoccupation with presenting an occurrence — such as migration — as a threat to the normative ordering, requiring immediate emergency action with the aim of threat neutralisation. Namely, to "get overall [immigration] numbers down" (The Conservatives, 2019). The following section seeks to contextualise securitisation, debating how securitisation presents in contexts of forced migration. Including communities forced to migrate in discussions of securitisation is debatable (Bello, 2022). Yet, as will become evident in Section 3.3, discontentment with immigration and asylum is a "potent political force" in the European context, rendering the securitisation of migration both essential to analyse and a useful tool to apply. (Hammerstadt, 2014:269).

3.1.2 Migration and (In)security

Akçali and Gormus (2020) highlight the complexity of the migration-security nexus. The authors note that people forced to migrate are often presented as an inherent threat to the sovereignty of a nation: that is, as people who "abuse our hospitality" (Home Office, 2022). At the same time, though, they are considered people "in need", as victims of persecution requiring protection (Home Office, 2022). McSweeney (1999) shares this view. McSweeney notes that the political elite, such as politicians or the media, frame people forced to migrate as a threat to the normative order, particularly to local and national identities (Hostile, 2023; see Section 3.2). Beck (2017) and Hovil (2017) add to McSweeny's view. For Beck (2017:3), one of the "prominent lines of argument" in securitising discourse is constructing a causal relationship between forced migration and existential threat (insecurity). According to Hovil (2017:9), this "line of argument" presents by drawing "on the myth that refugees somehow "carry" conflict, crime or violence with them".

Securitisation, in this way, co-locates forced migration with otherness (e.g. violence) and as a threat (insecurity) to the functioning of normative ordering (security). These views are echoed by Innes (2010: 459), who notes that people forced to migrate are often homogenised in public discourses, framed as a threat to the vested interests of a state and a threat to the state's identity. Innes, drawing on Huysmans (2006), outlines the effect of these processes, noting that:

> "securitising migration and asylum constructs political trust, loyalty and identity through the distribution of fear and an intensification of alienation. In other words, alienating an 'out-group' especially if that out-group is within the state territory, solidifies the identity of the 'in-group'" (Innes, 2010:459).

What the authors all suggest, then, is an association between public discontent and the political designating of those seeking protection as a potential threat to community cohesion, not least damaging to identity – "our very sense of nationhood" (Home Office, 2022). This threat, in turn, designates forced migrant communities as insecure – an "existential threat that require[s] emergency action or special measures" and the acceptance of these measures in local contexts (Hovil, 2017:9). Bello, however, points out that the securitisation of forced migration is two-dimensional. As the author addresses, although often initiated by the political elite, contemporary migration management is enacted in local practices, perspectives, and actions. It is thus strongly dependent on the activity of various non-state actors, such as "medical and education staff, landlords, employers" and other members of the public (Bello, 2020: 1462; Rampton & Charalambus, 2019).

Securitisation, in this sense, is a politically and socially constructed phenomenon (Huysmans, 2006). Bauman (1998) contextualises this view, clarifying that securitising ascriptions are often gendered. Critically, Bauman found that public discourse rarely presents men forced to migrate as vulnerable. Instead, they are primarily portrayed as single and healthy. For Bauman, this portrayal evidences the securitisation of men forced to flee their homes, resulting in their overt rejection as vulnerable people, and their depiction as a potential risk (insecurity) to the normative order (security). While the men in Bauman's study appear unable to wholly assume their vulnerability due to the securitisation of their gendered identity, women forced to migrate are in stark opposition. As Reid (2016) explains, depictions of women experiencing displacement frequently orientate around images of women and children, pregnant women, or images of women as wives, caregivers or victims

fleeing the persecution and oppression of their former nation-states (c.f. Spivak, 1988). In this way, gender ascriptions alter how public discourses present and respond to people forced to migrate, frequently positioning men and women in a binary of opposition. Schrover and Schinkel (2014) add to this view, explaining that the ways in which organisations, politicians, and journalists understand and present men and women is in stark binary. As Schrover and Schinkel (2014:1126) shares:

> "This binary construction is reproduced in the distinction between migrant men, who cause problems, and migrant women, who have problems (Roggeband and Verloo 2007), or between being a risk (to the labour market or security) and being at risk (of being trafficked, ending up in prostitution, forced marriages, situations of domestic violence or as victims of honour killings)"

The unquestioned granting of women's vulnerability in securitised discourses perhaps evidences Chouliaraki and Zaborowski's (2017: 622) statement. As the authors write, public discourse frequently frames people experiencing displacement "as abject bodies unable to participate in public discourse". Brown (2008), in her analysis of the securitisation of gender, identity and community, concurs. Brown raises that gendered stereotypes significantly impact the discursive frameworks of women's rights. Critically, the author implies that homogenised and gendered stereotypes mirror the structural and social hierarchies embedded in society. Gender, in this sense, is an essential category of analysis in contexts of forced migration and humanitarian crises. It reveals not only inequalities in the social order but how homogenised perspectives of vulnerability (or threat) based on gender lead to the incitement of action and socio-political agenda (securitisation).

That said, focusing on a singular identity attribute (e.g. gender in binary terms) fails to recognise the many ways in which securitisation impacts people's experiences of seeking sanctuary. In fact, practices of racial ordering and, by association, processes of legal categorisation are constitutive of securitisation (See Section 2.3). Yet, as Moffette and Vadasaria (2016:291) point out, race and racism are a "serious oversight" in the study of securitisation. The authors explain that, despite being intrinsic to modernity and the underlying principles of colonial power, race and racism have not been adequately scrutinised through the security lens. The authors further address that due to the inherent effect of colonialism and its racialised systems of oppression, "non-white populations come to be easily read and treated as threatening and violent" (Moffette and Vadasaria, 2016:

295; cited in Gray, 2019: 278). As Mofette and Vadasaria further raise, colonialism has resulted in the embedded securitisation of "non-white populations". Accordingly, the authors affirm that the securitisation of non-white bodies as a 'threat' is not "an actual shift from normal liberal politics to exceptional measures", rather:

> "we should aim to describe how the securitisation of immigration operates as a political technology that lifts the inhibition of racist violence that is always lurking in the shadow of racialised modern civility, allowing for an increase in anti-migrant violence while at the same time consolidating the fantasy of liberal tolerance and white civility" (Moffette and Vadasaria, 2016: 297).

Rampton (2021) similarly discusses how dominant social, political and economic systems, particularly in former European empires, such as the UK, sustain a direct connection with colonial ideologies. The result of this connectivity, as Rampton makes clear, is the continuation of systems of oppression and its residual effect, namely racism and xenophobia and hence the securitisation of forced migrant populations. Khan (2022:1467) adds to this analysis, noting that "[t]he logic of security takes many forms to justify practices aimed at deterring and even criminalizing the mobility of migrants". In fact, Khan explores the interrelation between securitisation and language, examining the ways in which language can reproduce and reinforce societal inequities, particularly racialised systems of oppression (see Section 2.3 and 5.1). As Khan explains, borders, like named language varieties, enact ideological ascriptions based on nation state constructions. What Khan suggests, then, is that the categorisation of language, but also the variety of language used by speakers, connects with the "emergence, maintenance, and negotiation, of social hierarchies" and boundary making. In other words, language is an extension of border control, connectivity inextricable with notions of securitisation and the prospects of mobility (see Section 2.3).

The ensuing discussion (3.2) turns to the 2015 European border control response before analysing developments in the British Border regime. References and observations of how discourses of migration securitisation interplay with policy, planning and societal perspectives occur frequently.

3.1.3 Living Amidst Security: Being a Sanctuary Seeking Women

The securisation of forced migration tells us that central to resettlement experiences are myriad and competing social identities. Hack-Polay et al. (2021:3), in their study of forced migrant identity-making, found that people forced to flee their homes embody multiple and

fluid identities, which adapt and alter based on time and place. Hack-Polat et al. further note that people forced to migrate experience more shifts in their identity than other social groups. The authors attribute the fluctuating and (presumed) identity fluidity of people forced to migrate to a desire to attain "belongingness to a new sociocultural domain". This analysis mirrors Fortier's (2000) and Hall's (1994) findings. Fortier, like Hall, characterises migratory identities, particularly processes of belonging, as "movement and attachment". For Hall, this means that people who migrate are "constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference" (1994:235).

However, as Hall (1990) notes, social hierarchies connect with societal membership, significantly impacting who is valued and invited to participate in a given social context (see Section 2.3). Hall thus calls to attention the impossibility of simplifying the identities of people who migrate to a process of fluidity. Instead, Hall implies that it is essential to recognise hierarchical classifications of identity attributes, particularly their role in prompting and necessitating influx and fluid identities. Allen (2023:17) explains this understanding further, outlining that within every setting, "there are hierarchies or scales of preference [in social identities]", prompting ambivalence, hostility, competition, partnership, or perhaps even cooperation. Thus, when people flee their homes and arrive in their resettlement community, they become subject to new social norms, structures, and legal frameworks (see Section 2.2 and 3.3). The social hierarchies governing these systems lead to social variability – differences in outcome and experience. Pugh's (2018:978) study contextualises this view. Pugh investigated the identities and characterisations of belonging for Columbians forced to migrate to Ecuador. Pugh found that social structures (hierarchies) within the host society influenced his participant's identities. Critically, however, Pugh also observed that social hierarchies governed whether a person could successfully "integrate into the host society and the social and cultural capital they can mobilise in it" (2018:978).

Yalim and Critelli (2023) add depth to Pugh's analysis. Yalim and Critelli study the impact of resettlement from a gendered perspective, and deliberated that gender is a central factor in integration, but also the mobilisation of capital. For Yalim and Critelli, then, processes of displacement and resettlement compel "women and men [forced to migrate] to redefine core aspects of their identities" (2018:1). This reality, as the authors continue, prompts "men and women" seeking refuge to revise their ideas and roles and redistribute power, resulting in new approaches to responsibilities "inside and outside of their family life". Moran and Teano (2020:99) and Phillimore et al. (2022) appear to concur. For Moran and Teano, illustrating a relational understanding of gender is imperative, as people experiencing forced displacement are often acutely "aware of the relational and contextual

nature of gender as they attempt to fulfil expectations of identity and behaviour that may differ sharply in the several places they live" (Donato et al., 2006). Phillimore et al. (2022: 2205) similarly deliberate. The authors studied the impact of gender-based violence and COVID-19 on the lives of forced migrant women in the UK. The authors argue that a gender-sensitive analysis is crucial to investigations, writing that:

> "Gender-blind discourses of forced migration experiences, from displacement to resettlement and often gender-unresponsive provision of services, fail to capture or address multiple risks and threats to refugee women's safety and security in their socioecology at both interpersonal and structural levels. As a result, unacknowledged migration-related vulnerabilities extend patriarchal power imbalances, compounding a continuum of violence in migrant experiences" (2022:2205)

In fact, although women make up 50% of the global forced migratory population, Hajdukowski-Ahmed (2008) and the UNHCR, each contribute to Phillimore et al.'s analysis, raising that women's needs in legislation, social policies and services are frequently overlooked. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2014) further found that women are often required to migrate due to gendered inequalities and gender-related discrimination and persecution in their country of origin (UN Women, 2020). The UNHCR make similar claims, writing that all stages of the migratory journey pose a significant risk to women. Women, thus, often experience an array of discrimination based on intersecting factors relating to their gender, social/legal status as people forced to migrate, racial identity, age, sexual orientation, education, religious beliefs, and/or their (dis)ability. However, as Philimore et al. (2022:2205), drawing on Turner (2019), make clear "[t]he perceived "vulnerability of women" and "security risks posed by refugee men" obscure sustainable protection services for refugees of all genders" (Turner, 2019: 611). Gender should therefore be examined with care and consideration, and the positioning of gender in binary terms should be avoided.

That said, gendered explorations of forced migration, with a primary focus on women, are growing in interest. This focus is especially prominent following a recent increase in lone-forced migrant women entering Europe, not least the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, which has made visible and exacerbated the "vulnerabilities and insecurities" of women forced to flee their homes (see Phillimore et al., 2022: 2205; Gottardo & Cyment, 2020; Gillespie et al., 2022). However, as warned in Section 3.1.2 (Migration and (In)security), gendered stereotypes and homogenisations significantly impact the discursive frameworks and access to rights of people forced to flee their homes. Critically, then, gender is often

securitised and presented in binary terms in contexts of forced migration, revealing not only inequalities in the social order but how homogenised perspectives of vulnerability (or threat) based on gender lead to the incitement of action and socio-political agenda (securitisation). An earlier investigation by Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2014) contextualises this view. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh explored the intersection of gender and forced migration and found that a range of social identities – coupled with social structures like patriarchy and racism – traverse and frame asylum processes. In her concluding remarks, Fiddian-Qasmiyeh highlighted the need for future investigations to continue sensitively critiquing the impact of gender, in expansive terms, in all facets of forced migration.

Thus, what remains clear from recent investigations into the identities of women forced to migrate is trifold. Firstly, recognising the effect of intersecting social identities and structures furthers understanding of women's experiences during resettlement. Secondly, it demonstrates how social structures — "hierarchies or scales of preference [in social identities]" (Allen, 2023) — influence a person's prospects for resettlement, but also the securitisation of their identity. Finally, it addresses how value attributed (or not) to specific identity markers by and within the resettlement community can cause the need to (re)negotiate identities to facilitate belongingness and connectivity to the new context. In this regard, it is, thus, perhaps owing to the impact of social variability that necessitates people who experience forced migration to assume a fluid identity and facilitate "belongingness to a new sociocultural domain". This assumption echoes the analysis outlined in Section 2, that sharing an identity marker (e.g. refugee status) does not equate to the same experience; rather interactions may differ based on aspects of a person's social identity - their nationality, citizenship status, race, or gender, for example, and how these intersecting social identities are categorised and valued (or not), or even securitised, within a given context.

3.2 The 2015 EU Border Control Response: A European Crux

> "[D]iscourse on the refugee influx from the Middle East to Europe has indeed been shaped by securitization [...]. One of the reasons why securitization has set the agenda is that this kind of discourse has not just been fuelled by the xenophobic (and racist) attitudes of populist (and right-wing) political parties and movements [but] in the entire spectrum of political camps and ideologies in Europe and span political groupings of conservatives, social democrats, and the left and liberals, including feminists." (Beck, 2017:3)

Between 2015 and 2016, Europe received approximately 2.5 million asylum applications. The second half of 2015 saw a particular peak in the mobilisation of border crossing, leading Europe to witness its "largest outbreak of refugees since World War II" (Stivas, 2021:1). The movement of people to Europe was characterised by two main routes. The first from Turkey to Greece, and the second, from north Africa to Italy. A report prepared by Cardiff University for the UNHCR (Berry et al., 2015) notes that the increase in movement to Europe, particularly via the Aegean crossing from Turkey to Greece, was the result of refugees fleeing persecution in the Middle East. The European Asylum Support Office (ESASO, 2015) offer a breakdown of this mobilisation, outlining that during this period Syrians represented 27% of all applications, Afghans 14%, and Iraqis 9%. Instability in the Western Balkans also resulted in 15% of all applications originating from these regions, with further applicants from Pakistan, Eritrea, Nigeria, Iran, Somalia and the Russian Federation (EASO, 2015).

Many circumstances preceding 2015 caused this increase in asylum. According to the EASO (2015), the primary contributing factor was "the deterioration of the security environment" in countries of origin. Cardiff's UNHCR report offers a two-pronged analysis of Europe's migration influx. The report notes that while issues in countries of origin led to initial movements, shifts to Europe were also caused by infrastructural pressures in Turkey. As the report continues, by 2015, 2 million refugees had relocated to Turkish territory, mostly since the outbreak of the Syrian Civil War in 2011. The stark growth in Turkey's refugee population consequently prompted refugees to irregularly cross the Aegean for Greece and western Europe in search of sanctuary (UNHRC, 2015). The Aegean crossing, and the irregular means used by refugees due to "increasingly and significantly reduced access to asylum" in Europe, coincided with a considerable loss of life (Lemay, 2021:1). Estimates outline that in 2015, 3,771 deaths occurred at sea, with the death toll reaching its maximum in 2016 at 5,096 lives lost (The Parliament, 2019). Later known as the 'European Refugee Crisis', this period became a catalyst for change in European migration management, triggering considerable tensions and divergences in public and political discourses, particularly in the British context. The ensuing discussion will focus on the intersection of two main issues in the 2015 European border control response: EU policy responses and mass media engagement.

McCluskey (2019) documents that the emergence of the 2015 European border control response revealed the reluctance of European policymakers and border practitioners to develop a collectivised, holistic and humanitarian response to forced migration. Holzberg (2019) shares this view, arguing that EU travel and visa restrictions produced mobility inequities throughout this period, driving people to enter Europe irregularly. In fact,

borrowing from Henk Von Houtum (2010), Holzberg argues that Schengen is a "global apartheid system" since it offers free movement for citizens of member states whilst simultaneously restricting other mobile subjects, particularly people from the Global South and former European colonies. According to Guild et al. (2015), though, this reluctance emerged in two ways. The first was a lack of safe and legal routes to Europe (specifically, the EU), and the second was inconsistency in EU state policy. Starting with the former, Guild et al. (2015) observe that EU visa policies and carrier sanctions caused the 'illegalisation' of entry to the EU during this period, contributing significantly to the crisis and the loss of life. Drawing on EU visa regulations, Guild et al. explain that people from "refugee-producing countries" tend to require visas to reach the EU. Referring to Article 21 of the EU Visa code, the authors argue that EU visa criteria necessitate proof of willingness and ability to return to the country of origin. These entry requirements thus cause a crux for people seeking sanctuary since refugee status calls for protection and signifies an inability of a person to return to their country of origin. The authors then raise a further complexity. EU Commercial Transport regulation requires transport companies to only transport documented people into the EU. As Guild et al. then highlight, the outcome of EU visa requirements and Commercial Transport regulation is that irregular entry to Europe became the only option for many people seeking sanctuary.

Writing in response to claims that EU policy contributed to the crisis, Niemann and Speyer (2018) explore tensions and divergences between Schengen, EU intergovernmental external border regimes and Frontex. The authors adopt a neo-functionalist perspective. This perspective, according to the authors, refers to the dynamics of early European integration which seeks to encourage connectivity between states, without forcing states to integrate into a singular, larger state. The authors, therefore, use this perspective to explain that the 2015 European borer control response, along with the reluctance of political actors to respond, was an (inevitable) outcome of dysfunctionalities between Schengen and its supranational governing. The authors observe that weak external border practices by European member states, and the EU's decision not to encroach on member states' sovereignty, resulted in a clash of interests and disordered border governing in "sensitive areas" like asylum (2018:29). This disordering, resultantly, contributed to, not only disparities in state responses to people entering its borders (based on its sovereign right to decide who may enter and remain – see Section 2.2), but in loss of life by failing to provide a collectivised safe and regular means to enter the EU. Thus, what can be interpreted from both Niemann and Speyer (2018), but also Holzberg, is that the European border control response to forced migration movement in 2015 exposed systemic weaknesses and

haphazard divergences in EU policy. The border control response, in this sense, unearthed tensions between free movement (Schengen) and state sovereignty, that has not, as Niemann and Speyer make clear, been sufficiently addressed and advanced due to high economic and political costs.

What can be taken from these policy analyses and approaches, then, is that the guarding of European territory in 2015, prevented and filtered, whether intentionally or not, the entry of people from the Global South to the EU. As discussed in Section 2.2, this is a pre-existing inequity in refugee protection, perhaps owing to the geographical and temporal restrictions initially applied to refugee categorisation (see Section 2.2). In this way, Europe's border regime in 2015 consisted of "a deadly mix of deterrence, dismissal and humanitarian exceptions to people's arrival" (Holzberg, 2019). Hovil's (2017) earlier analysis strengthens this claim. According to Hovil, anti-immigration policies, practices, and discourses are pervasive within European states. Hovil evidences this view by attributing European mobility restriction to states perceiving migration as a threat to their sovereignty. This hostile reality, as Hovil claims, perpetuates an irreconcilable association between people forced to migrate and their European host. For Piguet, though, the 2015 border control response caused a divide in public and political perspectives based on public discontent with colonial and labour migrant integration, inequality and discomfort about globalisation, islamophobia, and finally, the rise and acceptance of radical right-wing politics. Cardiff's UNHCR (2015:2) report agrees, claiming that a central factor in the "unwillingness of EU leaders" to make decisive and coherent decision-making to address forced migration needs in 2015 was public anxiety and discontent with immigration and asylum throughout European states. Cardiff's (2015) report attributes public and political perspectives of asylum and migration to the media, contending, in particular, that media "coverage in the United Kingdom was the most negative [in Europe], and the most polarised". Journalist Daniel Trilling (2019) reiterates this perspective, remarking that:

> "Europe's refugee crisis, or more properly, a disaster partly caused by European border policies, rather than simply the movement of refugees towards Europe, was one of the most heavily mediated world events of the past decade."

Carrera et al. (2015) and Guma et al. (2019), among others, appear to concur that the media contributed to the border control response, arguing that forced migration needs in 2015 had an unprecedented level of media attention, firmly positioning migration at the centre of

political agendas. Guma et al. (2019:96), in particular, note that the crisis drove a problematic representation of people forced to migrate, often prescribing a homogenous group identity "co-opted by xenophobic, anti-immigration sentiments" (see Chapter 5 for elaboration). This view is shared by Greussing and Boomgaarden (2017:1750). The authors analyse dominant frames emerging in Austrian media reports of the 2015 European border control response and explain that during times of uncertainty, "people orient themselves towards medially communicated interpretations". In fact, Greussing and Boomgaarden (2017) discuss that due to the complexity and duration of the 2015 refugee crisis, a climate of uncertainty emerged regarding its political, economic, and societal implications. This complexity, as the authors continue, enabled the mass media to shape the public's understanding of refugees, including how their arrival may affect host countries. Critically, Greussing and Boomgaarden (2017) found that three common themes emerged in the media about people forced to migrate. The first is that refugees and asylum seekers are passive victims. Second, they threaten a host county's culture, security, and public services systems. The final view is dehumanisation, positioning people forced to flee their homes as an anonymous out-group. The authors also observed that coverage of the refugee crisis frequently referred to people seeking sanctuary through metaphors related to "large quantities and elemental forces", such as flooding, presenting the view of an uncontrollable inundation. The authors' analysis thus lends to the understanding that the media created a polarised perspective which, as the authors claim, constructs people forced to flee "as deviant or alien to the host society, disrupting its cultural identity, language, and values". Spotti (2019a:70) upholds these claims, noting that:

> "Migrants who knock at the EU's door [are viewed as] a problem to border control authorities [and, by association, the public] in that they [the authorities] cannot anymore conceptualise migrants as people".

Similarly, through their observations of country-specific media framing shifts during 2015-2016, Heidenreich et al. (2019) found that the crisis enabled the media to shape the impact of refugee arrival on country unification and identity politics. A central aspect of press coverage during this time, was thus, the conflation and inaccurate labelling of people seeking sanctuary with other migration categories (UNHCR, 2015; see Section 2.3). It was, however, the circulation of Nilüfer Demir's photograph, depicting the tragic end of the life of a Syrian-Kurdish toddler, Aylan Kurdi, that became symbolic of the border control response, its death toll, and ensuing divisions in political debate and media framings. While

this image renewed a sense of welcome, hospitality and solidarity in some instances, increases in support and media coverage following Demir's photograph are significantly criticised. El-Enany (2016:13), for example, questions whether Demir's photograph caused an eruption of solidarity due to:

> "the innocence evoked by the body of a light-skinned child that enabled the temporary, fleeting awakening among white Europeans to a refugee movement that long-preceded the media spotlight on that photo".

Bhambra (2017) and El-Enany (2020b) and Holzberg (2019) contextualise this analysis. The authors contend that separating Europe's 'refugee crisis' from its colonial history, and role in perpetuating global inequality, is impossible. Specifically, the authors hint that instability produced by Europe's colonial history and imperial agendas, not least its associated racialised ordering, contributed significantly to Europe's border regime violence. For El-Enany (2020b), European integration and border control, thus, fail to mark a "turning point or rupture in relation to a violent past [colonialism], [but] is instead […] a continuation of European colonialism". Holzberg (2019) offers a corresponding assertion, claiming that through its link with colonial violence, the 2015 European border control response entrenched xenophobia, racism, and anti-immigration sentiments in public and political discourses. What the authors all suggest then is that while the movement of people across nation-state boundaries is a "key ingredient" of the contemporary world, border crossing engendered by forced migration results in division and tension (Blommaert, 2009:30). Critically, these claims thus imply that people fleeing their homes in 2015 'failed' to conform to European constructions of 'acceptability'. Contemporary migratory discourses are, in this sense at least, linked inextricably with Colonialist thought – the maintenance of global power contraries, inequalities and capital influence (c.f. Goebel, 2014; Spotti, 2019b). Specifically, the European border control response unveiled the "West-East tensions on migration issues that ha[ve] remained depoliticised and largely hidden" (Weinar et al., 2018:2), unquestionably affected and altered by a combination of policy and media responses.

Concurrent to Europe's border control response was significant developments in the British Border regime. The ensuing discussion will thus explore the Brexit debate (3.3.1), examining its role in harnessing British hostility (3.3.2). Critically, this discussion observes how the 2015 European border control response escalated the UK's decision on Brexit and, hence,

became “a fan [to] the flames” of British hostility (Schwartz et al., 2020:2). This discussion brings together, and demonstrates, how refugee protection history (Section 2.1-2.2), European intergovernmental border control inequities (Section 3.1), and Brexit (Section 3.3.1) aided the acceptance and normalisation of developments in the Hostile Environment agenda: in essence, laying the groundwork and clearly defining those considered “friends” and those “we do not want to come here” (Home Secretary, 2022).

3.3 Turning to the Context of the UK

3.3.1 Brexit

On the 23rd of June 2016, a national referendum on the UK’s EU membership took place, resulting in 51.9% of voters favouring the severing of the UK from its EU ties. Introduced by then Prime Minister David Cameron and his Conservative Government, Brexit, according to Schwartz et al. (2020), sought to address Euroscepticism within the Conservative party, not least appease growing anti-immigrant sentiment amongst the British electorate. The 2016 campaign was, thus, split into two polarising perspectives – ‘Vote Leave’ or ‘Leave EU’ and ‘Remain: Britain Stronger in Europe’. Despite significant efforts by ‘Remain’ campaigners following the referendum results to disrupt the disembarkation process, the UK finalised and formalised its exit on the 31st of January 2021 – 4 months following the commencement of this thesis.

In an analysis of Conservative policy agendas, immigration and the outcome of Brexit, Bale (2022) explains that the Leave campaign became centred around issues of immigration. As Bale writes:

> “Hostility to immigration among significant swathes of the UK electorate was by no means the only factor in the country’s vote to leave the European Union […] [b]ut it was a very important one” (2022:486-487).

Bale continues, explaining that the 2016 referendum is the result of a “centre right party […] politicising immigration to its electoral advantage for fifty years” (see Diagrams 1 and 2 in Section 3.2). Here, Bale hints at the impact of public discourse (the media and political elite) on influencing and swaying public debate, all of which, as Bale writes, “brings us neatly to the way the Conservative Party handled immigration during the referendum campaign”. What Bale highlights, then, is an inability to understand the 2016 referendum without reference to the UK Government’s securitisation of immigration, which, as Bale

writes, “left the country perfectly primed for an entrepreneurial populist willing and able to fuse widespread (though not yet particularly avid) Euroscepticism with even more widespread, and highly salient, anti-immigration sentiment” (2022: 484). Goodfellow (2020) adopts a similar view to Bale, explaining a direct link between Brexit and the UK’s preoccupation with immigration:

> “[the] disinclination to confront myths, and indeed the eagerness to reinforce them, cultivate anti-immigration politics in the UK and would ultimately help produce the Brexit vote” (Goodfellow, 2020:8)

For Ammaturo (2019) and El-Enany (2020), among others, the “cultivation” of UK “anti-immigration politics”, and a significant aspect of its decision to leave the EU, was its “nostalgia for empire” and its “attempt to cling onto the ‘imperial destiny’”. El-Enany (2020) elaborates on this view, arguing that Brexit amplified and legitimatised racism and division in the UK based on the leave campaign’s mandate of ‘taking back control’ and making Britain ‘great again’. The Leave campaign, according to this view, thus aimed to address two principal areas of human mobility. The first was the free movement of people from the EU to the UK. The second was people seeking sanctuary in EU territories (see Section 3.2). Modebadze (2019) contextualises this agenda, noting that Brexit was fuelled significantly by forced migratory movements in EU territories in the summer of 2015, which acted as both a backdrop to the referendum and a fan [to] the flames of xenophobia” (Schwartz et al., 2020:2). Cymru/Wales has not escaped this reality (The Future Generations Report, 2020). As Race Alliance Wales, for example, explains:

> “The Brexit divide in Britain is symptomatic of serious divergence in values, identity, and culture amongst Brits, and Wales hasn’t escaped this either. In terms of the impact of this social crisis on BME communities, we’ve seen it impact on BME communities, as well as poor white communities, in several ways. The first is prevalence of youth violence, this includes gangs, the increase in serious violent crime, especially knife attacks. But a related phenomenon is the uptake of religious or political extremism.”

What is highlighted by El-Enany, Modebadze and Ammaturo, Race Alliance Wales, along with other sharing this thinking, is that the politicisation of immigration in the UK, particularly its connectivity with colonial logic, culminated in the outcome of Brexit. In other words,

Brexit was presented as a response to electoral concerns to securitise the UK. The ensuing discussion builds on this narrative, exploring legislative developments in the UK border regimes since the end of WWII, with particular emphasis paid to the era of the Hostile Environment (2012-present).

3.3.2 UK Immigration Rhetoric

For many researchers, 2012 marked a culmination in UK hostile rhetoric toward immigration and asylum, with the Conservative Government's announcement of the 'Hostile Environment'. Although an official turning point in hostile rhetoric toward people with myriad migratory backgrounds, Goodfellow (2020:2) hints that restrictive immigration acts and legislation are neither new nor a "deviation from the norm". As Goodfellow continues, decades of exclusionary politics enabled the formation of the Hostile Environment, especially its acceptance by UK society. Hence, discourses of deservingness and worthiness defined the politics and imaginaries of British immigration even before the Hostile Environment declaration.

According to many researchers, such as El-Enany (2020), the modern UK approach, since the 1948 British Nationality Act, has sought to entrench anti-immigrant sentiment, not least place citizens on a scale of legitimacy (c.f. Goodfellow, 2019). Hostility toward people seeking refuge is evident in political agenda developments from the mid-1900s onwards. While Labour's 1948 Act officially marked the opening of Britain's borders to people from independent and non-independent Commonwealth countries and other British colonies, 1962 onwards saw the tightening of British citizenship rights, firmly positioning Britishness, not least discourses of immigration, at the centre of political debate—a topic which has remained at the forefront ever since (El-Enany, 2020). Between 1962-1981, Conservative and Labour Governments alike reduced the access of people from the Global South, especially former British Colonies, from entering the UK. By the 1981 Act, the 1948 Act had been repealed, making clear the (selective) anti-immigration trajectory of the UK, not least firmly embedding criteria for modern-day British Citizenship.

Between 1993-2009, combined efforts from Conservative and Labour Governments shifted the focus of immigration agendas from colony and commonwealth citizens to a preoccupation with people seeking refuge. As a 2016 report from the Migration Policy Institute writes, "Migration emerged as an issue of public debate in the 1990s and early 2000s, as immigration to the United Kingdom significantly increased" (2016:8). Throughout this period, criteria for asylum were laid out (see 1993 Act), restrictive provisions set forth

and border control activities securitised and digitised (see Acts 1996-2009). The late 1990s to early 2000s thus paved the way for points-based, two-tiered visa systems and 'safe-country' return zones (e.g. 'White' listed countries – see 1996 and 2004 Acts), establishing the ground for contemporary definitions of who may enter and remain in the UK, but also making clear who "our friends" are, and who "we do not want to come here" (Home Secretary, 2022). Since these claims require the accompaniment of their legislative context, Diagram 1, below, illustrates the principal immigration acts (relevant to this thesis) introduced following the end of WWII:

Figure 1: UK immigration Legislation (1948-2012) [5]

British Nationality Act (1948)	This Act was introduced by a Labour Government. It extended British citizenship rights to independent and non-independent Commonwealth and British colonised countries. It resulted in "every person born within the United Kingdom and Colonies after the Commencement this Act shall be a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies by Birth" (British Nationality Act, 1948: Chapter 56 Section II).
11 March 1954 – UK signs the Refugee Convention	
Commonwealth Immigration Act (1962)	This Act was introduced by a Conservative Government. It controlled the entry of all Commonwealth passport holders to the UK (excluding British passport holders). Commonwealth passport holders now required a work voucher. The work voucher was graded according to a person's employment prospects. As Yeo (2022) notes, "[t]he British Subjects affected were mainly – but not exclusively – the racialised people of the Commonwealth".
04 September 1968: The UK signed the 1967 Protocol. The 1968 Commonwealth Act preceded the UK's signing of the Protocol.	
Commonwealth Immigration Act (1968)	This Act was introduced by a Labour Government in response to South Asian British citizens in East African countries migrating to the United Kingdom. This act reduced access to British Citizenship to those with a parent or grandparent (male ascendants only) born in the UK/who hold British Citizenship.

[5] Information has been drawn from Refugee History (2016), Free Movement (2018), El-Enany (2020), and Parker (2018) to create this timeline.

Immigration Act (1971)	This Act was introduced by a Conservative Government. It replaced employment vouchers (1962 Act) with work permits, allowing temporary residence only. The Act created the concept of a 'patrial'. Patrial referred to a person's birth in or ancestral connection to the British Isles. People with close associations to the UK (e.g. Patrials) were exempt from this Act. This act also made provisions for voluntary repatriation. According to Patel (2021), it lay the groundwork for the Windrush Scandal.
British Nationality Act (1981)	Introduced by a Conservative Government, this Act was created in response to increases in people seeking asylum in the UK. It sought to create a more efficient system for asylum decisions. It created an appeals process to contest asylum rejection. However, during appeals, people could be detained until the outcome of their appeal was provided. Fingerprinting of asylum seekers was also introduced. People with documentary evidence/certification of their asylum status were granted the right to local authority housing.
Asylum & Immigration Appeals Act (1993)	Introduced by a Conservative Government (and continued by a Labour Government), this Act targeted claims that were considered 'false' claims for asylum. The aim of this process, according to the Act, was to speed up asylum claims processes. The Act created the concept of 'white listed' counties. These are countries the Government deemed to be a country safe and thus discrediting a person's claim of persecution. This resulted in a person not falling within refugee categorisation. The Act also introduced a number of restrictions: • increased powers of search and arrest. • Extending punishments for false asylum claims. • Employers of undocumented people faced fines • Significant distinctions between 'refugee', 'asylum seeker' and 'economic migrant' began. • Housing and other benefits were removed for asylum seekers until their claim was granted.
Asylum & Immigration Act (1996)	This Act was introduced by a Conservative Government. This Act followed the Conservative election promise to reduce immigration numbers. It repealed the 1948 Act. It replaced the category of Citizen of the UK and Colonies with three new categories: • British Citizen. • British Overseas Citizen. • British Dependant Territories Citizen. This act further granted females the right to pass on their British Citizenship to their descendants. Formerly, only males could, as per the 1971 Immigration Act and creation of the concept of Patrial.

The Dublin Convention (1997)	In 1990, the Dublin Convention established an agreement relating to EU member states, and their shared responsibility for asylum seeker processing. The Convention was signed by the UK in 1992 and came into effect in 1997. The Convention declared that Asylum Seekers would be processed by the first EU state they arrived in. However, exceptions were made if the asylum seeker had family in another EU country, or a residency or visa permit. In 2003, Dublin II was introduced. Dublin II allowed EU States to share data on asylum seekers, including their fingerprints (EURODAC). Dublin III was implemented in 2013. It introduced the right to appeal a country transfer and granted more rights to unaccompanied asylum seeking children (UASC).
Asylum & Immigration Act (1999)	This Act was introduced by a Labour Government in response to what they conspired to be inefficient asylum processes. This Act introduced the 'One Stop Appeal' procedure. This Appeal procedure required individuals to complete an appeal in a single application. It further emphasised the requirement of correct documentation (including citizenship) for application processing. This Act listed additional amendments: • Penalties for those transporting undocumented people. • Registrars become responsible for reporting 'suspicious marriages'. • Detention centres were defined. • Dispersal policies were introduced. • An asylum seeker voucher scheme was introduced for access to goods (welfare and basic needs).
Nationality, Immigration & Asylum Act (2002)	Introduced by a Labour Government, this act introduced (minor) reforms to the 1999 Act, following criticisms. The following procedures were amended/created: • Appeals processes were expanded in technicality and precision. • Asylum seeker registration cards were introduced. • The 1999 voucher system was replaced with cash payments. • Refugee integration programmes and accommodation centres for destitute asylum seekers were introduced. • 'Detention centres' became known instead as 'removal centres'.

Asylum & Immigration Act (2004)	This Act was introduced by a Labour Government. It was one of many amendments to immigration law in early-mid 2000's. This Act introduced: • Electronic monitoring ('tagging') for people subject to residency restrictions. • Arrest without warrant for people unable to provide documentation at asylum interviews. • Specific penalties for trafficking. • Legislation allowing refugees to be removed from the UK and placed in countries 'known to protect refugees and to respect human rights' – a direct continuation of the 1996 'white list'.
Immigration, Asylum & Nationality Act (2006)	Introduced by a Labour Government, the 2006 Act amended the definition of an 'asylum claim' to 'a claim made by a person that to remove him from or require him to leave the United Kingdom would breach the United Kingdom's obligations under the Refugee Convention' (Immigration, Asylum & Nationality Act, 2006). The Act further outlined that people detained in 'removal centres' were ineligible for pay (the national minimum wage) for work they carry out within the centre.
UK Border's Act (2007)	This Act was introduced by a Labour Government. This Act created significant advancements in border and identification technology. The Act introduced biometric registration requirements for all people entering the UK.
Immigration Rules (2008)	This set of rules was introduced by a Labour Government. It created a Points-Based Systems of immigration. The introduction of this system, the basis of which is still in place at present, accepted the admittance of people to the UK based on their qualifications and skills. The system categorises people into 5 Tiers: • Tier 1: Highly skilled workers. • Tier 2: Sponsored skilled workers. • Tier 3: Low skilled workers. • Tier 4: Students (restricted further after 2008). • Tier 5: Special Categories of Temporary Migrant (short-term working or voluntary visas).
Borders, Citizenship, & Immigration Act (2009)	This Act was introduced by a Labour Government. It created an amendment to regulation for naturalisation, with emphasis on 'good character' applied to this amendment. This required all people applying for naturalisation to have been a UK resident for eight years, to not have been absent from the UK for more than 90 days, and to have high qualifying immigration status (such as English language and professional skills).

From 2012 onwards, a range of policies, laws, and legislation were established in the hopes of making life as difficult as possible for people deemed by the Home Office to be living 'illegally' in the UK. It is often linked closely with Theresa May's (then Home Secretary) 2012 claim that the aim here in Britain is to create "a really Hostile Environment for illegal immigrants". To achieve this objective, the Hostile Environment includes provisions to reduce people's access to employment, health care, bank accounts, and housing, among other public services, with the aim of encouraging them to leave the UK voluntarily. The Hostile Environment is further orientated around citizens - such as healthcare workers, teachers, and employers – becoming agents of border control, checking, and reporting the immigration statuses of their service users.

A prime example of initial developments in the Hostile Environment occurred in the summer of 2013. The Home Office began a series of campaigns to encourage public engagement in the Government's tactics to control 'illegal immigration' (Tyler, 2018). Operation Vaken has since become emblematic of these activities. This 2013 pilot saw vans carrying the message "In the UK illegally? Go home or face arrest" target 6 London boroughs with high numbers of people with migratory backgrounds. While the scheme aimed to provoke people to self-report, it also encouraged the public to report "suspect" people and was one of the first border enforcement campaigns to engage extensively on social media. According to the Home Office's evaluation of the scheme, the pilot lead to 60 voluntary departures, with an additional 65 being processed (Home Office, 2013). Critiques of the scheme, such as Tyler (2018), remark that the campaign is symbolic of heightening anti-immigrant sentiment "to the point where it was possible for a government sponsored advertisement to use the same hate speech and rhetoric as far-right racists" (Jones et al. 2017; cited in Tyler 2018).

Following Operation Vaken, Hostile Environment provisions became Law in the 2014 Immigration Act, and subsequent restrictions applied in the 2016 Immigration Act. Both Acts have forged anti-immigrant sentiment into the blueprint of British society by placing immigration checks on "every element of people's lives" (Goodfellow, 2019), leading to "ordinary people (medical and education staff, landlords, employers, and so forth) [being] pressured to check the residence rights of their patients/students/tenants/etc" (Rampton & Charalambus, 2019). As Benchekroun (2023) explains, the UK Government has introduced processes to increase the difficulty of people obtaining and sustaining residency and citizenship rights. These restrictive measures include significant fee increases for Home Office visas and applications, the extension of no-recourse to public funds criteria, charging for healthcare, a minimum income requirement for spousal reunification visas, and finally,

increases in the cost and complexity of people and their families seeking to stay in the UK under their right to a family and private life act (Benchekroun, 2023). Referring to Schengen entry requirements and restrictions on refugee status, Benchekroun further raises that these restrictive measures impact, and target, people from British and European Colonies, as well as other countries in the global south. As Benchekroun (2023:2) concludes, the hostile policies and discourses have not only created precarity for people without residency rights but also disadvantage and discriminate against "people with diverse immigration statuses, including racially minoritized citizens" — the Windrush Scandal is a prime example.

In 2021, the UK Government announced their New Plan for Immigration. The Nationality and Borders Bill (2022) implements the New Plan agenda, which, according to Government, is an action to "to regain sovereignty" by making "immigration and asylum policy a priority". Referring to the plan, the Government claims that it is "the most comprehensive reform [to Immigration] in decades" aiming "to fix the broken asylum system" (Home Office, 2022). The Bill focuses on seven provisions: nationality, asylum, immigration control, age assessments, and modern slavery. Regarding asylum, the Government outlines that the Act consists of three principal aims:

1. "To establish a fairer and more effective process which better protects and supports people in genuine need of protection.
2. To save lives and prevent illegal entry into the UK by disrupting criminal traffic networks and business models.
3. To remove people from the UK who do not have residency rights".

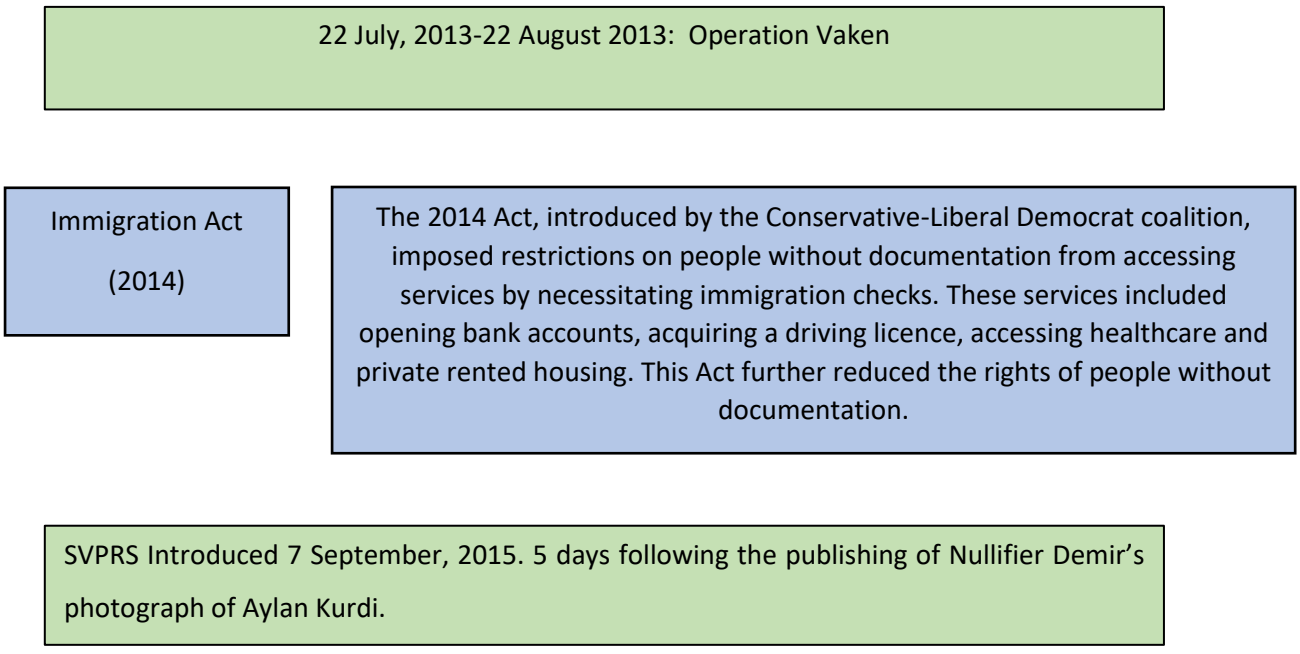
According to the UNHCR, however, by implying that people seeking protection should claim asylum in the first 'safe country' of arrival, the Nationality and Border's Bill undermines the tenets of the 1951 Convention. This view is shared by the UK's Refugee Council (2021), who note that the Bill marks the "latest stage in the ongoing attack on refugee rights in the UK". A UNHCR press release (2021) similarly concludes that the Nationality and Borders Bill "penalise[s] most refugees seeking asylum […] via damaging and unjustified penalties, creating an asylum model that undermines established international refugee protection rules and practices". Kuzniar (2022) elaborates on this analysis. Borrowing from Clause 11 of the Bill, Kuzniar argues that the Bill divides refugees into two groups. One group refers to people who "have come to the United Kingdom directly from a country or territory where their life or freedom was threatened (in the sense of Article 1 of the Refugee Convention)". To be considered for this group, the individual must have "presented themselves without

delay to the authorities", and if the person entered or is staying in the UK illegally, they must demonstrate "good cause for their unlawful entry or presence". People unable to meet these criteria are categorised into group 2. People considered group 2 refugees are only granted temporary protection status and cannot apply for settlement for ten years. As Kuzniar concludes, this distinction enables the differential treatment, in law, of people seeking protection. For the UK Government, however, the Nationality and Borders Bill represents a reclaiming "of sovereignty" which enables the Government to dictate who may enter and remain within the state based on the legality of their entry. As the UK Government conclude:

> "[t]hose who prevail with claims having entered illegally will receive a new temporary protection status rather than an automatic right to settle, will be regularly reassessed for removal from the UK, will have limited family reunion rights and will have no recourse to public funds except in cases of destitution".

The following diagram (Figure 2) illustrates the policies, acts, laws, and legislations introduced under the premise of Hostile Environment rhetoric, rebranded as the Compliant Environment in 2017:

Figure 2: The Hostile Environment (2012-Present) [6]



[6] Information has been drawn from Refugee History (2016), Free Movement (2018), El-Enany (2020), and Home Office (2023) to create this timeline

Immigration Act (2016)	Introduced by a Conservative Government, the 2016 act continued the intentions of the 2014 Act. The Act proposed a reduction in support for people seeking asylum, as well as restrictions and penalties for people working without the required documentation.

16 June 2016: UK's referendum on EU membership. The 2016 Immigration Act preceded the election.

EU Withdrawal Act (2020)	Introduced by a Conservative Government, this act abolishes free movement for EU citizens, marking the end of the Brexit transition period. This Act further established the groundwork for the introduction of the 2022 points-based immigration system.

May, 2021: New Plan for Immigration Introduced

Nationality & Borders Bill (2022)	This Act was introduced by a Conservative Government. This Act established a two-tier asylum system. This system results in people irregularly entering the UK receiving less protection and support. The Act has introduced the following: • increased the evidentiary requirements of establishing a person as a refugee. • reduced the criteria and threshold of serious crimes. • withdrawn access to stages of appeal, as well as the fast-tracking of certain cases. • penalties for late submission of evidence. • the Immigration Tribunal has been granted additional powers, on top of those that already exist.
Illegal Immigration Bill (2023)	This Act, introduced by the current Conservative Government, removes those who enter the UK irregularly to their country of origin, or a 'safe' third country (e.g. Rwanda). This act prevents people from accessing the UK's modern slavery protection schemes and mostly disregards asylum and/or human rights claims made by people seeking refuge. This Act broadens the powers of detention, with the aim of removing a person from the UK. This also includes the detention of children.

The Safety of Rwanda (Asylum and Immigration) Bill (2024)	As explained by the Home Office (2024), "this bill builds on the objectives set out in the Illegal Migration Act 2023, Nationality and Borders Act 2022, and the measures set out in the New Plan for Immigration, as part of a wider strategy to tackle illegal migration". It declares Rwanda a safe country for the removal of people for asylum processing and "the overarching purpose of this bill is to deter dangerous and illegal journeys to the United Kingdom, which are putting people's lives at risk, and to disrupt the business model of people smugglers who are exploiting vulnerable people".

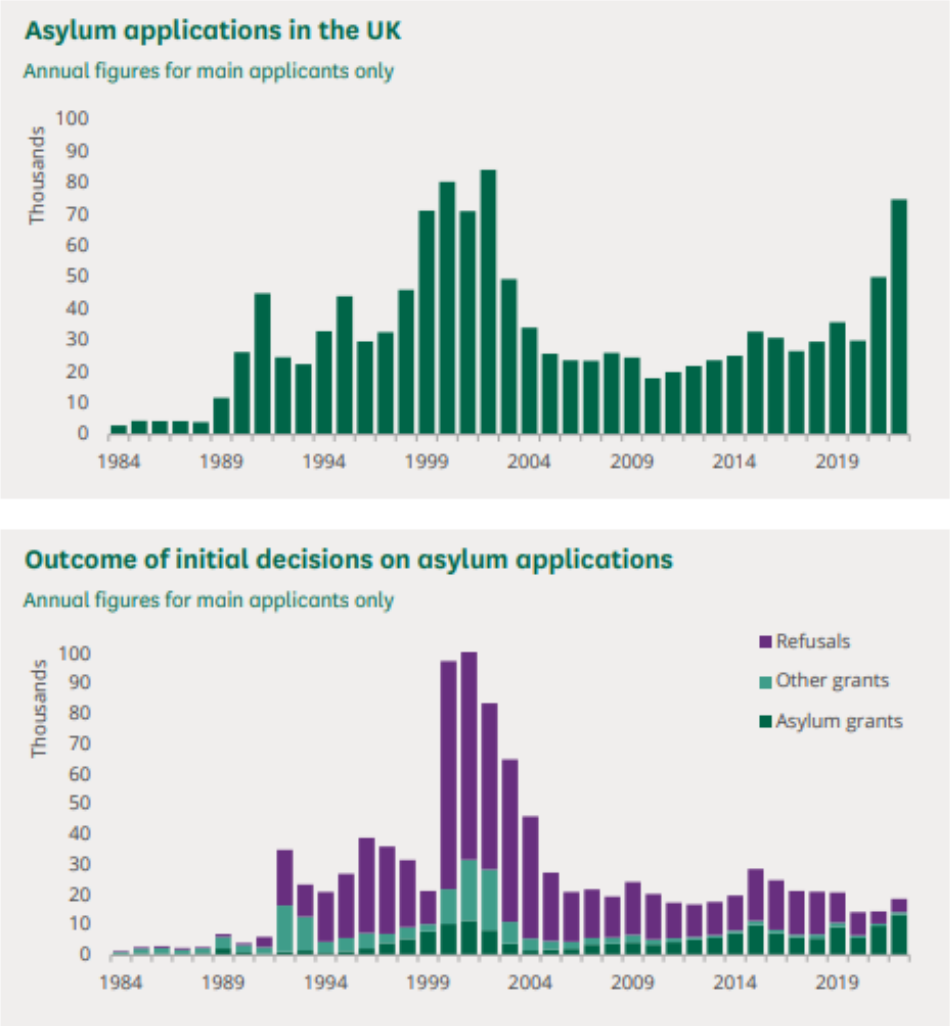
While Diagram 2 addresses some of the main legislative outputs since 2012, information on policy initiatives, acts, legislation, among other activities since the onset of the Hostile Environment is difficult to pinpoint. 'FreeMovement', an immigration law blog, attribute the difficultly of determining UK immigration agendas to repeated amendments of fundamental legislative provisions in immigration law. As the blog notes, these amendments are "now scattered around Acts of Parliament from 1971, 1988, 1999, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2014 and 2016", which, according to the authors, are both free standing provisions, but also amend previous legislation. Not only this, but the blog explains that current amended versions of legislation are not readily accessible, unlike historical (and hence, redundant) declarations.

The ensuing discussion will proceed by focussing attention on UK resettlement schemes. Particular emphasis is paid to developments in resettlement schemes and data, especially changes in the entry of people seeking refuge to the UK since the onset of the hostile environment and the outcome of the Brexit vote.

3.3.3 UK Resettlement: Data, Schemes, and Means of Entry

According to the UNHCR (2022), as of November 2022, 231,597 refugees were living in the UK, 127,421 had pending asylum cases, 74,751 new asylum applications were made, and 5,483 people were experiencing statelessness (House of Commons Asylum Statistics, 2023). House of Commons data further suggests that, while asylum applications have not reached the heights that occurred in 2002 (which saw 84,132 applications), trends are on an upward trajectory. The below tables, taken from House of Commons datasets (2023), illustrate recent trends in asylum applications:

Figure 3: Asylum Applications in the UK (House of Commons Asylum Statistics (2023)



Despite increases in asylum applications, Braid (2023) notes that provisions for safe and legal routes to the UK have not followed suit (see Section 3.2 for comparability). Instead, with the exception of Ukrainian nationals, refugees arriving in the UK via safe routes are few and far between. At present, the UK participates in three principal resettlement schemes – the Mandate, the Community Sponsorship Scheme, and the United Kingdom Resettlement Scheme (UKRS). The longest-standing of the three schemes is the Mandate (1995-present). This scheme enables people recognised as refugees by the UNHCR – from any country worldwide – to apply for resettlement. However, it is reserved for people with 'close' family members already resident in the UK, willing and able to provide support. While it is difficult to ascertain how many people have resettled in the UK under this scheme, a House of Commons (2023) briefing suggests that, since its establishment, the Mandate has granted refugee status to 441 people.

Like the Mandate, the Community Sponsorship Scheme (2016-present, updated in 2021) is part of the UK Government's refugee resettlement programme with the UNHCR. However, this scheme enables local communities, such as civil society organisations, charities, and faith groups, among others, to directly support the resettlement of people in the UK. Thus far, it has seen 350 communities throughout the UK welcome more than 600 people with a forced migratory background (Citizens UK, 2023). The UKRS (2021-present), by contrast, works in collaboration with UNHRC's resettlement submission categories. As the UK Government (2021:5) notes, these categories include people with recognised refugees status, with:

I. Legal and/or physical protection needs.
II. Survivors of violence and/or torture.
III. Medical needs.
IV. Women and girls at risk.
V. Family reunification.
VI. Children and adolescents at risk.
VII. Lack of foreseeable alternative durable solutions.

The UKRS seeks to resettle 5000 refugees per year. To date, it has resettled 1882 people. Further still, the UKRS brought an end to the Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme (VPRS), the Vulnerable Children Resettlement Scheme (VCRS) and the Gateway Protection Programme (2004- 2021). In fact, if resettlement data of all schemes are combined, estimates indicate that between the 2015 refugee crisis and 2022 (approximately) 29,000 people resettled in the UK. That said, the UK also runs additional, ad hoc and reactionary resettlement schemes. These schemes include the Homes for Ukraine Scheme (and Family and Extension visa schemes for Ukrainian nationals), the Afghan Citizen Resettlement Scheme (ACRS) and the Afghan Relocation and Assistance Policy (ARAP). According to the Local Government Association (2023), as of February 2023, approximately 163,500 Ukrainians are living in the UK – 47,800 people via the Ukraine Family Scheme and 115,800 via Ukraine Sponsorship Scheme. As for the ACRS and ARAP schemes, combined, they have resettled 21,387 people (UK Gov, 2022). A report conducted by the Guardian in February 2023, however, concluded that only 22 Afghan citizens were granted sanctuary under Pathway 2 of the ACRS. At the same time, the number of Afghans entering the UK via small boat crossings is increasing, making up 20% of all channel crossings made in 2022 (Brade, 2023). Figure 5 below, recorded by the Home Office (2022), illustrates the entry of people (by nationality) to the UK via small boat crossings since 2018:

Figure 4: Irregular entry to the UK by nationality (Home Office, 2022)

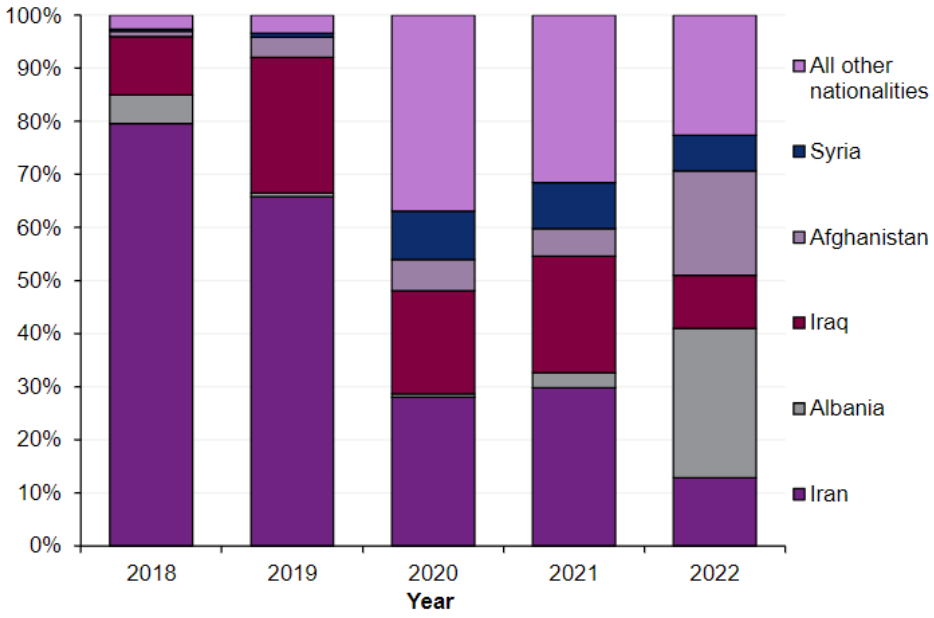
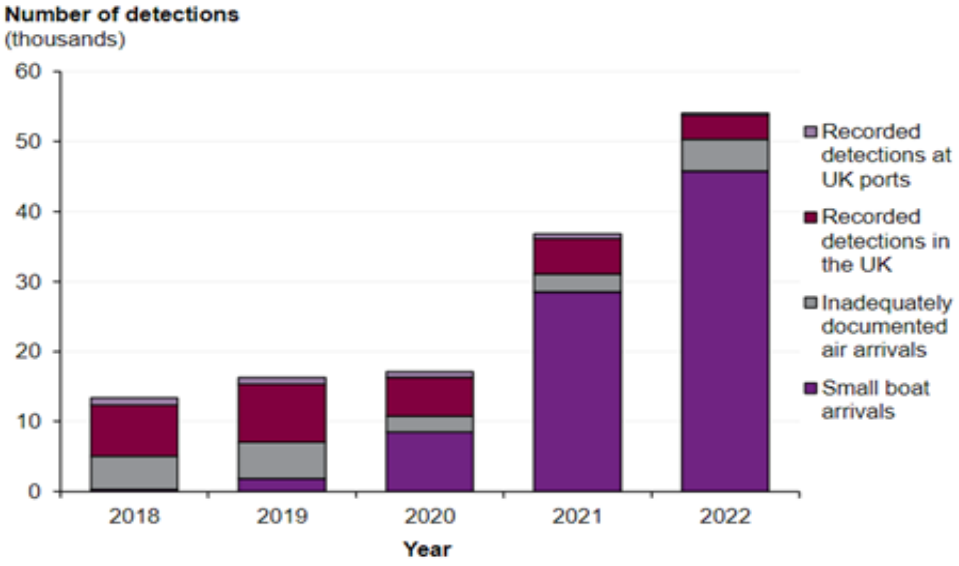


Figure 5 below, similarly illustrates the increases in small boat arrivals in the UK since 2018:

Figure 5: Irregular entry to the UK (Home Office, 2022)



According to a House of Commons report (2023), the data in Figure 4 translates to 299 people entering the UK in a small boat in 2018, 1,843 in 2019, 8,466 in 2020, 28,526 in 2021, and 45,755 in 2022. The statistics suggest that, like the 2015 European border control response, irregular entry to the UK is becoming a primary means of entry for many people. For Lemay, irregular entry is due to "increasingly and significantly reduced access to asylum" in the UK. In this way, like 2015, irregular entry will likely coincide with the considerable loss of life (Lemay, 2021:1).

3.3.4 Cymru/Wales: Resettlement and The Nation of Sanctuary

According to Wellbeing of Wales (2022), data on the number of people with a sanctuary background living in Cymru/Wales is incomplete. Social Care Data Wales (2023), for example, documents that 2,358 people living in Wales are currently in receipt of Section 95 Support. The Home Office, however, reports that as of May 2023, 2,966 people receive Section 95 support. The Home Office similarly reports that since 2016 2459 people have resettled in Cymru/Wales via a combination of the UKRS, the VPRS, the VCRS and the Community Sponsorship Scheme. Welsh Government data, however, stipulates that, as of March 2022, just 1,437 refugees were resettled in Cymru/Wales under the Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme (2016-2022) and UKRS (2021 onwards), with no mention of Community sponsorship or VCRS.

The Welsh Government does, however, hold data on its sponsorship of Ukrainian nationals. As of the end of August 2022, Wellbeing of Wales (2022) documents that over 8,000 people from Ukraine were issued visas via a sponsor in Cymru/Wales, with over 4,500 of these individuals being sponsored directly by the Welsh Government. Further reports suggest 5,300 of these individuals had arrived in the UK by the end of August 2022. Data regarding the number of Afghan nationals issued with UK visas since the August 2021 falls short of equivalence with these figures. Wellbeing of Wales reports that approximately 200-250 Afghan citizens arrived in Cymru/Wales in 2021. However, unlike Ukrainian nationals, the Welsh Government does not have a breakdown of the number of Afghan citizens living in temporary (resettlement) accommodation (Welsh Government, 2022).

Inconsistencies and the unavailability of data on sanctuary-seeking communities in Cymru/Wales has therefore led to significant disparities in academic reporting and, as a result, possibly, an inability to adequality provide provisions to support. It is, however, frequently cited that, while the number of people with a sanctuary-seeking background in

Cymru/Wales is unknown, the Welsh Strategic Migration Partnership (WSMP) estimated that as of 2013, approximately 6,000-10,000 people in Wales have a refugee background (Crawley, 2013). Since 2013, no further predictions have been made. Given global trends in forced migration movements (see Section 2.1), it is likely that this number has increased significantly. To date, most people seeking sanctuary in Cymru/Wales reside in 6 designated dispersal centres:

I. Abertawe/Swansea
II. Caerdydd/Cardiff
III. Caerffili/Caerphilly
IV. Conwy
V. Casnewydd/Newport
VI. Wrecsam/Wrexham

As the WSMP note, four of these centres (Abertawe/Swansea, Caerdydd/Cardiff, Casnewydd/Newport and Wrecsam/Wrexham) were set up in 2001 in response to the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act (refer to Figure 1 for information on this Act). While the four original centres remain the primary regions for resettlement, Conwy and Caerffili/Caerphilly respectfully joined the resettlement scheme in 2017 and 2021. In addition to these centres, all 22 Local Authorities have recently pledged to support the resettlement of refugees and asylum-seekers. This commitment was first made following the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme (Home Office, 2017). Figure 6 below illustrates the distribution of Asylum-Seeking populations in Wales by Local Authority since March, 2020. The data combines individuals on Sections 4, 95 and 98 support:

Figure 6: Asylum seekers in receipt of support by Local Authority, 2014-2023 (Home Office dataset)

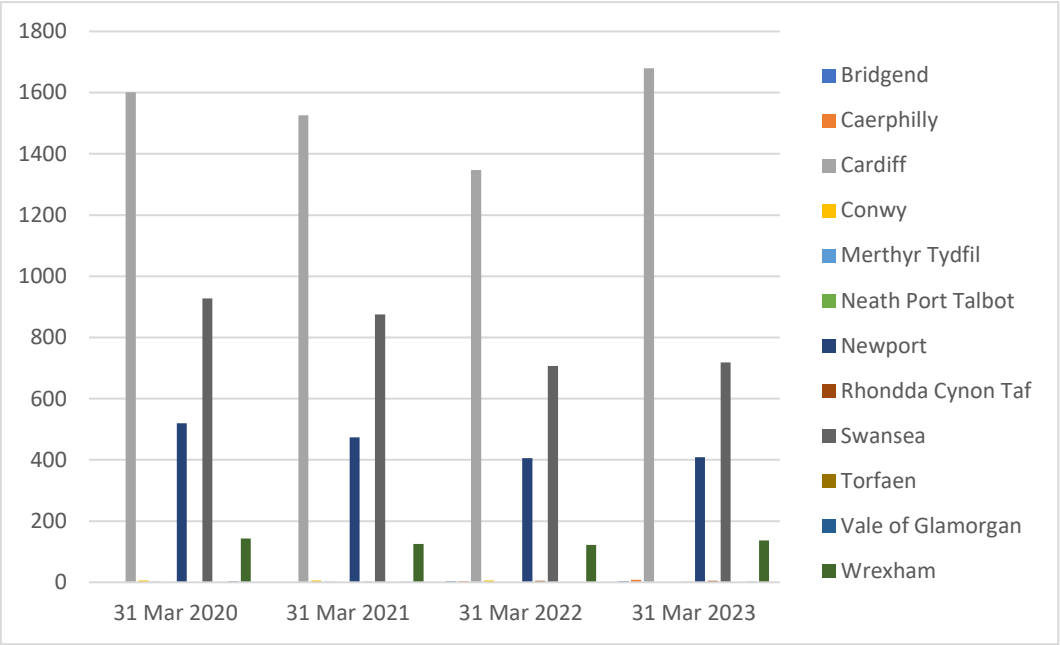


Figure 6 highlights potential gaps in Home Office datasets. For example, Figure 6 demonstrates that Home Office data only pertains 12 out of 22 Local Authorities in Cymru/Wales, suggesting the 10 other local authorities do not participate in resettlement. This thesis, however, questions this dataset and the accuracy of contemporary resettlement figures in Cymru/Wales. For example, while researching forcibly displaced communities in urban and rural Gwynedd, I came across upwards of a hundred people from ranging resettlement schemes and sanctuary-seeking backgrounds, temporarily and permanently making Gwynedd their home. Further still, Figure 6 highlights possible data misrepresentation in the context of Cymru/Wales. While the data sets in Figure 6 suggest the number of people resettled throughout the 4 main dispersal centres remains relatively low, a BBC report (2017) found that Caerdydd/Cardiff, Abertawe/Swansea and Casnewydd/Newport are actually amongst the top 10 areas in the UK with the highest number of asylum seekers per head of population. Further still, despite the relatively low numbers of resettled communities outside dispersal centres, the pledge of all local authorities to support forced migrant communities is, for Prowlee (2022:32), a "distinctive feature of Wales" which "adds momentum to the notion of Wales as a Nation of Sanctuary".

The Nation of Sanctuary pledge occurred as a Welsh Government commitment following the 2015 EU border control response (Section 3.2). The sanctuary pledge is a central feature of contemporary Welsh resettlement and was officially published as the Nation of Sanctuary (NoS) plan in 2019. The plan documents the Welsh Government's intention to build a culture of hospitality at the sub-state level, presenting a 'Welsh way' in contrast and contradiction to UK Government approaches to resettlement. Edwards and Wisthaler (2023) add depth to this analysis. The authors analyse the symbolic power of the NoS plan, noting that "the Welsh Government's [sanctuary] concept stands in clear contradistinction to the UK Government's approach to refugees and asylum seekers". For Edwards and Wisthaler, then, the NoS highlights that policy outputs which recognise people seeking sanctuary as an enhancement to "our communities" are distinct in the European, but also UK context (NOS, 2019:2;). In fact, through its "participatory" and "person-centric" approach to resettlement, the plan has received significant endorsements and backing from the United Nations, among other local, national, and supranational organisations (Bevan Foundation, 2023). As the plan notes:

> "Equality and Human Rights are central to the work of the Welsh Government and our vision for Wales. We believe in fair treatment of every person, especially those who are most marginalised by social systems that prevent people from meeting their basic needs. We work to ensure a fairer future which enables equitable access to services and human needs to support every individual to thrive" (Nation of Sanctuary Plan, 2019:5).

The City of Sanctuary movement echo this view, documenting that their vision of Cymru/Wales is to ensure that "wherever people seeking sanctuary go, they are met with welcome, understanding and celebration of their unique contribution to the rich tapestry of Welsh life" (City of Sanctuary, 2023). Finney and Robinson (2008) appear to concur. The authors note that Welsh political rhetoric is both hospitable and tolerant of sanctuary-seeking communities, particularly those forced to migrate (see Section 5.2 for elaboration on tolerant nation theory). This view, as Finney and Robinson continue, is in stark contrast to the realities of resettlement in other parts of the UK, particularly England.

Losoncz and Marlowe (2020) and Folks (2021) raise that successfully resettling people forced to migrate is a critical policy agenda in today's globalised world. In doing so, the authors hint at the increasingly important role of effective governance in supporting societal

inclusion and, hence, identity cohesion. Folks adds to this view, noting that social mobility is a central component of social policy. Folks continues, remarking that through social policy developments, governments play an active role in constructing societal responses to the arrival and resettlement of people forced to flee their homes. In the Welsh context, for example, the "involvement", "integration", and "inclusion" of people forced to migrate into Welsh society is presented, according to the NOS, as an "enhance[ment] to our communities". In fact, as discussed in section 5.3, shared values and an identity of hospitality is identified by the Welsh Government in their introductory statement to the NoS plan:

> "Welsh communities already provide an inspiring welcome to many refugees and asylum seekers, exemplified by the 'Refugees Welcome' campaign and the growth of Community Sponsorship organisations. The frequent thanks and praise given by newly-resettled refugees themselves are testament to the warmth of our communities. We want to build on this goodwill through more opportunities for refugees and asylum seekers to meet with existing Welsh residents and promote good relations and community cohesion".

That said, despite hospitability being at the centre of political planning, research suggests that public perspectives do not align with political agendas (Bernhardt, 2023). At this point, it is perhaps essential to reiterate that Cymru/Wales is devolved. What this means, then, is that – to varying degrees – the blueprint of Cymru/Wales's political functioning connects with the rest of the UK. Immigration governance exclusively resides at the institutional centre (UK Government). It is thus difficult to map out the intention of Cymru/Wales to be a NoS without considering the implications of UK governance. Critically, then, although the Welsh Government is outspoken regarding instances of incompatibility between the Welsh approach to sanctuary and UK Government policy, the Welsh Government recognises its inability to "infringe upon the primacy of UK immigration legislation" (Maegusuku-Hewett et al., 2023:232; See Section 3.3.3). Figure 7, below — taken from the 2022 Independent Commission into the Constitutional Future of Wales (ICCFW) — further highlights the legislative and structural differentials between the UK and Cymru/Wales, including how, in some instances, overlapping reserved and devolved responsibilities, constrain the Senedd's scope for action.

Figure 7 Devolved Power, The Independent Commission on the Constitutional Future of Wales (2022)

Yet, as Mulvey et al. (2023) point out, UK devolution connects with migration in multiple ways. In fact, policy and planning powers are assigned to both devolved (Welsh Government) and reserved (UK Government) administrations alike. The intersection of these powers has resulted in a "distinct territorial variance in social rights and welfare provisions throughout the UK". The sub-state thus has jurisdiction over devolved matters in areas (potentially) benefitting people seeking sanctuary (Maegusuku-Hewett et al., 2023). Devolved power, for example, extends to health and social care, housing (excluding Section 95 housing under the 1999 Immigration Act), education, social services, language and culture, local government, and many more (Centre on Constitutional Change, 2023). These competencies further include powers to contravene UK legislation by withholding consent, not least working within areas of power to mitigate some of the social effects of UK policy. The NoS Plan is, in this sense, not a stand-alone commitment (Maegusuku-Hewett et al., 2023). It intends to connect with Equality Strategy and Planning works, such as the Race Equality Action Plan (2021), contouring and communicating Welsh differences and persistence under UK hostility. Progress of the NoS declaration, including its strategic implementation, is, thus far, reported in the Welsh Government's Progress Report (2020), The Bevan Foundation (2023) and the Welsh Strategic Migration Partnership (2023), among many more.

Thus, from the offset, the NoS Plan, as Edwards and Wisthaler (2023:3604-3606) explain, is a "powerful symbolic tool with a discursive and a territorial dimension" and has "alternative nation-building aims", impacting both governmental and non-governmental actors in Cymru/Wales. What this means, then, is that differences and connections between devolved and reserved powers have created avenues for nation-building activities, whereby the 'centre' seeks to institutionalise a dominant culture, "while the 'periphery' tries to create or safeguard a minority identity for itself" (Edwards and Wisthaler, 2023:3606). In particular, the plan, as the authors continue, raises the cruciality of providing access to

social rights and welfare for people seeking sanctuary, not least how many social policies determine the limits on those rights. These tensions between parliamentary jurisdiction and Welsh devolution led Edwards and Wisthaler to note that Welsh sanctuary is "symbolic in that it signals its intent through a minor policy adjustment, rather than offering substantive policy change" (2023:3605). Symbolic policies, according to the authors, are significant, as they allow regions, such as Cymru/Wales, to engage with a policy field in which they have no legislative competencies. For Edwards and Wisthaler, symbolic power enables a sub-state to engage in methods beyond "window-dressing". The symbolic power of this plan, thus, to borrow from Edwards and Wisthaler, is to create tangible and positive effects for the target population (people seeking sanctuary) within the territory (Cymru/Wales) by establishing an interpretative frame (the NOS), which calls governmental and non-governmental actors to action. In doing so, the NOS aims to mitigate the effects of the UK's Hostile Environment regime by fostering an inclusive regional (Welsh) identity.

In fact, Maegusuku-Hewett et al. (2023) hint that the co-location of the Welsh sub-state with sanctuary status marks out a definitive 'Welsh way' to the resettlement of people forced to flee their homes. This 'Welsh way', whether intentionally or not, relates to identity discourses. Namely, that Welshness is inclusive. In doing so, it demonstrates discursive differences between the state (UK) and the sub-state (Cymru/Wales), particularly regarding the regionalisation of identity — marking out and identifying factors which "unite the Welsh" through their differentiation with Britishness (Englishness). In other words, fostering social citizenship. This 'Welsh way', or Welsh social citizenship, increases "the sense of regional belonging by creating a welcoming environment that supports [people seeking sanctuary]" (2023:3605). As Edwards and Wisthaler (2023:3605) suggest, NoS "aims to influence the attitudes of the electorate by proposing a certain interpretative frame, simplifying an issue to generate consensus and strengthen shared values and identities". In short, Cymru/Wales is a Nation of Sanctuary, Welsh identity is inclusive, and, therefore, the people of Cymru/Wales should provide sanctuary. That said, as Section 2.3 hints, people forced to flee their homes, due to social and legal variability in their categorisation do not experience social citizenship equally. What this implies, then, is that simply having a declaration of a catch-all support provision like the NoS is not, necessarily, adequate. As the Bevan Foundation report concludes:

> "It is essential, though, that we continue to widen the lens and identify needs which are less visible in existing policy and for which there is an even greater dearth of provision. In the absence of an

> equally robust national strategic plan for supporting all legal categories of migrants in Wales, a skewed emphasis emerges in Welsh policy and debate. With the exception of extended support for EU migrants applying under the EU Settlement Scheme, considered responses to the needs of other migrant groups are largely absent. Little reference can be found in government policy to the needs of people arriving in the UK on different categories of visa, children born in the UK without British nationality, those with changing or precarious status, or those without documentation" (2023:5).

Bearing the Bevan Foundation's analysis in mind, the ensuing chapter turns to exploring the Welsh contexts, paying close attention to constructions of Welsh identity and history.

Literature Review (1)

Chapter 4: Cymru/Wales and Welshness

Overview

This chapter is the first of two literature reviews. It adds depth to the thesis narrative by exploring the Welsh context in detail, particularly the notion of Welshness and its connection (or not) with the Welsh language. In doing so, this chapter lays the groundwork for Chapter 5, which finalises discussions by drawing on each chapter to analyse sanctuary-seeking experiences in Cymru/Wales.

This chapter situates discussions within the nexus of language and identity, analysing connections and divergences between Cymru/Wales and the UK, not least Welsh and Welshness. Critically, it evaluates both seminal and present-day developments in the role of the Welsh language in harnessing Welsh self-identification. A central aspect of this analysis explores the impact of historical accounts of Welsh language peripheralisation and minoritisation on contemporary identity fluidity, enactment, and attachment. Although explorations of Cymru/Wales and Welshness may appear dissimilar from debate heretofore, global developments in immigration legislation (Chapter 2), not least in the UK (Chapter 3), are a backdrop to Cymru/Wales, impacting and governing Welsh resettlement realities. This chapter is, therefore, one of many threads making up, affecting, and altering the fabric of resettlement experiences in Cymru/Wales.

This first literature review is significant. It contributes original reflections to the study of Cymru/Wales and Welshness, not least sanctuary, recognising and addressing instances of the suppression but also the guarding of Welshness, including variances in Welsh self-identification. It positions debate within a new, multidisciplinary interpretive framework based on geo-linguistic traditions to critique discursive and scholarly evaluations of Welshness, particularly (historical) preoccupation with using land as a frame of reference for Welsh identity. Finally, this chapter raises similarities and differences in perspectives of Welshness among anglophonic and Welsh language scholars with the aim of providing a more rounded and open analysis of Welshness.

4.1 A Geo-linguistic Approach

'For Wales, See England[?]'

(Johnes, 2019)

As explained in Chapters 1-3, mobility and migration characterise society, and Cymru/Wales is no exception. As far back as 1926, Saunders Lewis described that Cymru/Wales connects to European and global histories, particularly regarding the movement of people to, within, and beyond Cymru/Wales from numerous regions worldwide (See Section 2.2). Brooks (2021) supports this analysis, raising that the Welsh language, like Welsh society, "has always been multi-ethnic", an analysis that is supported by the Runnymede Trust (2020). In fact, the Runnymede Trust claim that, for generations, Welsh society has been characterised by in-migration. Williams (2015), however, complicates the view that the diverse history of Cymru/Wales equates to its contemporary inclusivity. Instead, Williams hints to the heterogeneity and complexity of Welshness. As Williams explains:

> "Wales is a divided nation. It is also a diverse nation. The two are not synonymous. Long-standing cleavages between north and south, east and west, urban/rural, Welsh-speaking/English-speaking, indigenous/in-migrant, working class/'taffia' are cleavages that mark the experiences of ethnic minority communities as well as the majority population. This differentiation inevitably raises a number of questions about Welsh nationhood and identity" (2015; 331-332).

Changes and increases in the global flow of people within and beyond Cymru/Wales, but also power dynamics, (minority) language use, and the localisation of identity in Cymru/Wales, necessitates a new interpretative framework (O'Rourke, 2022). This need is perhaps even more pertinent in contexts such as this thesis, which analyses the intersection of language and identity vis-á-vis forced migration, minority language engagement and supranational, multinational and national policy and planning. O'Rourke, for example, explains that the design of a new minority language paradigm needs to take "into account the spatial and temporal features that define meaning of language in real social life and which recognise language as mobile, through space as well as time, and made for mobility". In other words, O'Rourke (2022) — as with Williams (1997; 2014), Jones and Lewis (2019) and Closs Stephens (2021) — attribute the opportunity of contributing new forms of knowledge to utilising connections and divergences between geography and sociolinguistics. In short, the authors hint at a geo-linguistic approach to understanding (minority) language

identity, engagement, and enactment. Jones and Lewis (2019) contextualise this view, arguing that Cymru/Wales is "*the* place to understand an academic venture of this kind".

Yet, Jones and Lewis (2019:8) also raise that, despite the extensive study of language in geography, studies are "underdeveloped and inconsistent", paying minimal attention to power dynamics between different languages within shared spaces (2019:8). Instead, geographic studies traditionally focus on the interplay between language and place. This tradition led Chapman (2023:5) to conclude that geography requires work to "fracture [its] anglophonic hegemony of geographical knowledge production". But geography is not alone in its "anglophonic" stance. As Chapman continues, sociolinguistics also has a history of co-locating a "standardised mother tongue and a territorially demarcated motherland". Chapman (2023:5), thus, believes that this co-location was (and is) "a key instrument of colonial statecraft" since "language mapping" (re)inscribes "territorial boundaries". What this means, then, is that traditional bindings, in geography and sociolinguistics of language and place allude to monolingual ideologies and suggest (implicitly) that place is a container for language and identity (O'Rourke, 2022). Resultantly, geographers and sociolinguists (re)enforced language territories and, whether intentionally or not, perpetuated the view that "languages and semiotic repertoires in a given place [...] [belong] to that ecosystem" (Canagarajah, 2022:10).

It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that land as a frame of reference for communication and identity is increasingly identified as problematic in today's globalised world, especially in contexts of forced migration and, in some instances, minority language use (Canagarajah, 2022). However, not all languages are afforded this flexibility. As Canagarajah (2022) raises, global languages like English are often represented as being de-territorialised and neutral, since many people, from various communities, use the English language in everyday communication outside the language's "traditional homeland" - England (Canagarajah, 2018). In other words, English language imperialism is blurred by its globality. However, land as a frame of reference remains foundational and fundamental in many (European) studies of minority languages, particularly those "indigenous" to the British Isles, like Welsh (Morris, 2016:58). It is perhaps essential at this point, however, to re-iterate that the de-territorialisation of Welsh and Welshness does not seek to contribute to discourses of Welsh "as the indigenous, ancient and rooted language of Welsh-speaking Wales'", nor is it positioning Welsh in contrast and in contradiction to English. Instead, this approach aims to support the analysis that language, particularly minority languages, have the potential to

transcend boundaries of territoriality (like their global counterparts), providing meaning to their contexts and, in essence, aiding resettlement.

Hence, this subsection seeks to develop a new analytical framework to the study of Welshness, highlighting the historical embedding of "anglophonic hegemony of [...] knowledge production", especially one-nation, one-language European Nation building activities, in geo-linguistic analyses of (minority) languages and place (O'Rourke, 2022:70). Through this perspective, it becomes possible to address whether, coincidentally or not, minority languages and identities have been removed from the sphere of identity negotiation to contestation as fixed, owned, and bound entities to the (topographical) peripheries. For example, as J.R. Jones (1978) forewarned:

> "os tynnwch chwi dir Pobl allan o'r cydymdreiddiad â'u priod iaith drwy adael i'r iaith honno farw fe sugnir y tir i mewn i oruwchdir y Wladwriaeth y darostyngwyd hwy dani. A chanlyniad hynny'n hwyr neu'n hwyrach fydd blotio allan wahanrwydd ethnig, neu genedligol"
>
> [If you disconnect the People's [the "Welsh"] land from their respective language by letting that language die, the land will be subsumed by the State that subjugated them. And the result of that sooner or later will be to blot out ethnic, or national differences]

This de-territorialised analysis, thus, makes it possible to take "into account the spatial and temporal features that define meaning of language in real social life and which recognise language as mobile, through space as well as time, and made for mobility" (O'Rourke, 2022:69). This approach does not suggest that areas with a higher density of Welsh speaker should not be protected, nor does it imply that land is unimportant to discourses of language and identity, but instead, seeks to highlight how language and identity can connect people across borders and locations. However, since this study also engages in contexts of forced migration, it aims to adopt a "through space [and] time" approach that extends its recognition of "language as mobile" to speakers (people) as mobile too, incorporating their "real social life" and experiences into interpretative frameworks (O'Rourke, 2022:69).

4.2 Mapping Welshness: From Past to Present

Following on from Section 4.1, this section adopts the "through space [and] time" approach (O'Rourke, 2022:69). It recognises language and speakers as mobile, mapping out and dismantling modernist influences and discourses of what it means to be Welsh. In doing so, a central aspect of this approach is demonstrating the plurality and flexibility of Welshness, not least the "expansive, primordial, and agentive" potentialities of minority language (Caragarajah, 2022:35). To achieve this, the ensuing section takes a semi-chronological approach. It starts by analysing seminal influences on processes of Welshness, on instances of Welsh language suppression and scholarly misrepresentation, addressing the impact of these influences on contemporary analyses. It then uses this debate to highlight new methods to understand Welshness in expansive and agentive terms (Section 4.3).

Affiliation (and differentiation) with the Welsh language mark many analyses of Welshness. Seminal investigations, for example, often suggested "[o]ne was Welsh if one spoke the Welsh language" (R. Jones, 2019:20). This criterion was further indexed and classified based on location — a demarcation of Welshness initially presented in Welsh nationalist movements of the early-mid 1900s (Gruffudd, 1995). R. Jones (2019:20) adds depth to this finding, outlining the impossibility of understanding seminal visions of modern "Welsh culture and identity without charting [how] it varied from one part of Wales to another" and how the "physicality" of Cymru/Wales "contributed to the nature of [Welshness]" (R.J ones, 2019:20). Critically, then, early investigations promoted regionalised and territorialised markers of being and belonging.

Evans (2019:172), in his study of Welsh national identity, attributes a "complex and uneven history" to the regionalisation (territorialisation) of Welshness. According to Evans, "remarkable heterogeneity" in Welsh language use throughout Cymru/Wales, and therefore, the territorialisation of Welshness, is due to "English colonialism (followed later by the equally uneven penetration of the British state) and later, industrialisation" (Evans, 2019:172). Evans's references thus imply that the decline and peripheralisation of the Welsh language is a process "largely [...] tied up with assimilation and differentiation with English and England" (Higham, forthcoming). This perspective is shared by Lewis (1962). Lewis claimed that the elimination of the Welsh language was a recurrent and omnipresent political policy in the UK. As Lewis shared:

> "er pob tro ar fyd, er pob newid ar ddull y Senedd a moddion llywodraeth, er pob chwyldro cymdeithasol, ni bu erioed anwadalu

> ar y polisi hwn o ddiddymu'r iaith Gymraeg yn iaith weinyddol mewn na swydd na llys nac unrhyw ysgrif gyfreithiol". (Lewis, 1962)
>
> [Despite all the changes in the world, despite all the changes in the ways of Parliament and the methods of government, despite all the social revolutions, there has never been any deviation from this policy of abolishing the Welsh language as an administrative language in neither office nor court nor any legal document]

A report influencing Lewis's analysis, which is further cited as foundational to historical accounts of Welsh lingua-cultural suppression (and perhaps, the territorialisation of Welshness) is the Blue Books. The Blue Books was an 1847 report by English authorities on the state of education in Cymru/Wales. According to the National Library of Wales, the report carries an influence that "has not completely waned even to this day". The report concludes that "at least two-thirds" of the people of Cymru/Wales are in "perfect ignorance and utter vacuity of thought". The report attributes this "vacuity of thought" to the Welsh language, suggesting it "bars the access of improving knowledge to [the] mind". The opening sentence of the report's findings on Welsh language use notes that:

> "The Welsh language is a vast drawback to Wales and a manifold barrier to the moral progress and commercial prosperity of the people. It is not easy to over-estimate its evil effects […] Because of their language the mass of the Welsh people are inferior to the English in every branch of practical knowledge and skill […]. It is the language of old-fashioned agriculture, of theology and of simple rustic life, while all the world about him is English […] he is left to live in an underworld of his own and the march of society goes completely over his head" (Blue Books, 1847:66).

Tyson Roberts (2011) explores the impact of the Blue Books on developments in Welshness and writes that it is often regarded as a "pretext for [the Westminster government] taking control of Welsh schools to further its own political and social agenda" (Tyson Robert, 2017:462). Yet, although the report aimed to demonstrate that introducing the English language into Welsh education would be "a cheaper and easier way of creating [an] obedient population than the use force", it significantly influenced developments in the "construction of modern Welsh identity" (Tyson Roberts, 2011:3). Thus, due to acts of peripheralisation

by the Blue Books, among others, it is perhaps not a surprise that land (location) initially and perhaps, problematically, became a signifier of Welshness, based on living in "more Welsh" and "less Welsh" regions (Evans, 2019).

This vision — and division — of Welsh identity, or as J.R. Jones claimed, the blotting out of ethnic and national difference in Cymru/Wales, formalised in Balsom's (1985) socio-political survey research, the Three Wales Model (TWM). Written during the emergence of devolution and heightened political tensions in Cymru/Wales, the model sought to correlate attributes of Welshness with political affiliations and voting patterns. Critically, to identify factors which "unite the Welsh" through their differentiation with Britishness (Englishness). Balsom, in a synopsis of his model, notes that:

> "language and a subjective sense of identity define three primary social groupings [in Cymru/Wales]; ethnic identity unites the Welsh and distinguishes the British; but [...] [t]he critical variable defining the intensity of ethnic identity remains language" (Balsom, 1985: 9).

In essence, the TWM mapped out, quantified, and explained connections between place, Welshness, and Welsh language everyday usage. A central finding of this research was to break up and classify Cymru/Wales into "three primary social groupings": "Y Fro Gymraeg", "Welsh-Wales", and "British-Wales". Figure 8 below illustrates Balsom's findings:

Figure 8:Balsom 3 Wales Model (1985)

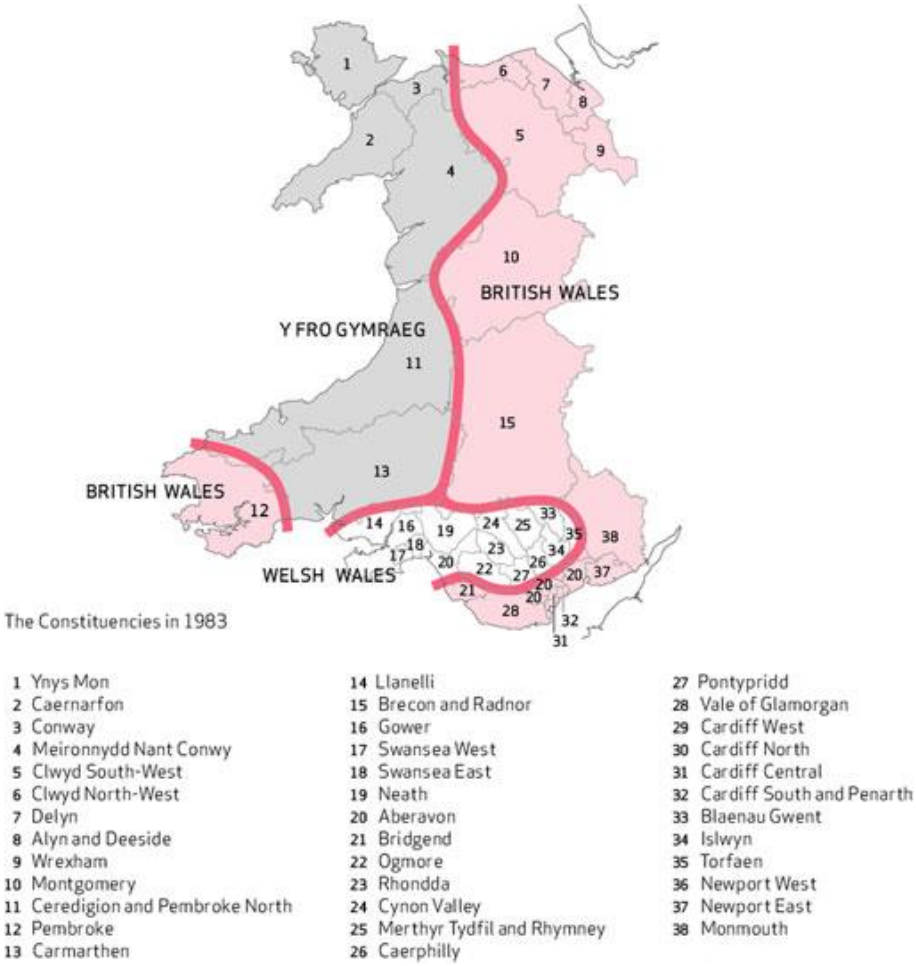


Figure 8 reveals that, according to Balsom, the Welsh language, and ensuing Welsh-identifying communities (Y Fro Gymraeg), predominantly occupy the northern and western regions of Cymru/Wales, also known as Welsh language "heartlands". The non-Welsh-speaking Welsh-identifying communities occupy "traditional" areas of South Wales, while the "British-Welsh" occupy and, as Balsom claimed, "dominated the remained[er] of Wales" (Balsom, 1985). Thus, to re-purpose Jones' claim, "one was Welsh" according to Balsom's model, "if one spoke the Welsh language". One was also Welsh, regardless of Welsh language abilities, so long as one lived in a specified area of Cymru/Wales. Finally, "one" was only "dwelling in a defined area called Wales" if neither of the above applied (Evans, 2019:140).

However, from an approach that recognises "language" and speakers "as mobile" Balsom's model conforms to "modernist orientations" of language and identity which seek to blot out ethnic and national differences based on language use. As Caragarajah (2022) explains, modernist orientations present the view that language is a signifier of community membership, but also that language is exclusive to the place occupied by the community. Thus, by correlating the Welsh language with "ethnic identity", Balsom not only co-located Welsh with Welshness, further articulating Welshness and Britishness as exclusive categories, but reinforced "modernist discourses" which insinuate a "biological orientation to language", framing language, "community, and place as isomorphic" (Canagarajah, 2022:11). In other words, Balsom's vision, and division of Welshness perpetuated an essentialist view of the Welsh language as owned and bounded to the peripheries, rendering it – whether intentionally or not - accessible (and relevant) in certain areas only (Y Fro Gymraeg), but also, "as part of one's genetic makeup either explicitly or implicitly" (Canagarajah, 2022:11' c.f. Iaith Pawb, 2003).

Anthropologist, Bowie (1993), a near contemporary of Balsom appears to share his view. Bowie utilised the TWM to analyse conflicts in Welsh identity. Bowie focussed on identity-making differences between (Welsh speaking) communities in Gwynedd and other areas of Cymru/Wales. While Bowie alluded to the plurality of Welshness, writing that there are "many ways of being Welsh", she nevertheless presented a regionalised view of what it means to be Welsh. As Bowie writes, there is a persistent need, as well as significant divergences, in "meaning and cultural roots" in Cymru/Wales. According to Bowie, this "age old concern" originates in a "lack of recognition from without". As Bowie synopsises:

> "The English have the psychological advantages of a dominant people. Their language, values and identity are seldom threatened or even questioned. [...] The English are an essential ingredient in Welsh identity, not in making the people what they are, but in providing a symbol of what they are not. It is in opposition to Englishness that Welshness is defined" (1993:169).

What Bowie refers to, then, is divergences in articulations of Welshness based on differences, and inequities, with Englishness (and Britishness). In essence, Bowie, as with Balsom, hints at and perpetuates a regionalised Welsh-speaking-English-speaking divide, treating "land as [a] place which is territorialised through human control". For example, Bowie suggests, regarding her region of study, "the whole question of identity [in Gwynedd]

is framed very much within the politics of the Welsh language" and that a lack of affiliation with the Welsh language, its "culture and values" implies that "one sides with the forces which seek to destroy Welsh-language culture, either intentionally or by default" (1993:190). Thus, Bowie not only (problematically) situates Welshness in binary opposition to Englishness, on an oppressed-oppressor continuum, but binds the Welsh language "within a delimited geographical space" (O'Rourke, 2022:64). Through affirming the bordering and regionalisation of Welsh to Balsom's "Y Fro Gymraeg", Bowie is then able to question whether the Welsh language is a "prime mediator of Welshness and chief criteria of nationhood". Bowie's response is that the Welsh language poses a "threat" to the identities of non-Welsh-speaking communities in Wales. As Bowie writes:

> "For the 80 per cent of the population of the principality [sic] for whom Welsh is a foreign language, any definition of Welshness which gives priority to the Welsh language poses a potential threat to their own sense of identity" (1993:169)

Bowie then queried whether an "incomer" can become Welsh, "even if they speak Welsh". For Bowie, in areas such as Gwynedd where the Welsh language is a majority language, all "incomers" "are liable to be classified by the catch-all category 'English', a term [...] frequently used derogatively" (1993:176-177). Drawing on Bowie's claims, it is perhaps unsurprising that Welsh language scholars, such as J.R. Jones (1978) and Saunders Lewis, among others, raised the detrimental impact of language peripheralisation, mapping and quantifying on the notion of Welshness. As J.R. Jones, for example, explained:

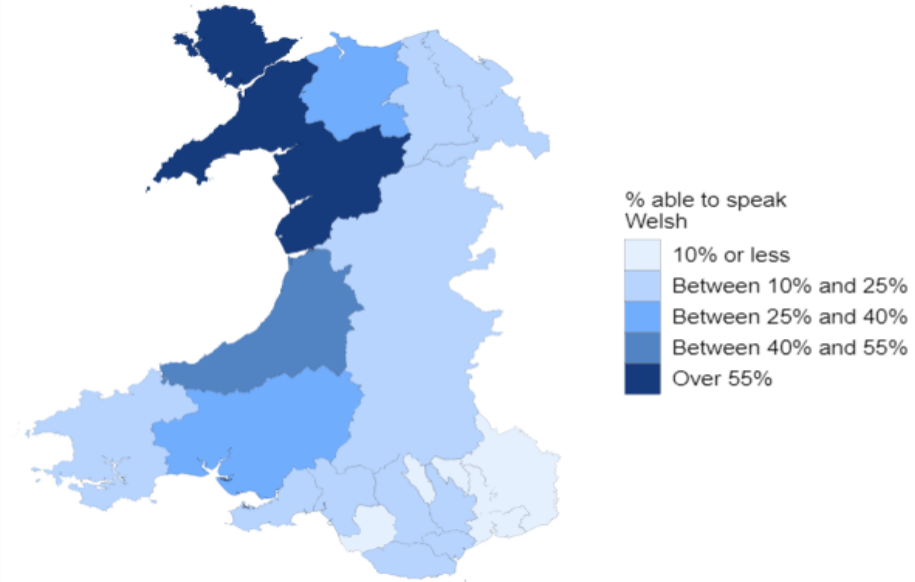
> "Y mae gwahaniaeth iaith yn hollti Cymru. Ac y mae'r hollt yn dyfnhau, a'r rhagfarnau a'r casinebau sy'n ganlyniad yr hollt yn ffyrnigo"
>
> [Language differences are splitting Cymru/Wales. The split deepens, and prejudice and hatred which is the result of the fissure is ferocious]

Despite potential criticism among Welsh language scholars, both Balsom's division of Cymru/Wales and Bowie's questioning of language as a marker of identity, although contested, are not entirely redundant. Hence, these visions – and divisions – of Welshness act as an underlining framework, whether consciously or not, for many contemporary

definitions of what it means to be or become Welsh. In this way, the language-region nexus is often regarded as the "most influential" and underlying principle in definitions and distinctions of Welshness (Coupland et al., 2006:17-18).

Turning to its contemporary use in political science, Scully and Jones (2012), in their study of the TWM and electoral politics, report correspondences between a person's "degree of Welshness" and their preferences for devolution. A 2019 Guardian Report into the outcome of Brexit voting in Cymru/Wales further hints at a pattern between higher degrees of Welsh self-identification and pro-remain voting patterns (Perraudin, 2019). Further still, the Welsh language ability results of the Census 2021 mirror the division of Welshness in Balsom's original mapping. Figure 8 below, taken from the Welsh Government's (2021) Census review illustrates this perspective:

Figure 9: 2021 Census data map (Welsh language abilities)



However, a recent report by the Commissioner for Welsh Speaking Communities, Simon Brooks, (2023) challenges this ascription. The report addresses the "continuing geographical fragmentation of 'Welsh-speaking communities", highlighting a need to re-imagine Welsh language identity and its networked capabilities (K.Jones, 2022:161). The report suggests that, while not all inhabitants in Cymru/Wales speak Welsh, "Welsh is a networked community language". In doing so, the report hints at the need to move beyond discourses which territorialise the significance of the Welsh language to specified regions (e.g. Balsom's Fro Gymraeg) and instead recognise that all spaces and networks that use the Welsh language are of "linguistic significance". The report further suggests that to

“acknowledge the reality of language demography and also highlight that the Welsh language is significant in all parts of Wales”, areas should be known as “areas of (higher density or lower density) linguistic significance”.

However, the report recommends that areas of higher density linguistic significance currently facing language shifts to English should be permitted with powers to enact localised variation in public policy, stabilising Welsh as a community language. The report suggests these powers should relate to policy fields like “town and country planning, land use, housing, education, community development, language planning and economic policies”. The report explains that a central aspect of this process is designating areas with “linguistic significance” status to support the “linguistic sustainability of Welsh-speaking communities”, highlighting the importance of the Welsh language throughout Cymru/Wales. Like the concept of the *An Ghaeltacht* in Ireland, then, this approach to the Welsh language is both a territorially defined area of Welsh language significance and a pan-Cymru/Wales approach to supporting the recognition of linguistic difference and persistence throughout the sub-state. Perhaps enacting as a response to Lewis’ declaration (1926):

> “Amddiffyn iaith, amddiffyn cymdeithas ydyw, amddiffyn cartrefi a theuluoedd. Heddiw ni all Cymru fforddio chwalu cartrefi'r iaith Gymraeg. Maen' nhw'n brin ac yn eiddil.”
>
> [It is the protection of language, the protection of society, the protection of homes and families. Today Wales cannot afford to destroy the homes of the Welsh language. They are rare and fragile]” (Lewis, 1926).

In essence, the notion of “linguistic significance” hints at “how national territories are not uniform, homogeneous or ‘flat’ in nature but rather comprise a series of infrastructures and nodes; ones that bring symbolic meaning to the national territory as well as providing material and practical means of knitting together different parts of a national territory” (R.Jones, 2022:140). Recent approaches, thus, question whether “old divisions” which differentiate between “regions and language groups” are still apparent today (Coupland & Aldrige, 2009:6), while simultaneously reflecting the importance and symbolic significance of the Welsh language.

Contemporary views, instead, highlight the multiplicity of Welshness. Jones (2019:20), in his geographic study of place, Welsh identity, and the Welsh language, realigns Welshness as a “plural and inclusive” process, with “many different ways” to practice and perform

what it is to be Welsh (Jones, 2019:20; Chetty et al., 2022). In short, Jones highlights that Welshness is fluid and flexible and dissociates the Welsh language as an exclusive marker of Welshness (Spiegler et al., 2022). Taylor (2019) adds to this view, suggesting that Welshness is a form of regional and global connection. It is a feeling of belonging and togetherness, unified by familiarity, solidarity, collective identity, and community. For Jones and Lewis (2019), though, Welshness also "connects in complex ways with institutions, emotions and embodied practices of different kinds". What the authors refer to, then, is that Welshness, as with the concept of identity more generally, deconstructs and reconstructs by and within social contexts.

Thus, although contemporary views move beyond positioning Welshness as "value-free and abstract" and, instead, highlight the multiplicity of Welshness, they fail to problematise the context and confines in which Welshness, and the Welsh language, operates and operated (Canagarajah, 2018: 32). Critically, they reinforce, through modernists accounts, a historical preoccupation of envisioning Welshness as a facet of "land [...] territorialised through human control". Thus, while this subsection addresses the need to acknowledge the localisation of identity, especially regarding recognising differences (or similarities) between regions and communities, it demonstrates that the framing of Welshness -- particularly the co-location of Welshness with the Welsh language – has underlying visions of division (c.f. J.R. Jones, 1974).

Critically, then, what this section has sought to raise is the impact of territorialisation on the binding and peripheralisation of the Welsh language, not least the connection of the Welsh language to specific regions, subtly marking it (incorrectly) as owned, fixed, and immobile. As the subsection makes clear, the territorialisation of Welshness is, at present, intrinsic to many contemporary definitions of Welshness. The ensuing discussion seeks to present a different vision of Welshness, dismantling its confinement to place.

4.3 Re-imaging Welshness from Place to Space: Toward a De-territorialised Perspective

> "When I say that Welsh belongs to us all: I mean the communities where Welsh is prospering; Communities where Welsh is growing or where there's great potential for it to grow; Our language belongs to all who want to learn Welsh"

> "Cymraeg belongs to us all" (2022 – Welsh Government Minister for Education)

According to Avias (2019), although borders "are imaginary", they are neither superimposable nor harmless. For Avias (2019:98), borders divide and map places "based on peoples and territories", or as J.R. Jones claimed, ethnic and national differences. J.R. Jones expands and contextualises this analysis to the Welsh context, noting how identity, a Welsh territory and the Welsh language connect. As J.R Jones (1978:7) explained:

> "I glymu dynion yn genedl gyflawn, fe ymddengys i mi fod yn rhaid wrth y lleiafswm o dri chwlwm ffurfiant: (1) tiriogaeth benodedig, (2) priod iaith y diriogaeth a (3) bod yr awdurdod sofran dros fywyd gwladychwyr y diriogaeth yn nwylo'r gymuned ei hun. Cymundod trichlwm, felly, yw cenedl gyflawn"
>
> [To unite men into a complete nation, it seems to me that a minimum of three conditions must be complied with: (1) a specified territory, (2) the language of the territory and (3) that the sovereign authority over the life of the inhabitants of the territory is in the hands of the community itself. A threefold community, therefore, creates a nation]

Avias and J.R. Jones, therefore, refer to how borders are the result of geopolitical (and lingua-cultural) negotiation and contestation – actions of human control. They aim, whether intentionally or not, to extend and affirm state sovereignty but also state membership, allegiance, and discourses of belonging (identity). In this sense, borders (problematically) contour and coordinate the "primacy of personhood to the state", becoming a territorialised zone for identity making (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992; see Section 2.2 & 3.3).This analysis further presents that borders are not solely topographical. Through their connection with identity, they also enable places to "become semioticized [and] indexed through one's language use", among other social identities, suggesting (implicitly) that place is a container for language and identity (Caragarajah, 2018). This view, in turn, borders access to language and identity - a monolingual (Anglophonic) ideology rooted in nation-building activities (O'Rourke, 2022).

However, since borders, as Avias indicates, “are imaginary”, they have the potential to be reimagined, redesigned, and reorientated. Taking a de-territorialised perspective of Welshness and, particularly then, a minority language like Welsh is essential. By unbinding Welshness (and Welsh) from its territorial root (not just Cymru/Wales but geo-linguistic designations of “more Welsh” and “less Welsh” regions), it opens avenues to demonstrate the global, mobile and openness of Welsh and Welshness. While this view challenges modernist discourses and (reductive) ideologies of authenticity, which work to maintain power asymmetries, language minoritisation and language ownership, it does not ignore them. As Williams (2015) for example wrote:

> “Myths of a peaceable and tolerant nation, deeply embedded in the national imaginary are rooted in an idealized Welsh rural community life that summons the trope of the gwerin, [….] but they also function as a powerful exclusionary force. Welsh imaginings of the countryside as the heartland of Welsh language and culture have fostered not only a sense of cultural purity and cultural homogeneity but have rendered rural territory as the site for the protection of very exclusive constructions of national identity” (2015:251).

However, as explained in section 4.1 above, this approach should not be confused with suggesting that areas of higher density linguist significant in Cymru/Wales should not receive protection and acknowledgment. Instead, this approach seeks to highlight how language and identity can connect people across borders and locations, especially in discussions of minority langauges. Hence, the de-territorialised perspective provides the evidentiary means to challenge claims raised by researchers, such as Bowie, who allude to the improbability of a an “incomer” being regarded as Welsh “even if they speak Welsh”. At the same time, this approach recognises the complexity in language and identity experiences and the potentially of language to be politicised and used as an “exclusionary force(?)”.

Processes of de-territorialisation are, thus convoluted, especially for an identity such as Welshness which “connects in complex ways with institutions, emotions and embodied practices of different kinds”, not least a language group subjected to historical peripheralisation. In physical border terms in Cymru/Wales, for example, the 1972 Local Government Act redefined the parameters of Cymru/Wales, officially granting the governance of Monmouthshire to the Welsh sub-state. This Act, however, does not mean the borders of Cymru/Wales will remain inflexible. The Act declares that “[t]here are changes

[to the England-Cymru/Wales] that may be brought into force at a future date". This flexibility is further emphasised within the body of the Act, stating that:

> "The English Commission and the Welsh Commission may jointly review the boundary between a county in England and a county in Wales and, with the consent of the councils of both counties, make joint proposals to the Secretary of State for making alterations to the boundary" (1972:IV).

Thus, in a sense, fixating on a flexible and permeable border, such as the England-Cymru/Wales border, represents "a place of incommensurable contradictions'". However, the frequent co-location of Welsh and Welshness with "assimilation and differentiation with English and England" brings additional complexities. It raises questions, for some, regarding the vulnerability of Welshness (and the Welsh language) through de-territorialisation due to its proximity and affiliation with the globality of English and England. O'Rourke (2022), however, explains that guarding minority languages through geo-linguistic territorialisation is a political argument based on European nation-building that was, as O'Rourke (2022) continues, used to suppress minority languages in the first instance.

Hence, taking a de-territorialised perspective is diffusing local cultural experiences across borders, demonstrating how Welsh is a networked community language. A de-territorialised analysis, however, is not to be confused or conflated with perpetuating imperial ideologies of extending the global reach of a language or culture. Instead, it is a means to describe and understand changes in language and identity in today's globalised world. The 'de-bordering' of a language and identity, as Al-Hammadi (2023) writes, is an essential feature of globalisation, especially in observations of forced migration (and minority language revitalisation), as it helps to demonstrate how increases, changes, and adaptions in communication and social ties extend beyond the borders facilitated and created through human control. In other words, people, communication and hence, identity is expansive.

This de-territorialised analysis has a significant implication on people who experience forced migration. In fact, issues of (de)territorialisation encapsulate the identity debate. Cadena-Camargo et al. (2020), for example, write that, in contexts of forced migration, territorialisation theorists argue that "displacement causes huge distress, as it forces people to disconnect from their roots". De-territorialisation theorists, by contact, acknowledge the "pain of forced resettlement" whilst also "see[ing] opportunities for displaced persons to

develop new identities in their new environments". Hence, a de-territorialised perspective of language and, therefore, identity, enables the recognition of how displacement profoundly affects resettlement, but does not prevent new attachments. Ghazoul (2022), for example, in her exploration of Cymru/Wales in Welsh (Plural): Essays on the Future of Wales, recounts how displacement affects a sense of belonging in Cymru/Wales, writing that:

> "I think in diaspora we are untethered, and forever seeking weighted ground, our anchors, they lift with ease […] longing for the sanctuary of language that was once one's own".

Thus, this thesis views Welshness, and the Welsh language, as plural and inclusive processes. By raising traditionalist orientations which connect language, identity and place (e.g. discourses of authenticity), it demonstrates the possibility of challenging space or place ideologies in language, especially in policy and planning terms. Instead, this thesis views space as expansive, further demonstrating the "expansive, primordial, and agentive" potentialities of Welsh and Welshness beyond defined boundaries like the "Heartlands" (Caragarajah, 2022:35). Thus, as Allen (2023) explains, although individuals and collectives may differ, there are recognisable similarities (and connections) between peoples, places and, hence, between "who's who" and "what's what" (Jenkins, 2009:7). It is, as Allen synopsises, a method of understanding identity, avoiding "the separation of things into either/or categories", and instead, honours variations and connections in being and belonging. However, as outlined in sections 2.4 and 3.1.3, it is nevertheless essential to recognise that despite people having similar identity markers, for example, refugee status or Welsh self-identifying, the outcome of their negotiations and experiences of identity-making processes may differ based on aspects of their social identity and how these social identities are categorised and valued (or not) within a given context.

Literature Review (2)

Chapter 5: Being a Sanctuary Seeking Woman in Cymru/Wales

Overview

This chapter continues and concludes the literature review. It addresses the structural and social implications of seeking sanctuary in Cymru/Wales, highlighting avenues of negotiation, contestation, and the potentiality to mobilise capital and facilitate connection. Central to this discussion is the role of the Welsh language in sanctuary provisions, particularly its impact on resettlement experiences. However, due to a lack of research exploring the accounts of women from forced migratory backgrounds in Cymru/Wales, not least their interactions with Welsh, this chapter contributes to debate by utilising and adapting conceptualisations of symbolic power and the state to analyse existing literature alongside the theories and realities raised throughout Chapters 2-4. The reader is therefore reminded, while engaging in the ensuing debates, to reflect upon discussions raised heretofore.

This chapter begins by defining the 'symbolic power-state' nexus. It demonstrates the potentiality of this framework to analyse state to sub-state interactions, particularly regarding sanctuary provisions. In so doing, this chapter takes a past-present approach to uncover the impact of supranational functioning (e.g. discussions from Chapter 2) and multinational approaches to immigration and resettlement (e.g., Chapter 3) on national sanctuary provisions in Cymru/Wales (e.g., chapter 3-4). Close attention is paid to the impact of this connectivity on women forced to flee their homes. Finally, this chapter draws to a close by debating the potentiality of the Welsh language to facilitate symbolic connection during resettlement, engaging newer communities in everyday life and the histories of Cymru/Wales. This final exploration, therefore, considers the role and impact of the Welsh language in facilitating and contributing (or not) to sanctuary realities. Discussions confront contexts of social and cultural capital, symbolic power, and connection in Cymru/Wales, especially regarding perceptions of the Welsh language.

This chapter is significant, as it both negotiates issues and ideologies of Welsh language (in)accessibility (as discussed in 4.2) but also demonstrates an avenue for the Welsh language to exclusively connect with the sanctuary movement, providing meaning to

Cymru/Wales and, therefore, (potentially) offering opportunities for unique encounters and symbolic connection. As with all chapters in this thesis, this chapter and the ensuing sections should be considered connected and intersecting elements, aiding understanding of the experiences of people seeking sanctuary in Cymru/Wales.

5.1. Defining Symbolic Power and the State

Bourdieu's (1989;1991) conceptualisation of the state comes in many forms, and it is beyond the scope of this research to engage in all aspects of his inquiry. That said, his hypothesis of the ability of states to operate, maintain, and perpetuate symbolic power proves relevant to this thesis. The 'symbolic power-state nexus' enables in-depth exploration of contexts of forced migration and resettlement, particularly in substate environments like Cymru/Wales, in which a minority and global language interact and co-exist. As the ensuing discussions in sections 5.2-3 demonstrate, the principal tenets of symbolic power and the state, although modified and broadened for this study, enables debate to exceed simply providing a snapshot of resettlement realities. Instead, this model facilitates the illumination of how resettlement in sub-state contexts can be structured by, but also contradictory to centralised governing and supranational histories (c.f. Edwards & Wisthaler, 2023).

The theory of symbolic power refers to a form of relational power that is attained and reinforced through authority. It is everything recognised as power and is the ability of states – not least the political elite – to "create [...] a 'vision of divisions'" (Bourdieu, 1989: 23; cited in King et al., 2021). This analysis suggests that symbolic power enables and sustains domination through social hierarchies and categorisation, highlighting its potential to "transform current classifications [of social identities] and this through the words used to designate or to describe individuals, groups or institutions" (Bourdieu, 1989: 23; cited in King et al., 2021). Symbolic power, in this regard, facilitates the imposition and construction of reality, "conceal[ing] or reveal[ing] things which are already there" (Bourdieu, 1989:23; Wacquant & Akçaoğlu, 2017). As Bourdieu, for example, explained:

> "[Symbolic power refers to] a power of constituting the given through utterances, of making people see and believe, of confirming or transforming the vision of the world and, thereby, action on the world and thus the world itself, an almost magical power which enables one to obtain the equivalent of what is obtained through force (whether physical or economic), by virtue of the specific effect of mobilization – is a power that can be exercised only if it

> is *recognized (reconnu)*, that is, misrecognized *(méconnu*) as arbitrary" (Bourdieu, 1991:170; cited in Kramsch, 2020).

According to this analysis, symbolic power influences, preserves and moulds the social world through utterances (language), suggesting that symbolic power reflects dominant power hierarchies and social structures via its connection with language (see Subsection 2.3). What this means, then, is that language and the state are exclusively linked. Bourdieu codified their connection as an "exemplary formal mechanism whose generative capabilities are without limits" (Bourdieu, 1991:41). Symbolic power and the state, therefore, operate in tandem with "the production and reproduction of [the] legitimate [state] language", highlighting that language plays a central role in the extension of state authority, and the creation and sustainment of social hierarchies, structures, and categorisations. Saunders Lewis (1927) appears to concur with this analysis. With reference to the use of English in broadcasting in Cymru/Wales, Lewis claimed in a speech that:

> "Wireless is achieving the complete Anglicisation of the intellectual life of the nation. We regard the present policy of the British Broadcasting Corporation as one of the most serious menaces to the life of the Welsh language."

At the same time, however, symbolic power only works if people recognise its authority, requiring "authoritative words [to be] backed by the authority of a speaker" (Kramsch, 2020:2). As Bourdieu concludes:

> "What creates the power of words and slogans, a power capable of maintaining or subverting the social order, is the belief in the legitimacy of words and of those who utter them. And words alone cannot create this belief." (Bourdieu, 1991:170; cited in Kramsch, 2020)

By indicating its capacity to impose the "legitimate vision of the social world and of its divisions", Bourdieu's symbolic power is world-making power (Bourdieu, 1987:13; cited in Swartz, 2010:46). Take, for example, the representation of people seeking sanctuary in the Hostile Environment declaration (see Subsection 3.3.2). The UK Government, via the Hostile Environment approach, has framed immigration and asylum as a threat to the normative order, implying that "central to our safety, to our prosperity and to our very sense of nationhood" is "full democratic control of our borders" (Home Secretary, 2022; see chapter 3 for elaboration on securitisation). The "legitimacy of words and of those who uttered them", that is, the UK Government, enabled the securitisation of migration, marking out

who may enter and remain in the UK, but also making clear who "our friends" are and who "we do not want to come here" (Home Secretary, 2022).

Given its socio-political influence and interconnection with the power of language, it is perhaps, unsurprising that Wacquant and Akçaoğlu (2017) argued that symbolic power is far more relevant than "habitus, capital, and field put together and squared". However, since Bourdieu claimed that power, not least symbolic power, is a governing principal of society, even in the "mundane activities of everyday life", understanding interactions between the habitus, field, and capital is relevant (Swartz 2010:48. Please see below for a discussion of these terms). Critically, understanding these theories, provides an additional dimension to exploring how multilayered, interconnected, and conflicting approaches to immigration and asylum in Cymru/Wales and the UK affect people (differently) as they go about their daily lives.

According to Bourdieu (1989), the habitus refers to the internalisation and embodiment of social structures within a given environment, including social divisions and power hierarchies. This embodiment, or learnt disposition, frames the perceptions and actions of individuals, equipping them with a sense of how to act, react and deal with issues in day-to-day life (Bourdieu, 1989; 1991). To frame the habitus in the context of this thesis, how developments in restrictive immigration legislations post WWII until the present, not least Britain's colonial history, has the potential to influence contemporary community and societal perceptions of who should be allowed to enter and remain in the UK, not least Cymru/Wales (c.f. Guma et al., 2019). However, despite influencing how individuals interpret their social context, Bourdieu iterates that individuals are not passive to the habitus. Instead, the habitus represents a lens through which to understand the social world and how to respond to occurrences as and when they emerge. The habitus is, therefore, undoubtably influenced by symbolic power, but also connects inextricably with the field – an interactive site and network of relations between individuals and their social context.

As Lamont (2010) writes, fields are "arenas of social relationship[s]" with their own rules and social processes characterised by differences in power between individuals. The field is, thus, influenced significantly by the habitus. For Bourdieu, the field refers to engagements in microcosmic environments, such as the classroom and one-to-one interactions. In this way, as Bourdieu raises, the field is not a "consensual arrangement" but rather a "zero-sum game" based on domination and subordination in which individuals compete to mobilise capital "where the curators of culture (those with established power)

and the creators of culture (those seeking power) struggle for strategic advantage" (Lamont, 1996:80). For Bourdieu, four forms of capital assist and alter the outcome of the struggle in the field: economic (monetary attributes), cultural (recognised knowledge), social (social connections) and symbolic (status gained through social obligations). For Bourdieu, the amount and type of capital possessed influence a person's positioning in the social order. This thesis takes a more nuanced perspective, suggesting instead that governing positioning, not least capital, is based on prescribed categorisations of identity and their perceived value (or not) within a given context (see section 2.3).

Drawing on these analyses, the ensuing sections turn to discussing the 'symbolic power-state nexus' to demonstrate the impact of UK approaches to immigration and asylum on the everyday lives of women seeking sanctuary in Cymru/Wales.

5.2 Symbolic Power and Welsh Resettlement

> "When I think of Wales, I think of its injuries and hurts and wounds, and also its complicities, its willingness to go along with the looting and depravity, not perhaps as principal actor, not the leader of the pack, not the bully at the front always making a show of himself in the playground taking everyone's sweets and homework, but the keen pupil sitting at the back of class, not so prominent – the one that tags along […] The violence of nationalism is built on the logic of belonging" – Rabab Ghazoul (2022)

As Sections 3.3.4 and 4.2 explain, albeit small in scale, there is a longstanding sanctuary-seeking tradition in Cymru/Wales. Despite this, research into the forced migration and resettlement realities of devolved nations, particularly Cymru/Wales, are few and far between. Unsurprisingly, then, intersecting these investigations by gender and accounts of the Welsh language are next to none. The ensuing sections address this dearth in research by utilising Bourdieu's 'symbolic power-state nexus' explained in Section 5.1 to map out the potential and probable influences on seeking sanctuary in contemporary Cymru/Wales. Central to this discussion is intertwining the findings of Chapters 2-4 alongside current debate to understand further the impact of sub-state-state relations on resettlement realities.

Since the creation of the National Assembly in 1998, political rhetoric popularises a vision of Welsh inclusivity — that "[the] principles [of Cymru/Wales] do not arise from a history of imperialist exploitation of other nations" (Plaid Cymru Manifesto, 1998 cited in Giudici; 2014, 1410). Instead, Cymru/Wales reflects "the experiences of the communities of Wales

which survived long years of oppression, neglect, and scorn" (Plaid Cymru Manifesto, 1998 cited in Giudici; 2014, 1410). According to this view, the Welsh substate holds its own symbolic power to create a vision of Cymru/Wales with "equality and Human Rights […] central to the work of the Welsh Government" (Nation of Sanctuary Plan, 2019:5). Many researchers, however, challenge this 'tolerant nation' or 'gwerin' tradition, particularly regarding the separation of Cymru/Wales from UK immigration and asylum governance and histories (Williams, 2015). Maybin (2017), for example, forewarned this view, explaining that observations of forced migrant protection in the UK is insufficient if it fails to address the impact of colonial legacies on contemporary inequality and access to protection. Crawley (2022) supports this perspective, highlighting that colonialism created a hierarchy of international norms and institutions that subordinated the interests of those living in the Global South, leading to the nature of forced migratory movements from the Global South to European contexts to be represented as radically different from those in Europe (see Section 2.2, 3.1-3.3.4). It is, therefore, debatable whether Cymru/Wales can and should be considered utterly distinct from UK functioning. Similarly, it is often queried whether the substate status of Cymru/Wales affords it with adequate powers, symbolic or otherwise, to address chronic and institutionalised injustices in UK approaches to resettlement.

Shobiye and Parker (2022), for example, explore resettlement experiences of asylum-seeking mothers' in Cymru/Wales, and find that resettlement is framed by gendered and racialised violences that are produced and re-produced by the UK's colonial legacy and Hostile Environment. In other words, the authors reiterate that the Hostile Environment is a governing facet of Welsh resettlement. This reality, therefore, highlights the Welsh sub-state as an integral and inseparable element of the UK state. Referring to immigration and asylum, the Welsh Government, similarly, reiterate this reality, explaining that:

> "Responsibility for asylum and immigration rests with the UK Government rather than the Welsh Government. This means that some of the key levers to prevent harmful outcomes, such as timely and good asylum case decision-making, the quality of asylum accommodation and provision of legal aid, are out of our control" (2019:5).

Parker (2021) presents comparable findings. Parker (2021) explored the effects of UK policy making on refugees and asylum seekers in Cymru/Wales, and explained that devolved and reserved power can, at times, combine and impact people's experiences of resettlement, particularly women. Parker drew on the example of women who are caregivers, writing that

Westminster's restriction on financial assistance for asylum-seekers, along with dispersal, can lead to women being prevented from accessing support networks in their resettlement context. As Parker continues, this reality often results in women being unable to receive local childcare provisions, which, in turn, prevents them from accessing education or employment in the sub-state – a finding which mirrors discussions amongst the participants in this thesis (see Section 7.3.4 and RQ3). Parker's analysis, therefore, hints at the arguments of Hajdukowski-Ahmed (2008), the UNHCR (2020), and Phillimore et al. (2022), who each note that women's needs in legislation, social policies and services are frequently overlooked. Thus, although Parker implies that the Welsh Government seeks to contradict the UK Government's asylum policy, the overall findings of his investigation suggest that seeking sanctuary in Cymru/Wales is structured by the logic and legacy of Westminster. Critically, then, the symbolic power of the British state and its Hostile and securitising immigration agenda.

Payson (2015) adds depth to this analysis. Payson explores the accounts of homemaking by sanctuary seekers in Cymru/Wales, with close attention paid to the influence of British immigration hostility on the meaning of Welsh sanctuary. As Payson (2015:279) writes:

> "[…] people seeking sanctuary in Wales find themselves buffeted by global patterns of displacement and marked out by entrenched racism and discrimination in immigration law. They have also been constrained by two decades of policies that have progressively criminalized asylum and redacted rights to permanent protections, to work, to citizenship, to legal representation and appeal, among others.".

Payson's reference to sanctuary seekers in Cymru/Wales being at the "cutting edge" of global displacement patterns, the racialisation of immigration law, and policy restrictions on protection sums up the relevance (and importance) of the structure of this thesis. Payson's analysis, along with Shobiye and Parker's, among others, thus highlights the pervading influence of the UK's ability to "create [...] a 'vision of divisions'" in the devolved context, rendering Cymru/Wales' 'tolerant nation' theory, in some instances, far from a reality. In doing so, the authors, whether intentionally or not, hint to Cymru/Wales's inability to impose a "legitimate vision of the social world" regarding resettlement, resulting in the history and future trajectories of the institutional centre guiding the devolved context. Citing Charlotte Williams, Walker (2022) appears to concur, writing that, "[t]he idea of tolerance [is] deeply embedded in [Wales'] national imaginary, running alongside an

equally-embedded strain of racism like two veins of silver in the same rock" (2022). In other words, then, social divisions and power hierarchies, and the symbolic power of the UK state in creating a "vision of divisions", had resulted in the designation, both in the UK and Cymru/Wales, that the movement of people to and from the Global South is "an existential threat [that] require[s] emergency action or special measures", not least the acceptance of this designation by majority populations – the European Border Control response in 2015, not least the Hostile Environment declaration in 2012, are prime examples of this impact (see Section 3.1).

Hence, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, approaches and ideologies of resettlement — including who should be allowed to enter and remain within the Welsh substate — are governed by the British state. In doing so, Sections 3.1-3.3.4 thus evidence that responses to forced migration in Europe and the UK, more specifically, can be attributed to the spoils of colonial categorisation and racial ordering (El-Enany, 2020). Unavoidably, these realities are omnipresent in the experiences and resettlement realities of Cymru/Wales (c.f. Guma et al., 2019; Parker, 2021). Critically, based on who the institutional centre "considers friends" and who it does "not want to come here". As Bourdieu, for example, synopsised:

> "What creates the power of words and slogans, a power capable of maintaining or subverting the social order, is the belief in the legitimacy of words and of those who utter them. And words alone cannot create this belief." (Bourdieu, 1991:170; cited in Kramsch, 2020)

At present, there is a significant limit to Welsh governance in relation to immigration and asylum. As the Welsh Government, for example, explains, despite having legislative abilities in areas of social policy which affect sanctuary seekers, providing sanctuary in its entirety requires significant policy adjustment from Westminster (c.f. Parker, 2018; 2021). This power asymmetry thus poses an additional complexity for the success of the Nation of Sanctuary in attaining and retaining symbolic power in the Welsh sub-state since, to borrow from Kramsch, the power to "constitute [a] given utterances, of making people see and believe, of confirming or transforming [a] vision of the world and, thereby, action on the world and thus the world itself" is, potentially, a reserved power. In this regard, the devolved positioning of Cymru/Wales may negate its ability to fully dismantle and rebuild people's perceptions of myriad migrant communities. Critically, to borrow from Edwards and Wisthaler (2023), limiting the potential of the Welsh Government "to influence the

attitudes of the electorate by proposing a certain interpretative frame, simplifying an issue to generate consensus and strengthen shared values and identities."

This point of view suggests that, although a sanctuary declaration has been made in the Welsh sub-state, the power of this declaration to "subvert the social order", requires the backing of "the authority of a speaker", evidencing, in support of Parker's (2021) analysis, that for Cymru/Wales to actualise its intention of becoming a Nation of Sanctuary, there is a need for the Welsh Government to push for the devolution of immigration and asylum policy in its entirety. This neither evidences nor implies re-nationalisation through political independence, rather, a desperate need for increased parity in participation between devolved and reserved powers, strengthening the equality of participation in unification and continuing the free movement of people within and beyond state sanctioned borders (c.f. S. Lewis, 1926).

That said, despite being a "stateless nation", Cymru/Wales is slowly, but surely, gaining political influence and the power to self-govern (Evans et al., 2015:5). Some researchers, for example, problematise the understanding that devolved status negates positive action on asylum. In other words, that individuals, groups, and socio-political structures are not entirely powerless to the institutional centre. Giudici (2014), Parker (2021), and Edwards and Wisthaler (2023), for example, each address the Welsh Government's desire to present itself as different to the UK Government, particularly regarding its legislative approach to supporting sanctuary seeking communities (see Section 3.3.4). For Giudici (2014:1409), in particular, the "statelessness" positioning of Cymru/Wales enables it to orchestrate an approach to immigration which perpetuates a welcoming national character, an imagined vision, using its "immigration history to construct and disseminate a tolerant and inclusive national image, one that aims to foster both indigenous people [the "Welsh"] and migrants' sense of national belonging". Whittaker (2014) adds to this analysis. In their exploration of plurality and identity in Cymru/Wales, Whittaker explores the potential of sub-state status to embed alternative narratives of nation-based homogeneity in public discourses and perceptions. In fact, the author explains that sub-state status enables a unique positioning which furthers the wielding and moulding of an alternative narrative to the primary state, particularly regarding the politics of identity and belonging. Bourdieu (2000: 234) similarly reflects, noting that:

> "The relative autonomy of the symbolic order, which in all circumstances and especially in periods in which expectations and chances fall out of line, can leave a margin of freedom for political action aimed at reopening the space of possibilities".

In this regard, while the influences of the British state on Welsh approaches to immigration and asylum are undebatable, differences and divergences between devolved and reserved powers have created avenues for a "powerful discursive and territorial implication" to the "Welsh way" of resettlement. In other words, then, while the institutional centre continues to retract and withdraw the rights of people seeking sanctuary, the Welsh Government's aim to counteract these policies through devolved social planning, "reopen[s] the space of possibilities" to facilitate its sanctuary declaration. Critically, this approach furthers understanding of the profound power of the state (e.g. the UK) in shaping public perception on immigration and asylum, but also, the potential for sub-states (e.g. Cymru/Wales) to reframe public reception, "providing symbolic and material resources that drive status resonance and a sense of identity and belonging" which reinforce visions of a tolerant nation placing "legitimacy of words" (Jensen, 2021:458; Bourdieu, 1991).

Drawing on the 'symbolic power-state' nexus, the ensuing section demonstrates the potential of Welsh, as a language detached from the UK state, to exclusively connect with the Sanctuary movement.

5.3 Sanctuary, Symbolism, and the Welsh language

"Hiraeth beckons with wordless call,
Hear, my soul, with heart enthrall'd.
Hiraeth whispers while earth I roam;
Here I wait the call "come home"."
(Davies, 2007)

Much of this thesis, heretofore, has discussed the connection between language and power hierarchies. Critically, how language can, intentionally or not, subjugate, and how language operates and constructs reality. The symbolic potential of language to channel and counteract power relations, especially in resettlement contexts, remains relatively unexplored thus far. Chick (2023), however, raises that "[l]anguage is the single most important area that can promote integration for migrants", particularly in helping people to rebuild their lives (see Cox, Phipps and Hirsu, 2022). Thompson (2020) adds to this view, noting that "language is a central part of what holds society together. It forms much of the "glue" that allows social processes to occur and social interactions to take place". While the importance and power of language is unquestioned, not all languages are considered

equal in resettlement. In the context of Cymru/Wales, for example, the value attributed to sanctuary seeking communities learning and speaking Welsh (a minority language) compared with English (a global language) falls short of their equivalence in legislation (see Sections 4.2).

The importance of learning English is unwavering in the UK, not least Cymru/Wales. As the primary (and only) official language of the UK, it connects with realities such as mobility, socio-economic advancement, and necessity (Rosiak, 2023). For forced migrant women, in particular, learning English has been found to improve access to mental and physical health services, whilst simultaneously providing a safe space to learn alongside other women (Capstick & Delaney, 2016). It is, therefore, not the purpose of this section to question the importance nor the power of English language learning for women forced to migrate. Section 7.2.1 of the data analysis chapter contributes data to support the significance of the English language for sanctuary-seeking women in Cymru/Wales. Instead, this ensuing discussion demonstrates the unique positioning and potentiality of minority languages in devolved contexts to challenge homogeneity, offering opportunities for meaning-making and symbolic connection during and post-resettlement (see Section 4.3).

Heller's (2001) and Bourdieu's (1991) analyses of language and (symbolic) power provides context to deepen understanding of this perspective, encouraging debate on the role and potential of minority languages in resettlement. As Heller explains, language sits within a binary relation of power and subordination, suggesting that it is not just the language abilities of social actors, but the value attributed to the languages they speak which contributes to their social positioning. Bourdieu similarly deliberates. Bourdieu explains that the definition of the symbolic power of language is reserved for languages of governance and prestige; in essence, "official languages" institutionalised at the state level. As Bourdieu explains:

> "The official language is bound up with the state, both in its genesis and in its social uses. It is in the process of state formation that the conditions are created for the constitution of a unified linguistic market, dominated by the official language". (Bourdieu, 1991: 45)

Bourdieu's and Heller's analyses imply that a combination of the "statelessness" of Cymru/Wales — not least historical processes of Welsh language suppression and

minoritisation — results in the unique positioning of the Welsh language in discourses of power and symbolism. Critically, the British state and the Welsh language are detached, implying that the Welsh language is only "bound up with the [sub]state". Further still, as Erbil et al. (2023:155) raise:

> "some languages, such as English, are valorised both in English-speaking countries and internationally. In contrast, mastery of other languages […] such as Welsh […] could be stigmatised and devalued outside very local settings whether they are commonly spoken".

In other words, then, although Welsh, as Section 4.2 raised, is a networked community language, Erbil et al. address the poignant reality of the localisation of its linguistic significance. In this regard, then, while Welsh has equal legislative footing with English and is institutionalised at the sub-state level, English remains the dominate language of the state. However, since the Welsh language is connected only to the Welsh sub-state, it has the potential to orchestrate its own narratives of Cymru/Wales and, in so doing, create its own power dynamics with the potential to make "people see and believe, of confirming or transforming [a] vision of the world and, thereby, action on the world, and thus the world itself" through the medium of Welsh and narrations of Welshness.

It is, perhaps, essential before proceeding with this analysis to re-purpose Mufwene's suggestion that the "many [...] factors that affect a language are not physical features of its speakers but features of other parasitic systems that are hosted by the same individuals, such as culture – which brings along notions such as status, gender, and power" (Mufwene, 2001: 152). In other words, this interpretation of the Welsh language, and Welshness, does not position Welsh speakers as exempt from the impact of connectivity between Cymru/Wales and the UK, nor does it distance Cymru/Wales from colonial logic (Sections 2.2 & 3.3). However, this argument seeks to demonstrate that minority languages have the potential to transcend boundaries of territoriality, assuming a symbolic function which enables relative power and status through connectivity, especially for women forced to flee their homes (see section 4.3). Critically, in the case of Welsh, this section aims to highlight how historical processes of peripheralisation and subjugation, and ensuing imagined narratives of continued oppression, provides a unique opportunity for meaning making.

Davies contextualises this view, writing that "emigration and exile, the journey to and from home, are the very heartbeat of Welsh culture" (Davies, 2015:170). Ghazoul (2022) appears

to concur. Sharing an experience in which "[Welsh] history was being heard" during a Zoom call with a speaker in the United States, Ghazoul discusses the peripheralization of Welsh and Welshness, including its potential to facilitate symbolic connection. As Ghazoul (2022) explained:

> "[S]he [speaker] thought the Welsh were the Native Americans of the UK, that they got their language ripped away from them, they got their ceremonies and ways of life demonised, and she was telling everyone in the Zoom room presentation how as late as the 1930s in the schools — the blocks of wood, the necks, and the nots — she told the story, and because there were only a handful of us from Wales in a zoom room of multitudes, we were all quietly excited that we were being seen, that our history was being heard by someone who lived very very far away. And in that moment it wasn't technically my history, but it felt like it was, or it could be, I had chosen a place, and I wanted this place to be heard."

Ghazoul's analysis suggests that through the politics of minoritsation, displacement and uprooting from collective recognition, Welshness, particularly Welsh language history, provides a unique opportunity for connectivity. While, in this context of Cymru/Wales, this sense of displacement is largely "tended toward romanticism", Monnet (2011), nevertheless, points out in his analysis of the connectivity between symbolism, place and identity:

> "The symbolic dimension is a vital and unavoidable need of human existence, because it enables the establishment of ties, and makes it possible to give a meaning to the environment, and to appropriate reality and render it intelligible. This is why the symbolic manipulations by the different types of power should not be merely denounced as smoke screens masking reality: they need to be analysed and explored in detail so that each inhabitant or user of a space can produce the symbolisation that is the most appropriate for him or her in person."

Mac Giolla Chríost (2012), with reference to the Irish language, adds depth to this view. As Mac Giolla Chríost writes, a language may become a cultural symbol even for people who

do not speak it. In other words, minority languages hold symbolic value. They are "preserver[s] of heritage [...] commitment, solidarity and cultural heritage". This suggests that the symbolic value of minority languages can, at times, outweigh the number of people able to speak it. Investigations of Welsh language learning amongst forced migrant communities demonstrates this analysis.

Higham (2014; 2020), for example, found that, dissimilar to English, Welsh language learning is regarded in more symbolic terms, often as a means to contribute to existing multilingual repertoires and identities, as well as aiding understanding of the host society's history. More recently, however, Higham (forthcoming) added to this finding, suggesting that minority languages such as Welsh can also act as a "resource" to enrich "people's options" in the hosting society, such as increasing employment opportunities. The Welsh Government similarly deliberating, explains that:

> "Many refugees and asylum seekers may have never heard the Welsh language before arriving. Learning Welsh can provide job opportunities in the future. Many public services must be delivered in the Welsh language" (Welsh Government, 2023)

The Welsh Government's endowment of the Welsh language with economic value has not gone unnoticed. Rosiak's (2022:28) exploration of the language attitudes and ideologies of Polish migrants, including their (de)motivation to learn Welsh, appears to support this analysis. Rosiak found that knowledge of local minority languages, such as Welsh, (potentially) increases the economic positioning of social actors, not least their social and cultural capital and ability to participate cohesively in local society. Thus, the institutionalisation of the Welsh language at the substate level in 1993 — and its further strengthening in polity and policy in 2011 — grants speakers access to symbolic enhancement and capital through two avenues, Welsh and English.

Methodology

Chapter 6: Researching with Sanctuary Seeking Women

Overview

This chapter outlines the methodological practices developed to research with women seeking sanctuary throughout Cymru/Wales. Specifically, urban Casnewydd/Newport, urban and rural Gwynedd, and urban Wrecsam/Wrexham. This chapter begins by sharing information about the research sites and participants. It then turns to debating the combinatory methods used during data collection, namely, digital ethnography, interactional sociolinguists, and small stories – a derivative of narrative analysis. Close analysis is paid to how this combinatory approach encourages participatory research methods, enabling the women partaking in the research to co-produce outcomes, and negotiate self-definition and self-presentation in the research process. In doing so, this chapter debates the suitability and appropriateness of using pre-existing research paradigms when researching with people forced to flee their homes.

The chapter, then, explains the practicalities of conducting fieldwork during the Covid-19 pandemic, addressing how Covid-19 has altered research methods and community engagement. Finally, close analysis is paid to the importance of reflexivity during research, with close attention paid to the ethical parameters and responsibilities of the researcher when researching with people who have experienced forced migration. Critically, this chapter confronts how examining the lives of societally minoritised women, especially women with temporarily unstable or influx socio-political statuses, can exacerbate pre-existing imbalances of power — the researcher and the researched, the privilege and the subjugated. For example, it explores how my gender, skin colour, personal experiences, ideologies, perceived affinity to Welshness, and ability to speak Welsh may affect the outcome of my engagement with the participants (Thambinathan & Kinsella, 2021). Due to these combined factors, it was necessary to develop a practice which challenged and acknowledged unequal power dynamics, both in research and the real world, while simultaneously addressing the research questions first outlined in Chapter 1. That is:

I. How does the securitisation of forced migration in UK rhetoric and policymaking impact the language, identity, and experiences of women seeking sanctuary in Cymru/Wales, and how does the concept of symbolic power and the state support this analysis?

II. How, and in what ways, do women from sanctuary-seeking backgrounds perceive and interact with Welsh and Welshness in the different regions of analysis, and how far do these understandings enact symbolic connection, differentiation, or exclusion?

III. And finally, to what extent is the Welsh Government's Nation of Sanctuary addressing the full panoply of inequities faced by people forced to flee their homes, particularly women?

6.1 Research Sites, Statistics & Participants

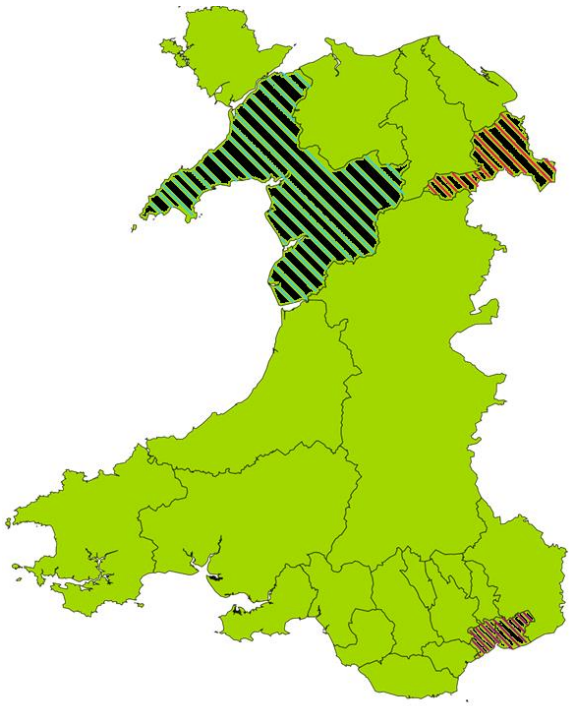
6.1.1 Research sites

To understand whether geographical location impacted the women's experiences of resettlement, not least their perceptions of the Welsh language, collecting data in different regions was an essential factor in the research design. Thus, in the hope of encouraging a more accurate and reflexive account of sanctuary-seeking experiences in Cymru/Wales, it was imperative to collect data both in areas of higher and lower density linguistic significance (Welsh Government, 2023).

The decision was, thus, made to document the accounts of women based throughout Cymru/Wales. This included urban and rural regions, formal dispersal centres, and other local authorities contributing to resettlement under the 'all Wales' plan. Critically, though, due to north Wales regions being relatively invisible in discourses of sanctuary and forced migration, particular emphasis was paid to connecting with women via sanctuary support services in these regions.

However, many interrelated factors led me to change this approach. Organisational research fatigue, impending lockdowns, suspended services due to Covid-19, and the inability to engage with potential organisations, not least funds and time constraints, led me to scale back investigations. Despite these complexities, three sanctuary seeking support services responded to my research queries and agreed to facilitate and connect me with people accessing their services. These organisations further connected me with other grass route and community led organsiations. It was, thus, by chance that Casnewydd/Newport, Wrecsam/Wrexham and Gwynedd became the central foci of investigations. Figure 10 below highlights the areas of investigation:

Figure 10: Edited Map of Wales (source: Natural Resource Wales, 2022)



As Section 3.3.4 makes clear, the availability of resettlement data is both sparse and, in all likelihood, misrepresentative in the context of Cymru/Wales. Despite this, each local authority is responsible for contributing to resettlement. As Section 3.3.4 further outlines, Casnewydd/Newport and Wrecsam/Wrexham are formal dispersal centres under the 1999 Immigration Act, while Gwynedd supports sanctuary seekers under the 'All Wales' resettlement plan. Further still, both Wrecsam/Wrexham and Casnewydd/Newport have City of Sanctuary status, while Gwynedd has no affiliations with the movement at present.

Each local authority differs significantly in the demographics of its population. For example, in the 2016 Brexit referendum, Gwynedd voted a (small) majority to remain, Wrexham voted (majority) to leave, and Casnewydd/Newport voted a (small majority) to leave. Regarding political party and voting patterns, at the time of writing, Welsh Labour represents Casnewydd/Newport, the Welsh Conservatives represent Wrecsam/Wrexham and Plaid Cymru represents Gwynedd. Welsh language use differs significantly between the regions. 12.2% of the population in Wrecsam/Wrexham self-reported in Census 2021 as having the ability to speak Welsh, 7.5% in Casnewydd/Newport, and 64.4% in Gwynedd. In other words, while Welsh is a networked language within and beyond each community, Wrecsam/Wrexham and Casnewydd/Newport are areas of lower density linguistic significance, while Gwynedd is an area of higher density linguistic significance (see Section 4.2)

Critically, Census 2021 data further suggests that Casnwyedd/Newport is the second highest most densely populated local authority in Cymru/Wales. Casnewydd/Newport also has the second highest proportions of ethnic minority communities in Cymru/Wales. Census 2021 similarly reports that Wrecsam/Wrexham is the second highest most densely populated local authority in North Wales and has the largest ethnic minority population in Cymru/Wales who identify as "White - White Other" (Welsh Government Census, 2021). Gwynedd, on the other hand, is one of the lowest densely populated local authorities in Cymru/Wales. Census 2021 outlines that 1.1% of Gwynedd residents identified their ethnic group as "Mixed or Multiple", 1.7% as "Asian, Asian British or Asian Welsh", and 0.5% identified with "Other" ("Arab" or "Any other ethnic group").

6.1.2 Participants

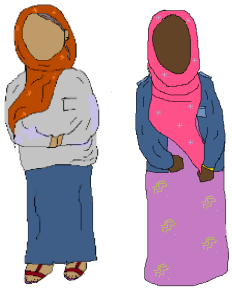
This project includes 17 participants with varying nationalities, statuses, and routes to resettlements. The data further includes the views and perceptions of 3 female support workers. The participants range in age, religious beliefs, ethnic identity, spoken languages, and education. For example, some women were Afghan, others Chinese (region unspecified). Some women were Kurdish (Syrian), Kurdish (Iraqi), Sudanese, Syrian, and Ukrainian, while others were Yemeni. Some women held Master's degrees, while others left education at primary level. All participants were multilingual, speaking a minimum of two languages. To varying degrees, many of the women spoke between three and five languages. Similarly, all participants were enrolled in English classes or other educational activities in their resettlement context. All women were over the age of 18. The youngest participant was 21, and the eldest was in her late fifties. Some women were mothers, others were not, and while most women chose to share stories of their families, children and, in some instances, grandchildren, the women were not asked about their relationships, including their sexuality or gender identity.

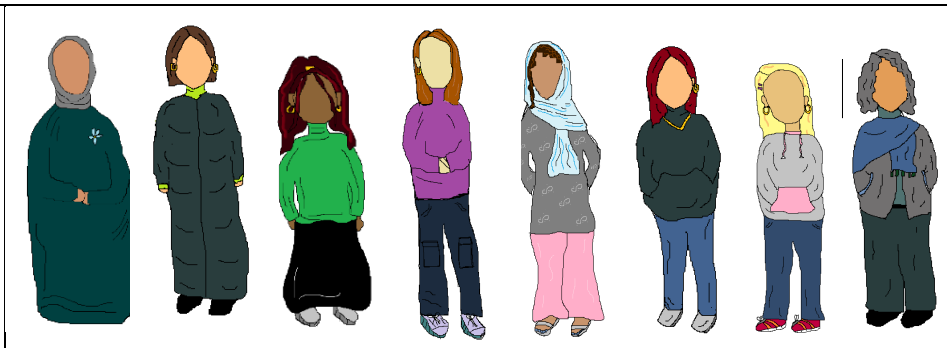
At the time of researching with the participants, some women had lived in Cymru/Wales for upwards of 10 years, others for as little as a few weeks. Some women held refugee status, indefinite leave to remain or had received temporary protection. Others were going through the asylum-seeking application process. It was neither known nor asked if any of the women were undocumented. Some women shared how they entered Cymru/Wales and the UK 'regularly' via formal resettlement schemes such as the SVPRS, the Homes for Ukraine Scheme, the Ukrainian Extension Programme, the Afghan Citizen Resettlement Scheme, the Community Sponsorship Programme, and spousal reunification. Other women indicated that they entered the UK through 'irregular' means. Women who may have entered the UK

irregularly chose, whether consciously or not, to refrain from sharing their experiences of irregular entry, including how they came to be living in Cymru/Wales. To ensure their privacy and safety, women were not asked about their route or means of entry to the UK and Cymru/Wales.

Due to the small number of women with certain nationalities in Cymru/Wales, particularly in rural areas, the women's location, country of origin and route to resettlement will not accompany their data. Ensuring the women's anonymity by avoiding sharing exact information on participants was further requested by the organisations. Instead, information is general, and specific details of individual participants will remain scant. This scrupulous approach is less concerning for Ukrainian participants, due to large populations of Ukrainian nationals living in both urban and rural regions throughout Cymru/Wales at the time of research. However, to ensure the data bears relevance to the women's experiences and to provide the reader with the ability to visualise and connect experiences between participants and place, an illustration to represent a version of how each woman may present accompanies their data. Table 1 below demonstrates these illustrations:

Table 1: Participants and Sites

Casnewydd/Newport	
Wrecsam/Wrexham	

Gwynedd	

It is important to note that all participants, bar 3 women, volunteered to join the research via their Case Worker(s). However, 3 women (2 in Gwynedd and 1 in Wrecsam/Wrexham) requested to join the study directly with me after hearing about the work being conducted through their peers and through casual conversation with me whilst I volunteered with community-based resettlement sessions (see Section 6.4.2 for session information).

6.2 Combining Methods: A Participatory Practice

As Halilovich (2013) points out, researching with women who have experiences of forced migration is both methodologically challenging and ethically complex, even prior to the Covid-19 pandemic. Uddin (2022) contextualises this reality, raising that while the researcher's experiences, ideologies, among other factors, are instrumental in governing research processes, when a researcher conducting research shares the host society's background, additional complexities arise. Such challenges, according to Barratt and Maddox's (2016:702) analysis of stigmatised populations, are rooted in the participants' "legitimate concerns about disclosing information to researchers that, if known more widely, could have serious negative repercussions for their lives, including social isolation, termination of employment, and criminal penalties". Pittaway et al. (2010) identified further factors which affect research engagement in contexts of forced migration. Such as:

1. Fear of repercussions by government authorities
2. "Exploitation by previous researchers and journalists"
3. "False expectations of assistance from researchers"
4. Possible re-traumatisation
5. "Lack of consultation" about research methods
6. "Mistrust of white researchers"

It was, thus, essential to develop a practice which recognised the likelihood that the researcher/research relationship may be "hedged […] with mistrust, concealment, and dissimulation' (Lee, 1993: 2; cited in Barratt and Maddox, 2016:702). It was further essential to develop a research model which prevents the "legitimate concerns" of the participants' from becoming a reality, ensuing a safe, sensitive and consultative research process.

For Halilovich (2013), this necessitates methodological innovation — being both flexible in the researchers ability to "respond to the particularities of the situations of their participants" and creative in their development of "customised" methods and methodologies, rather than relying on "standardised research techniques" (2013: 136). By methodological innovation, Halilovich refers to the remolding and reshaping of research practices to best facilitate participant engagement, ensuring that the depth and breadth of experiences is acknowledged. In research engaged in the lived experiences of people forced to flee their homes, methodological innovation is often posited as a more suitable approach since methodised practices may, at times, fail to recognise intercultural nuances (Temple & Moran, 2006). Specifically, standardised approaches "may even be attempting to measure social constructs that do not exist in different cultures" (Block et al., 2012:72). Kia-Keating and Juang (2022) go a step further, suggesting that, in addition to innovative practices, collaborative and participatory research practices are essential. This approach recognises and challenges social inequities by consulting and collaborating with researched communities to co-produce knowledge. A central aspect of this approach is to ensure continual and careful examination of power imbalances, addressing and recognising potential harms during research. For example, one way I sought to address this issue was studying, to a very basic level, the primary languages of many of the participants – Arabic and Ukrainian (see section 9.2 for evaluation of this). This, however, does not mean that adopting an approach to research grounded in collaboration and participation will address the ethical, cultural, and social issues research often incites. Methodological innovation and participatory action approaches, simply mitigates uncertainty, misinterpretation, and harm, where possible.

The ensuing sections explore the principal research approaches adopted and adapted to facilitate the research process.

6.2.1 Digital Ethnography & Story Telling

> "In the creation of the story, the participant engages with her subjective self and articulates her own personal meanings of specific events in her life. This 'preferred story' of self is further strengthened through viewers bearing witness, which is embedded in an inter-subjective weave. Within this encounter, digital storytelling carries the possibility of being transformative and reparative" (Lenette et al., 2018:1)

Borrowing from Whyte (1993; cited in Murthy, 2008:838), "good ethnography effectively communicates a social story, drawing the audience into the daily lives of the respondents". As Murthy continues, "[w]ith the introduction of new technologies, the stories have remained vivid, but the ways they were told have changed". Here, Murthy alludes to "Digital Ethnography", a practice which incorporates in its method the embedded presence of globalised digital technologies (Barratt & Maddox, 2016: 603). According to Pink et al. (2016:1), Digital Ethnography invites researchers to acknowledge and negotiate parallels between researching and living in a "digital, material and sensory environment […] outlin[ing] an approach to doing ethnography in [our] contemporary world". Digital Ethnography therefore evaluates and negotiates research sites, both virtual and physical, interpreting them as inherently interconnected spaces (Boellstor, 2012). Pink et al. (2016:8-14) argue that doing Digital Ethnography involves adhering to the following five principles:

I. "Multiplicity": as Pink et al. note, "digital technologies are interdependent with the infrastructures of everyday life" (2016:8). By this, Pink et al. refer to the multiple and interconnected ways in which individuals engage with digital worlds, which inevitably and undoubtedly impact researchers, research, and participants.

II. "Non-digital-centric-ness": Digital Ethnography aims to transcend boundaries between the researcher and research, which requires researchers to move beyond the online to ensure rapport building and connection with participants is established.

III. “Openness”: Adopting a collaborative and participatory method that considers the research environment and centres the participants is pivotal for successfully doing and designing Digital Ethnography.

IV. “Reflexivity”: Central to Digital Ethnography is the production of knowledge vis-à-vis the digital–material–sensory environment. As Pink et al. (2016:12) elaborate, “Reflexive practice is also considered to be an ethical practice in that it enables researchers to acknowledge the collaborative ways in which knowledge is made in the ethnographic process”.

V. “Unorthodox”: By seeking to develop knowledge of “third spaces” (Bhabha, 2006)— invisible and unanticipated realities—digital ethnography enables “new forms of continuity between digital ethnography fieldwork, ongoing collaborations and dialogues with research participant” (Pink et al., 2016: 14)

Considering the processual nature of Pink et al.’s Digital Ethnography—as neither a bounded, lineal, nor restricted research method—this project recognises the need to add a 6th principle for doing this type of research, dialogism. This project understands *dialogism* to be a recognition of the importance of adopting a research method which enables participants to make clear their thoughts, feelings, and ideas to the researcher, both about the research process and the data they are being asked to offer. Dialogism therefore links closely with Figure 2, and the consensual/consultative approach adopted in this research. In other words, dialogism, in the context of this research, refers to consent and mutual understanding. This includes ensuring participants are the authors of their data, especially with regard to how it is shared, presented, and sourced. *Dialogism* consequently aims to encourage the possibility of ethnographic immersion “in contexts where the space of interaction does not have a concrete physical grounding”. This understanding of dialogism, it could be suggested, draws parallels with storytelling — a facet of Digital Ethnography.

Digital Story Telling, according to Mathews and Sunderland (2017), refers to life-story telling through mediative means. It transcends the observational qualities of community engagement, namely, the prescriptive nature of the researcher/researched, enabling participants to autonomously engage in civic life. It is a method of social research and activism rooted in Freirian epistemology (Freire, 1970). As Gubrium and Turner (2011:470-

471) remind us, Digital Story Telling uses "images to generate dialogue and to tap into the 'funds of knowledge' that people already have". To further acknowledge, negotiate and challenge oppression, the "generative images" are taken and chosen by the participants, enabling them to re-author *their* stories about *their* lives (Gubrium & Turner, 2010). Digital Story Telling, therefore, equips participants with the ability to construct their own identities in research, while simultaneously negotiating and making sense of their circumstances – a dialogical process of self-description and meaning-making. Due to this ability, Digital Story Telling is frequently posited as a useful and important resource for research with people from forced migrant backgrounds (Michalovich, 2020; Khorana, 2021; Svoen et al., 2019; Lenette et al., 2013; Parvin, 2018).

6.2.2 Interactional Sociolinguistics

Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS) — a Gumperzian (1982) methodological and theoretical approach — seeks to disentangle meaning in interaction. Doing Gumperzian IS involves a close and situated analysis of a given interaction by drawing upon the analyst's knowledge of the research community's socio-cultural context and lingua-cultural norms. IS, therefore, centres around the understanding that an individual's language use, action, and adaption replicate the social structures and power hierarchies existing in society. That is, it places language "at the heart of social and cultural process" (Greenbank, 2020:28). In so doing, IS acknowledges the interrelation between self-representation in language use and societal positioning by considering during investigation the social, historical, and institutional norms elucidated by individuals and communities. Gumperzian IS, therefore, draws from both an emic and etic research perspective to interpret meaning. First, emic, according to Greenbank (2020:28), refers to the analysis of "the internal meanings of a given cultural setting or individual, and describes the thoughts and actions which correspond to the participants' self-understanding". Etic, by contrast, denotes the perspective of the outsider (the researcher). As Rampton (2019) continues, IS provides the following emic/etic tenets for analytical investigations:

I. Linguistic Ethnography: IS draws on ethnographic insights to reveal negotiations of linguistic forms, strategies, and semiotic devices used during an interaction, including how they intersect with social networks within and beyond the confines of the interlocution. In short, IS analyses whether, how, and why the interaction is situated in broader socio-political and historical contexts.

II. Conversation Analysis: IS provides a framework for investigating "situated encounters", enabling the researcher to reveal (possible) negotiations of semiotic forms and strategies due to intersubjective norms: as Rampton remarks, "the shifting spatio-temporal distribution of attention and involvement in situations of physical co-presence". Specifically, IS's conversational analysis tool involves closely analysing meaning making utterances. To give examples, pausing, emphasising words, word choices, pronunciation, among others.

III. Discourse Analysis: By drawing on the fundamental facets of Discourse Analysis, IS provides a window into the communicative affordances of the linguistic resources that participants draw on in communication[1].

Combining the principal tenets of Linguistic Ethnography, Conversation Analysis, and Discourse Analysis, IS recognises that "contexts for communication should be investigated rather than assumed" (Rampton, 2007; 2019). IS, consequently, pays close attention to the minute details of language, conceptualising the "local architectures of intersubjectivity" (Heritage 1997; cited in Rampton, 2007), while simultaneously seeking to "discover […] the local-uncertain-unpredictable-changeable positioning of [individuals]' (Pérez-Milans 2016: 85; cited in Kalocsányiová, 2019). Finally, IS analyses the internal organisation of semiotic and verbal data to dissect the significance of its global positioning. As Gumperz (2005: 309; cited in Greenbank, 2020:29) postulates, it is a qualitative model of analysis which considers "our [the researcher's] ability to interpret what participants *intend* to convey in everyday communicative practices" (emphasis added).

Nevertheless, by centralising the analyst's role in investigating and revealing (presupposing) what participants intend to convey during interactions, IS may perpetuate Western-centric processes of knowledge production. This method of producing knowledge, in turn, epitomises the role of the researcher as the sole keeper, disseminator, and constructor of knowledge production, removing the participants' autonomy to reveal themselves, and what, why, and how they convey meaning and identity during interaction. IS, in this way, could result in the production of knowledge by perpetuating unequal power relations – the researcher and the researched, the privilege and the subjugated. As with other established

research approaches, IS dominates the assignment of research direction, inevitably withholding the power and ability to assign what the researcher considers knowledge and what they consider irrelevant. In short, despite its emic/etic perspective, IS inhibits knowledge synthesis due to its centering of the researcher's knowledge of the group of investigation.

As Thambinathan and Kinsella (2021) highlight, to prevent unequal research processes and knowledge production, it is essential to co-create paradigms. Throughout this project, co-creation is a primary and embedded process. Hence, this results in supplementing IS with consultative approaches. Namely, encouraging dialogue, challenge, consultation, and adaptation from the participants. This project consequently reshaped Gumperzian IS to facilitate this necessity:

i. Consent: First of all, before the interaction took place, the participants were informed about the processes involved in IS analysis – they were aware that the researcher looks at language choices and adaptions concerning social contexts.

ii. Understanding: Secondly, participants and the researcher discuss the participants' social context (through conversation, food, music, art, tradition, language, memory, stories, rather than through interview). This phase enables the participants to adapt and scrutinize the emic/etic process and ensure the researcher best understands their social context, reducing misinterpretation and homogenisation of experience and identity.

iii. Consultation: Thirdly, once the interaction is complete and data transcribed, the IS analysis will be presented to the participants. This phase aims to ensure that the participants can challenge the researcher's interpretation of their data.

iv. Review: Finally, the participants are re-presented with the final version of their data and the IS application for discussion and approval.

While this consultative adaptation of IS aims to promote a conscious awareness of unequal power dynamic (not least coloniality) in knowledge production, critically, it seeks to promote a sensitive and person orientated approach to research. However, given its original background, IS is still deep rooted in Western thinking and is produced within the confines of the Western academy. Thus, despite intentions to promote co-production, "the Master's tools will never dismantle the Master's house" (Lorde, 1984:2; cited in Thambinathan & Kinsella, 2021:2).

6.2.3 Narrative Analysis: The Small Stories Approach

> "[Individuals] constantly construct and reconstruct a self to meet the needs of the situations [they] encounter, and [they] do so with the guidance of [their] memories of the past and [their] hopes and fears of the future" (Bruner, 2003:210)

Narrative Analysis is an interpretive research method that involves collecting and analysing individual life stories. It is a process deep-rooted in identity exploration that goes beyond the use of "narrative as [a] rhetorical structure"— namely, the telling of stories — "to an analytic examination of the underlying insights and assumptions that the story illustrates" (Bell, 2002:208; cited in Shapiro & McDonald, 2017:81). Collecting and disseminating a story by way of narrative, thus, enables an individual to negotiate and later reveal their perceived and prescribed identity, providing the researcher with data to interrogate and apply contextual meaning (Wright, 2017). As Phoenix and Sparks (2009), however, remind us, Narrative Analysis is best understood in terms of 'Big Stories' and 'Small Stories', despite the majority of seminal research collecting the former and disregarding the latter (Bamberg, 2006; De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2019). Big Stories refer to the grand narratives — "life stories, autobiographies, short-range stories of landmark events"— which individuals share during the interview process, and which, in turn, prompt them to reflect on how life-altering events intersect to form their identity within "situational encounters" (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008: 377-378). The Big Story process, consequently, enables the storyteller to connect their experiences and create a "temporal sequence" (life story) that reveals who they are and why. Big Story analysis, therefore, involves:

I. Gathering by interview, amongst other qualitative means, a teller-led life story to gain insight into the individual's past experiences and socio-cultural affiliations.

II. Discussing with the participant how their "memories of the past and hopes and fears of the future" intersect to shape their identity within the interview context.[2]

While, according to Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008), Big Stories are frequently drawn upon in research due to their ability to reveal the link between subjective experience and the socio-political and cultural contexts where the story and person are situated (Shapiro & McDonald, 2017), Bamberg (2006) suggests that "'Big Stories' are hardly everyday phenomena". As the same author continues, "[t]hey [Big Stories] most often require elaborate elicitation techniques, precisely for the reason that they are not likely to be shared spontaneously" (2006:71). By elaboration techniques, Bamberg refers to the requirement of the participant to share their life-shaping experiences for the purpose of the interaction and research agenda. In research which engages with people who have experienced forced displacement, however, necessitating the sharing of past life experiences does not, necessarily, adhere to principles of "do no harm" since, as discussed in section 6.2, people who have experienced forced displacement often fear that "disclosing information to researchers […] could have serious negative repercussions" on their asylum/refugee application, as well as re-surface trauma.

Addressing further limitations of Narrative Analysis' Big Stories, Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008:377) question the viability of solely using this approach during research due to: i) its prescription of what constitutes a "tellable story"; and ii) its confinement of story analysis within the "clinical interview". As Georgakopoulou (2015) later argues, "dominant models" of narrative studies such as Big Stories perceive narrative based on textual criteria; they are confined to the formal research processes, such as chronological and temporal teller-led accounts which elicit knowledge for tellable stories (data that aids the research agenda). Watson (cited in Shapiro & McDonald, 2017), similarly, asserts that analytical investigation relating to the identity-making process should centre around narratives emerging in present-day communication occurrences since identity construction is a continuous, influx, and performative process, enacted and negotiated through interaction, rather than solely by and due to experience. In contrast to Big Stories, the Small Stories approach positions itself as a countermove to dominant (Westernised)

research narratives that seek to source and elicit data from researched communities. In particular, Small Stories focusses on the mundane and everyday stories which surface during field research. As Georgakopoulou (2006) continues, Small Stories are frequently understood as "fleeting moments of narrative orientation to the world" (Georgakopoulou, 2006: 123). Small Stories, in particular, refer to the "mundane and ordinary stories" which individuals tell during informal conversation with the researcher, rather than in formal interviews. Small Stories, therefore, reveal unconscious positioning and enactments of identity. Turning to the use of Narrative Analysis for researching with people who have experienced forced migration, Shapiro and McDonald (2017:81) argue that storytelling is of value as it offers insight into "how participants view themselves, their communities" and the social institutions in which they are situated. Thus, drawing on Georgakopoulou's Small Stories paradigm, a Small Stories orientated approach to Narrative Analysis may decrease the possibility of the research causing harm to the participants. Importantly, to the Small Story approach, participants will not be required to reflect on past events which have shaped their lives, such as their journey to resettlement or any pre/post-migration stressors they may have experienced. This, therefore, means that research participants will not be required to elucidate how the (likely) violence they were subjected throughout their journey to resettlement imprints on their sense of place, belonging, and therefore, identity in the present.

In accordance with methodological innovation and participatory action research practices, this project has reshaped three research approaches: Digital Ethnography, Small Stories, and Interactional Sociolinguistics. The project's combinatory method aims to ensure the research practices best fit the context of the research environment, as well as the participants' needs. It further seeks to ensure that the method adequality overcomes methodological challenges that may arise throughout the research, while simultaneously meeting ethical responsibility: beneficence, non-maleficence, and the protection of the participants' wellbeing, autonomy, safety, and dignity (Iphofen, 2020).

6.3 Designing Field Work During Covid-19: A Socially Distanced Practice

"What does it mean to do fieldwork *if* there is no field to work on?"
(Christin, 2020:108)

The Covid-19 pandemic added additional methodological and ethical complexities to research. For example, the Covid-19 pandemic exacerbated pre-existing inequalities for

women forced to flee their homes, especially in relation to "experiences of poverty, social isolation, and poor mental health" (Finlay and Hopkins, 2021; see Chapter 2). Finlay and Hopkins expand on this analysis, noting that "the main source of crisis for these women [was] not the pandemic itself; rather the pandemic was an add-on to the harmful and exclusionary impacts of the UK asylum system" (Finlay and Hopkins, 2021). Covid-19, therefore, "function[ed] like a magnifying glass"; it made visible and intensified existing inequalities (Steinmetz, 2020:314).

Covid-19 thus emphasised the (existing) need for sensitive, reflexive, and empathic research practices (see Section 6.2). Fine and Abramson (2020:2) share this analysis. The authors discuss how Covid-19 exacerbated the reality that "ethnographers [can be] a vector of danger for the vulnerable". Specifically, Fine and Abrams noted that, as part of anthropology's colonial history and sociology's elitism, unless due care is taken, social researchers can harm the groups being researched, both in foreseen and unforeseen ways. According to Christen (2020), ethnographers researching during the Covid-19 pandemic were thus required "to find ways to turn unfortunate constraints into promising avenues for new research". Christen, Fine and Abrams thus evidence the way in which Covid-19 pandemic "logistically and ethically" altered the course of research for this PhD, resulting in contingency planning becoming central to research design (Krause et al., 2021:265).

Covid-19 prompted researchers engaging with participants during 2020-2022 to consider an array of mitigative strategies in their research planning. Firstly, the safety of all participants. Miller (2020), for example, reiterated that planning must include methodological practices which adhere to public health and social distancing guidance (Christin, 2020). Secondly, methodologies must remain flexible to constraints on movement. Finally, researchers must adapt their methodology to a practice which facilitates creative and remote methods to source data, while simultaneously establishing ways to build and maintain rapport through digital (remote) mediums. It was also essential to recognise that participants, like researchers, were confined to their homes at multiple points between 2020-2022, experiencing varying degrees of stress, pressure, and anxiety (Glosh, 2020). For Fazakas and Barabás (2020: 119), Covid-19 forced "researchers to reinterpret their notions of the field and to make use of existing methodological knowledge stemming from scholarly work that focuses on the integration of online and offline fields".

Whereas some researchers were required to adapt their research techniques amid the pandemic — perhaps due to being prohibited from conducting or continuing with their

research due to legislative, ethical, or home-life responsibilities — this project was, in some ways, more fortunate (Hawkes et al., 2021; Fine & Abramson, 2020). At the point of commencing the Ph.D. (October 2020), the pandemic had been publicly declared present in the UK for eight months. The 'new normal' was therefore well established and life online accepted. It is of further importance to note that I have no dependents and was fortunate to retain employment in a public-sector institution which supports flexible working. I was consequently in a position where I could flexibly adapt my research methods to changing demands. Having, therefore, adjusted to the normalisation of social, professional, and familial connections bound to the online, it felt natural to take a flipped and digitally orientated perspective in the project's research planning (Glosh, 2020). Since ethnography revolves around the emersion and presentation of contemporary understanding through 'recording and analysis […] culture or society' (Simpson & Coleman, 2017; cited in…), a flipped ethnography that mirrors real life (digital and, wherever possible, in-person) felt, ironically, appropriate.

6.4 Conducting Research: Planning Vs Reality

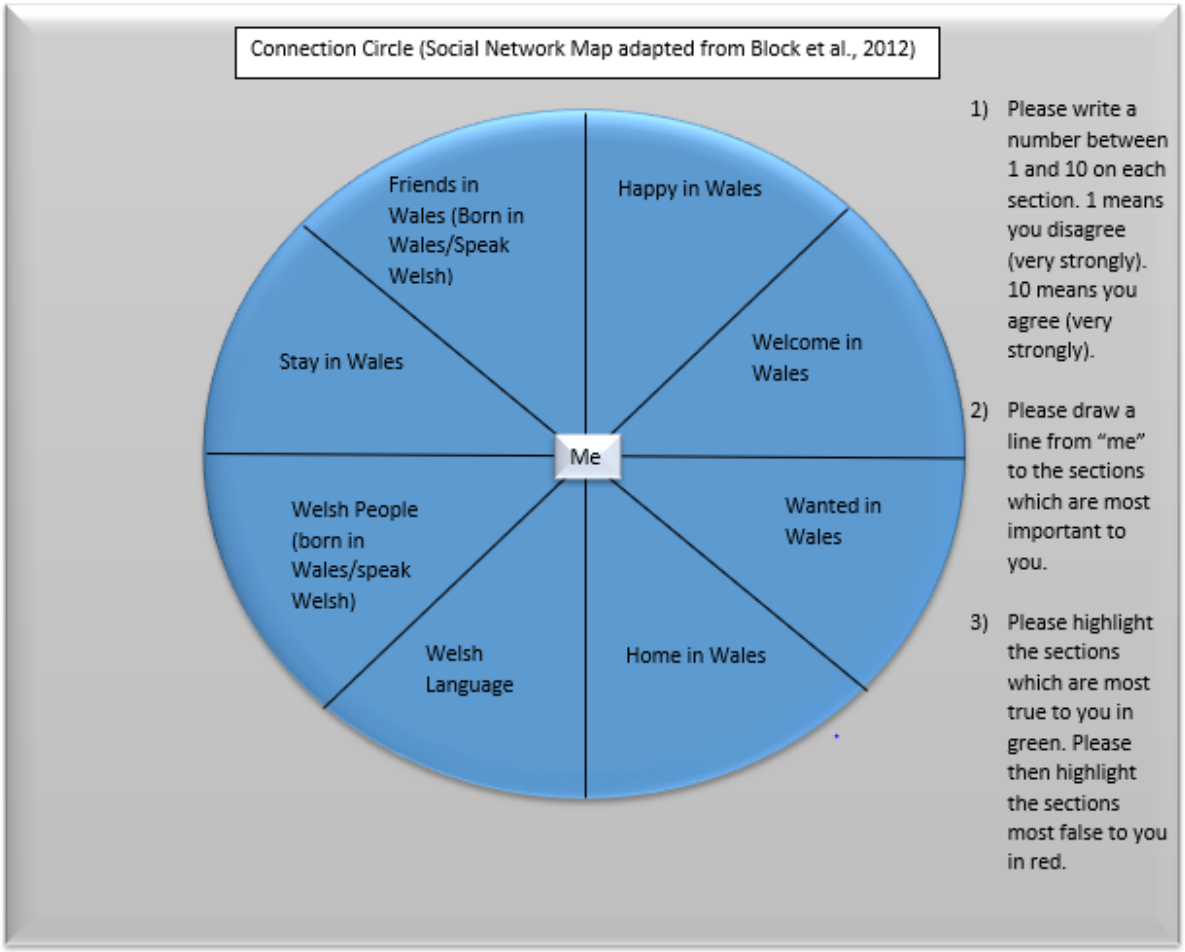
6.4.1 The Initial Plan

Characterised both by methodology innovation (Section 6.2) and the Covid-19 pandemic (Section 6.3), the data for this project sought to be collected in three phases throughout 2021-22. Each phase was designed to be flexible to changing Covid-19 legislation and was permissible to flipped (online and offline) interaction. At the time of planning, it was thought that data collection would be consistent across each research site and would initially involve attending wellbeing workshops to build rapport and meet participants. It was, thus, planned that data collection would entail:

I. Attending online peer-lead wellbeing workshops. These asset-based and culturally responsive sessions aimed to equip sanctuary seeking women with essential skills for self-empowerment. The workshops were further grounded in building social connection to support the women with establishing social networks in their re-settlement communities. Throughout this phase of the research, the plan was to observe group practices and build rapport, identify participants, and finally, to hold a semi-structured focus group with all session attendees. The aim of the semi-structured focus group was to gain

wide ranging feedback, supporting the framing of research questions in the later phases of the research. To further capture the impact of these workshops on the women's experiences during their re-settlement journeys, as well as reveal their initial experiences in Cymru/Wales, a Social Network Map (adapted to a Connection Circle) activity was employed as an introductory activity to the research, and as a means to support the framing of the questions in the focus group. Figure 11 below illustrates this activity.

Figure 11 Connection Circle



Social Networking Maps are frequently employed in research which engages with communities who have experience displacement, as they allow participants to negotiate and autonomously reveal the success of local authority support services, how receptive they feel resettlement communities may be to them; and whether they are likely to remain within the resettlement community once indefinite

leave to remain is granted (Block et al, 2012; Wells, 2011; Van Uden & Jongerden, 2021). Social network mapping can, however, be intrusive. As Block et al. (2012:77) remind us, "[d]isrupted and sparse social networks are a feature of […] recently arrived [forced migrant] populations, rendering this activity far from benign". In particular, Block et al. address how social networking maps can prompt participants to feel lonely, isolated, and confronted. To address this possibility, the project adapted Block et al.'s social networking map and reformed it into a Connection Circle. Firstly, the Connection Circle does not require participants to engage with all aspects of the circle on a personal level – they are able to choose which phrases represent their reality and which phrases do not. Secondly, the Connection Circle relates to their current geographical location, rather than family, home countries and journeys to the resettlement community. This process, therefore, enables participants to choose how much of their story to share, as well as facilitating them to share their story in a way that makes sense to them. Despite the Connection Circle being ethnographic (qualitative) in nature, the design included questions to incite both quantitative and qualitative results. This process thus provided both quantitative and qualitative insight into the experiences and perspectives of sanctuary seeking women in Cymru/Wales.

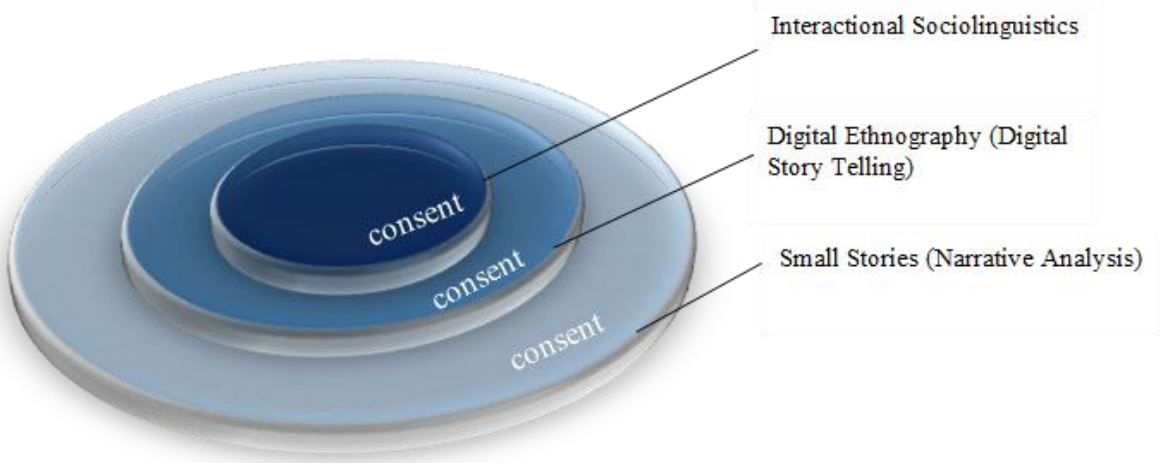
II. During the planning of the second phase, it was thought that the participants would be introduced to Digital Storytelling. The planning for this activity was initially divided into two parts. The first consisted of providing cameras to women to self-document their feelings and experiences in Cymru/Wales. Structure to their storytelling would be provided by way of themes and keywords. For example, the women would be asked to take photos which best represented their understanding of Cymru/Wales, Welshness, home, belonging, sadness (isolation), happiness, community, themselves, woman/en, Welsh-women, man/en, Welsh-man/en, future, past, now, healing, strength, language, and power. That said, the women would also be encouraged to take photos that best represented them and their story, regardless of whether these depictions fell within

the confines of the study's themes/keywords. It was thought that the second part of planning would involve collating the photos and working with the women 1:1 to build a digital story. The aim of this process was to 1) gain insight into the women's experience and perspective, 2) to enable the women to become active within the research process, enhancing the prospects of the women accessing social power via self-representation (Michalovich, 2021). 3). Finally, it was thought that the 1:1 time would enable me to evaluate, in consultation with the women, how this activity impacted them, whether they felt able to continue with the research, and whether they required any support.

III. The final phase of the research planning involved holding 1:1 and small-group semi-structured interviews with the participants and their Support Worker. It was planned that this phase would be guided by the data collected from the connection circle activity.

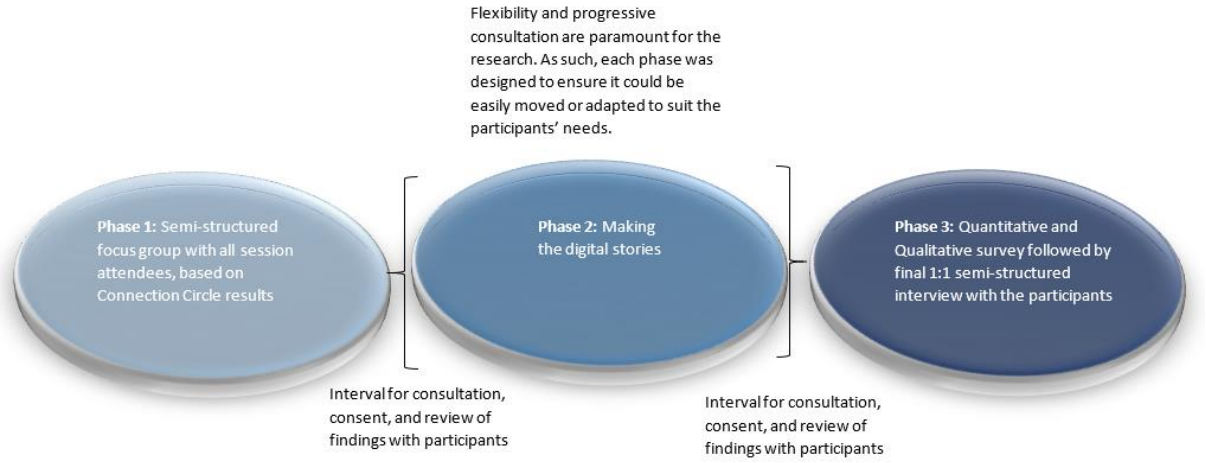
To facilitate the above approach, as well as ensuring the participants' wellbeing was continuously considered, it was further planned that each phase would include a scheduled interval for consent and consultation. The consent/consultation interviews had the aim of introducing the participants to each research paradigm to ensure their ability to question and adapt the research approach to suit their circumstances. Figures 12 and 13 below visualise the methodological model developed to facilitate this approach:

Figure 12 Methodological Model



As figure 10 demonstrates, while each phase is interconnected, they were designed to provide stand-alone data. This data collection model was designed in this way for practical as well as ethical reasons. Practically, the three phases act as a safety-net for research; they ensure the availability of sufficient data from the first phase, even if participants were unable to continue with the latter phases of the research. Ethically speaking, unlike traditional approaches to ethics and consent, this methodologically model incorporates consent at each research phase (interval), rather than simply at the beginning of the research. This transparent approach sought to enable the participants to remain aware of how their data was being used, sourced, and portrayed in each phase. It further sought to ensure the participants felt able to provide feedback on the research approach. By remaining consultative, rather than prescriptive, this approach has the overriding aim of ensuring that the participants had the opportunity to adapt each phase of the survey to best suit their needs and their ability to partake. In so doing, the project consequently aimed to encourage reflection on the women's experiences in Cymru/Wales, while simultaneously producing data of relevance to policy. Finally, in creating this combinatory phase-by-phase consensual method, this project sought to utilise and promote an advocacy-focused approach, deep rooted in community participation and self-representation. Figure 13, below, breaks down this method in more detail:

Figure 13 Consultative Model for Research Collaboration and Consent

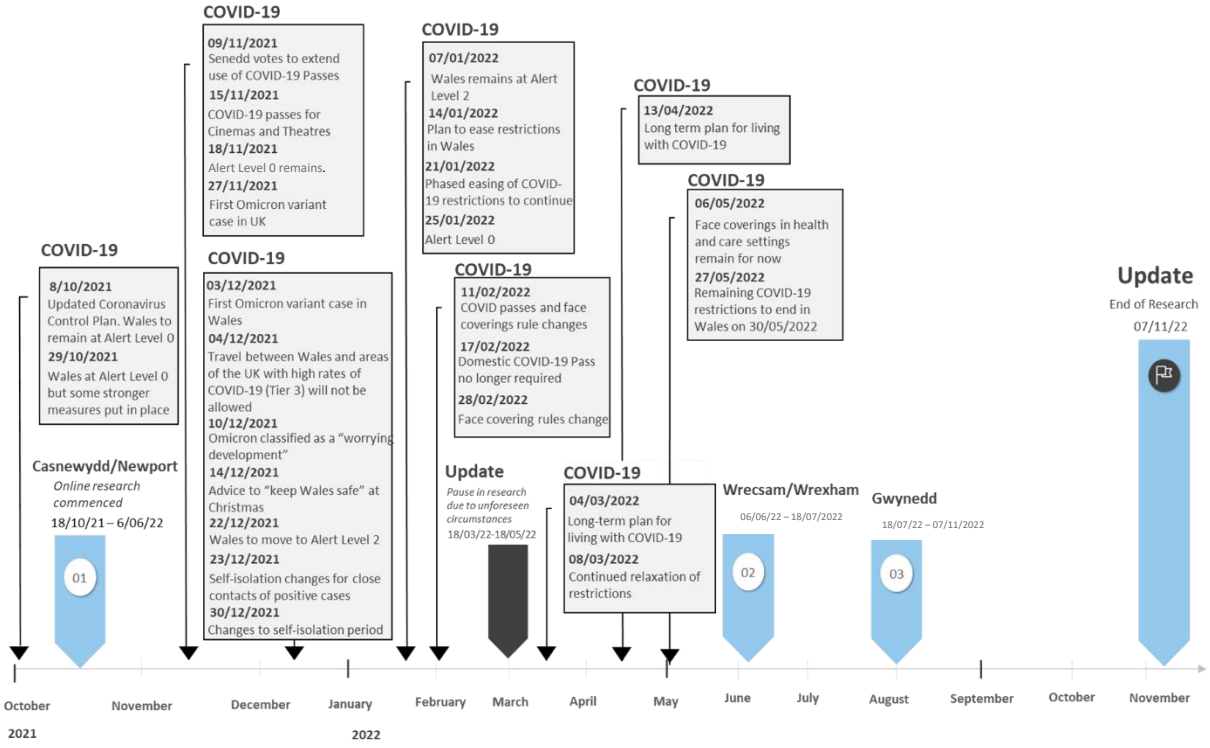


However, this consultative approach significantly impacted the outcome of data collection. Due to participants being encouraged to provide feedback on approaches, as well as amend methods used to facilitate their storytelling, there is variance in data collection on an individual and site basis.

6.4.2 Reality: Timeline and Process

In reality, however, data collection was entirely different to what was initially planned. The data collected with the 20 participants (17 women from sanctuary-seeking backgrounds and 3 Support Workers) took place from October 2021 to November 2022. The timeframe for researching in Casnewydd/Newport was from October 2021 to June 2022. In Wrecsam/Wrexham, it was June 2022 to August 2022, and in Gwynedd, it was August 2022 to November 2022. Data collection activities were interrupted, and in some instances suspended, due to the COVID-19 pandemic. During periods of Public Health restriction, research took place online via Zoom. Research in Casnewydd/Newport was particularly affected by delays, both due to COVID-19 regulations and unforeseen personal circumstances. Most research in Casnewydd/Newport, therefore, took place online, with only two 1-hour sessions held in person at a Community Centre in which social distancing and face coverings were recommended. These in-person sessions took place on the 11th of February, and again on the 9th of March 2022. Once restrictions came to an end in their entirety in Wales (30 May 2022), research commenced at the second site (Wrecsam/Wrexham, from June 2022) and third site (Gwynedd, from August 2022). Figure 15 below illustrates both the mode and timeframe of the research, as well as the influence of COVID-19 restrictions on the research process:

Figure 14: Timeline of Research Events



Researching during and post COVID-19 restrictions resulted in different data collection experiences and varying interactional modes and methods of engagement with the participants. That said, the approach assumed for both online and in-person research remained orientated around the consultative and communicative methods outlined in Section 6.2.1. This flexible research approach enabled me to access many virtual and physical spaces with the participants. The physical locations included places of worship, cafés, community centres, craft groups, and the participants' homes. Covid restrictions-permitting, these in-person data collection activities often involved sharing food and (non-alcoholic) drinks. They also took place with Support Workers known to the participants present during all 1-2-1 interactions for support. The virtual places, on the other hand, were Zoom wellbeing and emotional literacy group workshops, accessed by the participants from their homes and the homes of members of their support bubbles. Although challenging — not least in terms of the legislative restrictions outlined in Figure 14 — researching throughout Covid-19 was thought-provoking. It opened avenues to discuss and compare experiences of wellbeing, isolation, and loneliness pre, during, and post the COVID-19 pandemic in Cymru/Wales, as well as the specific experiences of the participants and their communities. While these experiences, as Couch et al. (2021) discuss, are pre-existing issues for communities forced to migrate, they have been exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic, entrenching and unearthing the impact of structural violence (Mutambara et al., 2021)

As the reality of the research process suggests, the methodological approach remained conversational and informal, with participants fully briefed about consent and consultation (participatory action) before data collection commenced (as outlined in Section 6.4.1). This transparent and familiar approach aimed to encourage the participants to be at ease and feel confident (as far as possible in unequal power relations) to assert their control over the research narrative and be comfortable with the details they shared. To facilitate collecting data in this way, each phase of the research was semi-structured to ensure that the participants could alter the discussion to authentically share their stories, their experiences of resettlement, and their life in Cymru/Wales. The semi-structured approach further ensured the production of data of relevance to the research questions. That said, although transparency and flexibility in research design ensured participant comfort, confidence, and control, it resulted in significant data variance, especially concerning participation in each data collection phase. For example, after being informed they could participate in as many or as few activities as they wanted, most participants decided to only opt for the Connection Circle activity. The participants, in general, did not disclose their reasons for this. Those who did share explained it was due to the time commitment involved in participating in all phases, while others reflected that it was due to the research prompting them to contemplate their circumstances more than they wanted. Following this feedback, which occurred during Casnewydd/Newport data collection, the Connection Circle activity was adapted to ensure that the participants could share their stories and experiences in a single session.

The Connection Circle was, then, altered from a questionnaire-styled activity to an audio-recorded interactive interview-based activity, in which participants both wrote their numerical answers and notes on the document while also having an in-depth discussion about why they chose a particular number or had a specific reaction to a section. This process resulted in conversations naturally drifting to topics of interest to the participants—albeit within the confines of the project's main research agenda. Although this process was not originally part of the research design, the alteration produced high-quality and thought-provoking results and occurred due to participant consultation. Similarly, no participants opted to create a Digital Story. Those who chose to participate in the photography activity shared that the digital story element was overwhelming and time-consuming and not of interest to them. Despite this being a creative aspect of data collection that I was keen to undertake with the participants, the participants' alternative offer of including a short phrase under each photograph to explain an image felt like a productive alternative approach. An additional dimension to the consultative research design was the option provided to the participants of recording the sessions (or not). This transparency resulted

in the participants feeling confident to decline the recording of sessions, should they wish, and resulted in variance in interview data. Unrecorded sessions were logged in note form, while recorded sessions were transcribed to contribute more traditional interview data to the overall study.

In Casnewydd/Newport, research collection entailed:

i. As initially planned: attending wellbeing workshops with sanctuary-seeking women between October 2021 to June 2022.
ii. As initially planned: conducting the connection circle activity as a group activity via Zoom with the participants (as initially planned – see section 6.4.1).
iii. Research Adaptation: Following the commencement of the Connection Circle Activity, it was requested by the women that this session be conducted in-person, rather than on Zoom. Many of the women explained that the Connection Circle could, at times, be confronting while they were at home and not around peers. This led me to meet participants in-person, with their Project Coordinator in attendance for support. During this in-person session, the women and I finalised the Connection Circle activity and later had an (audio recorded) group discussion about their experiences in Cymru/Wales. This discussion revolved around the outcomes of the Connection Circle activity, enabling the participants to share their stories in a way that made sense to them.
iv. As initially planned: I continued attending online wellbeing workshops to maintain rapport with the participants and keep them informed about the research. Attending the sessions also enabled the participants to give feedback about the research process and make amendments to approaches, as part of consensual and consultative research design process.
v. Research Adaptation: Following feedback during the online wellbeing workshops, the participants explained that the Digital Story element of the research was too time consuming. Thus, in collaboration with the women, we met in-person again with their Project Coordinator in attendance to discuss altering the Digital Story to a captioned photography activity.
vi. Research Adaptation: I continued attending the online wellbeing workshops while the women prepared their captioned photography

activity until the end of their workshop term. The participants then shared their captioned photographs with me via their Project Coordinator.

vii. Research Adaptation: I attended their final workshop and concluded the research process with the participants, encouraging them (and their Project Coordinator) to provide feedback on the research process. During this feedback session, it was decided that amending the Connection Circle Activity to an audio-recorded activity, and that altering the Digital Stories to captioned Photography would enable participants to best share their stories. This amendment was then applied to the other research sites.

In Wrecsam/Wrexham, research collection entailed:

i. Research Adaptation: The wellbeing workshops disbanded and were no longer running across the different research sites. I therefore made new connections with alternative third sector organisations in Wrecsam/Wrexham. The first phase of the researching in Wrecsam/Wrexham with these organisations involved volunteering at a foodbank for people experiencing forced displacement and attending craft classes for sanctuary seeking women between June 2022 to August 2022.

ii. Research Adaptation: During my time volunteering, the organisation I connected with introduced me to potential participants. Following discussions with the participants, two decided to participate in the research. However, they chose to participate separately. Both women opted to only conduct the Connection Circle Activity, explaining that photography was not something they felt able to participate in.

iii. Research Adaptation: The women were consulted (separately) on the activity prior to commencement and were encouraged to make amendments should they so wish. Following this consultation, one of the women requested that her Connection Circle activity was not audio recorded. A volunteer Support Worker was present during this activity to ensure the participant felt supported throughout.

iv. Research Adaptation: The second participant participated in the audio-recorded Connection Circle Activity. During this session, the participant and her support worker conducted the connection circle activity together

and the session turned into a workshop/focus group style activity, producing a significant amount of data.

v. Research Adaptation: 6 weeks into my research in Wrecsam/Wrexham, the staff member I initially contacted, who also connected me with participants, was unable to continue facilitating my research due to workplace capacity issues. Researching in Wrecsam/Wrexham, therefore, came to an end soon after the second Connection Circle activity.

In Gwynedd, research collection entailed:

i. Research Adaptation: I connected with a community run organisation in Gwynedd. The first phase of the researching with this organisation involved gaining the permission of the community committee and Gwynedd Council. Following the granting of permission by the Council and committee, I began volunteering at the organisations community centre for people experiencing forced displacement.

ii. Research Adaptation: During my time volunteering, the organisation I connected with introduced me to a number of potential participants. Following discussions with the participants, 8 women with a forced migration background, including one community centre volunteer, opted to participate in the research. However, the majority of women chose to only conduct the Connection Circle activity, with one participant taking part in the photography activity.

iii. Research Adaptation: Each of the women were consulted (separately) on the activity prior to commencement and were encouraged to make amendments should they so wish. Following this consultation, most of the women requested that their Connection Circle activity was not audio recorded. During all interactions, a volunteer Support Worker was present to ensure the participants felt supported throughout.

iv. Research Adaptation: One participant opted for her Connection Circle activity to be audio-recorded. During this session, the participant (with her volunteer support worker present) conducted the Connection Circle activity and the session turned into an open discussion between the participant and I, producing a significant amount of data.

v. Research Adaptation: After almost three months of research in Gwynedd, the research process came to an end, and anonymised data was shared with the community led organisation.

The Data

Chapter 7: Data Collection and Key Themes

Overview

This chapter presents the stories collected with 17 women with sanctuary-seeking backgrounds, including the views of 3 professionals (1 Support Worker, 1 Support Volunteer and 1 Project Coordinator). Data is drawn from varying sources, such as interviews, focus groups, Connection Circle responses, and Captioned Photographs.

The chapter begins by highlighting the consistent themes raised by the participants, calling attention to data of relevance. The data collected and presented in this chapter is significant. It draws attention to the perspectives and individuality of the participants and their resettlement communities, connecting and differentiating experiences based on participant profile and locality. Critically, the data and stories shared in this chapter act as a window into the everyday realities of resettlement in Cymru/Wales, holistically presenting the similarities, contradictions, and unique experiences of individuals (re)settling or having settled throughout the sub-state.

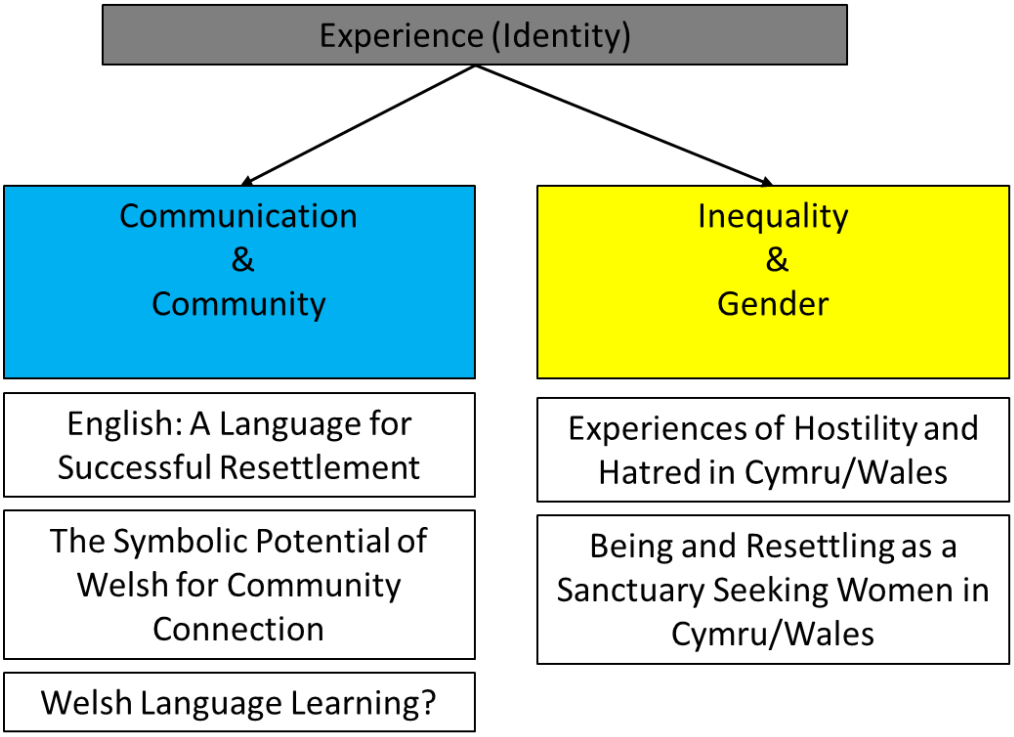
However, it is essential to remain aware while reading this section that the data represents a brief, snapshot moment into the participants' lives. It is also important to consider that some participants entered Cymru/Wales via holistic and safe resettlement scheme, others were spontaneous arrivals, and some were involuntarily relocated to Cymru/Wales via the UK's dispersal scheme. The stories and experiences shared in this chapter, therefore, aim to reflect the breadth and depth of resettlement realities. Critically, though, this section aims to demonstrate the positive impact of scaled, locally managed, and resourced schemes in comparison to nation-wide dispersal. The reader is consequently reminded to consider discussions in chapters 2-5, reflecting on how ranging (and intersecting) geopolitical and social factors govern the realities of forced migration and resettlement, particularly in a devolved, minority language context such as Cymru/Wales.

7.1 Themes

The data from the interviews, focus groups, Connection Circle responses, and Captioned Photographs were coded and categorised using NVivo. To have a "quickly identifiable visual cue" for data interpretation, the data was then analysed and colour coded by theme (Rodríguez-Dorans & Jacobs, 2020:617). The women's stories and experiences of resettlement, which this research understands as a characterisation of language and

identity, guided each aspect of data collection and categorisation. The main themes identified under the guise of experience (identity) were Communication and Community and Inequality and Gender. These central themes were then further analysed and coded, and additional sub-themes emerged. The sub-themes are outlined below in Table 2:

Table 2: Main Themes and Sub-Themes



Although coded into the above themes and subthemes, the data in this thesis can be interpreted and coded in many ways. As Coffey and Atkinson (1996) explain, the more data is examined from different perspectives, "the more we may reveal – or indeed construct – their complexity" (1996:14; cited in Phoenix & Orr, 2017:272). For example, the below Casnewydd/Newport focus group excerpt, involving three participants (illustrated below) and their Project Coordinator, discusses the success of a local woman with a sanctuary-seeking background. This excerpt demonstrates the multiplicity and complexity of data interpretation and presentation. The highlighted sections in the excerpt represent the above themes and demonstrates the contradictory nature of the topics discussed:

Participant 1 *Participant 2* *Participant 3*

***Project Coordinator**: Marwa [Pseudonym] is nurse she is yeah fantastic success story*
***Participant 1**: She start in the Red Cross now she is the nurse*
***Interviewer**: Oh wow*
***Project Coordinator**: Marwa she started [English] in the Red Cross (.) she went to uni*
***Participant 2**: Yeah she came she don't know any English*
***Participant 1**: When she came she said she started with the (.) [Project Coordinator] is our stepping yeah [Project Coordinator] is our stepping stones*
***Project Coordinator**: [Inaudible] Stepping stones [inaudible] When Marwa first came to me here at the Red Cross with her husband this was Marwa's husband Marwa is there she didn't say anything*
***Participant 2**: Yeah because exactly if you if you don't know the English you hide*
***Project Coordinator**: She wouldn't talk she was hiding yeah*
***Participant 3**: Now she is talk front of her husband*
Project Coordinator: She's a nurse she
Participant 2: She can translate she can translate to the husband now
Project Coordinator: She does translations
Interviewer: Oh wow
Participant 2: She can translate to the husband now (laughs)
All participants speaking: Inaudible
***Project Coordinator*:** She translates for him now and he's been here forever (laughs)
***Participant 2*:** Because she know the posh English (laughs) educated England [pause] the husband knows only the basics

Similarly, the following excerpt from a Connection Circle activity in Gwynedd demonstrates the multiple ways of interpreting an excerpt within the same theme:

Sense of community I think it's a Welsh thing. Determination to have even writings around it in two languages. The determination to have it in Welsh **(subtheme: Welsh as a language of cultural and historical significance; The symbolic power of Welsh for community connection)**. In Ukraine, it depends on the part of Ukraine [whether there are signs in the Ukrainian language]. Lots of people switch to Ukrainian on purpose. People now don't identify with the violence so they move away from Russian **(Subtheme: Welsh (Subtheme: The symbolic potential of Welsh for community connection;)**. & **Being and resettling as a sanctuary seeking woman in Cymru/Wales)**. Its centuries of oppression and it had to lead to war and things to appreciate our language. Our culture is beautiful and a major part of it is language. So I love people who speak Welsh. Language is how to identify and distinguish from other people **(Subtheme: The symbolic power of Welsh for community connection**

While excerpts 1 and 2 have each been categorised as part of a specific sub-theme (English as a language for successful resettlement for 1, and the symbolic potential of Welsh for community connection for 2) they have also been scrutinised and explored with reference to all themes and subthemes to ensure that the participants' stories and experiences are presented as true to their accounts as possible (c.f. Phoenix & Orr, 2017). This means that, although an extract may be presented under a single theme, the analysis is unbounded, enabling the exploration of many potential perspectives.

7.2 The Data: Communication and Community

7.2.1 English: A Language for Successful Resettlement

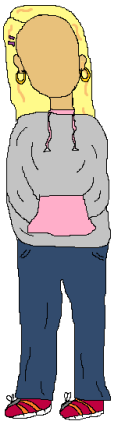
The English language as an integral aspect of resettlement frequently emerged during interactions with the participants. Many participants shared that learning English was essential to a positive resettlement experience, not least in terms of their health and wellbeing, but also in providing them with the opportunity to contribute to their communities in meaningful ways (see section 5.3). While the participants' perspective closely aligns with Capstick and Delaney's (2016) analysis that learning English "has a positive influence on [sanctuary seeking women's] physical and mental health" by providing them with "much-needed opportunities to come together with other women in a safe environment" (2016:21), the participants further suggest that knowledge of 'good' English, a view orientated around ideologies of native-speakerism, equips them with the necessary skills to, among many things, communicate with varying government officials and services,

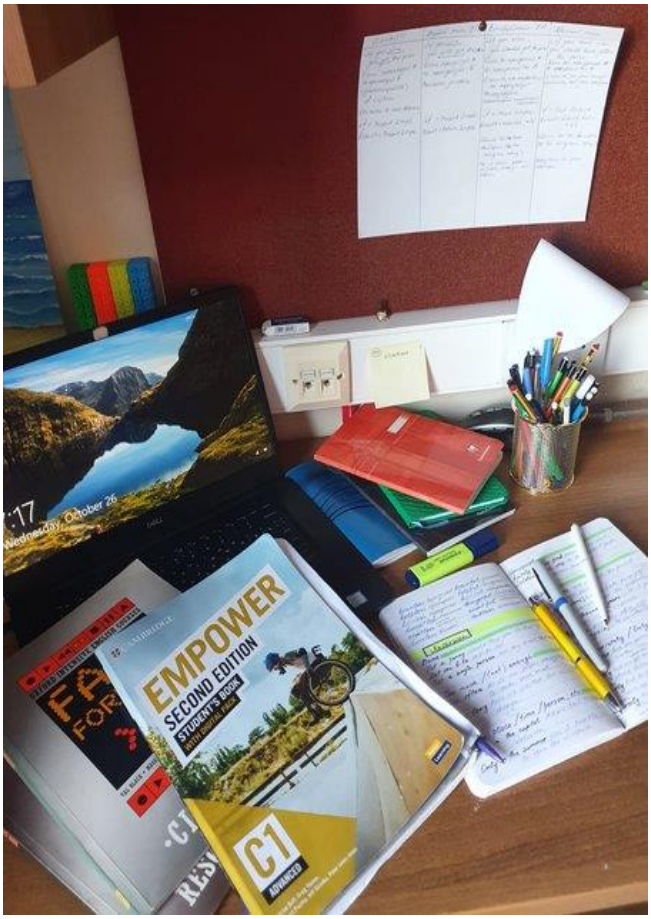
support their communities, share their experiences and improve their wellbeing (Phillimore, 2011; Simpson, 2016).

Participants based in urban and rural Gwynedd shared their reflections on the importance of the English language. According to a participant living in rural Gwynedd (illustrated to the left), learning English makes her *'like'* herself. According to this participant, it is a process that she enjoys as it makes her '*happy*'. A participant based in urban Gwynedd (illustrated to the right) appears to agree. This participant shared via her Connection Circle activity that she 'Hope[s] to learn [English]' and that:

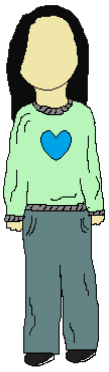
For another participant in urban Gwynedd (illustrated to the left of Figure 15), the importance of learning a native-speaker variety of English is emphasised. This participant shared the following photograph of a Cambridge English textbook, entitling the image as 'Language':

Figure 15 Photograph 1: 'Language' (Urban Gwynedd Participant)





These views of English mirror the data gathered with Casnewydd/Newport participants. For example, a Casnewydd/Newport participant (illustrated to the right) shared via her Connection Circle activity that studying English allows her to meet other women and be ambitious. For this participant, the support group she attends plays a central role in her language learning and, by association, her wellbeing.



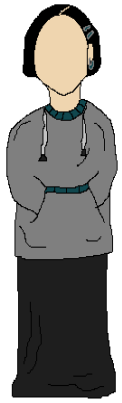
Another Casnewydd/Newport participant (illustrated to the left) also values English language learning. This participant shared that her Project Coordinator, has not only taught her '*nice English*' but in doing so has provided her with '*information*' to support with her resettlement journey. As the participant shares:

Feels lucky met [Project Coordinator]. Information stations got nice managers speak nice English all from [Project Coordinator]

The same participant later explained during the Casnewydd/Newport focus group that her Project Coordinator made significant contributions toward improving her wellbeing by teaching her the English language, including emotional literacy language. As the participant explained:

I think in here its lot of community having with women. I think in here its erm you will get a lot of support.

Another participant (illustrated to the left below), also from Casnewydd/Newport, appears to agree with this sentiment. This participant makes references to the impact of receiving support via her Casnewydd/Newport group and Project Coordinator. As the Participant explains:



[Project Coordinator] she help us a lot and I am glad to have met [Project Coordinator] in Newport.

Another Casnewydd/Newport participant (illustrated to the bottom left of Figure 16) shares the sentiment that learning English, particularly under the guidance of her Project Coordinator, improves prospects of resettlement, especially mental health and wellbeing. The following photograph and short phrase by this participant demonstrates her view as regards the importance of English as a tool for successful resettlement, as well as the role of support services in achieving this:

Figure 16: Photograph 2 (Photo and Description by Casnewydd/Newport Participant)

This participant's perspective that learning English has enabled her to speak '*fearlessly in front of people*' and, therefore, be confident in building a new life is an understanding

shared by most of the Casnewydd/Newport Participants. In fact, many of the participants shared during the focus group that their Project Coordinator is their '*stepping stone*' to positive resettlement, in that she teaches the women English and creates a safe space for them to have a '*community*' of '*women*'. However, the women further regard that knowledge of *'posh English'* or '*nice English'*, has the potential for social and financial elevation:

Participant 1

Participant 2

Participant 3

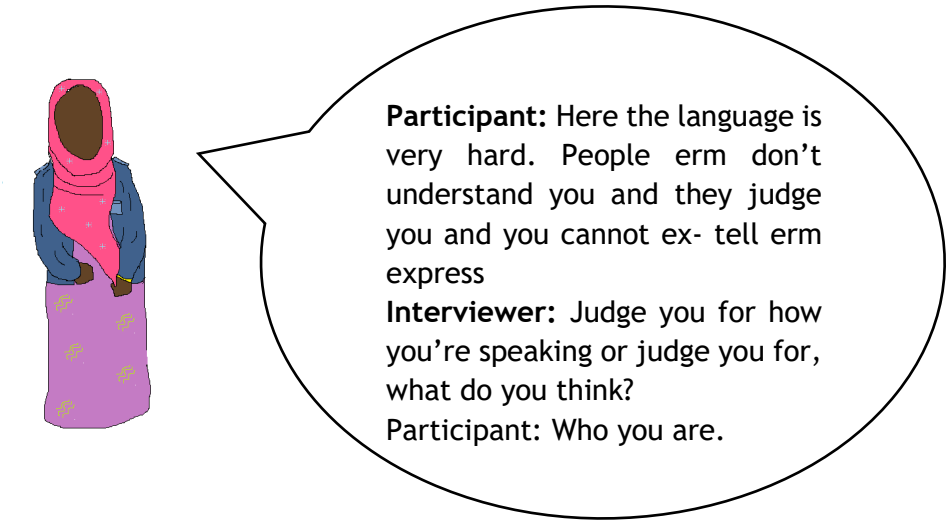
Project Coordinator: Marwa [pseudonym] is nurse she is yeah fantastic success story
Participant 1: She start in the Red Cross now she is the nurse
Interviewer: Oh wow
Project Coordinator: Marwa she started [English] in the Red Cross (.) she went to uni
Participant 2: Yeah she came she don't know any English
Participant 1: When she came she said she started with the [Project Coordinator] (.) [Project Coordinator] is our stepping yeah [project coordinator] is our stepping stones
Project Coordinator: [Inaudible] Stepping stones [inaudible] When Marwa first came to me here at the Red Cross with her husband this was Marwa's husband Marwa is there she didn't say anything [Project Coordinator indicated Marwa stood behind her husband]
Participant 2: Yeah because exactly if you if you don't know the English you hide
Project Coordinator: She wouldn't talk she was hiding yeah
Participant 3: Now she is talk front of her husband
Project Coordinator: She's a nurse she
Participant 2: She can translate she can translate to the husband now
Project Coordinator: She does translations
Interviewer: Oh wow

Participant 2: She can translate to the husband now (laughs)
All participants *speak*ing: Inaudible
Project Coordinator: She translates for him now and he's been here forever (laughs)
Participant 2: Because she know the posh English (laughs) educated English [pause] the husband knows only the basics.

While the perspectives of the Casnewydd/Newport participants, in some ways, supports Jenkin's (2011) analysis that a "skilled English user is no longer someone who has "mastered" the forms of a particular native variety of English", the participants' reflections, nevertheless, suggest that speaking a 'native-speaker' variety of English is preferred (Jenkins, 2011:931-932). In this way, the data further hints to terms set out by the Home Office (2005:20) that becoming a "successful" member of society refers to having the "ability to communicate effectively in English" and, therefore, gain "employment appropriate to their skills and abilities" (c.f. Bloch 2002; Phillimore & Goodson 2008).

The functional role of the English language in attaining employment, and therefore improving life experiences, is shared by Wrecsam/Wrexham Participants. Like the Casnewydd/Newport participants, a Wrecsam/Wrexham participant [illustrated to the right] values the English language and similarly views English as a means to support resettlement. This participant revealed via her Connection Circle activity that she '*want[s] to learn English*', later suggesting that speaking with local people through the medium of English will be good for her and will improve her prospects of getting a job and living comfortably with her family. It can be inferred from this participant's suggestion that speaking with 'local people' perhaps refers to ideologies of native speakerism.

While researchers, such as Ushioda (2013:5), suggest that the "growth of migration and mobility" has prompted "contexts of learning and using English in the globalised world" to become "fluid, flexible, mobile, transitory, borderless and less definable", another Wrecsam/Wrexham participant adds an additional dimension to this discussion. While this participant values and is '*thankful'* for the role of her Support Worker in her resettlement journey, especially regarding using and learning the English language, as well as providing emotional support, she, nevertheless, hints at inequality in language use:

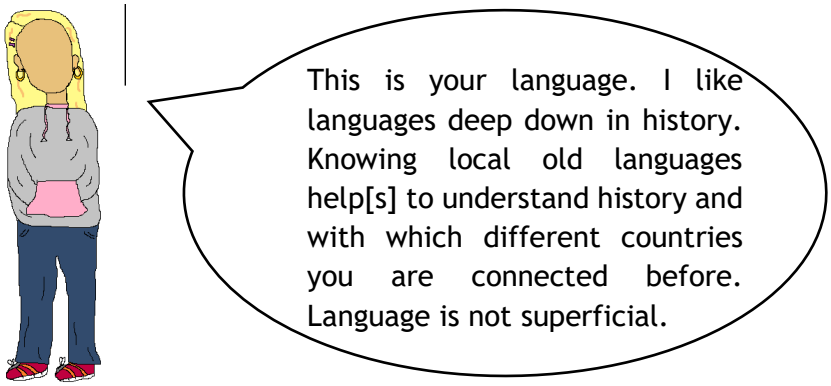


The participant's suggestion that people, namely local English language speakers, '*judge you*' for '*who you are*' when you speak English, highlights that, despite its global reach, English is not a neutral means of communication (see Section 4.3). This participant thus implies that the globality of English is, in some ways, linked with issues of global power and inequality, not least, the variety of language people speak, or whether they have capital and influence over others (Dörnyei et al., 2006). In so doing, the participant's view appears to support Newman's (2006:148) understanding that English language varieties can be prescribed as "legitimate" by elite members of society, most notably, native speakers.

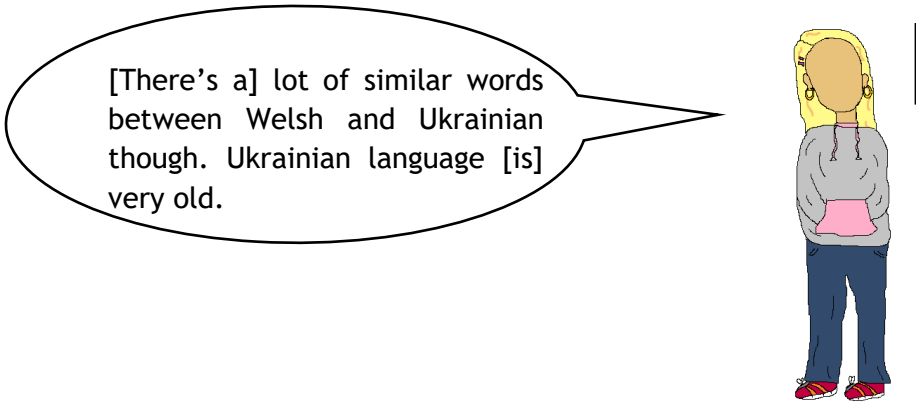
7.2.2 The Symbolic Potential of Welsh for Community Connection

Welsh language discussions revealed contentious and contradictory views and experiences, lending to previous debates about the role of the Welsh language in encouraging social inclusion and community connection (Easlick, 2022; Prys & Matthews, 2022; Bermingham & Higham, 2018). Critically, however, Welsh language discussions also hinted at the "de-bordering" of language and identity practices, demonstrating how increases, changes, and adaptions in communication and social ties extend beyond the borders facilitated and created through human control. However, although Welshness, including devolution, was acknowledged by most participants, discussions of the Welsh language differed significantly by region. In Wrexham/Wrecsam and Gwynedd, Welsh language discussions were in-depth. However, in Gwynedd, Welsh language relevance was particularly emphasised. Despite generally appreciating Welshness, these discussions did not occur to the same extent with participants based in Casnewydd/Newport. The ensuing section, therefore, includes data from Wrexham/Wrecsam and Gwynedd, with only a brief reference to Casnewydd/Newport findings.

Participants based in Gwynedd emphasised the assumption that the Welsh language is symbolic of history, culture, and identity. One participant in urban Gwynedd (illustrated below) shared perceptions of Welsh language ownership via her Connection Circle activity. However, she simultaneously hinted that the presence of the Welsh language brings her comfort, alluding to the importance of Welsh language knowledge for understanding Welsh culture and history:

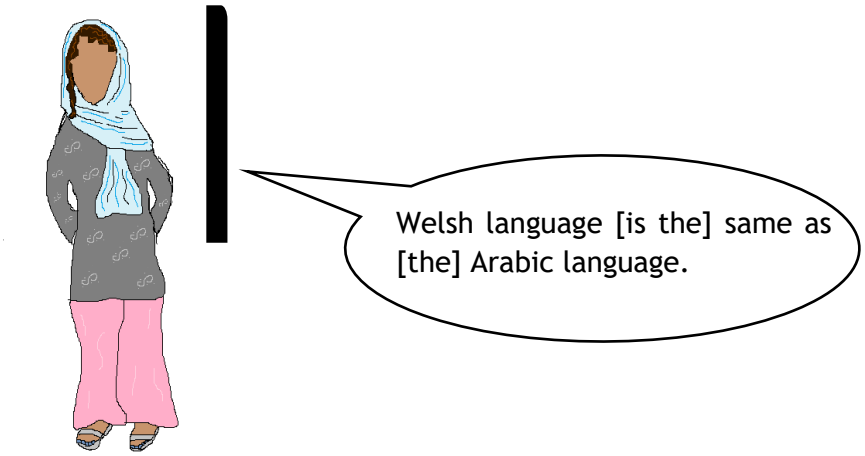


The participant's suggestion that "this [Welsh] is your language" initially hints to a modernist orientation of language (see Section 4.2). Critically, then, the participant implies an essentialised connection between language, place, and people. In doing so, she presents the view that Welsh is a language for people in Wales, namely "insiders", and perhaps not a language for newcomers or "outsiders" (see Section 4.2-4.3). That said the participant's clarification that "old local languages" reveal "with which countries you are connected before" contradicts this analysis, hinting instead at a de-territorialised view. In this way, the participant recognises that "language" and speakers are "mobile" rather than territorialised through human control (see Section 4.3). This suggestion of connectivity also alludes to a sense of togetherness. For example, the participant's perspective that 'Language is not superficial' and her later clarification that, in her view, Welsh and Ukrainian have similarities, deconstructs her initial suggestion of the binding of language to place, and hence, to people. As the participant continues:



By implying linguistic similarities between Welsh and Ukrainian, this participant creates a sense of belonging for herself in Wales based on, in her view, a historical connection, evidenced through language, between the place she comes from and the place she currently resides. The participant, in this way, presents, as Jaspers (2018:17) also found, a "humanist language ideology" based on "pre-modern myths, symbols and memories about the relation between specific territories and a sense of community". In other words, the Welsh language, by resembling the Ukrainian language according to this participant, establishes a sense of community through similarity, enabling her to feel, in essence, connected to home.

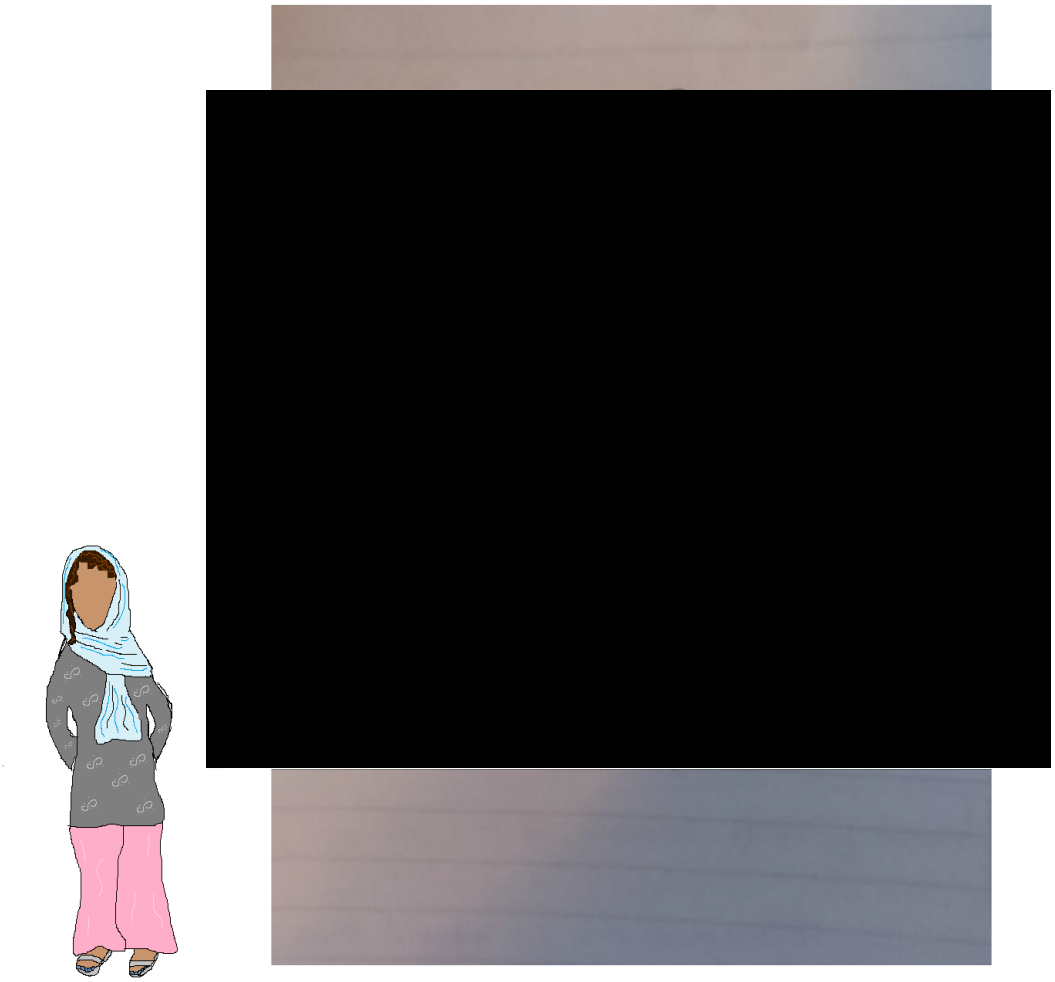
Another particpant based in rural Gwynedd appears to concur, explaing that Welsh has the potential to encourage feelings of togetherness and community through its perceived connection with her home language, Arabic. As the participant shares:



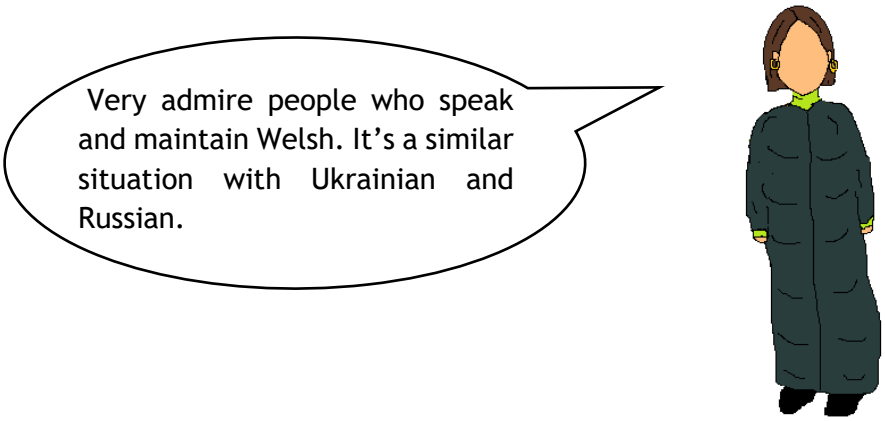
When asked to explain why she thought the Welsh language was the 'same' as Arabic, the participant wrote out two names in Arabic to demonstrate how Arabic is, in her view, a phonetic language like Welsh. The participant also explained how the frequent use of consonants and the very few vowels used in Arabic, especially when they are written without

a tashkil, is similar, in her view, to consonants clusters in the Welsh language. The below photograph of the participant's explanation illustrates her understanding:

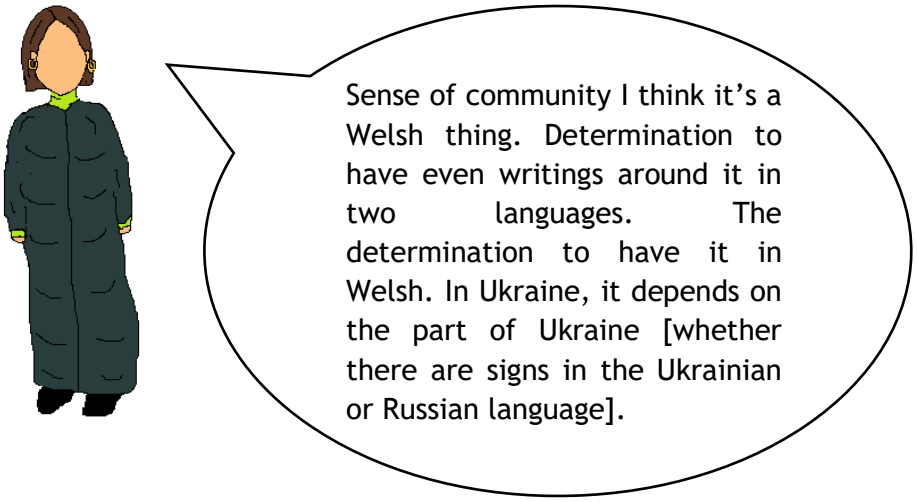
Figure 17: Photograph 2 (Arabic writing)



Another participant based in urban Gwynedd appears to concur. This participant further outlines that, in her view, there are similarities between Welsh and Ukrainian. However, according to this participant, similarities are based on the linguistic landscapes in Cymru/Wales, as well as the Welsh language's history of suppression in British polity and policy. The participant shared the following reflections via her Connection Circle activity:



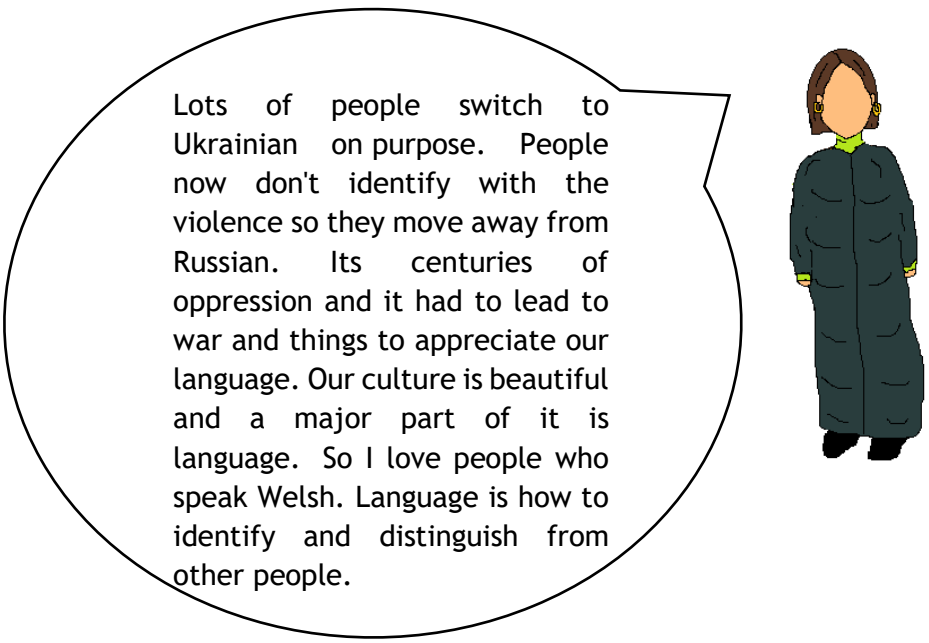
The participant's 'admiration' of people who 'speak and maintain Welsh' and her suggestion that the linguistic landscape in Wales, between Welsh and English, is 'similar' to the 'situation' in Ukraine between 'Ukrainian and Russian' highlights the significance of language for identity-making, including the cultural and historical relevance of the Welsh language. As the same participant continues:



Throughout these excerpts, the participant presents a sense of solidarity and similarity between Cymru/Wales and Ukraine. In her view, then, the minoritsation of Welsh and Ukrainian in language policy and polity presents a comparable history of language suppression between the two places, implying a connection between the place she comes from and the place she currently resides. However, the participant's comparison of successes in Welsh language legislation with the Ukrainian context has complex implications. First, the participant suggests that the visibility of the Welsh language throughout Cymru/Wales differs significantly from the Ukrainian context. According to the participant, while the Welsh language is visible throughout Cymru/Wales due to the 'determination' of Welsh speakers, the Ukrainian language is only included in the Ukrainian linguistic landscape in specific 'part[s] of Ukraine'. Through this comparison, the participant is, potentially,

presenting an "aspirational perspective of “true bilingualism” in Wales which may not reflect the realities of everyday language use" (Coupland's, 2012). In other words, the participant's 'admiration' of the 'determination' of Welsh language speakers to have achieved a 'sense of community' could, perhaps, be a vision of Cymru/Wales which reflects the Welsh language practices and speaking populations within an area of higher density linguistic significance, such as Gwynedd (her host community). In essence, then, the participant may be assuming that the Welsh language use in Gwynedd mirrors that of the rest of Cymru/Wales.

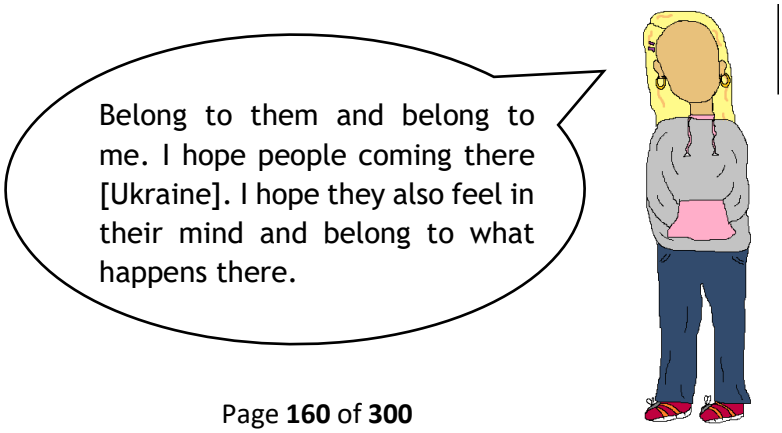
The participant’s perspective, in some ways, adds depth to Evan's analysis that there may, indeed, be a dividing tradition based on those in “more Welsh” and those in “less Welsh” regions, (Evans, 2019). In other ways, though, it further presents a de-territorialised view of Welsh and Welshness, connecting languages and people beyond the confines of borders. However, the participant’s clarification, as well as her correlation of Welsh with Ukrainian, further present the view that she is, potentially, comforted by the Welsh language and its public presence in her local area. This finding suggests — perhaps more importantly — that the Welsh language contributes to her sense of place and belonging in Cymru/Wales. As the participant concludes regarding the situation in Ukraine:



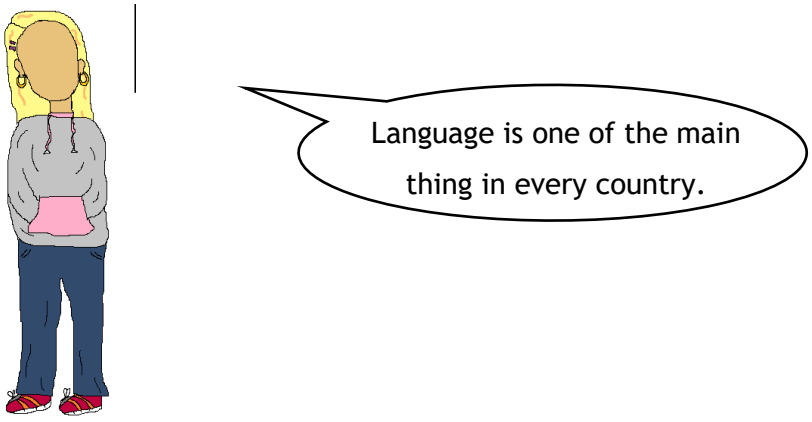
The participant's view that some Ukrainian speakers actively 'switch to Ukrainian' instead of Russian could hint at how "political crises have the potential to disrupt and reassemble identities" (Saffee & Lackner, 2019). In doing so, this participant, whether consciously or not, presents the view that the Welsh language is a significant identifying feature of Cymru/Wales. This participant, as with other participants, therefore, presents the view that language can be used as a marker of difference, carrying symbolic power and connection to other regions, communities, and places. Another participant based in urban Gwynedd appears to share this sentiment. For this participant, her sense of identity is also inextricably linked with Ukraine and symbols representing Ukraine. The participant, for example, shared the following photograph to illustrate her sense of self:

Figure 18: ''Me' by Gwynedd Participant

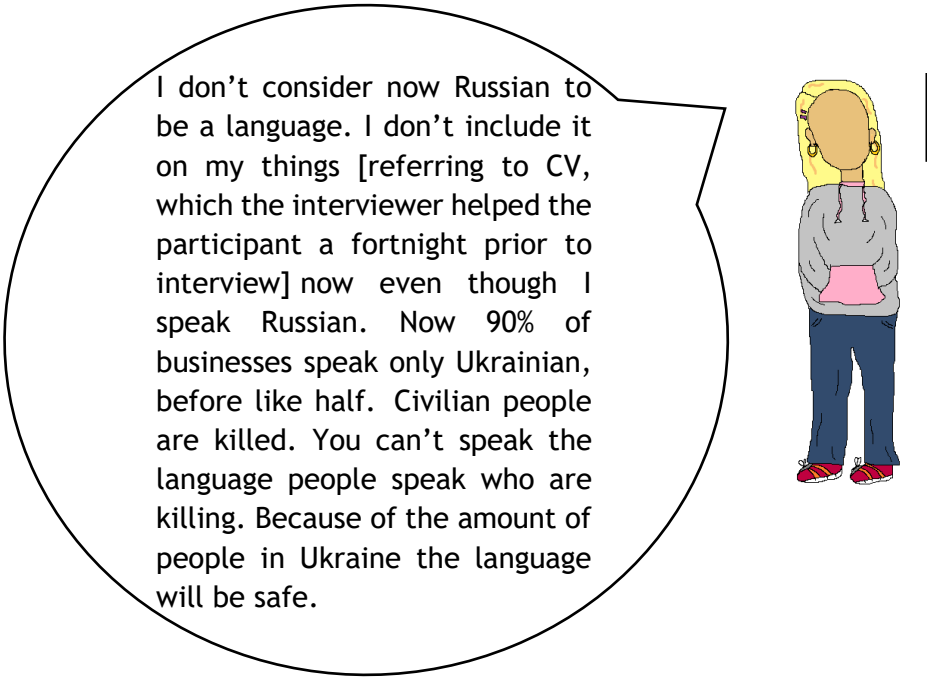
When asked to explain why this image represented her, the participant explained that her shirt is traditional to Ukraine and has a regionally specific pattern on it. While the participant's sense of identity connects with place (Ukraine), she also alludes to a sense of belonging to the local resettlement community, including her desire to stay in contact with the community once she returns to Ukraine. As the participant shares:



The participant later connects these discussions of identity with language, further noting that:

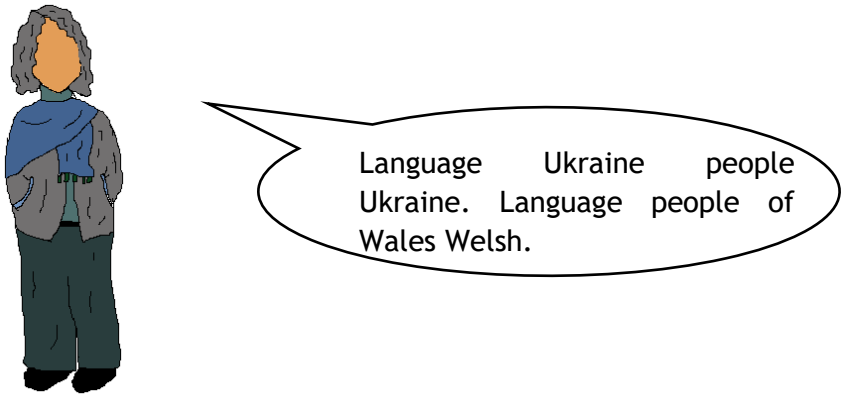


The participant concludes, sharing her views of the symbolic power between language-identity:



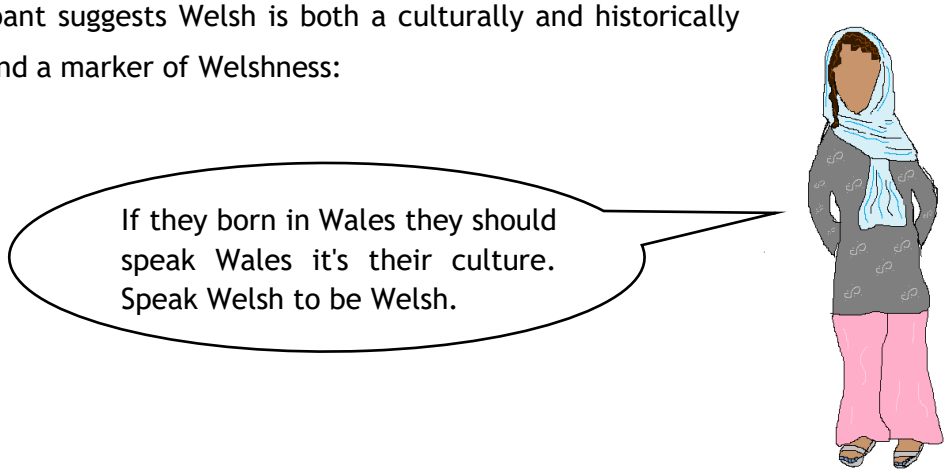
This participant, like the previous participant, reaffirms her Ukrainian identity by positioning it in stark opposition to the symbolic 'violence' and 'killing' represented by the Russian language, in her view and experience. In this way, both participants appear to utilise the minority status of Welsh, as well as its recent success in gaining status and public visibility following historical suppression in UK policy and polity, to exemplify their 'difference' and persistence as Ukrainians, not only in a way that invokes solidarity, but also

comprehensibility amongst their Welsh language resettlement community (Hall, 1996: 4). Another participant based in Urban Gwynedd appears to concur, noting in the 'Welsh language' section of her Connection Circle that:



The participant's intertwining of Welsh with Welshness and hence Ukrainian with Ukrainian presents, as with her counterpart, a modernist orientation of language which connects language, place, and people. In this way, despite the unequal capital value and ideological positioning assigned by the participants to Welsh and English in Sections 7.2.1 and 7.2.3, the participant here implies that Welsh is an identifying feature of Welshness.

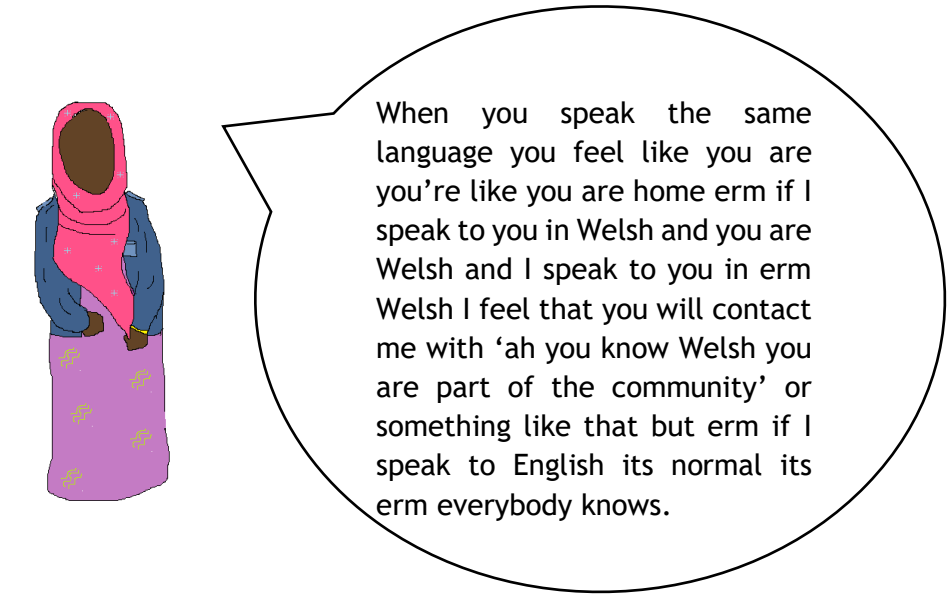
Another participant based in rural Gwynedd shares this view. This participant similarly presents the view that the Welsh language is a signifier of community membership in Cymru/Wales, but also that language is exclusive to the place occupied by the community. Hence, this participant suggests Welsh is both a culturally and historically significant entity, and a marker of Welshness:



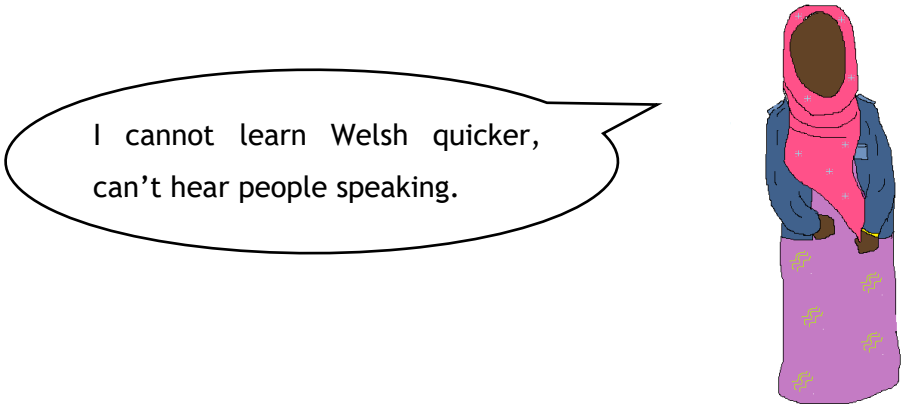
This participant, as with her Gwynedd counterparts, raises, whether consciously or not, issues of new speaker ownership, authenticity and legitimacy of language use and connection, especially concerning her views of language as a marker of difference and identity-making (O'Rourke & Ramallo, 2013). For example, the participant's frequent use of the pronoun 'they', determiner 'their', and her clarification that if a person is 'born' in Wales,

they should 'speak Welsh to be Welsh' contributes further to this analysis. Critically, the participant's references distance her from Welsh identity negotiations, implying instead that this is an issue for individuals 'born in Wales' and, hence, not in-migration populations. The implication of the co-location of Welshness with the Welsh language inevitably implies that, although Welshness is, as Coupland et al. (2006: 354) explain, "open to more than a single group of 'Welsh people' living in Wales", this perspective may be at odds with the opinions of many people in Wales, who may still associate language, community and identity "as bounded objects that remained unchanged over time and across space" (Lytra, 2014:5).

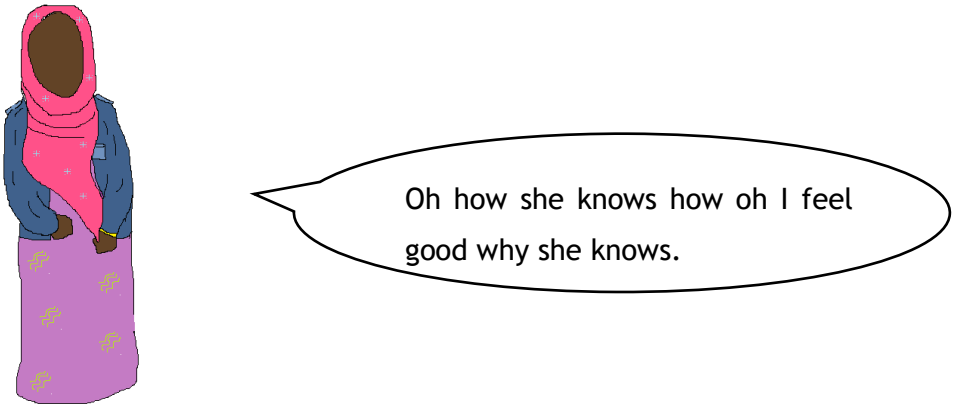
The symbolic potential of the Welsh language in facilitating connection to the resettlement context is further implied by a participant based in urban Wrecsam/Wrexham. The participant shares the following remarks about the Welsh language:



Thus, while Welsh is frequently posited and perceived in public discourses as an optional, rather than required, language to learn, which "link[s] to culture and heritage" (Higham, 2014:116), this participant provides evidence to the contrary. However, for this participant, unlike her Gwynedd counterparts, the lower density of Welsh speakers in Wrecsam/Wrexham has impacted her ability to engage with the Welsh language, resulting in her 'manag[ing] to learn only [a] few words'. In other words, despite explaining that the Welsh language is 'very important' and that she would 'like to learn' it, being in an area of lower density linguistic significance has affected her ability to access and connect to Welsh language speakers. As the participant explains:



The participant, with reference to the Welsh language, concludes that if she were to speak Welsh fluently, she would be met with a positive and welcomed response from the Welsh language community. With reference to how she thinks the Welsh language community would respond to her, the participant concludes that:



The participant's Support Worker, also based in Wrecsam/Wrexham, adds to this analysis, sharing that:

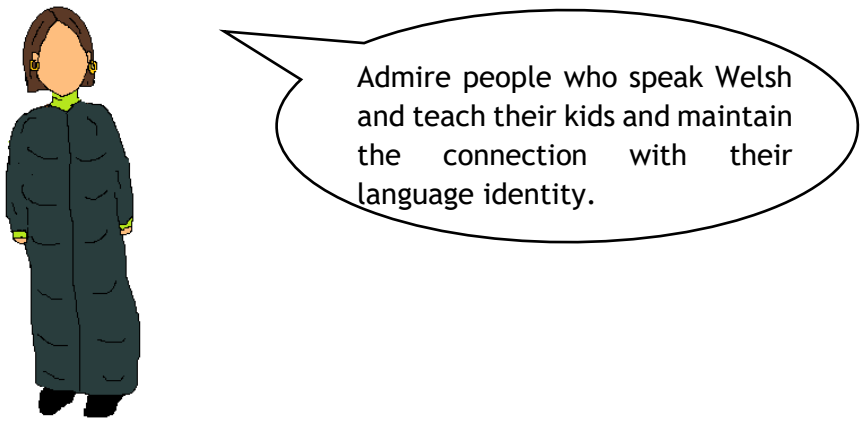
> 'If she could speak Welsh she would feel you are more part of the country, and it would give more of an establishment in Wales. Its interesting because people are generally lazy and haven't had to [learn Welsh]'.

The Support Worker's comments, as well as the views of the participants, suggest that, although English is a pragmatic language for communication and social elevation, the Welsh language is a central component of Welsh, not British, society. It is further viewed by the participants as a language symbolic of history, identity, and culture and potentializes

feelings of belonging and connection between the place they come from, and they place they currently reside. Critically, however, the data presented in this section demonstrates how Welsh, although a currently underutilised resource in the NoS, could encourage more of an establishment in Wales for newer communities. Thus, while discussions about the importance and relevance of the Welsh language more frequently emerged during interactions with participants in Gwynedd (an area of higher density linguistic significance), the Welsh language was positively received and its symbolic potential clearly recognised by most participants, irrespective of their location.

7.2.3 Welsh Language learning?

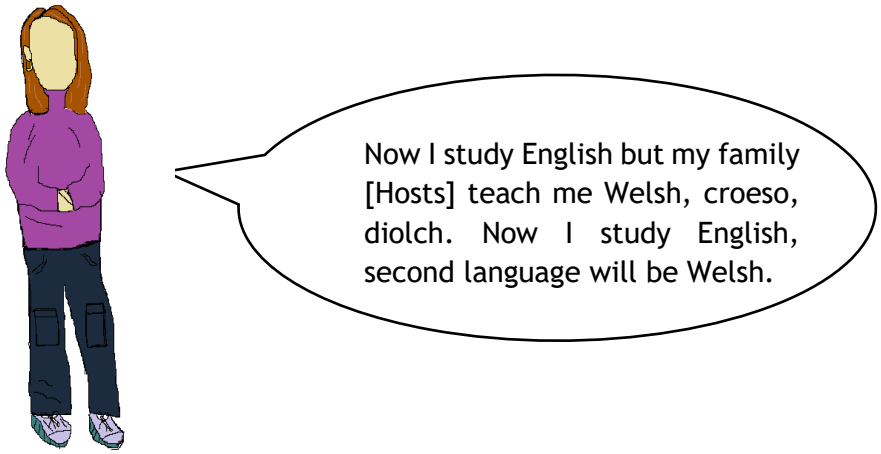
In multilingual contexts such as Cymru/Wales, where competing hierarchies of languages, particularly between Welsh and English, are omnipresent, perceptions of the interconnection between language and identity are often contested, revealing thought-provoking and complex ideologies. Thus, unlike the English language analysis in Section 7.2.1, learning 'good', 'posh' or any other variety of the Welsh language appears not to be linked with the prospect of a more successful resettlement. Instead, despite hinting at notions of Welshness, and acknowledging the symbolic potential of the Welsh language for community connection and identity-making (see Section 7.2.3 and 8.2), few participants implied that their positive reception of the Welsh language increased their interests in Welsh language learning. A participant based in urban Gwynedd, for example, explains that:



The participant's assertion that she 'admire[s]' Welsh speakers who teach 'their kids Welsh' and, in doing so, 'maintain the connection with their language identity' solidifies the importance and connection between language use and identity making and reshaping, particularly in contexts of unequal (language) power dynamics. It is perhaps important to

note that this participant was introduced to Welsh and the Welsh language community through her employment and Welsh-speaking colleagues. These experiences, as well as her direct contact with Welsh language speakers, perhaps influenced her interest and her reference to the importance of free Welsh language learning. As the participant continues:

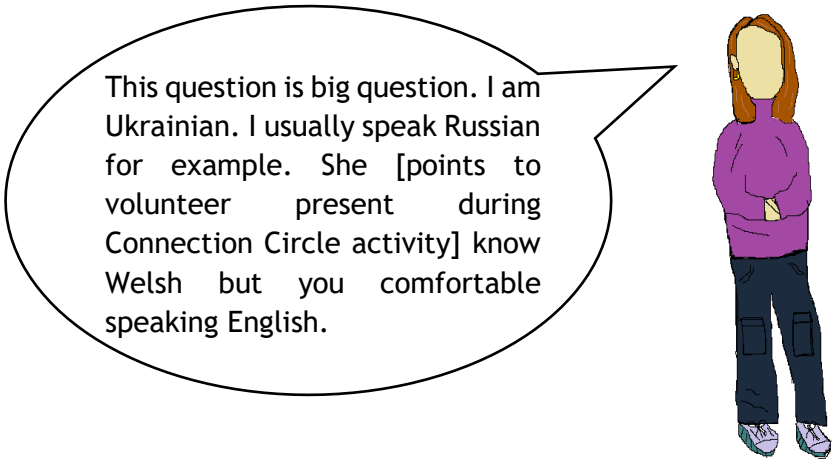
Similar to her Gwynedd counterpart, another participant based in rural Gwynedd (illustrated to the left) revealed that '*If [she] live[d] here [she would] maybe study Welsh'*. As the participant explains:



The participant's assertation outlines a common predicament for individuals with shifting socio-political/residency statuses in Cymru/Wales. The participant's inability to confirm the duration of her stay in Gwynedd, due to current circumstances in Ukraine, appears to have impacted her decision to invest — or not — in learning Welsh. This, in some ways, suggests that, should she live in Cymru/Wales permanently, the participant would learn Welsh. Further analysis implies an issue of Welsh language capital value. Specifically, the participant's perspective suggests that English has unchallenged capital and is, therefore, relevant to learn regardless of locale. Whereas the value and relevance of Welsh, perhaps due to its minority status, is confined to the borders of Cymru/Wales. However, the participant's later reference to common phrases of hospitability in Welsh, such as 'croeso

[welcome]', and 'diolch [thank you]', imply that her 'family [hosts]' have influenced her engagement with the Welsh language. This finding, in essence, demonstrates the impact of local community engagement and support, not only in terms of experiences in Cymru/Wales but also in Welsh language perspectives and feelings of belonging. Critically, however, this participant is the only person in this study hosted by a Welsh language-speaking family living in a rural Welsh language-majority community.

Another participant based in rural Gwynedd, however, offers a more nuanced perspective. When asked whether learning Welsh would help her to identify with Wales and Welshness, the participant shared:



Unlike her Gwynedd counterparts, this participant disentangles the link between language and identity, challenging instead the view of authentic language use and ownership. In doing so, this participant alludes to the fluidity of identity and language use and suggests that while constructions of identity can shape linguistic resources, language is not a marker of belonging among certain peoples, ethnic groups, or geographical regions (cf. Brooks, 2022; De Fina, 2016). This participant is, however, the only participant to hold this view.

Another participant based in rural Gwynedd shared this perspective, suggesting that although she feels that Welsh is an additional complexity to resettlement, she is nevertheless comforted by the successes of her children learning ‘two languages’. As the participant shares:

Firstly I was worried about them [children] learning two languages but now I am more confident and happier. He (Participant's child) brings two books every day. He reads and I listen. His Welsh is better than English.

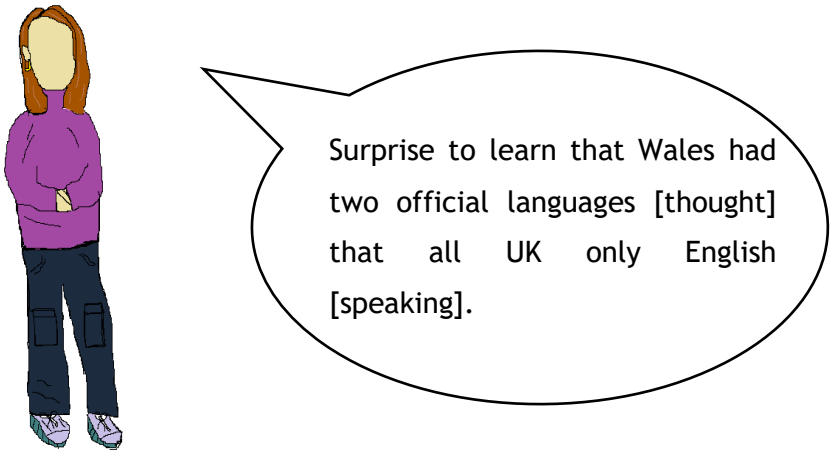
This view is echoed by another participant based in rural Gwynedd. According to this participant (pictured below to the left), learning additional languages, including Welsh, improves and supports her 'benefit' and 'development' in Cymru/Wales. As the participant explains:

Its erm but I love to learn sometime because as many languages as you learn this is for your own benefit [..] your own development.

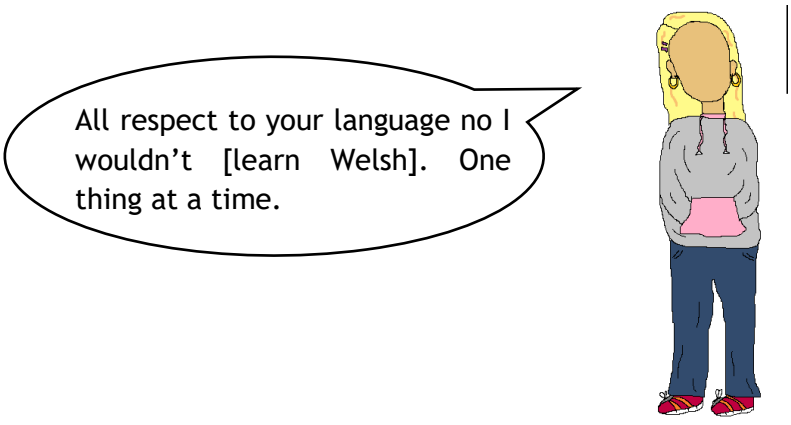
However, despite noting her '*respect of every language*', the participant appears to question the relevance of Welsh language learning, noting that, in her view, some Welsh people themselves '*can't speak Welsh*' as '*it is [a] very difficult [language]*'. As the participant shares:

I didn't know that Welsh language is completely different from English and of course I respect every language. This is one of the lovely language I have seen here and heard but it is very difficult. Even for some Welsh erm speaker some Welsh people they can't speak Welsh [..] its quite difficult language to learn.

As the participant explains, she was unaware that 'Welsh [...] is [a] completely different language from English'. This is a perspective also shared by another participants (pictured below to the left). As this participant notes:

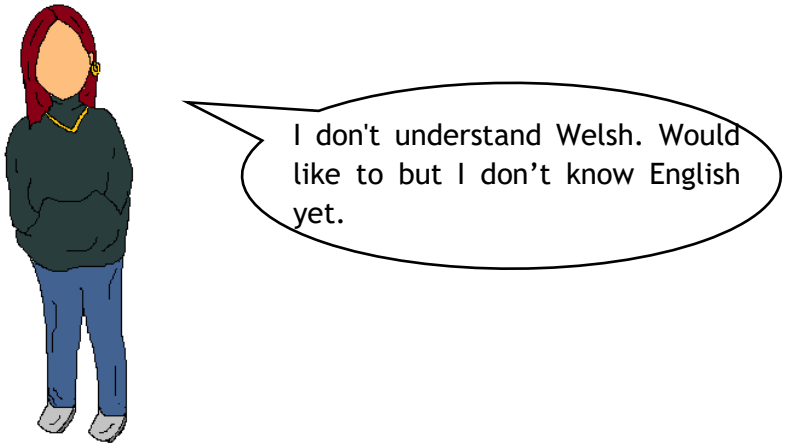


These two participants were not alone in their perspectives. Throughout many casual conversations with the participants, knowledge of the existence of the Welsh language prior to their arrival in Cymru/Wales was uncommon. Another participant based in urban Gwynedd adds an addition variable to the perspectives, exploring the idea that Welsh could be an additional complexity to resettlement. In doing so, the participant hints at ideologies of Welsh language ownership, suggesting that despite her 'respect of *your* language [emphasis added]' she would not learn it. As the participant shares:



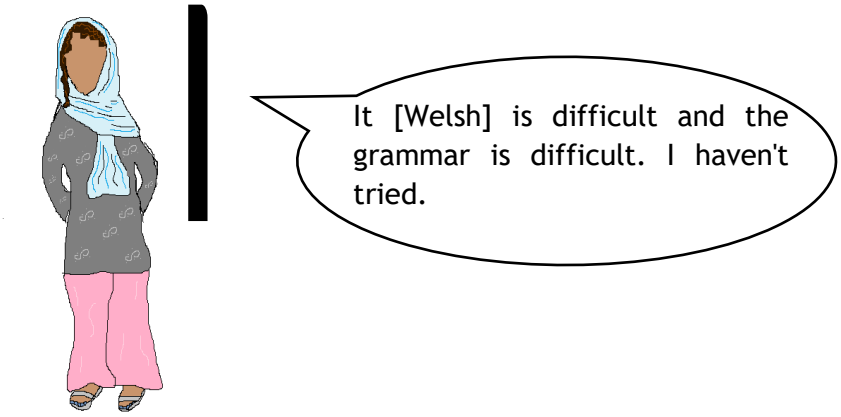
Another participant based in urban Gwynedd appears to hold a similar view. While this participant explains that she 'would like to' learn Welsh, she outlines that her priority is to

learn English first. For this participant, then, Welsh, like other minority languages—particularly those “indigenous to the British Isles”—is perhaps "lacking in value and in status" compared with the global status of English (Anderson et al., 2008:183). As the participant notes via her Connection Circle:



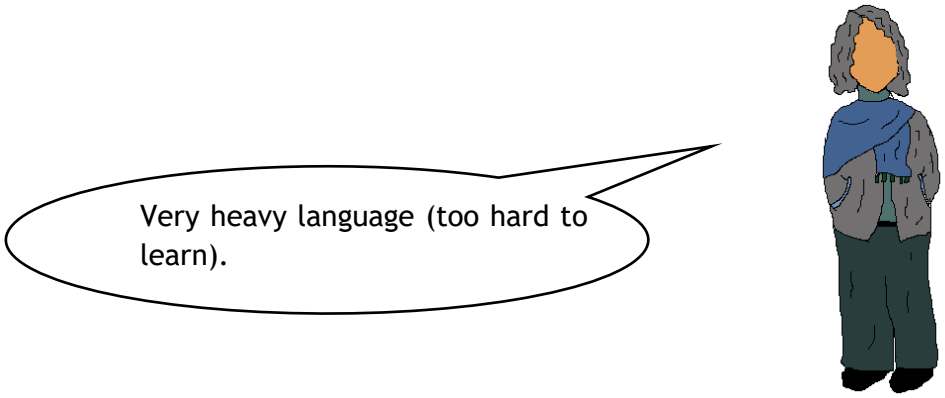
The participant’s analysis mirrors the perspectives of a volunteer Support Worker in Gwynedd. Although Welsh speaking, the volunteer shared during a joined interview that ‘[t]he first language [in Cymru/Wales] is English’. The volunteer’s assumptions, therefore, emphasise that legislative equality does not equate to societal value.

Some participants further presented the understanding that Welsh is an overly complex language, deterring them from considering learning it. This data supports the findings of Rosiak and Zydorowicz’s (2021) investigation. A participant based in rural Gwynedd, for example, despite her earlier suggestions of the connection between Arabic and Welsh in Figure 16, later revealed that:



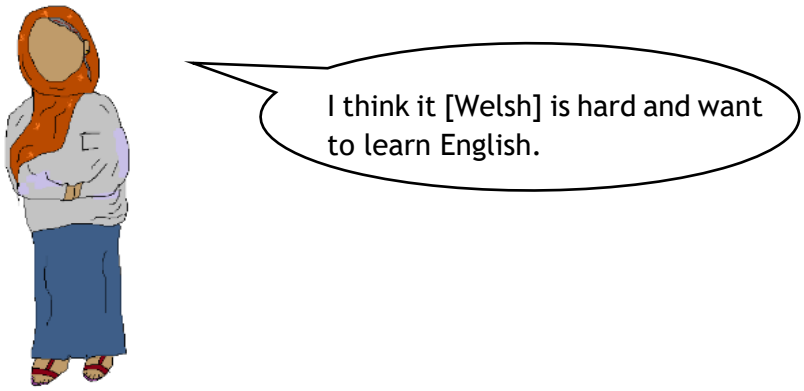
The participant’s suggestion that she 'hasn't tried' to learn Welsh, and her view that Welsh is 'difficult' and the 'grammar is difficult', implies an ideological perspective of the Welsh

language. This perspective, to borrow from Rosiak and Zydorowicz (2021:7), in turn, suggests that the participant's interpretation "is not based on linguistic grounds, i.e. on the inherent complexity of Welsh" but is, perhaps, a reflection of the social positioning of Welsh, even in higher Welsh language density contexts such as Gwynedd. This view of the Welsh language is echoed by another participant in Gwynedd, who notes via her Connection Circle that:



The participant's view that Welsh is a 'very heavy language" perhaps further supports Rosiak and Zydorowicz's (2021) findings that negative perceptions stem "from the social and ideological perceptions of Welsh rather than linguistic facts".

A participant based in Wrecsam/Wrexham appears to concur, explaining that:



By placing the Welsh language on a scale of difficulty and comparability with English, this participant presents the view that English is not only easier than Welsh to learn but, in so doing, indirectly reinforces the perception that the language of significance, power, and importance to learn in Cymru/Wales is English. A Support Worker based in Wrecsam/Wrexham concurs. The Support Worker, during a joined interview, hints at the reality of minority language learning. Critically, that Welsh, is far less relevant to learn

compared with the global status of English (Anderson et al., 2008:183). As the Support Worker explains:

> ‘It would be really unusual for somebody to come to Wales and learn Welsh before they learnt English. And erm I think and I’m sure you know because you understand Welsh, even people who speak Welsh don’t speak Welsh to each other’

The Support Worker’s suggestion that it would be ‘really unusual’ to learn Welsh before learning English suggests that, despite their equal footing in terms of legislation, Welsh and English are unequal in perceived capital value, especially in relation to a successful resettlement. When asked to clarify what she meant by *'even people who speak Welsh don't speak Welsh to each other*', the Support Worker shared a circumstance in which two Welsh speakers experienced prejudice in Wrecsam/Wrexham. As the support worker shared:

> 'My friend's son speaks Welsh, and he was walking up the road with his partner [...] [and] someone said to them you want to get back to your own country you two'.

As the Support Worker continued:

> ‘The language clearly wasn’t recognised. It's so unusual to hear people having a conversation in Welsh it doesn't promote it’, later adding ‘it's [Welsh is] such an unrecognised language in terms of hearing’

The Support Workers suggests that, in her view, speaking Welsh in Wrecsam/Wrexham can result in an increased risk of marginalisation and subjugation due to the minority status of the language. Welsh is 'unrecognised' by many communities in Wrecsam/Wrexham and is 'so unusual to hear' to the extent that it is not regarded as a language of the ‘country’. The Support Worker’s correlation of speaking Welsh with facing prejudice implies – whether consciously or not – that English is a neutral language. In doing so, the Support worker alludes to a politicised and dichotomised view of Welsh, that using Welsh a) has the potential to increase the risk of harm and b) by suggesting Welsh is ‘unrecognised’ in comparison to the

globalised status of English, the Support Worker adds weight to the view that the language of power in Wales is English.

In Casnewydd/Newport, however, the benefits of multilingualism were consistently referred to. A Casnewydd/Newport Project Coordinator and new Welsh speaker, appears to disagree that Welsh lacks capital value. The Project Coordinator, shortly after the Casnewydd/Newport focus group, shared that learning Welsh adds value to peoples' experiences in Cymru/Wales, particularly for women from sanctuary-seeking backgrounds by increasing future work opportunities. The Project Coordinator further comforted the women in her Casnewydd/Newport group to not worry about teaching their children English, as, in her opinion, the English language will be picked up by the children through TV and their surroundings, suggesting instead that the women should prioritize teaching their home languages and should send their children to Welsh language schools. This view is echoed by a Casnewydd/Newport participant. This participant, shared the following photographs regarding the connection between language and place, implying both an inextricable association between language use and authentic identity, but also the capital value of multilingualism:

Figure 19: Language (Casnewydd/Newport Participant)

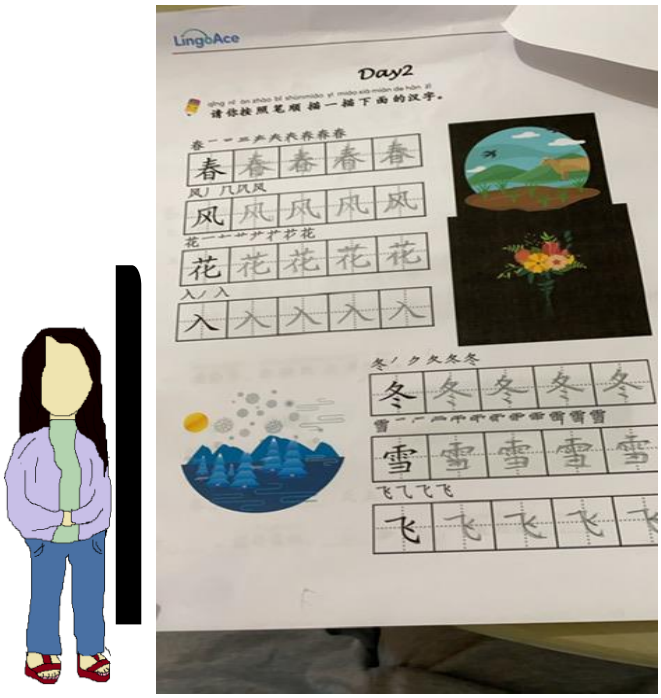


Figure 20: Nation (Casnewydd/Newport Participant

Both photograph (Figures 19 and 20) illustrate, in the participant's view, the connection between identity, language and place, but also with linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). Figure 19, named 'language' by the participant, relates to her teaching her children their 'home language' - a globalised language. The participant's contrasting of this with Figure 20, named by the participant as Nation, in which she has taken a picture of currency, further adds to the view of the link between language and identity, but also the ideological perception of the language value, i.e. that multilingualism is potentially currency, or a benefit, for societal elevation.

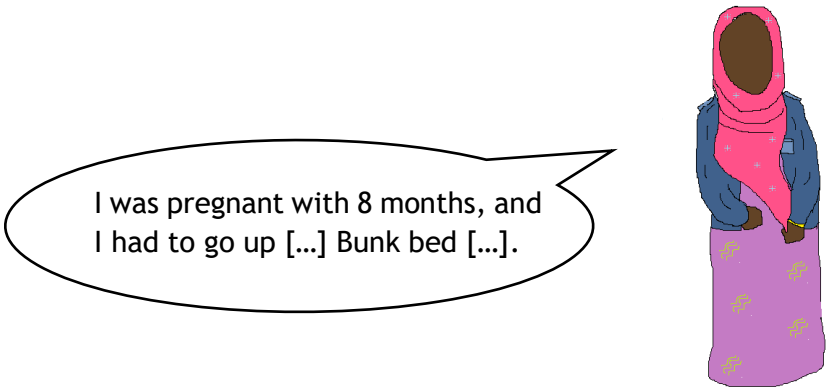
7.3 The Data: Inequality and Gender

7.3.1 Experiences of Hatred and Hostility in Cymru/Wales

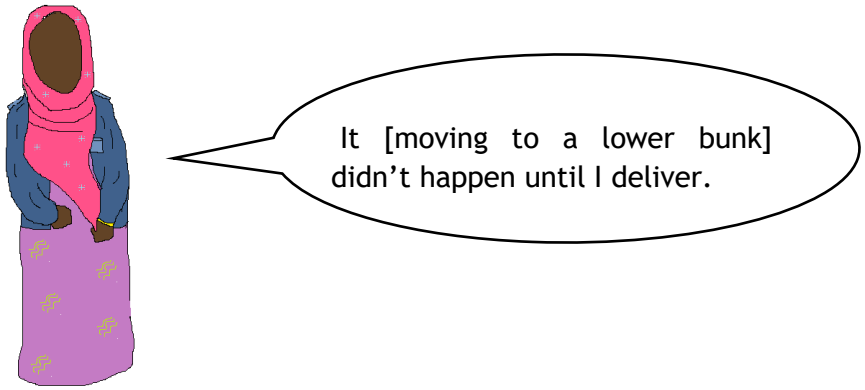
As Sections 3.1-3.3.4 debated, although the UK is a multilingual and multicultural society, migration is frequently posited as a threat (insecurity) to the country's national discourse of a homogenous and monolingual society (security). These processes of racialisation and securitisation, drawing on Jubany's assertation, "is not only present in the obscure legacy of asylum, but it is also critical in today's processes of asylum constructions, asylum policies and social exclusion"(Jubany 2020:64). When sanctuary seeking communities arrive in the UK, they consequently encounter a "complex context [...] contaminated by racial power relations that exist within a long colonial history and imaginary and with racial/ethnic

hierarchies firmly established" (Ramos 2018; cited in Couch et al., 2021:242). It is perhaps, unsurprising then, that many if not most participants experienced racism, racialisation and/or prejudice throughout their resettlement, highlighting the barriers frequently faced by sanctuary-seeking women during their journeys to resettlement.

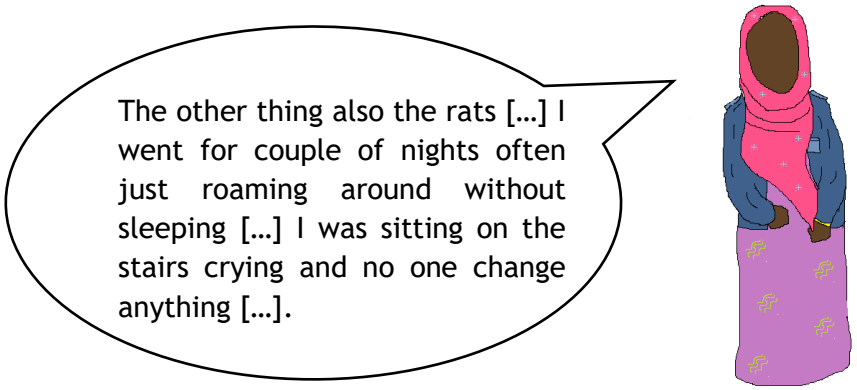
A participant based in Wrecsam/Wrexham, for example, shared her experiences of being subjected to racism, but also the impact of dispersal on her ability to connect, at first, with her local community. Starting with the latter, it is important to reiterate that dispersal and housing sit outside Welsh Government powers. However, both were frequently raised in the Wrecsam/Wrexham participant's accounts of resettlement. During her interview, the participant shared about her living arrangements in London when she first arrived in the UK at 8 months pregnant. As the participant explained:



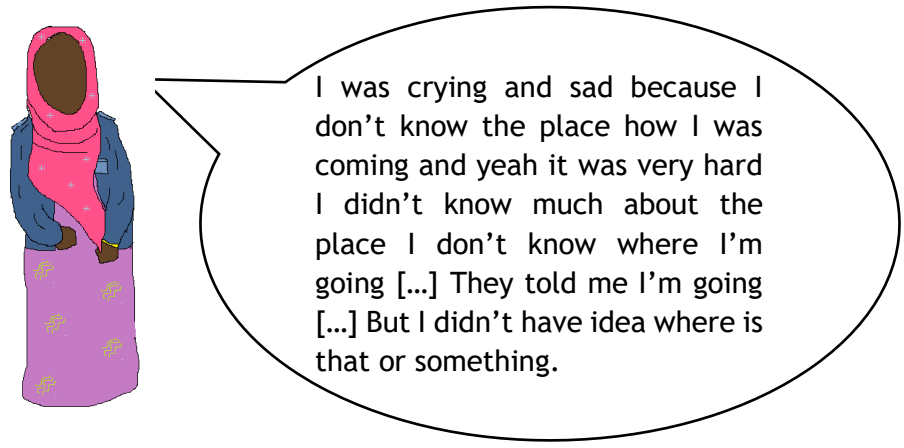
Although the participant frequently asked to move beds to a lower bunk, and was very uncomfortable climbing to a top bunk while heavily pregnant, she explained that:



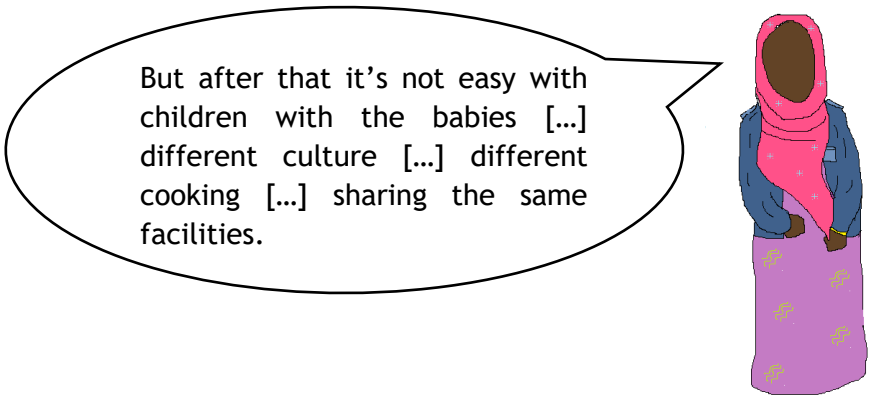
Issues with the appropriateness of her sleeping arrangements were not the only barriers this participant faced during her time in London. The participant explained that there were significant sanitation concerns in the building:



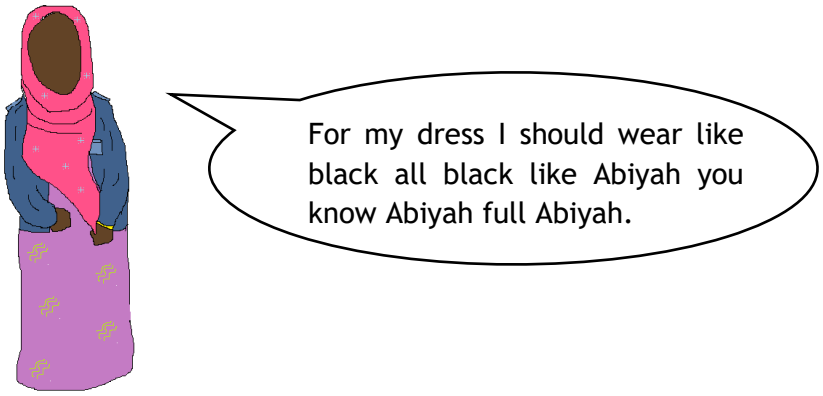
She later explained that she was then moved to Wrexham under dispersal agreements. As the participant explains:



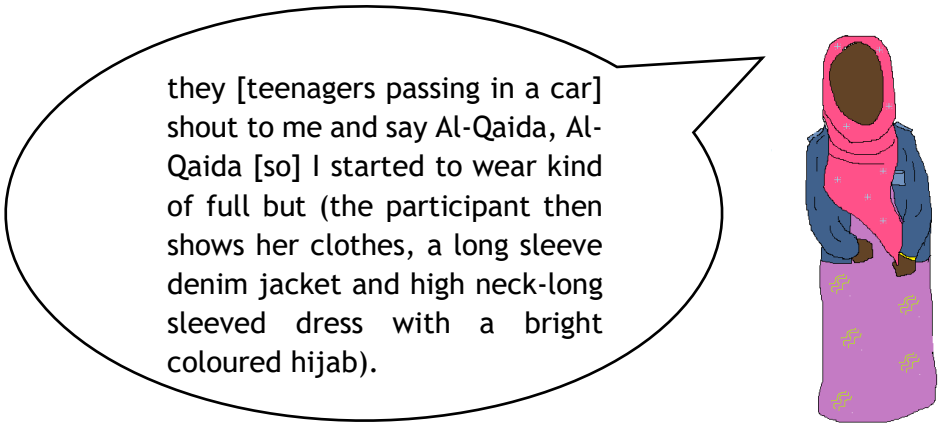
While the participant, then, explained that 'In Wrexham when I came they gave me room', this was only a minor improvement based on her last experiences. The participant explained that she was placed in a house with another family with young babies, and each family lived in a single bedroom. As the participant continued, the families she was sharing with each came from different cultural and religious backgrounds, which became difficult to navigate, especially regarding sharing cooking utensils and the preparation of food, particularly pork. As the participant shares:



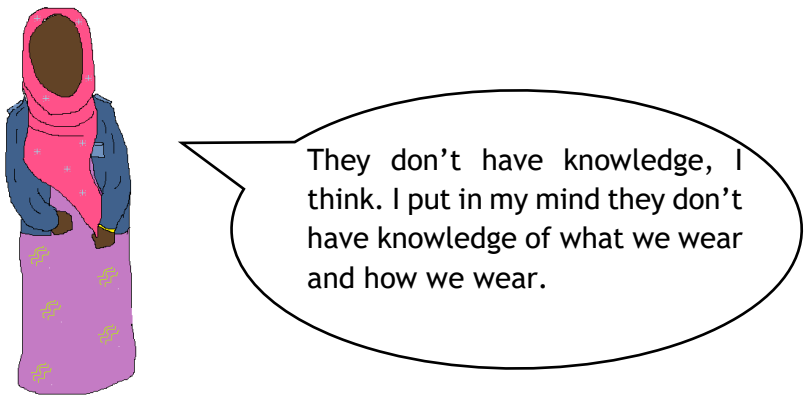
The participant then explained that perhaps a more holistic matching scheme would be beneficial to people placed in shared accommodation, ensuring they share similar practices or dietary requirements. Alongside dispersal and housing, the participant further shared her encounters and experiences of gendered racism, particular islamophobia. As the participant explains:



The participant, however, continues by sharing that since arriving in Wrecsam/Wrexham, she has felt required to westernise her clothing, especially following an incident with a group of teenagers. As the participant continues:



The participant's experience of gendered islamophobia and racism due to her wearing a 'full Abiyah' reflects the analysis of section 3.1.3. Circumstances such as this, as Moffette and Vadasaria raise, hint at the impact of the "the securitisation of immigration […] that lifts the inhibition of racist violence […] while at the same time consolidating the fantasy of liberal tolerance and white civility" (Moffette and Vadasaria, 2016: 297; see Section 3.2.1). In so doing, the participant's experience challenges the imagined vision of Cymru/Wales as a "tolerant nation", in which empathy toward minoritized communities is presented as fact (see Section X). In this sense, the participant's experience, as well as her decision to westernise her clothing, adds weight to the view that women who are "visibly identifiable as Muslim", can experience discrimination and Islamophobia simply "because of the visibility of their religious identity" (2021:4). Despite the impact of this experience on her sense of wellbeing and belonging in Wrecsam/Wrexham, the participant nevertheless attempts to rationalise with the young peoples' comments, suggesting that:

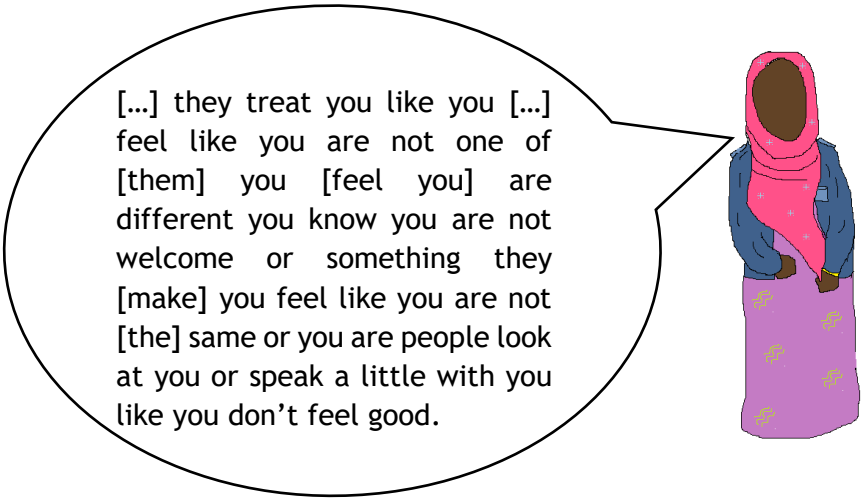


The participant's understanding that the comments made are due to people not having 'knowledge of what we [sic] wear and how we [sic] wear' lend to discussions raised in Sections 3.1.3, that people forced to migrate experience more shifts in their identity than other social groups in order to attain "belongingness to a new sociocultural domain". A Support Worker based in Wrecsam/Wrexham, similarly, shared that due to encounters such as this, the people she supports often feel they are 'such a minority' in Wrecsam/Wrexham, especially in comparison to larger cities close by, such as Manchester, and further south such as Cardiff and London. The Support Worker further explained that community representation in cities provides a 'bigger sense of belonging', especially for women from sanctuary-seeking backgrounds. However, unlike this participant, her Support Worker does

not attempt to rationalise what happened to her, but instead shares the impact of 'oppressive' views on peoples' 'identity'. As the Support Worker continues:

> **Support Worker:** Yeah and I mean that's a real thing isn't it when you've got to change your identity
> **Interviewer:** Yeah
> **Support Worker:** To fit in to stop yourself being you know it's so wrong
> **Interviewer:** Yeah
> **Support Worker:** Erm (.) Yeah I mean you know I mean it's the same thing really you're having to change who you are and you shouldn't have to. You shouldn't have to change who you are and what you want to wear because that's just as oppressive as the other way around. Imagine telling our teenagers girls that they can't wear the short skirts and you know
> **Interviewer:** Yeah
> **Support Worker:** It's the same concept it's the same concept just turned around.

Building on this discussion, the participant shares a similar account of how she was made to 'feel' in her resettlement community based on her intersecting social identities, and how they are categorised and valued, or even securitised, within a given context (see Section 3.1). As the participant explains:

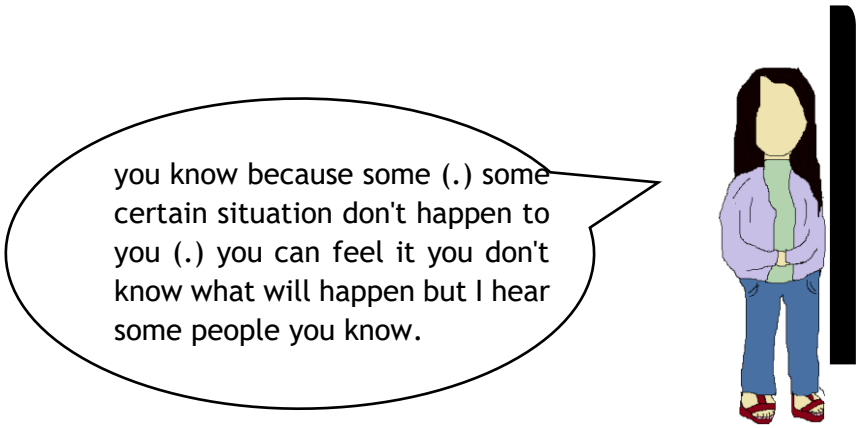


When asked to explain what situations make her not 'feel good', the participant referred to instances in which she has been subjected to profiling in shops or on public transport. In other words, hinting at how "ordinary people" become an extension of border control (see Section 3.1). However, like earlier discussions, the participant also attempts to rationalise this circumstance and explains how 'people are not the same', and notes that similar situations would happen in her 'country':

> **Participant:** [...] But my experiences most of the erm driver or sometimes in the shop even then when you are going to pay you know sometimes they ask you like you (.) you stolen something or you have you know they check the bag "oh let us see" the something like that you know.
> **Interviewer:** Yeah yeah
> **Participant:** You will feel not erm why other are people doing it for me like that why they feel like you know
> **Interviewer:** Yeah yeah
> **Participant:** It's just like a bit but in my mind sometimes I think even if you come to my country you will have some this some of this experience but erm its erm I put in my mind its normal you know for everybody who is not the not the same. People are not the same and no erm all the

people they cannot treat you the same so something you have to just balance you know.
Support Worker: Mmm.
Participant: Live only your life this is what I put I upset for sometimes but then after that I say oh its ok.
Interviewer: Yeah mmm.
Support Worker: Mmm.
Participant: I just it doesn't touch mmm-me or harm me most [inaudible] of the time I just leave it yeah [inaudible] that's it'.

Participants in Casnewydd/Newport appear to share the Wrecsam/Wrexham participant's experiences. One participant, for example, also explains how she is made to 'feel' in her resettlement community:

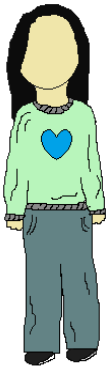


When asked to explain if there were any instances, in particular, that she was referring to, the participant referred to how young children and their parents perceive and interact with her and her child. As the participant explains:

I know each family maybe they teach children off [to] play friendly in front of us but they do bad thing at home so they [their]. children go back to school they [inaudible] something different (.) I can feel that.

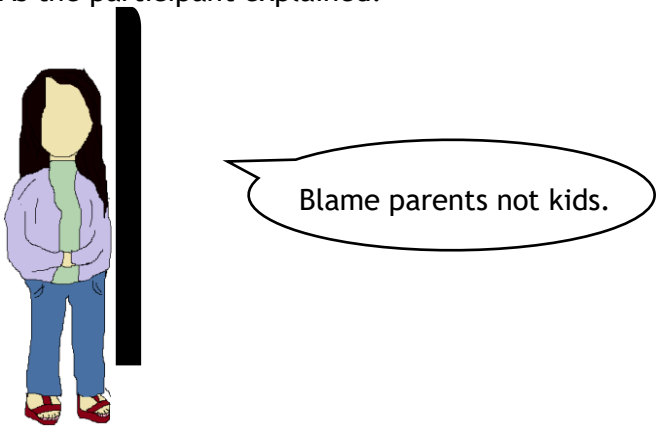
Another participant, based in urban Casnewydd/Newport, similarly shared not only instances of feeling unwelcome, but also circumstances in which her safety was threatened. As the participant explains:

> **Participant:** So I do not yeah last Sunday two of boy follow me a lot follow me two of boy follow me its my just kind of my style [height] I think its just 10 or 11 or something like that call me and call me and I didn't answer so he called me that stuff from b words
> **Project Coordinator:** oh
> ***Participant:*** Yeah and I didn't answer but they come to my ear they come to my ear and they said come to me erm shall we go somewhere something like that
> **Project Coordinator**: Oh
> ***Participant:*** I said I will be your mum (.) my age is your mum my age is your mum my age will be your mum and they laughing each other I don't know why they laughing for.

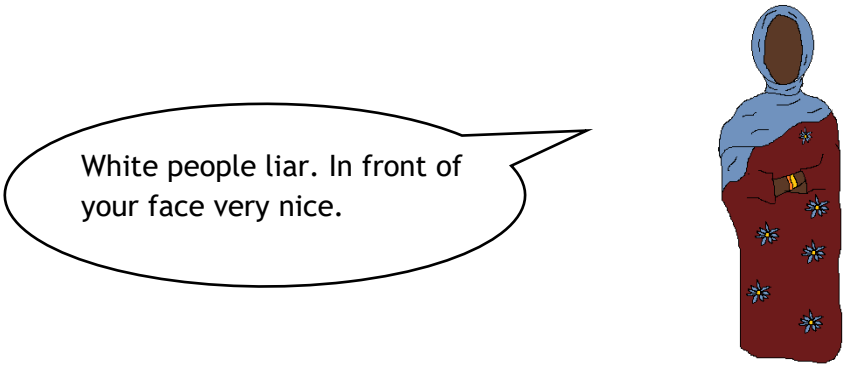


The participant's experience of being subjected to sexualised racism by two young teenagers is not in isolation. The participant later explained that hate crimes, such as the instance with the two teenagers, will always 'happen to me [sic]' as she 'can't change my [sic] appearance'. In fact, prior to conducting the focus group, the participant shared via her Connection Circle activity that since the Covid-19 pandemic, she has experienced an increase in racist attacks, particularly with people shouting "Chinese virus" at her. The

participant further shared how, on one occasion when she was cycling with her child, a group of teenagers prevented her and her child from cycling on the pavement and her child's hat was also stolen by one of them. While the participant shared that she is 'used to this', she explained that she wants to protect her child from these experiences. Another participant, in response to what her Casnewydd/Newport counterpart has experienced, explained that experiencing racism from children following the Covid-19 pandemic is due to parenting. As the participant explained:



The participant further explained that her daughter came home from school and told her that she learnt from other children that 'Chinese people eat all bad things'. The participant explained that she corrected her daughter for this view and informed her that she was 'not allowed to talk about people like that'. In response to this situation, however, another Casnewydd/Newport participant, perhaps due to the inherent effect of the marginalisation she has also been subjected to, shared a racialised worldview based on opposition (c.f. Hoque, 2016). The participant, for example, shared during the Connection Circle activity that:



These participants are, however, not alone in their experience. During the Casnewydd/Newport focus group, participants shared an instance where an acquaintance of theirs was subjected to a hate crime, demonstrating the endemic nature of racism (see Section 8.4). Critically, then, the participants' experiences of resettlement in Cymru/Wales highlight how asylum is framed by gendered and racialised violences that are produced and re-produced by the UK's colonial legacy and Hostile Environment (Shobiye & Parker, 2022). As the participants explain:

Participant 1

Participant 2

Participant 3

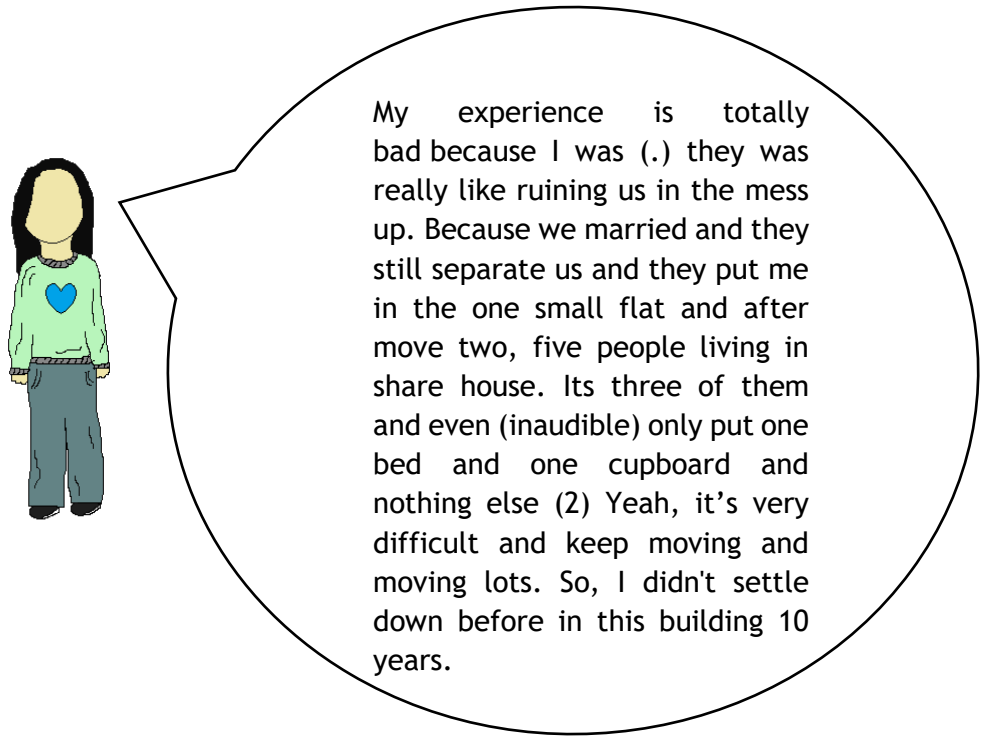
Participant 1: Shout to her why you live here you are black why you come here go back to your country (1) one day she walking in street you know they attack in the street she her face her face all her eyes
Participant 2: They pushed her pram when they attack her
Participant 1: Yeah the baby they attack her she called they police and erm 12 o clock afternoon
Participant 3: Daytime?
Participant 1: Yeah the daytime she bleed and everything and erm the (.) the girls they run and she called the police and police they come and she I don't want to live in Wales and now she's moved
Participant 2: She's given up now she moved to England.

Following this discussion, the participants then shared their distrust of the police and their actions in preventing hate crimes:

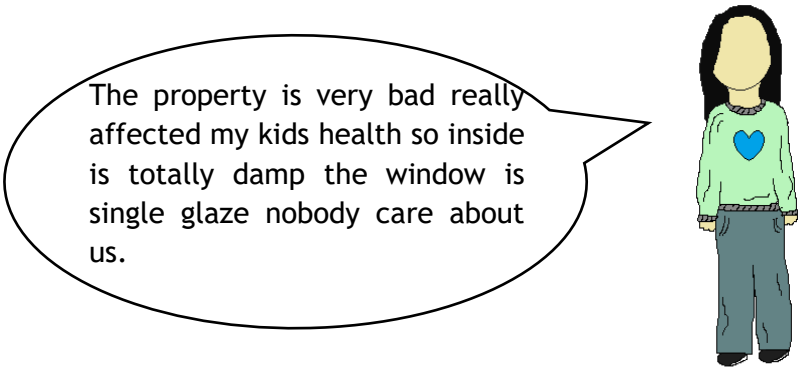
Participant 1 **Participant 2**

Participant 1: The Police she said when she called the police the police they come I see after 3 hours and 4 hours when they near they making the noisy tee (2) sometime I feel the police here they are so stupid (laughs)
Participant 2: (laughs)
Participant 1: Sorry sorry (laughs)
Participant 2: Because the alarm when something happened
Participant 1: Yeah (laughs) why do alarm? I can wait for you I can wait come on then arrest me like exactly I will not.

Instances of overt and covert racism were not the only violences and barriers faced by the participants in Casnewydd/Newport. Another Casnewydd/Newport participant shared an experience in which she was separated from her husband by Home Office proceedings and placed in overcrowded and unsuitable accommodation. As the participant explains:

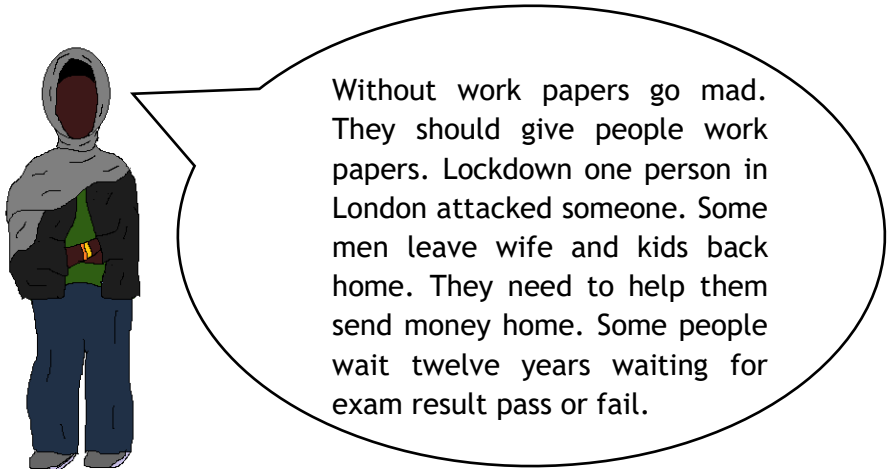


As the participant continues:

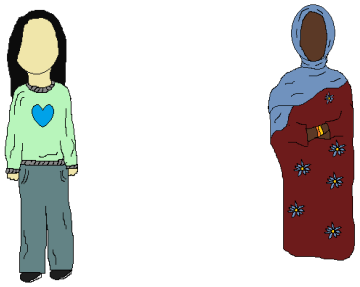


The participant's experience of being placed in unsuitable housing highlights the detrimental impact of the Hostile Environment on people's lives in Cymru/Wales, demonstrating how "some of the key levers to prevent harmful outcomes [in asylum experiences], such as timely and good asylum case decision-making, the quality of asylum accommodation and provision of legal aid, are out of our [the Welsh Governments] control" (2019:5). In this sense, the participants further highlight how global developments and patterns of displacement management are entrenched with discrimination, framing, governing and curtailing Welsh responses (see Section 8.4).

Casnewydd/Newport participants, perhaps owing to the timeframe of data collection, further raised the intersection of Covid-19 and the Hostile Environment on their experiences. For one participant, lockdown had a significant effect:



The participant's reference to people 'go[ing] mad' due to asylum wait times and being unable to work demonstrates how asylum processes in Cymru/Wales (and the UK) are framed by "two decades of policies that have progressively criminalized asylum and redacted rights to permanent protections, to work, to citizenship, to legal representation and appeal, among others" (Payson, 2015:279). The participant's particular reference to the impact of lockdown on people's mental health is a sentiment shared by her Casnewydd/Newport counterparts:

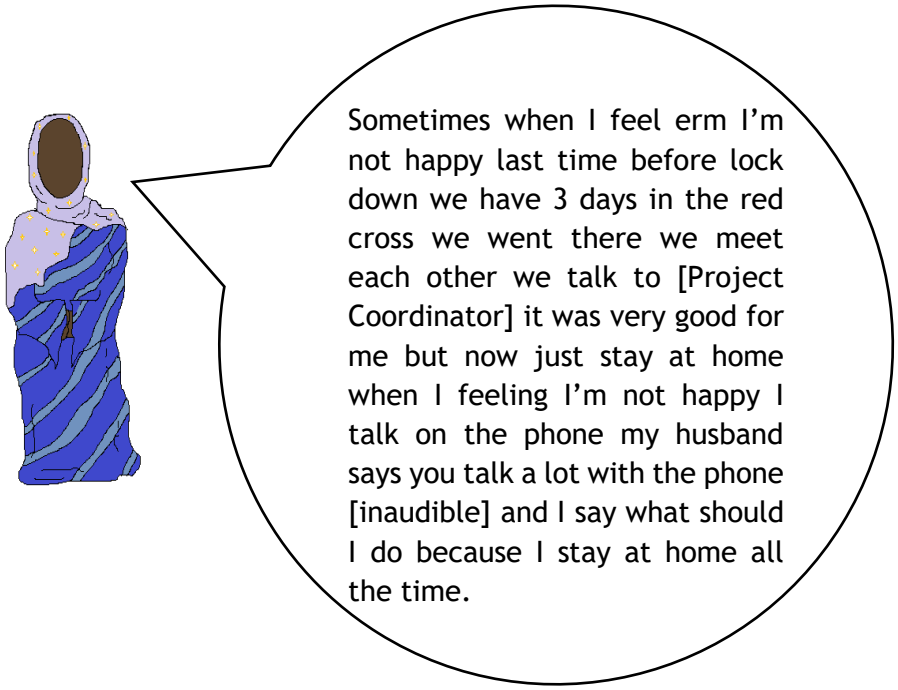


Participant 1 **Participant 2**

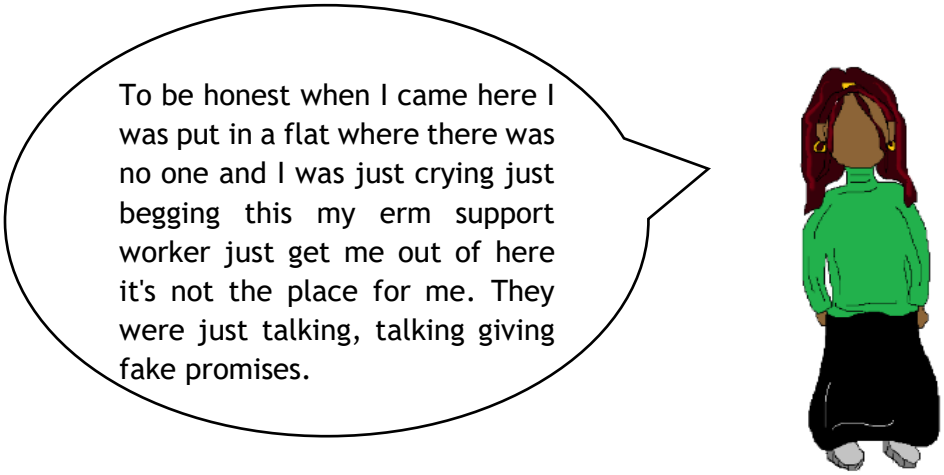
Participant 1: Oh a lot we haven't seen each other for this last two years it's a lot everything was delayed and I totally waste these two years

Participant 2: [organization name] is closed we stop the place of class and everything
Participant 1: Even my English is becoming rusty.

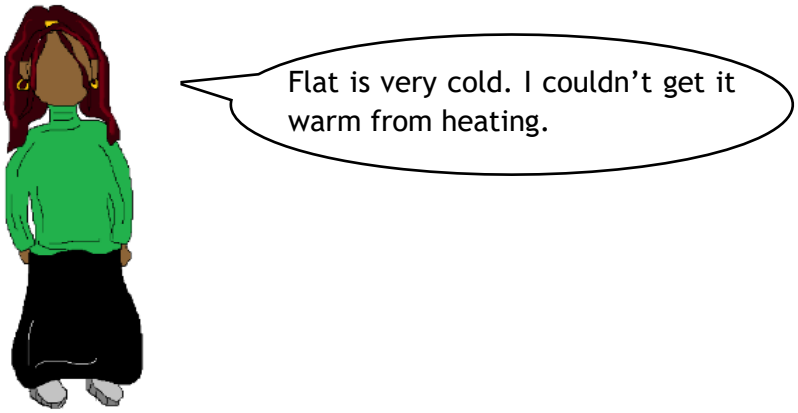
Another participant, also based in urban Casnewydd/Newport, adds an additional dimension to this discussion, sharing the impact of support services closure on her wellbeing. As the participant explains:



A participant based in rural Gwynedd appears to share some of the same views as her Casnewydd/Newport counterparts. The Gwynedd participant, for example, shared her experiences of negotiating the Hostile Environment, of being placed in an unsuitable home environment, and her inability to feel settled. As the participant shares:



The participant later adds that:



Following this discussion, the participant further shared her feelings of isolation after being placed into a Welsh language majority context. As the participant explains:

> **Participant**: Erm and they just brought me in all outside of Wales in erm in a town when 60, 64% of people speaking Welsh. I'm I'm not a racist person I'm not but.
> **Interviewer:** Yeah yeah it's ok you can say.

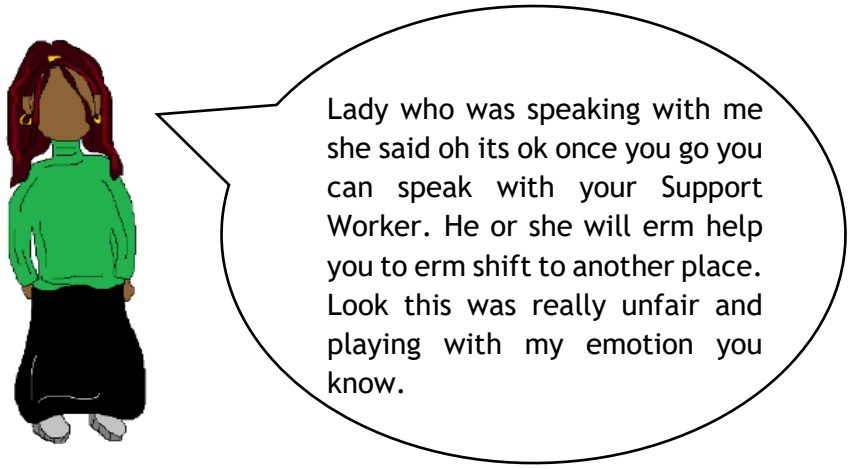
Participant: You suddenly come from your own country without anyone you know.
Interviewer: *Y*eah.
Participant: This was this was really erm they just you know.
Interviewer: Really hard?
Participant: It was really unfair and it has really impact my mental health and nobody can erm how erm say can you say erm pay for this.

The participant suggests that her feelings of isolation are not due to her being 'racist' against the Welsh language community but instead, a critique of the systemic failings made by the Home Office, which resulted in her being ill-prepared to join the community in which she was placed. This reality aligns with Parker's (2018) analysis that devolved and reserved power combined can lead to women being prevented from accessing support networks in their resettlement context. As the participant explains:

Participant: Without my erm matchual consent.
Interviewer: Ok without your which?
Participant: Matchual consent. They haven't, they didn't ask me even.
Interviewer: Oh ok yeah yeah
Participant: It was without my erm you know I didn't know about this place even.

The participant's reference to what she terms 'matchual consent' refers to a relocation area aligning with a person's needs based on an ability to access support provisions and social networks. The participant explained that she 'matched' with areas before resettlement, informing the Home Office of her preferred resettlement region. The

participant's decision to match with specific areas in the UK related to where her 'community' lived and her 'ex-colleagues'. The participant later explained that these requests were not adhered to by the Home Office. In fact, the participant explained that a Home Office representative informed her before she arrived in rural Gwynedd that moving resettlement location was possible post-arrival; a reality she later realised was far from easy. Referring to the Home Office and her resettlement location, the participant explained:



Although the participant previously implied in her interview that '[political group name redacted] is not human being […] how they treat woman they don't have any rights. Most of them now at home', she later added that had she known what resettlement would be like in the UK, she would have stayed in her home country. The participant further raised that, following her resettlement experiences and its impact on her mental and physical health, she questions whether the UK upholds its equality commitments, noting that she is aware of three people who have taken their own lives due to the stresses and harms of resettlement. Referring to the Home Office, the participate explains:

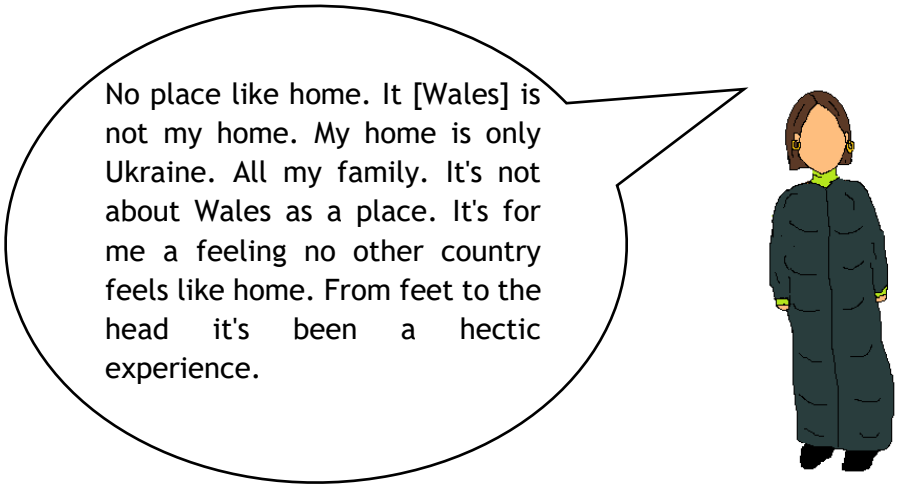
> **Participant:** And nobody care for that I'm really sorry to say this I didn't expect this erm erm.

Interviewer: From the Home Office or from?
Participant: From the Home Office and the UK Government.
Interviewer: Yeah yeah yeah
Participant: Because they brought me here in order to have a happier life.
Interviewer: Yeah.
Participant: I'm not happy at all. I will complain again and again.

Drawing this discussion to a close, the participant explained how her experiences of resettlement and interactions with the Home Office have intensified her feelings of isolation and loneliness. This reality has, in turn, resulted in her inability to be able to connect with her local community and become settled. As the participant concludes:

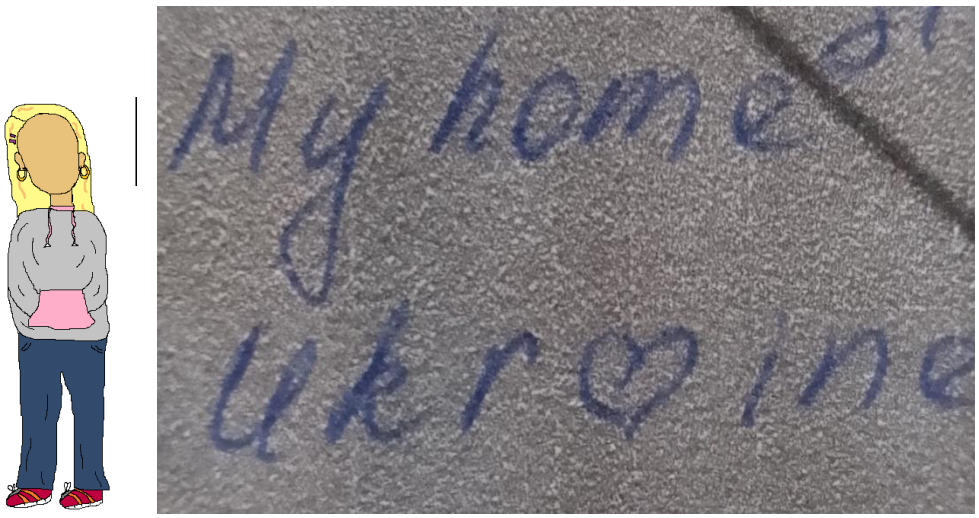
At the end of the day when you don't have your family, anyone to speak to […] To be honest when I go walk or running I go there and stand near to the water and yell and cry and cry [...] I feel that at least water can hear me. Can hear my grief can feel me better than human can.

For Eltokhy (2020), although belonging is a central precondition to a positive quality of life, it is particularly complex for people experiencing displacement, not least sanctuary seeking women. As Eltokhy counties, "displacement results [...] in the loss of a sense of home [and] also produces a transformation in belonging and identity" (2020:135). These feelings of isolation and homesickness appear frequent amongst all participants, particularly for participants who recently arrived in Cymru/Wales. For example, when asked whether she felt at home in Cymru/Wales, one Gwynedd based participant shared:



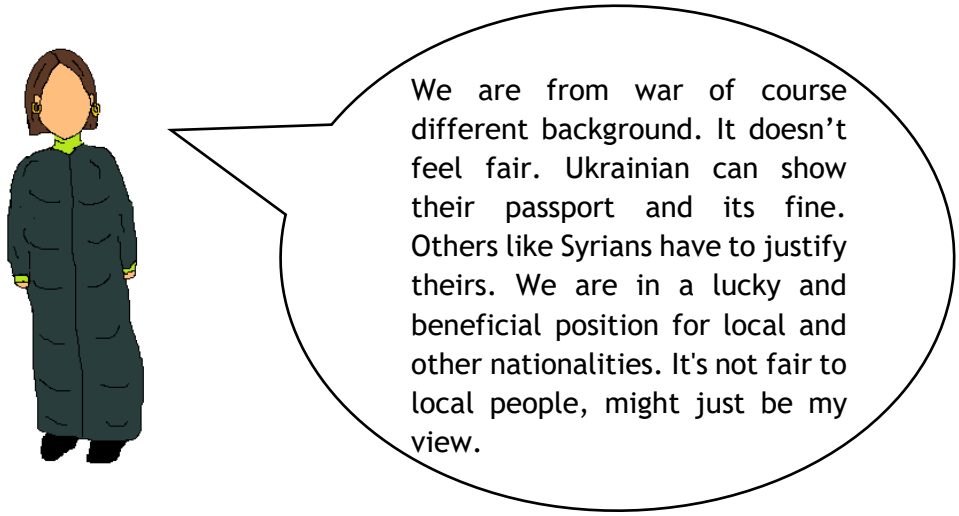
The participant's reference to being unable to feel at home in Cymru/Wales due to 'all her family' being in Ukraine, not least her 'hectic experience' of resettlement, alludes to the difficulties of settling into a new place. In other words, without social networks 'no other country feel[s] like home'. Another participant, similarly, holds the view that her sense of belonging is confined to her home country, Ukraine. The participant wrote the following during her Connection Circle activity:

Figure 21: Extract from Connection Circle

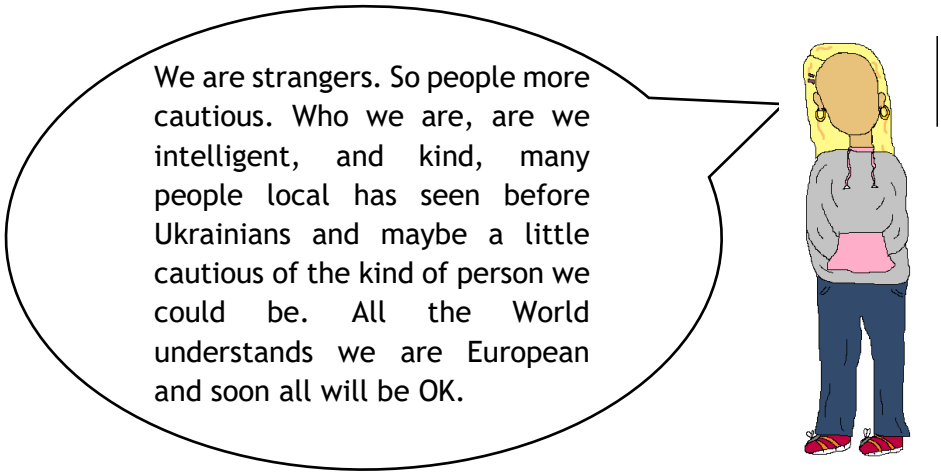


Building on this discussion, both participants during their joined interview together, expressed their feelings of difference compared with other women going through resettlement processes. One of the participants, in particular, shared that she felt

uncomfortable with the 'beneficial position' granted to Ukrainians in comparison to 'others like Syrians'. As the participant explains:

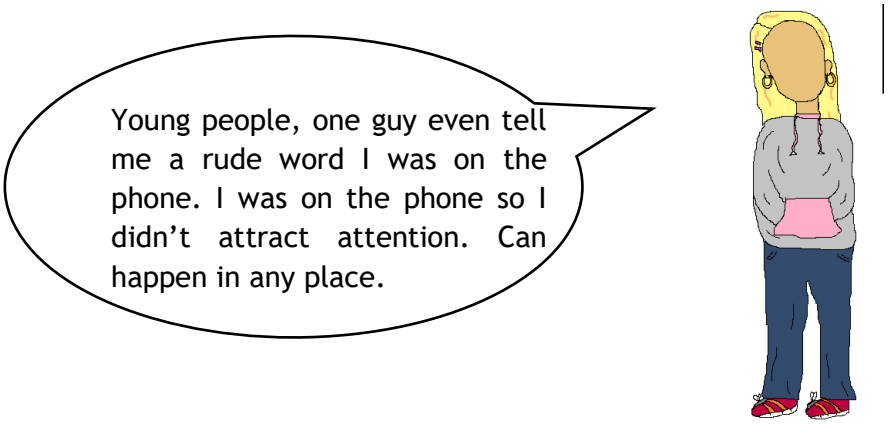


The participant's view was also raised by the Wrecsam/Wrexham Support Worker who noted that 'other communities have to really fight for what they've got.' While this Gwynedd participant, and the Wrecsam/Wrexham based Support Worker were the only participants to hold this view, another Gwynedd participant explained during the joined interview, that being 'European' may influence public reception. As the participant explains:

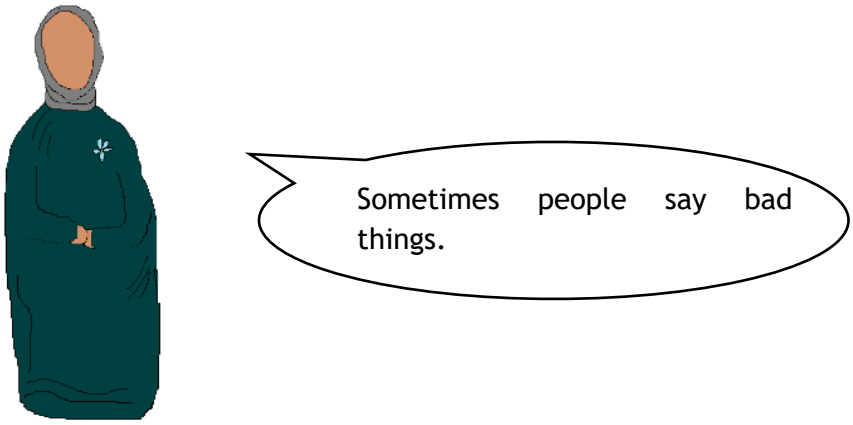


While the participant initially refers to Ukrainians as 'strangers', she nevertheless describes herself as 'European', alluding to a shared background of Europeanness between herself and her host community. The participant further positions her circumstances in stark contrast to other participants in this study, outlying that 'soon all will be OK', and therefore, she is only receiving temporary respite in Cymru/Wales while she awaits her safe return to Ukraine. In fact, the participant's experiences of local community hostility differ

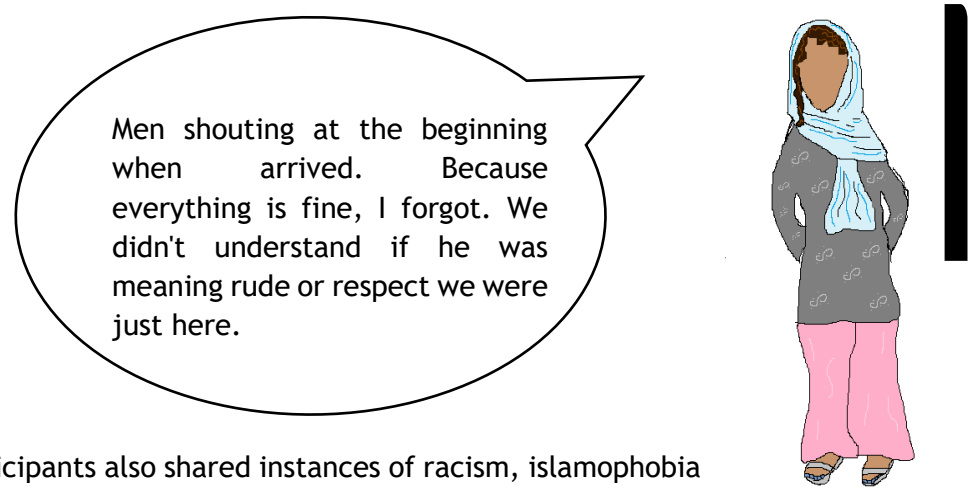
significantly to participants of other nationalities. The participant suggests that, while she has encountered an issue with the local community during resettlement, she explained that what she has experienced 'can happen in any place', and it is more of an issue of gender, rather than xenophobia or hostility. As the participant later added:



A participant based in urban Gwynedd, despite sharing via her Connection Circle that she has 'many friends' in Gwynedd and the volunteers who support her are like her 'sisters', she has nevertheless experienced prejudice by the wider community. While the participant did not want to disclose exactly what she had experienced, she explained that:



Another participant, based in rural Gwynedd, similarly explains an instance in which she may have experienced hostility while shopping in the local city:



While Gwynedd participants also shared instances of racism, islamophobia and prejudice, their experiences appear to differ in frequency and severity to their Casnewydd/Newport and Wrecsam/Wrexham counterparts. As detailed in Chapter 6, it is important to note that all Gwynedd participants, bar one, were invited to live in Gwynedd by the local community. These invitations were extended through community sponsorship schemes, namely Homes for Ukraine, the Welsh Government's Super Sponsor Scheme (2022), and the UK Government's Community Sponsorship programme. The direct link between the Gwynedd participants and the local community could, therefore, exemplify the ways in which, as Bernhardt (2020:210) reports, "hospitality can potentially become a narrative for citizenship if the 'local' and the 'migrant' share an imagined common experience – having been treated as a guest in their own home – and therefore share the desire for a new home where both can be host".

7.3.4 Sanctuary as Safety, Prosperity, or Happiness?

'I just want to have a happier life'.
Gwynedd participant

While data, thus far, highlights that the Hostile Environment characterises resettlement in Cymru/Wales, it further hints that the Welsh language is an underutilised provision with the potential to support resettlement. Critically, as the participants suggest, the Welsh language potentially engages participants with their local community, their identities, and connects them with their new context, even for people who do not speak Welsh and choose not to learn it. Unsurprisingly, then, discussions of what it means to be a sanctuary-seeking woman in Cymru/Wales frequently orientated these topics. However, further data regarding resettlement emerged, particularly regarding notions of safety, prosperity, and happiness.

In essence, then, discussions debated and shared (re)negotiations of self-definition with their new context.

For some participants based in Casnewydd/Newport, resettling in Cymru/Wales is supported by creating community foods. Food, as the Commissioner for Future Generations notes, is fundamental to supporting and ensuring safety (The Future Generations Report, 2020). One participant, for example, explained via their Captioned Photography activity that creating food enables her to feel at happy and at home in Cymru/Wales, reminding her and connecting her with her past in positive ways. As the participant shared:

Figure 22: 'Feeling of homesick or something like that' by Casnewydd/Newport

This participant was not the only woman to refer to the importance of food traditions for supporting resettlement in Cymru/Wales, particularly in enabling feelings of ease, home, comfort, and happiness. Another participant shared that food provides her with feelings of 'power' and 'wellbeing'. As the participant noted via her Caption Photography exercise:

Figure 23: 'Power' by Casnewydd/Newport Participant

Figure 24: 'Wellbeing' by Casnewydd/Newport Participant

This participant further explained that, along with cooking practices, connecting with local faith groups, as well as the countryside in Cymru/Wales, contributes to her sense of place, healthiness, happiness, and belonging. The participant shared the following photographs of a local Church, and wildflowers via her Captioned Photography exercise, entitling them 'community' and 'health':

Figure 25: 'Community' by Casnewydd/Newport Participant

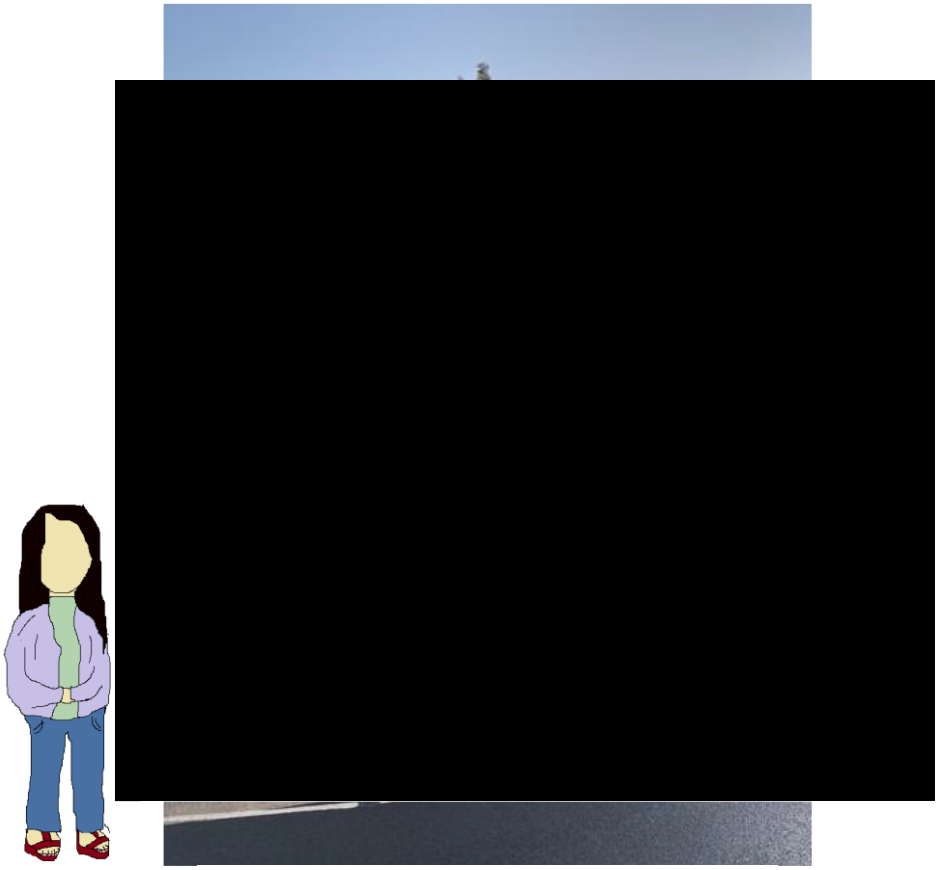
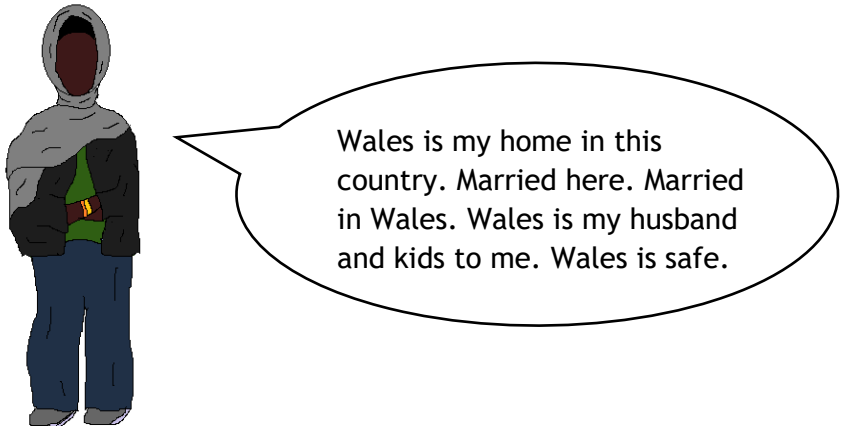


Figure 26: 'Health' by Casnewydd/Newport Participant

Another participant based in Casnewydd/Newport agreed with this sentiment. This participant also used her Captioned Photography activity to demonstrate the happiness she felt during Ramadan celebrations in Cymru/Wales, which enabled her to connect with her friends, family, and her local community. As the participant shared:

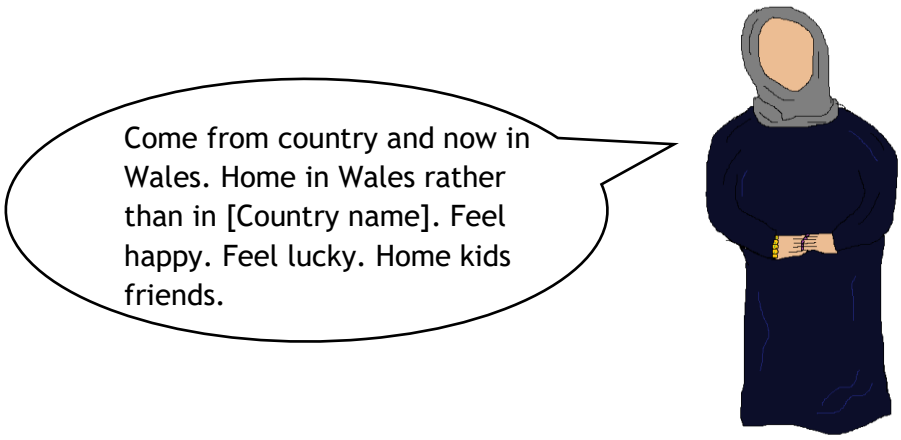
Figure 27: Ramadan Celebrations by Casnewydd/Newport Participant

Connecting with family, friendly and community, appeared to be a significant aspect of being and resettling for Casnewydd/Newport participants. Another participant, for example, shared that Cymru/Wales is her 'home' as, not only did she get 'married in Wales', but Cymru/Wales is a 'safe' place where she is able to raise her children. As the participant shared via her Connection Circle activity:



The participant's personification of Cymru/Wales as her 'husband and kids' lends to the importance of support networks and home-making practices for creating a sense of "normality", invoking "home-like" qualities and, by association, feelings of belonging in resettlement contexts (Boccagni, 2020). The participant's co-location of Cymru/Wales with safety further implies that safety is a central component of belonging (Özçetin & Rottmann, 2022). This sentient, including the importance of safety, was shared by most participants, irrespective of their resettlement location. It is a finding that mirrors both Prowlee's (2022) exploration with sanctuary-seeking parents and Shobiye's (2023) investigation into sanctuary seeking mothers.

Another participant based in Casnewydd/Newport shared via her Connection Circle activity that the safety provided by her resettlement context results in her feeling at 'home' in Wales, rather than the country she was required to leave. Specifically, the participant explained that now she is in Cymru/Wales, she 'feel[s] happy' and 'lucky'. As the participant noted:

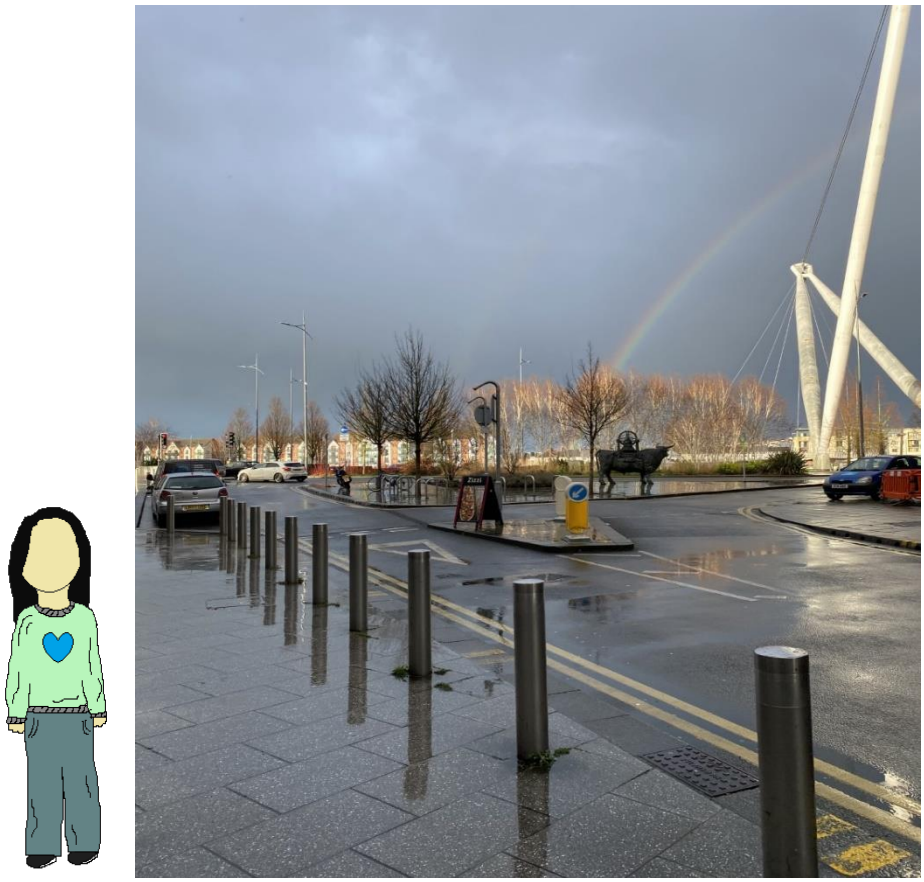


The participant's co-location of homemaking activities, being 'happy', making 'friends' and having her 'kids' with her in supporting her resettlement in Cymru/Wales, lends to Boccagni's (2016:7) view that the safety provided by resettlement enables the reproduction, reconstruction and possibly the rebuilding "[of] meaningful home-like [...] feelings and relationships". In other words, safety aids a sense of belonging.

Another Casnewydd/Newport participant appears to concur with this sentiment. Using the Captioned Photography activity, the participant implied an interconnection between safety and resettlement in Cymru/Wales. However, she also adds an additional dimension to this discussion, suggesting that being a sanctuary-seeking woman in Cymru/Wales is also about new beginnings. The following photographs and explanations by the participant illustrated her perspective:

Figure 28: 'Sunrise – new life' by Casnewydd/Newport Participant

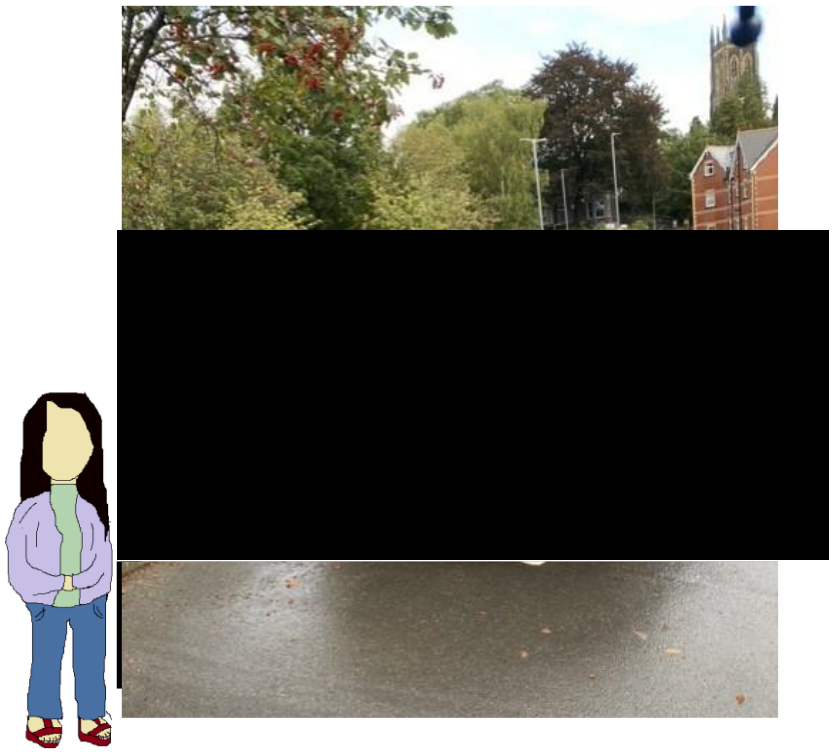
Figure 29: 'Rainbow - hope - wanted hope good luck in Wales' by Casnewydd/Newport Participant.



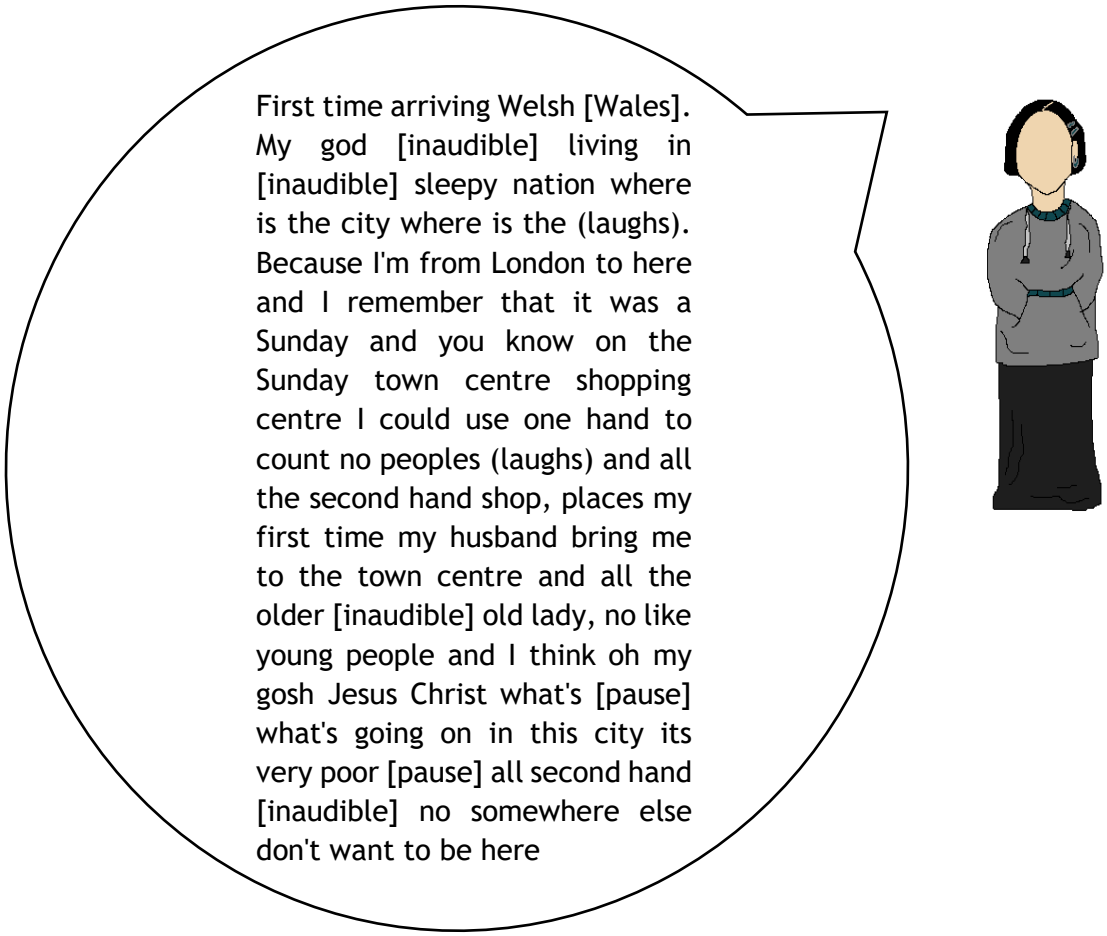
Another participant based in Casnewydd/Newport shares this same view, that being a sanctuary-seeking woman in Cymru/Wales is about starting a new, safe, and prosperous life. Drawing on the Captioned Photography exercise to tell her story, the participant demonstrates her experiences prior to resettlement, as well as her hopes and aspirations for a more prosperous future:

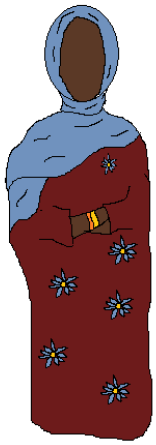
Figure 30: 'Past' by Casnewydd/Newport Participant

Figure 31: 'Future' by Casnewydd/Newport Participant



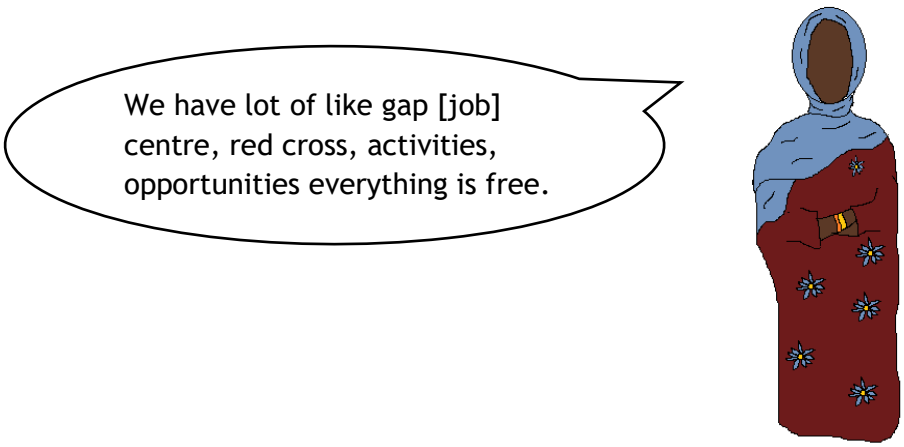
However, other participants based in Casnewydd/Newport question whether Cymru/Wales will enable a (financially) prosperous future, remarks which directly address well-being economic principles outlined in the Future Generations Act. One participant based in Casnewydd/Newport shared her surprise to witness the poverty in Casnewydd/Newport. This experience, as the participant explains, contributed to her complex feelings with being at home in Casnewydd, particularly when she first arrived:



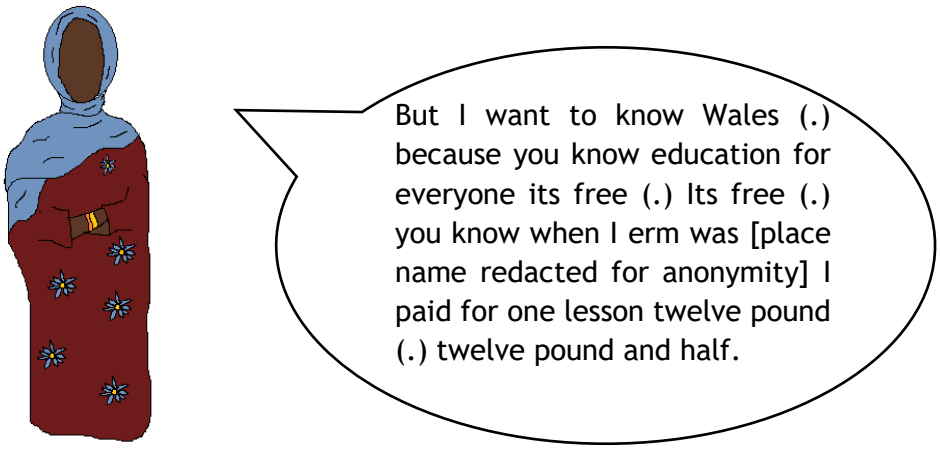


Another participant (pictured to the left) following the Casnewydd/Newport focus group similarly shared that the area of Casnewydd/Newport she lives in — at times — feels like the country she left. When asked to explain why she felt this way, the participant shared a circumstance in which she sent a photograph of her street in Casnewydd/Newport to her family. The participant explained that the image showed washing drying out of the windows of each house, the area was littered, and children were playing in the street. The participant further explained that it had been a hot summer, leaving the grass verges yellow and dry. According to the participant, the photo of her street shocked her family, as they thought she had returned to their country. The participant further explained that the image did not coincide with her family's association of the UK with wealthiness, an association that the participant herself shared before arrival.

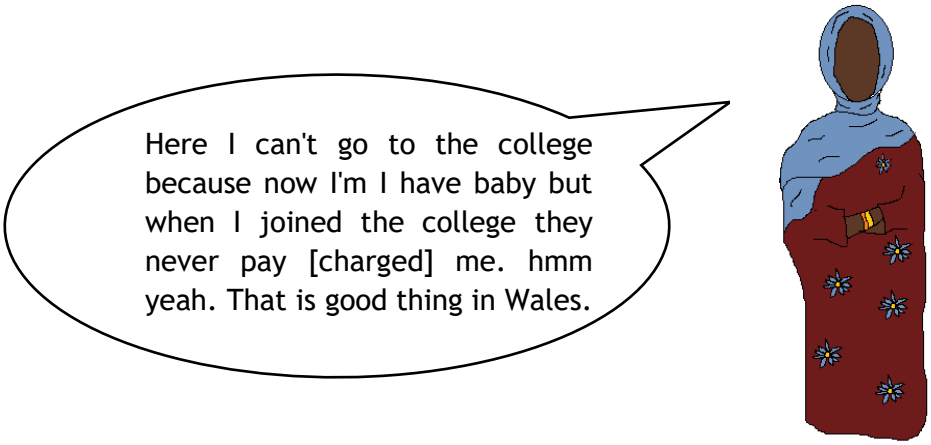
That said, the participant, nevertheless, spoke positively about the educational and employment opportunities available in her resettlement community. As the participant shared:



The participant continued:



Despite the positive impact of free education in Cymru/Wales, the participant shared that childcare affects her ability to engage in her education. This reality, as the data suggests, is a common issue faced by many of the participants, resulting in their exclusion from educational opportunities that would, perhaps, otherwise support their resettlement. As the participant, for example, explains:



Later in the discussion, the women further explored issues they have faced in accessing education due to childcaring responsibilities. In other words, reinforcing Parker's (2021:83) analysis that "there are both financial and childcare barriers that restrict access to education". As the women shared:

Participant 1 Participant 2

Participant 1: I said the education when you start the college and you decided to have a baby you can't go you can't go.

Project Coordinator: No no no because a lot I've had ladies in Red Cross they go to college, they get pregnant they get they get they stay home for a few months, and then they phone me again can I come back because I have a baby and I can't go to college.

Participant 2: (laughs) I think I am the one.

Project Coordinator: One example ok.

Participant 2: (laughs) I went twice to (.) to college once when [child's name redacted] was settled and college asked me to do level one English at the same time the hairdresser but because I'm pregnant again.

Project Coordinator: You were pregnant and you stopped.

Participant 2: Yeah and after [child's name redacted] going to school I applied again but because no one stay home with kids and because the creche in the nighttime so I didn't do again so I give up twice already.

Interviewer: Yeah yeah

Project Coordinator: Sometimes children can get in the way.

Participant 2: Yes is always getting my way [laughs].

Building on this discussion, the participants then spoke about the success of another sanctuary-seeking woman who was able to start her education in Cymru/Wales, learn English, and gain professional employment. While discussing the career successes of a former sanctuary-seeking woman, the Casnewydd/Newport participants allude to the benefits of women's access to education, but also multilingualism, and, in so doing, raised the positive impact of in-migration and the inclusion of sanctuary-seeking women in Welsh society. As the participants discuss:

Participant 1

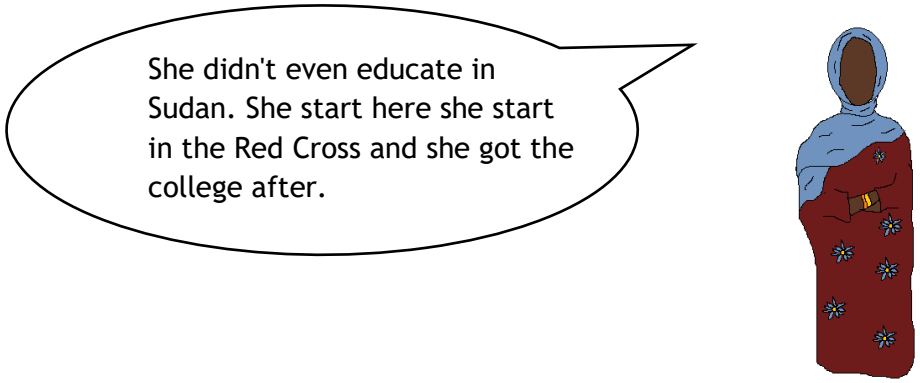
Participant 2

Participant 3

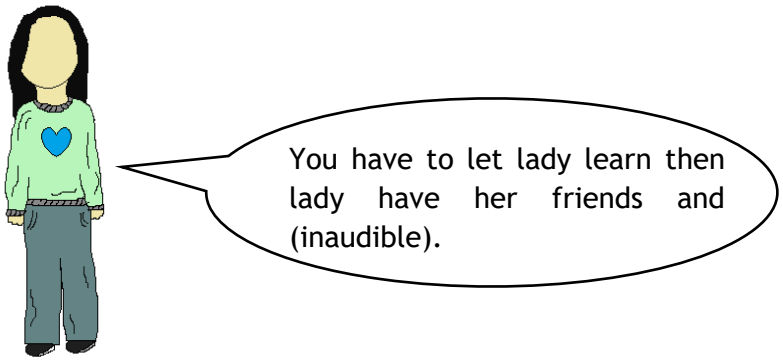
Participant 2: [Inaudible] A lot of Sudanis are lucky now because she [Marwa] work in the [address removed] near to [address removed] all the Sudanese they are there.
Project Coordinator: Oh they go there now?
Participant 2: Yeah when they don't know English she translates she work with her with the doctor [inaudible]
Project Coordinator: Oh fantastic.
Participant 3: They are lucky. [Inaudible]
Participant 1: With her they don't need an interpreter. Yeah
Project Coordinator: They don't need an interpreter.

Participant 1: Anyone who needs the Arabis.
Project Coordinator: Marwa is there.
Participant 2: because everybody who goes there speaks Arabic.
Project Coordinator: There we go [inaudible] that is a success story.
Participant 1: that is the benefit when you have the different language.
Project Coordinator: Yes absolutely. Absolutely.

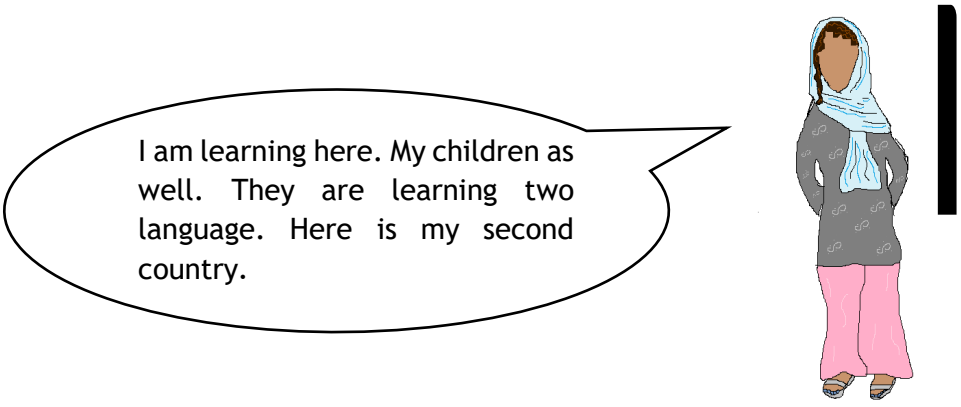
Providing context to the woman's success, a Casnewydd/Newport participant explained:



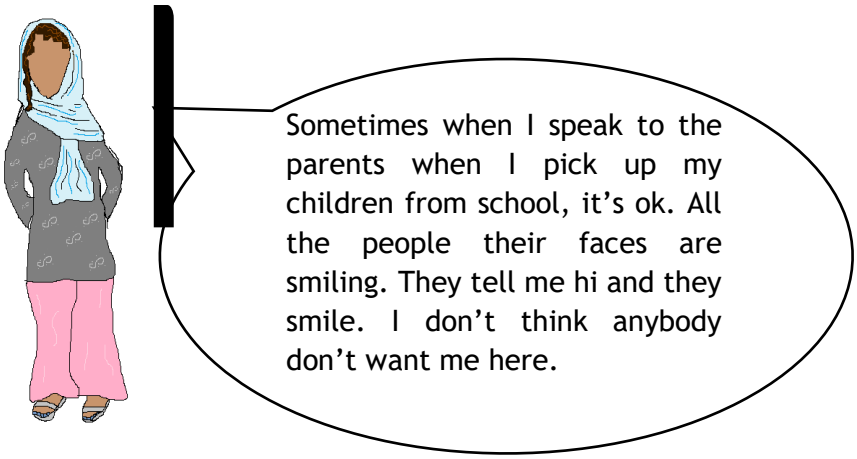
The participants' direct references to the representation of sanctuary seeking communities in public facing roles, such as nursing, as 'benefit[ted] when you have the different language' hints to the Nation of Sanctuary plan, that "refugees and asylum seekers are useful to Wales and their inclusion will enhance our communities" (Nation of Sanctuary Plan, 2019: 2). Not only this, but the participants' discussion further adds to the importance of education in supporting community connection during resettlement. While discussing the positive impact of education, another Casnewydd/Newport participant added how education can enable social inclusion and friendship building. As the participant explained:



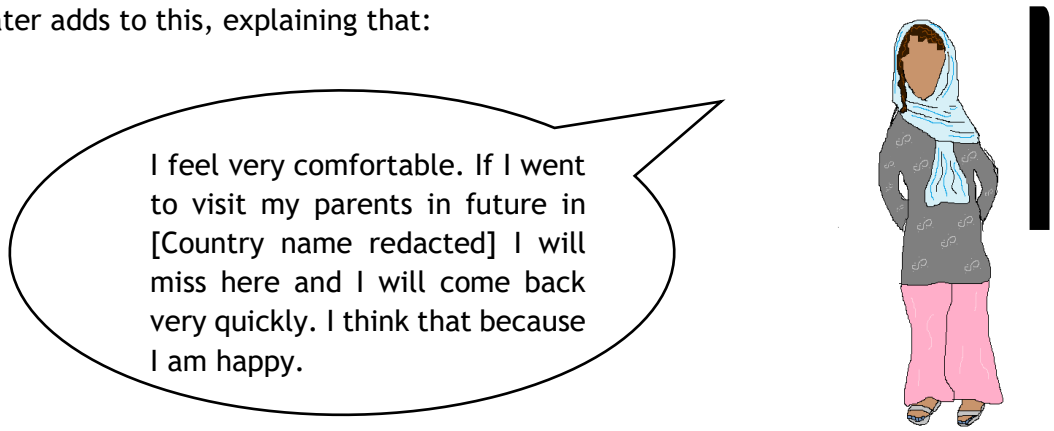
A Gwynedd participant appears to agree with this view. According to this participant, being able to access education has enabled her to feel at home in Cymru/Wales, supporting her resettlement and sense of place. As the participant shares:



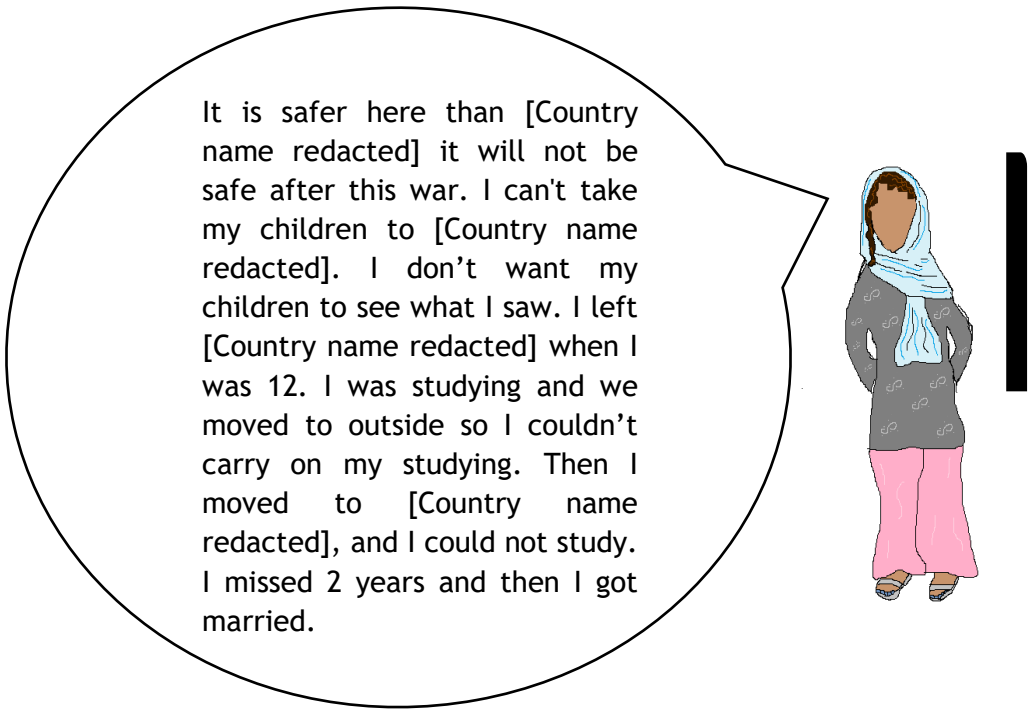
When asked why she felt that Cymru/Wales was her 'second country', the participant explained how the local community has received her and her family, before later alluding to notions of safety and comfort. As the participant shared:



The participant later adds to this, explaining that:

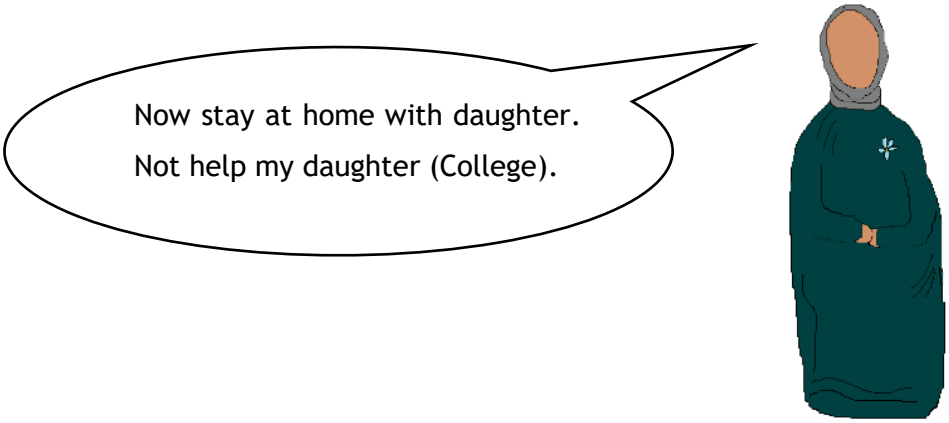


The participant then clarified why she felt happy in Cymru/Wales, adding that safety is a significant aspect of her decision to remain in Cymru/Wales:

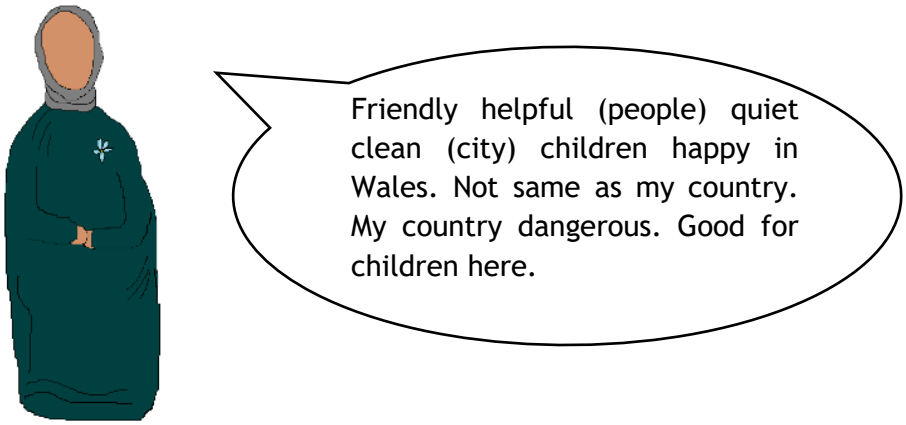


For this participant, as with many other participants, safety and access to education appeared to be a central factor which contributed to her resettlement in Cymru/Wales, both in terms of her decision to remain in the substate and her assertion that she will not return with her children to her country of origin due to what she experienced and 'saw' there.

Another participant based in urban Gwynedd appears to concur. However, unlike her Gwynedd counterpart, this participant has been unable to fully participate in local society, specifically to attend college and English lessons, due to her caring responsibilities. This reality is also a factor for her adult daughter. As she notes:



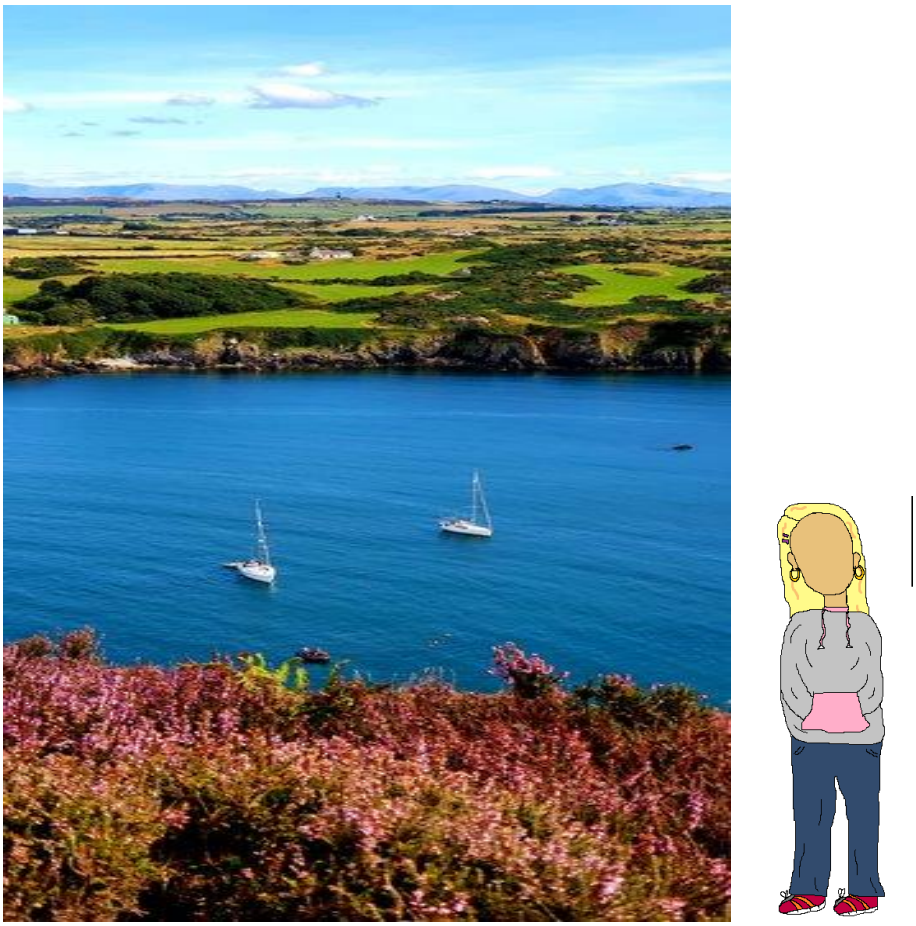
However, similar to her Gwynedd counterpart, the participant explains that the safety of Cymru/Wales puts her at ease, despite her not being able to access all the services she may require. This perspective, for example, is a result of her experiences in her local area, but also the people she has encountered. As the participant noted via her Connection Circle activity:



The participant later added that being in Cymru/Wales is a 'relief', particularly due to her local community being a quiet area with scenic views. Another participant based in urban Gwynedd appears to concur. This participant shared via her Connection Circle activity that the peacefulness of Cymru/Wales and its 'close connection to nature' supports her throughout the resettlement process, positively contributing to her sense of wellbeing and

placemaking in Cymru/Wales. Referring to Cymru/Wales, the participant shared the following image via a Caption Photography activity:

Figure 32: 'Wales' by Gwynedd Participant



For another participant based in rural Gwynedd, however, being in a remote area perpetuates her feelings of isolation as she is unable to meet people sharing her background and experiences. This reality, as the participant explains, further contributes to her sense of displacement and detachment from her resettlement community. As the participant shares:

It doesn't keep me warm this place.

and adds:

Just get me out of here. It's not the place for me […] I am not happy. I am not happy at all.

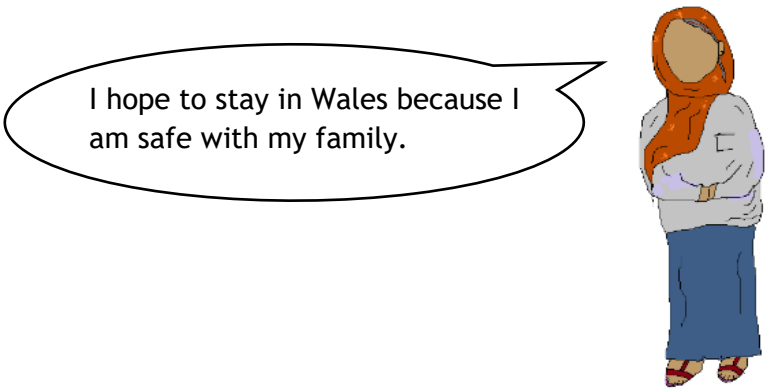
When asked what would contribute to her happiness and help her feel more settled in Cymru/Wales, the participant explained that she is entirely alone and having a local community around, with people who share her background, would help her to feel at ease. As she noted:

I wish I had my family. I don't know I don't feel I'm not settled.

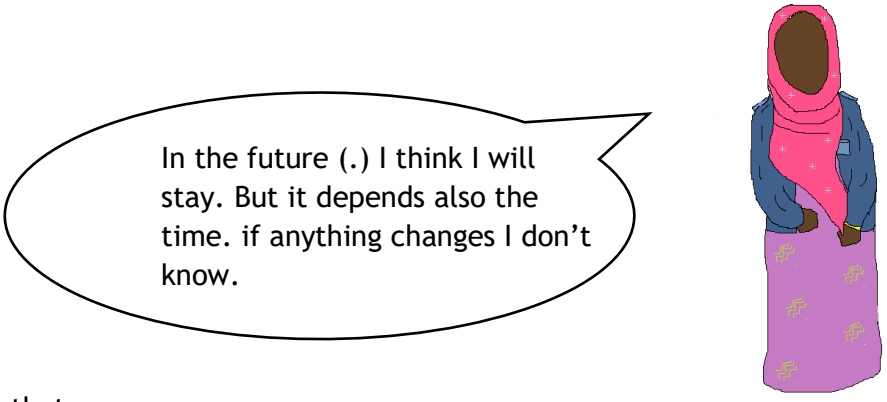
Throughout interactions with this participant, it became clear that her sense of identity is linked inextricably with people sharing her background, especially regarding community representation and cultural practices. The participant's sense of dislocation from her resettlement community and her comment that the area of Cymru/Wales she currently resides in is 'not the place for [her]' demonstrates the impact of not being in a culturally comfortable community, that is, an area with home connections, be it family or other community members.

A participant based in Wrecsam/Wrexham, by contrast, shared that she hopes to stay in Cymru/Wales for the long term as she is 'safe with [her] family' and that ['t]he people in Wales very good with me'. She shared:

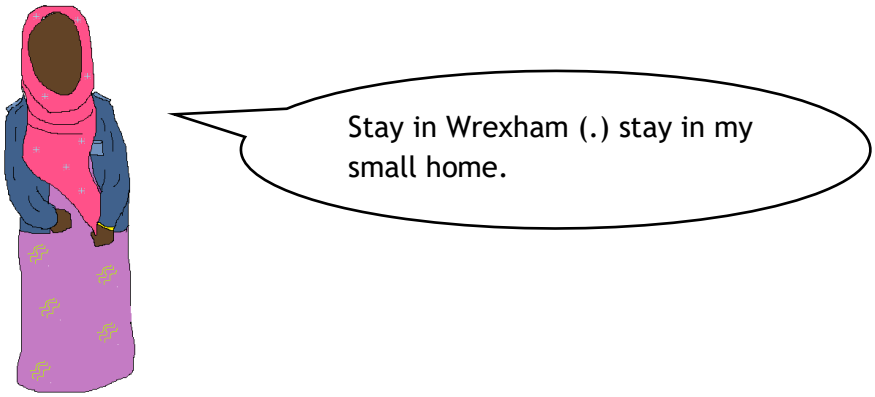
Later adding:



This view is further echoed by her Wrecsam/Wrexham counterpart, who similarly explained that, while it 'depends' on if 'anything changes' in her country of origin, it is likely that she will stay in Wrecsam/Wrexham. As the participant explained:



Later concluding that:



7.4 Support Workers: A Brief Note on Media and Community Engagement

Throughout Gwynedd and Wrecsam/Wrexham interactions with Support Workers, discussions of how the media represent people who experience forced displacement frequently occurred. The points the Support Workers raise are significant, lending to the theories and realities of forced migration representation in Chapter 3, not least issues of the securitisation of migration. A Volunteer Support worker based in Gwynedd, for example, shared the impact of media engagement on the positive reception of Ukrainian communities in her local area. As the Volunteer Support Worker shares:

> 'Media coverage has ensured sympathy which hasn't been the same with other groups.

> Markedly different from someone from Afghanistan or Africans. We know about the dreadful things happening in Ukraine. We want to help.'

The impact of local community engagement on sanctuary-seeking women's resettlement experiences is discussed in depth by the Wrecsam/Wrexham Support Worker. This support worker suggests that to aid a positive resettlement experience 'you need to start with the local community'. In fact, the Support Worker later adds that governmental policies alone, such as the NoS plan, will not necessarily encourage positive experience as 'one service doesn't fit all', and simply 'having the door open doesn't mean everybody's going to come through the door'. Drawing on her own memories of forced migratory history in Cymru/Wales, the Support Worker shared an instance in which her local community were rallied in support of forced migration resettlement:

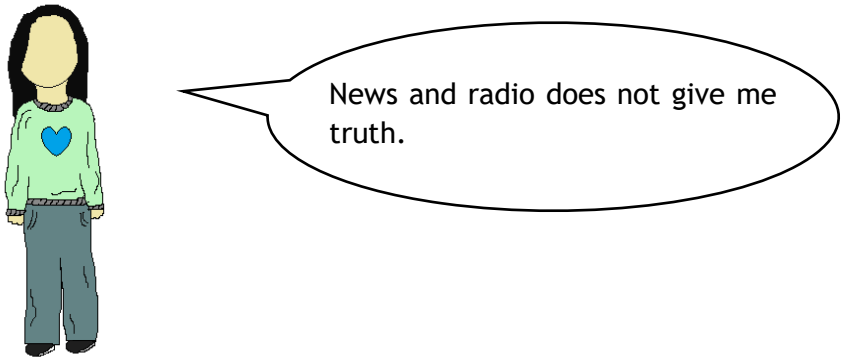
> 'I remember years ago when I was young when [..] all of the communities were prepared for the Vietnamese boat people […] and we were all told that there was stuff going on in Vietnam and that we needed to welcome them and we were told what their story was and this was told all over the news and in schools […] we were told how these people had lost everything and we needed to look after them and take care of them'.

As the support worker later adds:

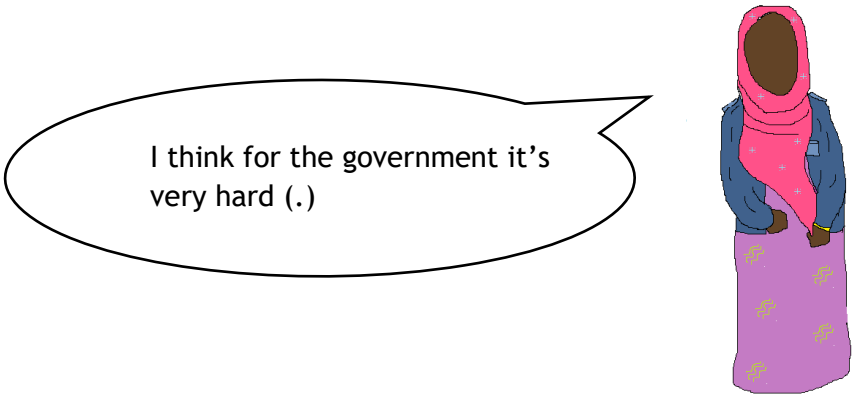
> 'So, when these people turned up people welcomed them'.

As Section 3.2 explains, media in the UK, especially during the 2015 EU border control response, was the "most negative and the most polarized" in Europe (UNHCR, 2015). It is, perhaps, unsurprising then that Support Workers raised their concerns regarding the impact of mass media engagement on the everyday lives of women seeking sanctuary in Cymru/Wales. In fact, as Guma et al. (2019:96) note, in the context of UK (and

consequently, Cymru/Wales), the media also problematically represented people forced to migrate by frequently prescribing a homogenous group identity "co-opted by xenophobic, anti-immigration sentiments". These analyses are echoed in a claim by one of the Casnewydd/Newport participants, who shared via her Connection Circle activity that she often feels that people who experience forced migration are negatively targeted and portrayed by the media:



This reality, as a Wrecsam/Wrexham participant concluded, may result in significant issues for the Welsh Government in delivering and providing sanctuary. As the participant explained:



Discussion

Chapter 8: Navigating Women's Stories of Seeking Sanctuary in Cymru/Wales

Overview

This penultimate chapter seeks to respond to the research questions outlined in Section 1.1. It addresses the implications of the contextual and literature review chapters and the women's stories outlined in Chapter 7, revealing the realities but also the policy and planning implications of seeking sanctuary in Cymru/Wales. The ensuing discussion, therefore, adds depth to emerging research on sanctuary-seeking women in Cymru/Wales. To ensure the research questions are adequately addressed, this chapter is then divided into three main sections. The first section aims to answer Research Question 1, the second Research Question 2, and the third, Research Question 3.

8.1 Research Question 1: How does the securitisation of forced migration in UK rhetoric and policymaking impact the language, identity, and experiences of women seeking sanctuary in Cymru/Wales, and how does the concept of symbolic power and the state support this analysis?

The groundwork to respond this question was presented throughout this thesis. The ensuing discussion takes a twofold approach to answering Research Question 1. Part 1 of answering Research Question 1 (section 8.1.1) seeks to simplify sanctuary debate by connecting supranational, multinational, and national approaches to immigration and asylum. Section 8.1.1 begins by providing a review of the contextual and literature review chapters in this thesis, reminding the reader of key themes, topics, and theoretical frameworks. Close analysis is paid to how this combinatory approach supports the negotiation of resettlement realities in Cymru/Wales. Discussions then turns to exploring the theoretical implications of combining the securitisation framework with discussions of symbolic power and the state, bridging together each chapter within this thesis. In so doing, Section 8.1.1 demonstrates the potentiality of this combined approach to reveal the realities of Welsh resettlement, including the implication of multi-national governance on the language and identity practices of sanctuary seekers in Cymru/Wales. Overall, Section 8.1.1 provides an analytical blueprint for future researchers exploring Cymru/Wales and its sanctuary declaration, furthering understanding of the ways in which supranational and multi-national approaches to immigration and asylum impacts Welsh resettlement.

Section 8.1.2 explores the interactional impact of this framework, revealing the effect of immigration and asylum trajectories and rhetoric on everyday interactions in resettlement contexts. Section 8.1.2 further discusses how this framework supports understanding of how multi-national agendas, not least national approaches, affect localised interactions and encounters, adding weight to the findings of Guma et al., (2019), Payson (2015) and Parker (2021), among others. Section 8.1.2, therefore, focuses on the ways in which the securitisation of forced migration in the UK impacts the language, identity and experiences of women seeking sanctuary in Cymru/Wales, and brings into question the power constraints of devolution to shape and re-shape public perception of immigration and asylum (see chapter 5). Sections 8.1.1 and 8.1.2 combined are significant. They identify key areas within devolved power that could, in some instances, alleviate multi-national (hostile) constraints and promote the facilitation of sanctuary.

The impact and outcome of research question 1 is discussed in full in section 8.4, in which this thesis explores the extent to which the Welsh Government is able to address the full panoply of inequities faced by people forced to flee their homes.

8.1.1 Research Framework: A Supranational, Multi-National and National Approach

As chapter 1 highlighted, there is an emerging body of research into the experiences of women with a sanctuary-seeking background in Cymru/Wales. However, this field is still in the preliminary stages of development, and only a small number of resources are available to frame investigation. A replicable and scalable framework to understand Welsh resettlement did not exist at the time of writing. This was seen as an opportunity to establish an approach to support future researchers to analyse and understand Welsh sanctuary provisions, not least the language and identity practices of women during resettlement. However, uncovering the resettlement realities of sanctuary seekers in Cymru/Wales is lengthy and complex, requiring an interdisciplinary analysis and perspective (e.g. Chapters 2-7).

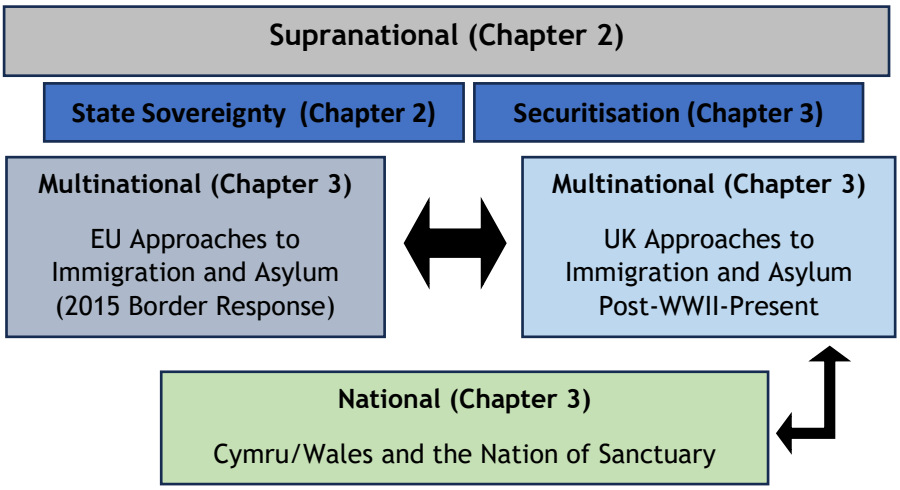
Chapter 2 opened this discussion and addressed the supranational infrastructure affecting Cymru/Wales and its sanctuary pledge. Section 2.2 called attention to post-WWII developments in supranational asylum governance, namely, the UDHR, the UNHCR and the Refugee Convention. It further explored the theoretical tensions between state sovereignty and the Convention, including how it (potentially) leaves room for states to alter and amend criteria for entering and remaining within its territory. In other words, Chapter 2 addressed how, although the Convention institutionalised rights for people forced to migrate at the supranational level, at multinational and national levels, it formalised the potential for

states to orchestrate membership and exclusion. Hence, as chapter 2 explained, although the Convention is essential infrastructure, the reality of the Convention's dependency on sovereign state enactment leaves significant room for divergence in its application and understanding. This reality, therefore, enables states, even party states, to disregard the principles of protection outlined by the Convention, rendering its effectiveness (potentially) hindered (discussed further in Section 8.4).

Chapter 3 added significant depth to discussions of supranational governance in Chapter 2. It observed, connected, and questioned multi-national approaches to immigration and asylum post-WWII to present, including how this affects the resettlement experiences of people seeking sanctuary in Cymru/Wales. Critically, however, chapter 3 explored the framing utilised in this thesis, namely, securitisation. The concept of securitisation was used to frame EU, UK, and Welsh policy and planning. This framework is essential, since "[a]round the globe, people seeking asylum are subject to ever-increasing levels of securitisation, surveillance, hostility and violence." (Benwell et al., 2023:1). Chapter 3 explored three pivotal moments in contemporary immigration and asylum debate: the 2015 European border control response, Brexit, and the Hostile Environment declaration, before turning to Cymru/Wales' counter-response with the Nation of Sanctuary declaration. However, the sociolinguistic underpinnings of the securitisation framework enabled this thesis to reveal whether and how these pivotal moments influenced public discourses, policy enactments and public perception. It further aimed to prime discussions to reveal to what extent instances of multi-national acts of securitisation (EU and UK) impact and influence interactions in national resettlement contexts. Thus, the securitisation framework not only demonstrated how policy enactment affects the prospects and outcomes of people's everyday lives during resettlement but also how policy can, in some instances, guide public perception.

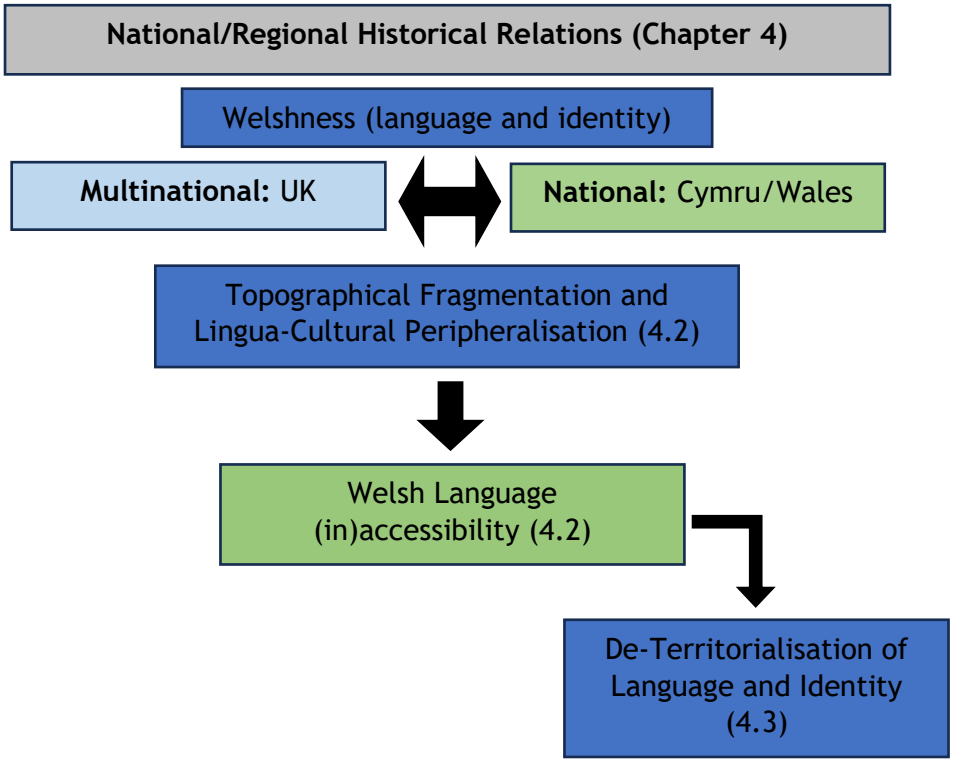
The theoretical approach and policy overview in chapters 2 and 3 enabled this thesis to illustrate how approaches and perceptions of forced migration at the supranational, multi-national, and national level, impact the everyday lives of people seeking sanctuary in Cymru/Wales. Critically, however, this approach also enabled the thesis to demonstrate how securitising discourses, such as Hostile Environment rhetoric, influences resettlement prospects in Cymru/Wales. Overall, then, this chapter hints at potential influences, insights, and oversights in Welsh sanctuary provisions. Figure 33 below provides a simple overview of this approach:

Figure 34: Phase 1: Supranational, National and Regional Approach



Many researchers note that resettlement prospects are significantly impacted by local community reception, suggesting that experiences of resettlement extend beyond policy and planning provisions (Guma et al., 2019). Despite this, researchers exploring Welsh resettlement often focus on the impact of supranational (e.g. Refugee Convention) and multi-national (e.g. Hostile Environment) governance on Welsh sanctuary provisions, overlooking Welsh histories, including the role, impact, and relevance of the Welsh language. Chapter 4, therefore, sought to add to the small body of research which incorporates constructions of Welshness, not least the Welsh language, in sanctuary debate (Higham, forthcoming). Chapter 4 localised the narrative, looking inward at Cymru/Wales. Influenced significantly by current minority language debate, but also the participants' stories, this narrative presented Welshness from a deterritorialised perspective, challenging ascriptions which bind place to people and language. This chapter is therefore significant. It adds both depth and an additional perspective to emerging debate on women's resettlement in Cymru/Wales. Figure 34 (below) illustrates this thesis' approach to understanding Welshness and the Welsh language.

Figure 37: Phase 2: Understanding the Welsh context (Welsh Language and Identity)

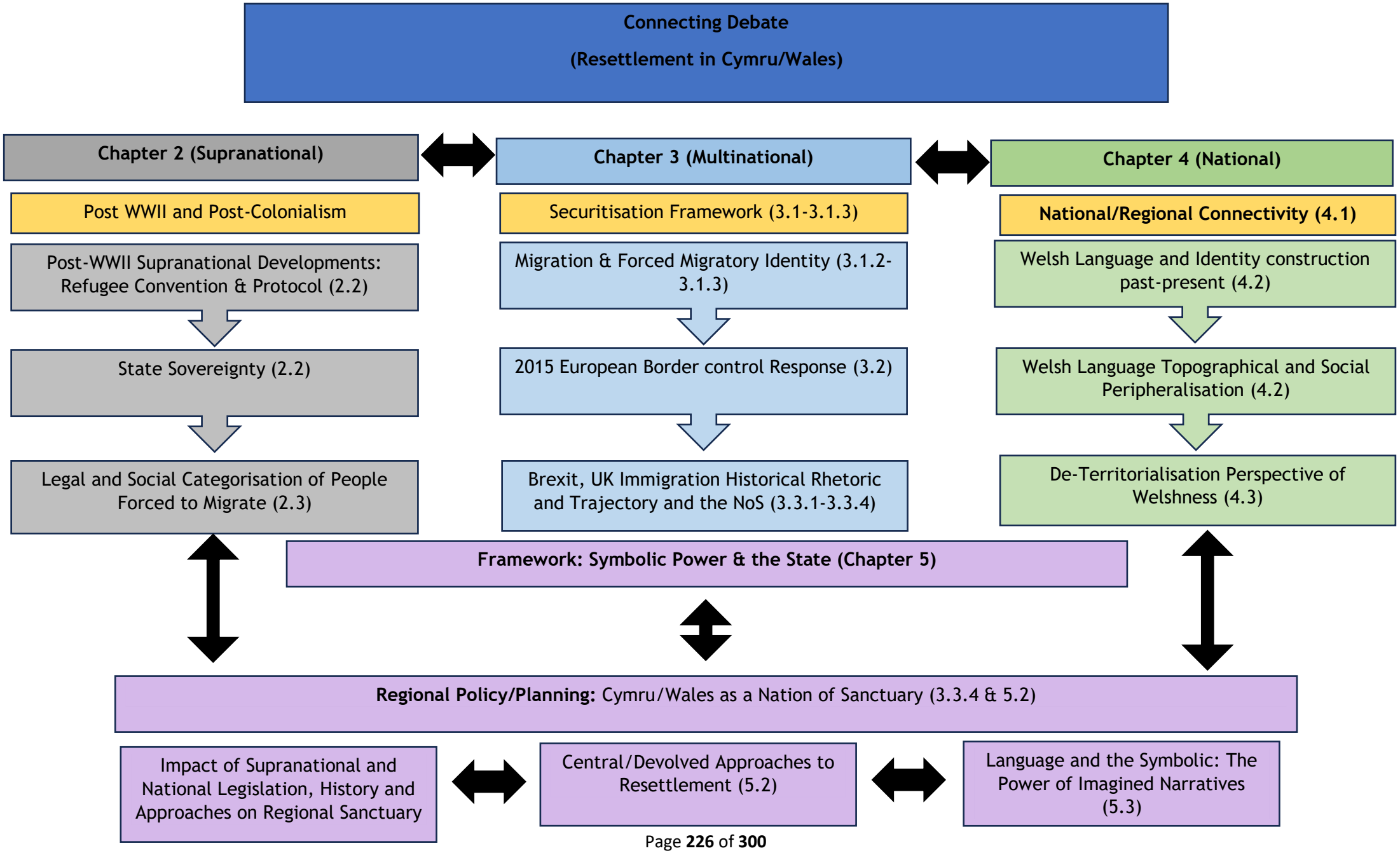


However, since few researchers include discussion of Welsh and Welshness in negotiations of resettlement in Cymru/Wales, demonstrating how to connect these debates, but also highlighting the implications of these debates, became essential. The final theoretical narrative in Chapter 5 sought to draw all discussions in this thesis together. Chapter 5 turned to the concept of symbolic power and the state, utilising this approach to present the realities of life in Cymru/Wales for sanctuary-seeking women. As explained in Section 5.1, symbolic power and the state enable a multilayered analysis, which considers supranational, multinational, and national influences on resettlement provisions in Cymru/Wales. This approach, therefore, sought to demonstrate the potentiality of Cymru/Wales to be structured by, but also to contradict UK hostile rhetoric. It further aimed to reveal whether and how supranational and multinational approaches to immigration and asylum govern and impact the value attributed (or not) to specific identity markers today.

The preoccupation of the symbolic power and the state model with language provided an additional dimension to this framework, enabling this thesis to contextualise debate to Cymru/Wales and raise queries regarding the symbolic potential of minority languages (Welsh) to facilitate and contribute to sanctuary provisions. This approach, therefore, supported this thesis to uncover how the Welsh language, in some instances, has the

potential to connect the participants symbolically with their resettlement contexts. Figure 35 (below) demonstrates how this approach connects debate:

Figure 39 Investigative Framework (Supranational, Multinational and National approaches to resettlement)



As Figure 35 shows, each chapter in this thesis is stand-alone and interconnected. This intricate approach has enabled this thesis to frame and situate resettlement in Cymru/Wales against a backdrop of supranational governance and multinational immigration and asylum hostility. Discussions of symbolic power and the state connect and contextualise the theoretical framing of this thesis, while simultaneously providing an interdisciplinary review of the ranging experiences of women resettling in Cymru/Wales. This approach, therefore, demonstrates the ranging (and intersecting) geopolitical and social factors governing the realities of forced migration and resettlement, particularly in a devolved, minority language context such as Cymru/Wales.

However, given the preoccupation of symbolic power and the state with language, this framework was able to address the potential of Cymru/Wales to alleviate and counteract hostile rhetoric. Critically, demonstrating how the substate status of Cymru/Wales, not least its linguistic make-up, creates avenues for unique encounters, "leav[ing] a margin of freedom for political action" and, perhaps, the opportunity to facilitate meaning making and attachment. This approach furthers understanding of the profound power of the state (e.g. the UK) in shaping public perception on immigration and asylum, but also, the potential for sub-states (e.g. Cymru/Wales) to reframe reception, "providing symbolic and material resources that drive status resonance and a sense of identity and belonging" to the resettlement context (Jensen, 2021:458).

This supranational/multinational/national framework, therefore, demonstrates the limitations and potentiality of devolved contexts to reframe resettlement in contrast and in contradiction to reserved power. Uncovering this information, and creating a framework for future researchers to continue observing immigration and asylum trends, creates the opportunity to recognise the specific areas of people's lives that are impacted by multinational (UK) rhetoric, hinting at areas at the national (Cymru/Wales) level that require additional development to promote and facilitate sanctuary. As the ensuing discussions explains, the design of this approach has enabled this thesis to foster a comprehensive overview to Welsh resettlement (see Section 9.1.3 and 9.2.3 for final analysis).

8.1.2 Understanding Resettlement: Prospects, Reception, and Interactions

As Paterson and Karyotis (2021:4) point out, since identity "is a fluid, multi-faceted and dynamic concept, it follows that the securitisation of migration is largely driven by how host societies articulate, negotiate and delimitate their self-identification and relationship with out-groups, within a specific temporal and spatial context". In the context of the UK, for

example, immigration and asylum, via hostile rhetoric and policymaking, has been frequently framed as a threat to the normative order, implying that "central to our safety, to our prosperity and to our very sense of nationhood" is "full democratic control of our borders" (Home Secretary, 2022). Section 3.3.4 explains that the NoS plan seeks to "detoxify" hostile rhetoric and demonstrate that "the skills, experience and resilience of refugees and asylum seekers are useful to Wales and their inclusion will enhance our communities". The supranational/multinational/national approach adopted in this thesis to understand Welsh resettlement raises questions regarding the ability of Cymru/Wales to attain and retain sanctuary within the current devolved-reserved power model, not least overarching hostile (securitising) rhetoric (see Section 8.1.1).

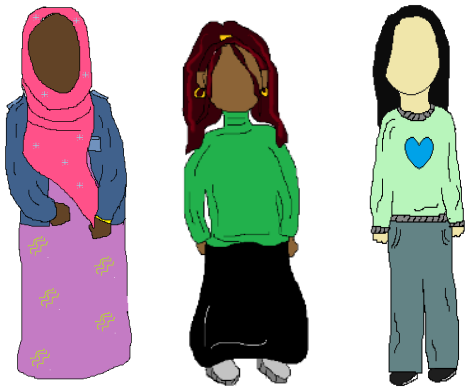
Referring to the impact of multinational decision making, many of the participants shared harmful and distressing encounters with Home Office officials, especially difficulties navigating immigration and asylum legislation. For example, as section 7.3.4 found, some participants reported haphazard and hectic communication with the Home Office. Others shared experiences of living in unsafe housing, being subjected to lengthy asylum decision wait times, and unexpected and abrupt dispersal. Some participants further explained how increasing costs of visa and residency applications had a significant (financial) impact on their lives, and being unable, in some instances, to attain rights to work added additional strain. As one participant, for example, wrote on her Connection Circle:

> "Without work papers go mad. They should give people work papers. […]. Some men leave wife and kids back home. They need to help them send money home. Some wait 12 years waiting for exam result pass or fail".

These factors, although often falling within areas of reserved power, frequently emerged as both a central concern and a barrier to the participants positively resettling in Cymru/Wales (See Section 7.3). The findings further highlight how hostile environment rhetoric and policymaking on immigration and asylum extends beyond Immigration Acts. In other words, with neither a central 'White Paper' policy document, nor official definition, the Hostile Environment directly impacts and governs many aspects of people's everyday lives and experiences. These findings add weight to Griffiths and Yeo's (2021), El-Enany (2020) and Parker (2018) analyses.

Three participants (pictured below), in particular, shared their experiences of being abruptly dispersed to Cymru/Wales with just a few days' notice. In one case, the participants shared how, upon arrival in Cymru/Wales, she was told that her and her family were not on the relocation systems, resulting in her feeling that 'they [Home Office] are

ruining us'. In fact, most of the participants did not choose to live in Cymru/Wales. A small number of Ukrainian participants, however, selected the Welsh Government as their 'Super Sponsor'.[7] As Section 7.3.1 details, another participant referred to dispersal as occurring without 'matchual consent'. For this participant, 'matchual consent' referred to how dispersal occurs without consideration of the identity of the sanctuary seeker, resulting in people being dispersed, in her view, to unsuitable locations, in which they are neither able to fully be themselves nor access other members of their community. These participants, consequently, shared how dispersal significantly unsettled and uprooted their lives.



Other participants further shared feelings of being exhausted, burnt out, and, in some cases, destitute, powerless, and constrained by their circumstances. For Ansems de Vries and Welander (2016), this refers to the politics of exhaustion in which people forced to migrate face a combination of continued displacement and dispersal, inadequate information and communication from officials, as well as experiencing reoccurring and continued violence during and post resettlement. Perhaps unsurprisingly, then, a number of the participants further explained that the pressures of navigating immigration and asylum systems negatively impacted their mental health and wellbeing, not least the wellbeing of people in their community. Two women, in particular, shared instances of suicide amongst people in their community, attributing and connecting these instances to being made systemically destitute, powerless, and alone during resettlement. The participants' experiences align with the findings of most research engaging with people who experience forced migration and resettlement in the UK, not least people seeking sanctuary in Cymru/Wales (e.g. Higham, 2021; Parker, 2018; 2021).

However, the participants' stories suggest that these experiences are indiscriminate. This means that, irrespective of route to resettlement, nationality, and resettlement context,

[7] The Super Sponsorship Scheme was set up by the Welsh Government to allow Ukrainian nationals to select the Welsh Government as their visa sponsor, enabling them to travel safely and quickly to Wales (Welsh Government, 2022)

most participants (13/17 – pictured below), to varying degrees, reported distressing, negligent or unsatisfactory encounters with immigration and asylum systems and officials. A process, according to one participant on a holistic resettlement scheme, that is hectic 'from feet to the head'.

Given that these experiences, most often, refer to the impact of policy enactment in areas of reserved power, the findings add weight to current analyses which claim that multinational (UK) legislation is potentially impeding the full potential of Welsh sanctuary (c.f. Edwards & Wisthaler, 2023).

The sociolinguistic adaption of the securitisation framework enables this thesis to extend observations beyond the structural, macro-level effects of hostile rhetoric and policymaking. This intricate approach supports the identification of how some participants in this thesis have navigated resettlement in Cymru/Wales more easily than others. Paterson and Karyotis (2021:4), for example, note that "processes of constructing migration as a threat begins with a top-down attempt to suppress multiple identities […]". In other words, the "'successful' securitization of an identity involves precisely the capacity to decide on the limits of a given identity, to oppose it to what it is not, to cast this as a relationship of

threat or even enmity, and to have this decision and declaration accepted by the relevant group." This approach, thus, supports this thesis to uncover the ways in which macro-level decision-making enacts and presents in micro-level interactions.

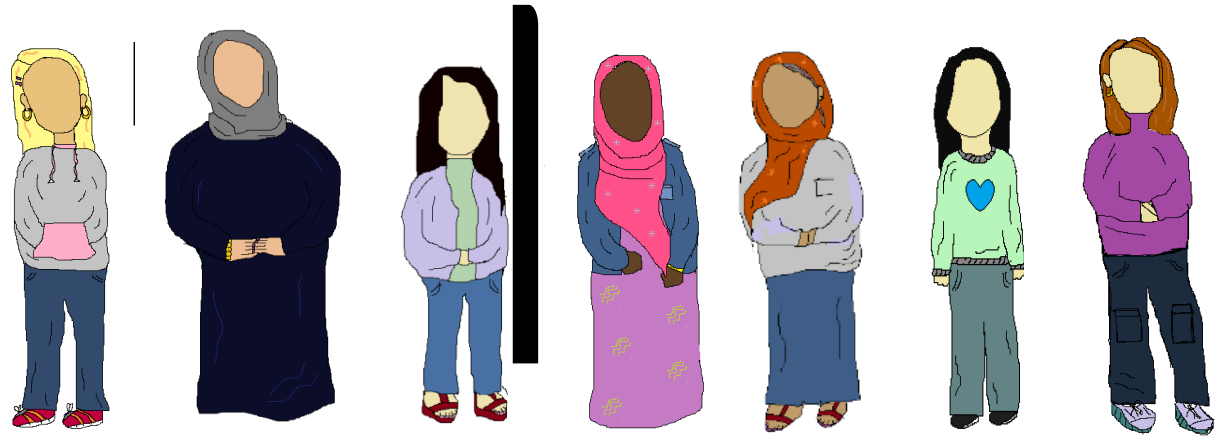
Chapter 3 explains that the sociolinguistic adaption of this framework enabled discussion to address how macro-level decision-making impacts micro-level interactions, not least the language and identity practices of the participants (c.f. Rampton & Charalambous, 2019). As Section 7.3.1-2 reports, some participants shared how local community members in Cymru/Wales sought to regulate, alter, and control the language and identity practices of the participants through harmful acts of gendered and racialised discrimination. These findings add weight to Payson's (2015) but also Williams's (2015) and Walker's (2022) analyses, which highlight how, despite national imaginaries projecting the view that Cymru/Wales is a tolerant nation, "running alongside [this is] an equally embedded strain of racism like two veins of silver in the same rock" (Walker, 2022).

Irrespective of the resettlement context, there was a notable trend in these discriminatory (securitising) encounters, predominantly affecting women adhering to religious (Islamic) clothing traditions. The following 7 participants each shared instances of facing verbal, and in some cases, physical abuse from people in their resettlement context, most often to do with either their clothing (anti-Islamism) or their skin colour (racism), and sometimes, a combination of both. One participant, however, explained that her experiences of verbal and physical abuse only occurred since the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Chapter 2 explained how individual experiences in society may be different based on the perceived value of their social identity – be it race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, or gender, among others. Sales (2012), for example, shares that in the UK people of Islamic faith are "increasingly presented as the alien "other"". Charalambous et al. (2022) further

explain that the insecure designation of people of Islamic faith is entrenched in the UK, resulting in "suspicion and the fear of existential threats [becoming] much more widespread in everyday life". Charalambous et al., therefore, address how securitising "discourses are built on the 'cross pollination' of perceived threats to cultural identity with threats to physical security" (Steele, 2005; cited in Friedman, 2022:44). These findings, without doubt, hint to connections between the insecure political designation of people forced to migrate, but also the value (or not) attributed to specific identity markers in UK rhetoric.

Other participants (pictured below) also shared instances of covert actions of securitisation, racism, and hostility. A small number of participants further shared instances of gender-based discrimination and sexualised racisms, such as being 'catcalled', followed, and harassed. Some participants further explained that people in their resettlement context make them 'feel' unwanted. Some participants further reported instances of how everyday people in their community, for example, bus drivers or supermarket staff members seek to differentiate their identities from other community members by checking their tickets or receipts more than their hosting community counterpart. This finding, on the one hand, reflects how hostile policymaking has rendered a medley of 'ordinary people' as de facto actors of immigration control (Griffiths & Yeo, 2021). On the other hand, however it adds weight to Rampton and Charalambous' (2019) findings, reinforcing the view that macro-level decision-making, such as national and international legislation, enacts in micro-level interactions, problematically presenting people with certain identity markers as a threat to the normative order, particularly to local and national identities.



All of these discriminatory occurrences resulted in the women employing various strategies and actions to restructure their identities to appease encounters in public spaces, but also to ensure their safety. For example, some women wearing religious garments chose to

westernise their clothing, others explained that they no longer go out alone or only go out during daylight. Some further shared that they choose to remain in their immediate community. Some of the women are, however, unfazed by these encounters, and choose to continue their lives, suggesting that these encounters could 'happen anywhere'.

The participants' narratives demonstrate how, despite the Welsh Government's sanctuary declaration, overarching securitising rhetoric and policy making in the UK, in some instances, could be causing the participants' language and identity practices to unravel, alter, or adjust. This is particularly pertinent during interactional encounters with the wider hosting community. Through hinting at how securitising agendas impact language and identity practices and recognising the power differentials between Cymru/Wales and the UK in framing public perception, the participant's experiences call into question the potential of Cymru/Wales to attain and retain sanctuary status.

8.2 Research Question 2: How, and in what ways, do women from sanctuary-seeking backgrounds perceive and interact with Welsh and Welshness in the different regions of analysis, and how far do these understandings enact symbolic connection, differentiation, or exclusion?

The theoretical groundwork to respond to this question was laid throughout Chapter 4 and Section 7.2.2-3. In Chapter 4, a de-territorialised perspective of Welsh and Welshness was presented. As Chapter 4 made clear, this perspective is essential in today's globalised world, especially when analysing accounts of resettlement as it recognises that increases, changes, and adaptions in communication and social ties extend beyond borders created and maintained through human control. Critically, then, it recognises that people, languages, and identity is expansive. To reiterate the points made in Chapter 4, assuming a de-territorialised view of Welsh and Welshness does not mean that this thesis is suggesting, in any way, that areas of higher density linguistic significance in Cymru/Wales should not be protected. Instead, this view suggests identifying and connecting with a language extends beyond borders. This view of language and identity is mirrored throughout the women's perceptions and interactions with Welsh and Welshness, particularly in sections 7.2.2-3 of the data analysis chapter. In fact, as the findings of section 7.2.4 highlight, Welshness, and the Welsh language in particular, provided a unique opportunity for meaning making during resettlement. This suggests that the subsidiary positioning of Welshness and the Welsh language in many discussions of Welsh resettlement renders current sanctuary debate fragmented and unilateral.

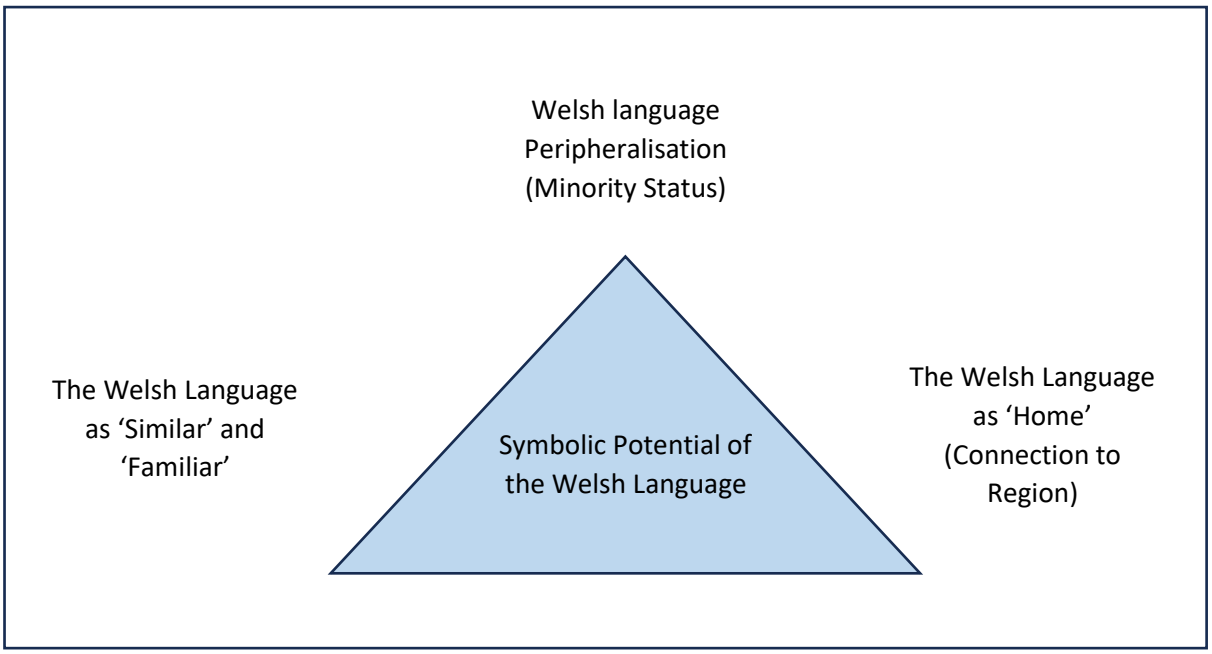
8.2.1 The Symbolic Potential of Welsh

As this thesis has shown, there is a rich plethora of research into gendered accounts of forced migration in the Global North, particularly in European (EU and UK) contexts. However, few research, if none at all, have interweaved Welsh language and identity negotiations and histories within this debate. Given the devolved status of Cymru/Wales, and the underpinning of this thesis with theories of language and identity, addressing the subsidiary positioning of Welshness and the Welsh language in sanctuary debate became imperative to discussion.

While exploring this research question, it became evident that Welshness and the Welsh language are central to resettlement experiences in Cymru/Wales. As Section 7.2.2-3 makes clear, the Welsh language is perceived by the participants as a central component of Welsh society, although not British society. Welsh is further viewed by the participants as a language of history, identity, and culture. The stories in sections 7.2.2-3 further suggest that the participants see the Welsh language in a positive light, regardless of their resettlement context. In other words, no participants suggested explicitly or implicitly, that Welsh and Welshness are exclusionary, *per se*. That said, engagement with Welshness, particularly intersections between Welshness and the Welsh language, varied between participants and regions. The ensuing discussion highlights the impact of participant perceptions of Welsh and Welshness. Critically, it addresses how resources to navigate and understand Welsh language history, including access to Welsh language learning, differ between the regions of analysis.

Notions and adaptions of Welshness, especially the Welsh language, emerged as a central component to many of the participants' reflections of Cymru/Wales. Most participants, therefore, referred to the Welsh language at some point during interactions. However, as Section 7.2.2 makes clear, the participants' stories predominantly present the Welsh language in symbolic terms. This delineation means that instead of viewing Welsh as a means to improve financial and employment prospects or for everyday utility, the participants saw Welsh in "cultural […] social, and emotional" terms (Welsh Government, 2022). Patterns emerged in the participants' symbolic positioning of Welsh. Some participants regarded the Welsh language as a tool for placemaking or homemaking. Others drew similarities and familiarities between Welsh and their 'home' languages. In some cases, however, the minority status of the Welsh language, including historical processes of peripheralisation, encouraged the participants to connect with it. Figure 36, below, illustrates these emerging themes:

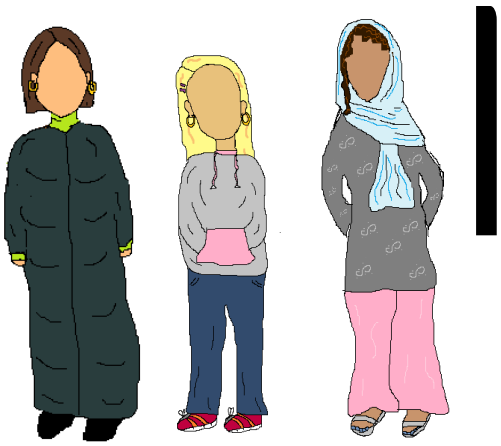
Figure 42: The Symbolic Potential of the Welsh Language



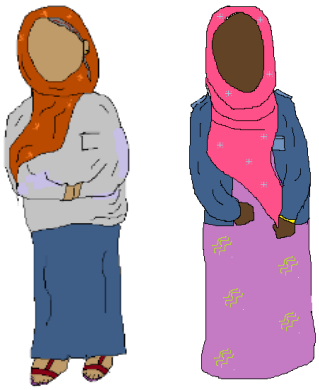
Starting with the peripheralisation (minority status) of the Welsh language, many participants suggested that the politics of Welsh language minoritisation created a unique opportunity for connectivity, especially regarding the historical uprooting of Welsh from collective recognition. As Section 5.3 explains, although, in some cases, this sense of uprooting in Cymru/Wales largely "tended toward romanticism" (Williams, 205). The "symbolic", nevertheless, appears to play an essential role during some of the participants' resettlement experiences, significantly influencing and governing their encounters and perceptions of life in Cymru/Wales. This view was predominantly reflected by the women pictured below, based in urban and rural Gwynedd (picture below).

As Section 7.2.2 shows, the Welsh language was discussed at length by these participants. Discussions often orientated around the politicisation of the Welsh language in identity negotiations. Critically, the view that the Welsh language is a marker of Welsh difference and persistence. While these views and interactions may be, on face value, attributed to

Gwynedd being an area of higher density linguistic significance, and thus, the everyday (public) use of the Welsh language, particularly in rural regions, heightened its role, relevance, and value in community life. These participants further presented an imagined, de-territorialised vision of Welsh and Welshness in expansive and agentive terms. In other words, that Welsh is similar and familiar to their 'home' language. Three of the participants (pictured below), in particular, implied that the Welsh language (whether literally or figuratively) is reflective of their home languages, not only in terms of lexis and syntax but also based on its minority status, historical peripheralisaton, and close association with cultural identity.



These participants were not alone in their perspectives. Connections between the Welsh language and negotiations of 'home' are echoed by a Wrecsam/Wrexham participant. In fact, as Section 7.2.2 makes clear, participants based in urban Wrexham (pictured below)—an area of lower density linguistic significance—appear to share similar views of Welsh and Welshness to their Gwynedd counterparts. While only two women from Wrecsam/Wrexham participated in this research, both indicated a relative interest in the Welsh language, mostly influenced by their children learning Welsh in schools. However, one of the participants (pictured to the right) saw Welsh as a symbolic gateway to community connection due to its minority status. Critically, this participant explained that Welsh could act as a potential tool to feel "part of the community" and as a way to make her feel "at home".



For these participants in Gwynedd and Wrecsam/Wrexham alike, the Welsh language (to varying degrees) enabled a symbolic connection to their resettlement context. The outcome of these stories suggests that Welsh has the potential to be a gateway to community acceptance and confluence. Critically suggesting that Welsh is a tool which can support connection and belonging for new speakers, particularly new speakers with a sanctuary-seeking backgrounds. Hence, despite the symbolic often being constructed as an imagined narrative, its potential to facilitate and aid resettlement should not be underestimated, especially when enacted at the local community (interactional) level. This view reinforces the relevance of Monnet's (2011) claim, that "[t]he symbolic dimension is a vital and unavoidable need of human existence, because it enables the establishment of ties, and makes it possible to give a meaning to the environment, and to appropriate reality and render it intelligible".

There are some similarities between this finding and Higham's (forthcoming) investigation. Higham, for example, notes that "affiliating with a minority language culture is a way of resisting dominance discourse on language and integration". In other words, Higham's research, as with the findings of this section, demonstrate how minority languages potentially provide additional utility for sanctuary and resettlement. According to this view, minority languages, especially those not tied to the central state, have the capability to resist dominant (macro-level), hegemonic discourses (Bourdieu, 1991). This view echoes the analysis in section 5.3, that the Welsh language has the potential to orchestrate its own narratives of Cymru/Wales and, in so doing, create its own power dynamics with the potential to make "people see and believe, of confirming or transforming [a] vision of the world and, thereby, action on the world, and thus the world itself" through the medium of Welsh and narrations of Welshness. By hinting that the Welsh language (potentially) contributes to imagined narratives of symbolic connectivity and welcome for sanctuary seekers, there is significant depth in these findings which requires further investigation. At

present, Higham's research remains one of the only studies to reinforce the implication of these findings.

This section, therefore, challenges observations which co-locate "in-migration [as] a challenge for the Welsh language", and instead, "demonstrate[es] how [Welsh] can be used [as a tool] to embrace multiculturalism and diversity" (Cymraeg 2050:69). However, as the ensuing discussions explains, these findings are situated at an investigative crossroads. The participants' positive perceptions of the Welsh language do not equate to a desire to learn it. As sections 7.2.2-3 explain, many participants frame Welsh language learning from a deficit perspective,[8] reflecting wider ideologies of minority language utility (or lack thereof). Thus, despite the participants valuing multilingualism significantly, associating it with greater future capital prospects, but also connection to resettlement contexts and communities, further investigation is required on the impact of the perceived capital value (or not) of the Welsh language during and post resettlement.

8.2.2 Welsh language Learning and the Symbolic Power of English

> "Wales has a language of its own, that we are rightly proud of. The Welsh language is spoken throughout Wales and you will find television and radio programmes, publications and signs in both Welsh and English" (Welsh Government, Understanding Wales, 2012:4; cited in Easlick, 2022:10).

As Section 8.2.1 explains, the participants in this thesis regard the Welsh language as a marker of Welsh difference and persistence (identity), and as a means to connect with their resettlement community. The participants, therefore, perceive Welsh in imaginary but also symbolic terms, highlighting how the Welsh language could become "an extremely powerful integration tool" for sanctuary seekers (Lewis et al., 2023). The English language, on the other hand, is framed in opposition to Welsh. The participants frequently refer to English as an essential language for health, well-being, and employment prospects, not least successfully navigating immigration and asylum systems and acquiring citizenship (Section 7.2.1). This view is shared by most participants, irrespective of their resettlement context (Section 7.2.1).

[8] A deficit perspective refers to a view which can be a misinformed or misinterpreted vision formed on the basis of negativity.

On face value, these perceptions of both Welsh and English appear positive. However, the symbolic and imaginary positioning of Welsh in opposition to the perceived pragmatism of English characterises Welsh as disconnected from the UK state, but also as a peripheralised facet of Welsh society (see section 5.3). For the participants, then, English, unlike Welsh, operates in tandem with UK authority and is regarded as a global and state language (Bourdieu, 1991; Wodak, 2011). This finding has significant implications. It highlights that, despite the institutionalisation of the Welsh language at the sub-state level, immigration and asylum are reserved matters. Hence, the language of "governance and prestige" for people forced to migrate to the UK is English, the official, centralised language and "formal mechanism" for immigration and asylum control (Bourdieu, 1991).

Critically, then, given devolved-centralised governance, English is framed as an essential facet of Welsh resettlement, while Welsh language learning is an optional advantage. Uptake in Welsh language learning amongst the participants falls short of equivalence with English. These findings resonate with Rosiak's (2022) analysis of Welsh language perceptions among Polish migrants in Cymru/Wales. Rosniak suggests that "[c]ompetence in the so-called "big" languages such as English […] plays a central role in migration policies across Europe and worldwide." Rosniak's findings similarly demonstrate that, although her participants had positive "attitudes towards the Welsh language and recognise its place in Welsh society and culture [...], because of societal bilingualism" speaking Welsh was not viewed as a necessary language for communication with authorities (2022:10). Hence, the perceptions of Rosniak's participants, and the participants in this thesis, reflect common views and ideologies of minority language value, particularly the role and status of the Welsh language in comparison to the globality of English (Rosiak, 2023).

The desire (or lack thereof) to learn Welsh does not negate some of the participants' appreciation of the sociocultural relevance of Welsh (section 8.2.1). However, by directly comparing the utility of a minority (Welsh) and global language (English), the participants' views hint at an underlying inequality in ideological perceptions of language value in Cymru/Wales. This finding adds to Higham's (2014) analysis, which addresses the impact of subsidising English learning on a "supply and need" basis, an approach not adopted for Welsh. What these findings suggest, then, is that legislative equality neither equates to parity in perception nor equality in language learning provisions.

As section 7.3.4, for example, explains, one participant implied that speaking the Welsh language can result in an increased risk of subjugation due to its minority status. Most participants, however, raised that Welsh is an overly complex language, deterring them from learning it. However, these findings may not be based on "linguistic grounds", but instead, on the lower rank of Welsh in comparison to English in terms of language hierarchy (Rosniak & Zydorowicz, 2023). This finding adds weight to what Hodges (2021:2) calls a "derogatory linguistic hierarchy" in Cymru/Wales based on discourses of authenticity, legitimacy, ownership, and competence which surround minority languages such as Welsh.

For Rosniak and Zydorowicz (2023:841), "[s]uch points of view could, however, be changed through compulsory introductory Welsh language classes for immigrants." Discussions of Welsh language learning amongst the participants in this thesis reinforce this suggestion. Many participants, however, identified that Welsh language learning facilities are lesser than English. As Section 7.2.3, for example, raises, one participant based in Wrecsam/Wrexham was unable to continue learning Welsh due to a combination of the unavailability of language classes during school hours, and her caring responsibilities. The irregularity, and unavailability in some cases, of Welsh language learning facilities could, consequently, influence the perspectives and ideologies of new Welsh populations beyond people seeking sanctuary. This reality adds weight to views which co-locate "in-migration [as] a challenge for the Welsh language" (Cymraeg, 2050), further hinting at Wodak's (2011) analysis that:

> "The gatekeepers [Centralised Policy] demand the national language from those who wish to enter; and the language issue, as has been proved in multiple studies on migration in EU countries, is one of the most important factors for migrants with respect to access to employment, housing and education" (Wodak, 2011:218).

In fact, like Prowlee's (2022) analysis, many of the participants in this thesis were unaware that Cymru/Wales, let alone Welsh, existed until they arrived in the substate. Many of the women were therefore 'surprised' and 'shocked' upon arrival, an experience shared by most participants in this thesis (Section 7.2.2-3). For one participant, in particular, the information packs she was provided with prior to her arrival in Cymru/Wales had no reference to life in Wales, with information only being provided about England and Scotland. This lack of information sharing resulted in this participant feeling ill-prepared for resettlement and caused her to find resettling in a Welsh language-majority community to be isolating and lonely. This experience was frequently reported amongst the participants,

hinting at the inefficiency of current resettlement proceedings, especially about Welsh language information sharing. Based on the participants' experiences – although Migrant Welcome Packs refer to the Welsh language, including life in Cymru/Wales – the participants highlight that holistically presenting Cymru/Wales, including language use throughout different regions, would significantly support dispersal preparations (c.f. Higham. 2014).

As section 7.2.3 raises, some participants shared that learning Welsh has the potential to support their 'self-development', as well as their 'establishment in Wales'. For example, two participants based in urban and rural Gwynedd and one in Wrecsam/Wrexham, further saw the capital and social potential of adding the Welsh language to their existing multilingual repertoires. However, perceptions of the capital value of learning Welsh differed when disaggregated by employment. All of the women, bar two participants (pictured below), were not in formal employment in Cymru/Wales. Both participants in formal employment highlighted the potential of Welsh language learning for personal development, supporting the view that the Welsh is a "vocational skill" (Welsh Government, 2020). The participant based in urban Gwynedd, in particular, raised that learning Welsh can support with both personal and professional development. This participant further raised that her workplace had introduced her to the Welsh language and had made free Welsh language learning available to her. According to the participant, she intended to pursue this opportunity. This reality directly supports the aims outlined in the 2050 strategy:

> "Using the workplace to introduce the Welsh language to in-migrants and ensuring that they are aware of the Welsh language and culture, as well as giving them opportunities to learn and use the Welsh language, is another important approach."

However, the women's stories, as well as discussions from research question 2, imply that the Welsh language is interacted with differently between the regions. For example, despite being considered areas of lower density linguistic significance (Welsh Government, 2023), one participant in Wrecsam/Wrexham and four in Casnewydd/Newport shared that they had engaged in formal Welsh language learning, while only one participant in Gwynedd indicated a desire to learn Welsh through work. No other participants in Gwynedd, at the time of conducting research, had perused formal Welsh learning courses. This data, in many ways, is at odds with the participants' perceptions of the Welsh language, particularly Gwynedd-based participants, who frequently rendered the Welsh language as a key symbol of Cymru/Wales and feature of resettlement.

The implication of this finding is significant, particularly regarding Welsh language revitalisation in "heartland" regions. The implication, consequently, extends beyond instances of forced migration. Since in-migration, regardless of route or provision, is frequently framed as a threat to Welsh language vitality, additional steps by the Welsh Government should be taken to support the devolution of immigration and asylum. Increased parity in participation between countries in the UK would strengthen the position of the Welsh language, demonstrating its importance for life in Cymru/Wales. Hence, increasing its value, beyond symbolic potential, toward the view that Welsh is a language of everyday use, importance and relevance. This finding, therefore, strengthens the case for increased access to Welsh language learning facilities.

8.4 Research Question 3: To what extent is the Welsh Government's Nation of Sanctuary addressing the full panoply of inequities faced by people forced to flee their homes, particularly women?

> 'When someone smiles at you it makes a whole lot of difference it's because that smile means you're welcome in the whole country of the country (laughs)'
>
> Support Worker, Joined Interview (July 2022) in Wrecsam/Wrexham

The panoply of inequities faced by people seeking sanctuary in Cymru/Wales, particularly women, was discussed throughout Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5. Chapter 7 and Research Question 1, in particular, laid the groundwork to respond directly to Research Question 3, reviewing the resettlement experiences of the women participating in this thesis. Both Chapter 7 and Research Question 1, therefore, address the ranging inequities faced by the participants, shedding light on the impact of the Welsh Government's Nation of Sanctuary declaration.

As Research Question 1 raises, it is impossible to fully understand resettlement in Cymru/Wales without reference to multinational immigration and asylum governance and historical developments in supranational resettlement provisions. In other words, Research Question 1 confirms that the Nation of Sanctuary is "shaped, constrained and (re)produced by and through the politics of the hostile environment", but also the limits of supranational resettlement infrastructure (Benwell et al., 2023:2). To re-purpose Mayblin's (2020:78) remarks, it is imperative, therefore, before answering Research Question 3, to reiterate that Cymru/Wales and its sanctuary declaration does "not stand apart from the colonial logic of the UK Government's wider immigration regime" (cited in Benwell et al., 2023). Instead, the data presented throughout this thesis demonstrates how resettlement in

Cymru/Wales is governed, to varying degrees, by hostile rhetoric, policymaking, and its securitising effects.

As with Research Questions 1 and 2, the ensuing discussion takes a twofold approach to answering Research Question 3. Section 8.4.1 firstly explores connections and divergences between Cymru/Wales and the politics of the Hostile Environment, reviewing the extent to which devolved power constraints can fully counteract centralised governance. This section further raises areas within devolved power that require significant development. Section 8.4.2, however, takes a future-orientated approach to draw Research Question 3 to a close, exploring how Cymru/Wales could improve sanctuary provisions, supporting it to attain and retain sanctuary status.

8.4.1 Cymru/Wales and the Hostile Environment

The overarching narrative from the contextual chapters, along with the literature reviews and participant stories, demonstrates that supranational and multinational legislative frameworks require amending to enable Cymru/Wales to attain its sanctuary declaration. The women's stories shared in this thesis corroborate this claim. The stories demonstrate the complexity of seeking sanctuary in Cymru/Wales and highlight the intricate, variable, but also connected realities of UK-based resettlement (e.g. Research Question 1). Unsurprisingly, then, navigating and overcoming hostile rhetoric and systems characterised many, if not most, of the participants' resettlement experiences.

As with Prowlee's (2022) and Higham's (forthcoming) findings, most of the women's stories orientated around negotiating life in Cymru/Wales. This entailed discussing the devolved status of Cymru/Wales, and similarities and differences between the devolved nations. Many of the women shared positive stories about living in Cymru/Wales, reporting encouraging and friendly encounters with their immediate local community, such as neighbours and support providers. Some of the women further referred to positive differences in devolved power enactments, particularly in relation to free education for all sanctuary seekers in Cymru/Wales. The women, therefore attributed sanctuary, particularly the potential to counteract centralised hostile policymaking, to the interactional level.

As Section 7.3.4 highlights, relationships with family members, friends, neighbours, and particularly positive encounters with Support Workers, were raised by most, if not all participants, irrespective of their resettlement context. These relationships offered and facilitated a space for togetherness, counteracting and challenging hostile rhetoric through the "quiet politics of care" (Benwell et al., 2023: 8). Caring interactional encounters with support providers was shared by all participants, across each research site. Most participants

shared how these interactions offered an avenue for them to be momentarily alleviated from the pressures of hostile policymaking. These interactions and relationships, therefore, gave the participants much needed rest from the detrimental effects of navigating immigration and asylum in the UK. However, as one participant in urban Gwynedd explains, caring interactions also provided her with the opportunity to 'put [her] thoughts away and talk about other things'.

These relationships, particularly with local community members and support workers, provided the participants in this thesis with advocates to support them with their navigation of immigration and asylum systems, but also life in Cymru/Wales. Individuals and communities, therefore, play an essential and leading role in facilitating Welsh sanctuary. The implication of this finding should not be underestimated. Many of the women, irrespective of resettlement context, further discussed the safety and security of Cymru/Wales in comparison to the places they left. These feelings of safety, but also provisions to support with personal and professional growth, provided many of the women with hope for a more prosperous future. In other words, highlighting the potentiality of Cymru/Wales to be a Nation of Sanctuary, particularly for women.

While the data implies that, in some areas, and for certain participants, Cymru/Wales may indeed be providing sanctuary, the overall consensus from the women's stories suggest that there are further opportunities to create scalable and realistic frameworks to successfully facilitate a "Welsh way" to sanctuary-based resettlement. For example, many of the women shared how unexpected dispersal, a reserved power, hindered their ability to connect to their resettlement community, contributing and exacerbating feelings of loss and disempowerment. Childcare provisions further prevented most of the women who were mothers from accessing education. This finding, unlike dispersal, sits within areas of devolved power and reflects the findings of Parker (2021), Shobiye and Parker (2022) and, in some instances, similarly mirrors Prowlee's (2022) investigation.

The reliance on communities and individuals to facilitate sanctuary and counteract hostile proceedings further lends to the notion that the NoS is largely symbolic, as Edwards and Wisthaler (2023) have previously argued. In other words, then, although individuals and communities can drive change in resettlement experience, the potential benefits are small-scale, resulting in the obfuscation of substantive, structural issues that Cymru/Wales needs to address (Edwards and Wisthaler, 2023).

While many participants had positive encounters with their immediate local community, particularly support providers, encounters with their wider resettlement community challenges perceptions of Cymru/Wales as a tolerant nation. These findings were discussed

at length in section 8.1.2, and evidence how the value attributed (or not) to specific identity markers by and within the resettlement community can cause sanctuary-seekers to (re)negotiate identities to facilitate belongingness and connectivity to the new context. The implication of this finding is critical. It demonstrates how, despite some of the participants sharing the same migratory status (e.g. refugee), their classification and hence positioning within their resettlement context differed based on the perceived value of their social identity.

As Section 8.1.2 further noted, women adhering to Islamic clothing traditions faced the brunt of these experiences. This finding thus demonstrates the essentiality of extending sanctuary provisions beyond the macro-level, toward the view that individual relations and interactions play a vital role in facilitating sanctuary. The NoS plan similarly iterates this finding, outlining that the Nation of Sanctuary concept "need[s] the support and engagement of key stakeholders, such as the UK Government, Welsh local authorities, the Welsh Refugee Coalition, Welsh communities and people seeking sanctuary to ensure that this plan leads to positive change" (Welsh Government, 2019a:7). Further community-based work, particularly in relation to unlearning hostile rhetoric, is therefore needed if Cymru/Wales is to attain sanctuary.

In essence, then, these findings demonstrate that, to varying degrees, the blueprint of Cymru/Wales's immigration and asylum functioning connects with Westminster, particularly regarding immigration and asylum, views, and perceptions. Consequently, as the women's stories confirm, resettlement in the sub-state is characterised by the detrimental effects of the Hostile Environment and the systemic inequities, racisms, and discrimination this agenda facilitates. While the NoS shares its concerns over this reality, explaining that "many of the challenges experienced by [sanctuary seeking] communities [in Cymru/Wales] cannot be fully resolved without policy changes by the UK Government" (2019a:2), further work, within devolved power, requires development. This reality, therefore, reaffirms Payson's (2015:279) claim, that people seeking sanctuary in Cymru/Wales are both "[…] buffeted by global patterns of displacement and marked out by entrenched racism and discrimination in immigration law", but also "constrained by [the impact of] two decades of policies that have progressively criminalized asylum and redacted rights to permanent protections, to work, to citizenship, to legal representation and appeal, among others."

8.4.2 Cymru/Wales: A Restorative Future?

As Section 8.4.1 identifies, there are considerable areas within current devolved power competencies that, if developed and improved, would contribute significantly to the Sanctuary pledge, particularly for women. These provisions include:

I. Enhancing the availability of childcare in educational settings.
II. Increasing the availability of Welsh language classes.
III. Improving communication channels between the Home Office and dispersal communities.
IV. Strengthening support provisions to welcome new arrivals, especially through dispersal.
V. Improving information sharing and packs about life in Cymru/Wales.
VI. Addressing barriers preventing people from accessing employment.
VII. Tackling negative public perception of sanctuary-seeking communities, with particular attention paid to addressing gendered islamophobia.
VIII. Streamlining and increasing support provisions and facilities to ensure parity in services throughout Cymru/Wales.
IX. Improving community relations with the police and other public sector services.

Some of these findings are reflected in research conducted by Benwell et al., (2023), Higham (forthcoming) and Parker (2021), not least Payson (2015). However, Points III and VII contribute a new and original discussion point to current debate. As raised in section 3.3.4, inconsistencies and the unavailability of data on sanctuary-seeking communities in Cymru/Wales has led to disparities in data reporting. This reality potentially results in an inability to adequately provide support on a supply-and-need basis. Strengthening welcome provisions for new arrivals, and streamlining existing support, opens up an avenue for Cymru/Wales to begin recording more accurate figures of sanctuary seekers resettling in different regions throughout the substate. Critically, then, increasing support provisions in line with current needs will strengthen the potentiality of Cymru/Wales to meet its Sanctuary pledge.

As raised in Section 7.3.4, many of the women who experienced dispersal to Cymru/Wales faced significant barriers upon their arrival. In some cases, this was due to poor communication between the Home Office and the dispersal community, resulting in the dispersal community being ill-prepared for resettlement. In the case of one participant in Gwynedd, the dispersal community were not informed by the Home Office that an individual had been moved to Gwynedd, resulting in that participant being alone in the first weeks and months of her resettlement. These realities significantly impacted the participants in this thesis, demonstrating a need for Cymru/Wales to pressure the Home Office to improve its dispersal communication.

Establishing, and in some cases, improving existing provisions, creates additional opportunities for Cymru/Wales and its Sanctuary pledge. Namely, developing a ‘moving

forward' or 'what next' division of the Nation of Sanctuary pledge. As Phillimore and Goodson (2010) note, while settled status is a welcomed relief for many people seeking sanctuary, it comes with significant challenges. As Phillimore and Goodson (2010) continues, funding for services to support people with settled status is often lacking, resulting in many people with refugee status losing their access to previously relied on support provisions. Establishing a 'moving forward' programme will further support people with settled status to continue building their lives in Cymru/Wales, while simultaneously enabling Cymru/Wales to observe how and whether sanctuary extends beyond resettlement.

As this thesis has made clear, the Senedd's Sanctuary pledge relies heavily on UK Government proceedings. Thus, although Cymru/Wales aims to enact sanctuary through devolved policy competency, devolved-centralised power constraints prevent the NoS from addressing the full panoply of systemic inequities embedded by the politics of the Hostile Environment. This finding mirrors and reaffirms the outcome of Edwards and Wisthaler's research (2023). For example, the participants frequently reported how reserved power enactments impact their resettlement experience, especially in relation to:

I. A lack of transparency in dispersal processes and decision making.
II. Unexpected and abrupt dispersal.
III. Significant barriers to accessing employment.
IV. Unequal access to safe routes to resettlement.
V. Haphazard and hectic communication with the Home Office.
VI. Unsafe and unsuitable accommodation.
VII. Lengthy asylum decision wait times.
VIII. Financial insecurity.
IX. Damaging political rhetoric and policymaking, resulting in negative public reception and perception.

While, as section 1.7 highlighted, emerging discussions on constitutional reform in Cymru/Wales do not recommend the devolution of immigration and asylum, strengthening the devolution structure, including devolving broadcasting, and increasing the parity of financial management in Cymru/Wales, could have significant effects on people's resettlement experiences; potentially strengthening the sanctuary declaration beyond the symbolic (Edwards & Wisthaler, 2023).

These findings suggest that unless either hostility in UK immigration and asylum is actively addressed by the UK Government, or the Welsh Government press for constitutional reform, the detrimental effects of the hostile rhetoric and policy making will continue to endure

throughout the Welsh substate, affecting and shaping people's everyday lives, experiences and futures of people forced to migrate.

This finding, consequently, has a secondary implication. It raises questions regarding the intention and potential of supranational infrastructure, particularly the Refugee Convention and Protocol. Hostile policymaking demonstrates how supranational resettlement infrastructure, although well intentioned, allows for states to enact their own discourses, rhetoric, and legislation regarding the movement of people who cross international borders. This reality has been raised by UNHCR. In response to UK's "questions regarding the role of the Refugee Convention in the context of today's global displacement challenges", the UNHCR outlined there is a need for "stronger and more consistent application of the Convention and its underlying principle of responsibility-sharing" (UNHCR, 2023). This thesis provides evidence in support of the UNHCR's claim, suggesting that Cymru/Wales should continue establishing positive rapport with the UNHCR, building support for stronger and consistent application of the Convention in the context of the UK.

Research Questions 3, consequently, highlights that the NoS is a "Welsh way" of challenging, rather than wholly reproducing, multinational "power structures and systems of inequality", not least anti-immigrant sentiment (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2020:412), However, as Research Question 3 makes clear, the NoS currently fails to repair chronic and institutionalised injustices in geopolitical responses to forced migration management, particularly regarding issues of positional differences. Critically, the value attributed (or not) to specific identity markers significantly impacts resettlement experiences. However, Edwards and Withaller (2023:3620) note that, despite the limitation of the nation of sanctuary as a symbolic policy, Cymru/Wales "has demonstrated a latent potential for regional-level sanctuary policies, perhaps providing a model for other jurisdictions."

The NoS, therefore, stimulates significant debate and has the potential to foster a future-orientated and inclusive approach to resettlement. The participants' stories in this thesis, not least emerging debate on Constitutional reform, provides evidence to suggest that Cymru/Wales needs to continue taking steps toward a reconstructive future-facing approach to sanctuary, which acknowledges the inextricable link between "past, present and future in both the formation of injustice and its repair" (Siprakash, 2023: 783).

Chapter 9: Conclusion

9.1 Observations and Contributions

As section 1.7 raises, this thesis contributes knowledge to the Welsh Government's Nation of Sanctuary pledge at a pivotal, constitutional moment for Cymru/Wales. It sought to collect and share the stories of women resettling in different communities throughout the substate, contributing meaningful, real-life experiences to inform Welsh policy, planning and research outputs. Based on the experiences and recommendations of sanctuary-seeking women, this thesis has addressed the potentiality, but also the limits, of current Welsh sanctuary provisions, ensuring that future infrastructure and approaches to resettlement better supports people forced to flee their homes. Supporting a "Welsh way" to resettlement, therefore, remains the primary and most fundamental objective of data collection, not least the rationale behind pursuing this PhD.

As sections 1.2 and 5.2 raise, the majority of emerging research with sanctuary-seeking women in Cymru/Wales orientates around narrations of parenthood and motherhood, with explorations of women's experiences as individuals rarely raised. Section 8.2 further addresses that, although a rich plethora of research has chartered hostile developments in immigration and asylum in the UK, including connecting this trajectory with European and global approaches, few have sought to localise this debate to Cymru/Wales, and fewer have recognised and included the Welsh language into discussion thus far. This thesis, therefore, contributes to theoretical data, but also real-life experiences, to address gaps in existing sanctuary research, highlighting the many threads making up, affecting, and altering the fabric of resettlement experiences in Cymru/Wales.

This thesis has highlighted the perceptions and realities of resettlement in three very different regions throughout Cymru/Wales. It has captured the intricate reality of Welsh resettlement and has included narrations and negotiations of the Welsh language, a central factor in Welsh resettlement that goes largely unrecognised (Lewis et al., 2023; Higham Forthcoming). Hence, to borrow from Caragarajah (2022:35), this thesis has not only demonstrated the "expansive, primordial, and agentive" potentialities of minority languages, but has demonstrated the impact and interrelation between devolved/centralised power nexus in sanctuary provisions.

The ensuing chapter draws this thesis to a close, providing a summary of the primary findings, including addressing areas requiring further exploration. Discussion then turns to

reflecting on this study, the approach assumed and the outcome and impact of the main findings.

9.1.1 Constitutional Reform and the Nation of Sanctuary

> 'We haven't got the hang of being a diverse community yet'
>
> Support Worker, Joined Interview, July 2022 (Wrecsam/Wrexham)

As with other research engaging in sanctuary-seeking experiences in Cymru/Wales, this thesis evidences how immigration and asylum systems, particularly dispersal, can cause significant harm to people seeking sanctuary, often leading to feelings and experiences of isolation, uprooting, and displacement — a direct infringement upon the Future Generations Act and Nation of Sanctuary plan. In this regard, route to settlement, and therefore nationality, significantly impacts accounts of resettlement. Thus, as raised in section 2.3 and 8.4, migration categorisation, and its inherent classification, links inextricably with other forms of social identity and their inferred positioning and prescribed power within society (or lack thereof). However, due to the small population size of sanctuary-seeking women in certain areas, of certain nationalities, it was beyond the remit of this thesis to comprehensively explore this reality without potentially revealing the identity of participants.[9] Future investigations, engaging in more regions and with more participants, should therefore consider the implications of this finding.

Beyond experiences of navigating immigration and asylum infrastructure, this thesis has further found that at the interactional level, hosting communities in Cymru/Wales can, in some instances, seek to regulate, alter, and control the language and identity practices of sanctuary seekers, reflecting the securitising agenda of hostile environment rhetoric, despite the NoS proclamation (see 9.2, Research Question 1). Perhaps unsurprisingly, discourses of sanctuary did not emerge during interactions with the participants. Instead, the participants frequently discussed how Cymru/Wales is a place of safety. While this finding presents Cymru/Wales positively, it hints at the impact of Hostile Environment framings on the everyday realities of sanctuary seekers in Cymru/Wales, not least the potential limitations of the sanctuary declaration. The UNHCR (2023) explain this reality, suggesting that:

[9] This reality does not apply to Ukrainian participants. During data collection, there were numerous sanctuary seekers with a Ukrainian background. Hence, the participants' anonymity is protected.

> "Legislation […] has important symbolic value, being a practical expression of the receiving society's commitment to the protection and promotion of equal rights and demonstrating its abhorrence of discrimination. […] [However] legislation is more likely to be effective if complemented by community education and other initiatives."

According to the support workers in Section 7.4, hostility in Cymru/Wales, particularly amongst hosting communities, can be attributed to misrepresentation of sanctuary-seeking communities in the media. Broadcasting is, nevertheless, a reserved power. This reality, therefore, demonstrates a need to address imparity in the devolved/centralised power nexus.

As with other researchers engaging in asylum and devolution in the context of Cymru/Wales (Parker, 2018; Prowlee, 2022), this thesis adds additional pressure for the devolution of immigration and asylum. It also adds depth to the recommendations of the Independent Commission on the Constitutional Future of Cymru/Wales, i.e. that the Senedd and Westminster should "agree mechanisms for a stronger voice for Wales on broadcasting policy, scrutiny and accountability, and robust work should continue on potential routes to devolution" (2024:7). Increasing areas of devolved power will, not only create greater parity in Cymru/Wales' participation in British unionism, improving the democratic nature of current systems, but will also enable Cymru/Wales to facilitate its sanctuary intentions beyond the symbolic (Edwards and Wisthaller, 2023). As the Commission (2024:110) outlines in relation to immigration and Welsh constitutional independence:

> "Having some powers in [immigration] would enable tailored policies to meet the needs of each territory. Some of this could be done with little change to the devolution settlement, for example through fresh talent programmes, or tailored specialist occupation lists."

While this development challenges earlier assertions that there is "no appetite" for the devolution of immigration and asylum by the Welsh Government" (Parker, 2021), it is essential to consider that constitutional change at the institutional centre, particularly in relation to sanctuary-based policymaking, is unlikely in the near future. This reality necessities alternative methods, within existing devolved and localised powers, to enact sanctuary.

As Sections 5.2, 5.3 and responses to Research Question 3 address, the positioning of Cymru/Wales as a devolved nation potentialises its ability to embed an alternative immigration and asylum narrative to the UK, especially regarding identity politics. It is through identity (nation) building practices, but also imagined and discursive narratives, that Cymru/Wales as a nation of sanctuary emerges (c.f. Edwards & Wisthaler, 2023). Thus, while the women's stories provide the evidentiary means to dispute imagined narratives of tolerance and sanctuary, through the Nation of Sanctuary declaration, Cymru/Wales has made a "rallying cry for concerted action by governmental and non-governmental actors", "demonstrat[ing] a latent potential for regional-level sanctuary policies" (Edwards & Wisthaler, 2023:3620).

9.1.2 Welsh Language Findings: Future Implications

This thesis has found that the Welsh language is a primary and underutilised resource in sanctuary provisions. For some participants, the data goes as far as to imply that the Welsh language has the potential to provide a form of sanctuary, bridging the gap between the place they were required to leave (past) and their current reality in Cymru/Wales (present). In other words, through perceptions of the Welsh language, the participants allude to the ways in which communication and social ties extend beyond borders facilitated and created through human control. The data, therefore, has significant implications for minority language debate, further demonstrating the relevance of the de-territorialisation perspective in today's globalised world (Chapter 4).

The participants' stories, particularly sections 7.2.2-7.2.3, demonstrate the need for future analyses of Welsh resettlement to comprehensively consider to what extent unequal interactions in Welsh (language) histories has the potential to connect, symbolically or otherwise, with sanctuary provisions. For other participants, however, connectivity with the Welsh language extended through apparent similarity in lexis, syntax, and age with 'their' languages. Future investigation is consequently required to explore the potentiality of these claims. This thesis, therefore, provides a stepping stone for other investigations into the role and potential of minority languages to encourage a unique sense of connection which extends beyond time and place.

While the Welsh Government (2017: 68) note that marketing the capital potential of the Welsh language to non-Welsh speaking communities in Cymru/Wales is a central component of revitalisation strategies, the data is in this thesis is at odds with this declaration. For most participants, the Welsh language assumed a symbolic rather than capital position in

Cymru/Wales. This means that the participants often regarded the Welsh language in "cultural […] social, and emotional" terms, rather than for improving financial and employment prospects (Welsh Government, 2022). As Research Question 2 further found, for some women, the symbolic positioning of the Welsh language rendered it a political identity marker of Welsh difference and persistence. Other participants, however, suggested that the Welsh language (whether literally or figuratively) resembles aspects of their home languages, not only in terms of lexis and syntax but also based on its minority status, historical suppression, and close association with cultural identity. Further investigation is consequently required to explore the implication on this claim for Welsh language learning, especially in areas of higher density linguistic significance at risk of linguistics shifts.

In fact, as Research Question 2 addresses, the symbolic potential of the Welsh language to connect with sanctuary provisions did not equate with a desire to learn it (see Section 8.3). For example, although most Gwynedd and Wrecsam/Wrexham participants regarded Welsh symbolically, only 2 (1 in Wrecsam/Wrexham and 1 in Gwynedd) sought to learn it. In Gwynedd, facilities to learn Welsh were available for one participant via her workplace, while the Wrecsam/Wrexham participant reported that language classes were either unavailable or clashed with childcare responsibilities. The majority of Casnewydd/Newport participants, by contrast, did not recognise the Welsh language in symbolic terms. Instead, they had already participated in an introductory/taster Welsh language course for sanctuary seeking women prior to this research study and many of their children were learning Welsh in school. For these participants, then, it is perhaps unsurprising that the Welsh language was seen more in terms of its capital than symbolic potential, especially in terms of contributing further to the participants' existing multilingual repertoires (Higham, forthcoming). Future research should, therefore, seek to explore and contribute to further knowledge to sanctuary seeking perceptions of the Welsh language in different regions. The implication of this exploration, however, extends beyond sanctuary seekers. It highlights the need for investigations of Welsh language perception, particularly regarding symbolic and capital potential, in areas of higher density significance and lower density significance, mapping out whether and how differences in perception connect (or not) with the decline of Welsh in some regions, and the uptake of Welsh in others.

This thesis, consequently, seeks to engage with minority language practitioners, researchers, and language activists, highlighting the potentially positive impact, but also symbolic value of minority languages in resettlement provisions. This data, therefore,

directly impacts the Nation of Sanctuary provision by correlating it with the promotion of the Welsh culture and language in the Wellbeing for Future Generations Act (2015). It further adds weight to Higham's (2020; forthcoming) analyses that the Welsh language can be used as a tool to contribute to the existing multilingual repertoires and identities of sanctuary seekers, as well as aiding their understanding of the host society's history. What this suggests, then, is that there is significant symbolic potential pertaining to the knowledge, use, and viability of the Welsh language. This further highlights that the existence of minority languages provides additional utility, rather than complexity, during resettlement.

9.1.3 Contribution to Theory and Practice

This thesis contributes knowledge of Welsh sanctuary provisions through establishing a theoretical and analytical framework. It has shown that understanding Welsh resettlement is lengthy, complex, and contradictory. It connects with wider resettlement discourses, both within and beyond the context of the UK. However, as Research Question 1 addresses, research on the experiences of sanctuary seekers in Cymru/Wales is still emerging. Studies are, therefore, partial and, in some cases, unilateral. In other words, then, no researchers have sought to establish a framework to support future analyses of Welsh resettlement. Creating a scalable and replicable framework to better understand the depth, breadth and intricacies of Welsh resettlement was therefore essential. This is explored in the response to Research Question 1, in which this thesis suggests that researchers should consider Welsh sanctuary as made up of:

i. Supranational Forced Migration Histories and Protection Regimes
ii. Multinational (EU and UK) and national (Cymru/Wales) Policymaking and Rhetoric
iii. Welsh (language) History and Culture

The language-identity continuum informed and guided the theorical approach to this study, including the data analysis. Through this approach, this thesis demonstrated the complexity of resettlement in Cymru/Wales, highlighting a range of potential implications on the Welsh Government's intention of attaining and retaining its sanctuary declaration. However, given the realities of hostile rhetoric and policymaking in the UK, the securitisation framework proved relevant for analysing the potential impact of centralised immigration and asylum policy enactment on resettlement prospects in Cymru/Wales (see chapters 2 and 3). Critically, how macro-level policy making impacts micro-level interactions.

This thesis, therefore, contributed to emerging sociolinguistic literature on the securitisation of forced migration. This approach was significant as not all participants experienced positive encounters in their local community. In fact, as with Williams (2015), Guidici (2014), Guma et al. (2019), and Parker (2018; 2021), this thesis found that public perception of sanctuary seekers in Cymru/Wales falls short of the Welsh Government's sanctuary declaration. Instead, interactions between sanctuary seekers and their hosting community, at times, reflected multi-national hostile policy rhetoric. Thus, the sociolinguistic adaption of the securitisation framework added depth to the potentiality of this framework, furthering understanding of Welsh resettlement.

As Research Question 1 further makes clear, while the theory of securitisation framed multinational policy enactment, the thesis debate was connected through the concept of symbolic power and the state. This approach supported this thesis to demonstrate whether and how UK immigration and asylum governance impacts the language and identity practices of women from sanctuary-seeking backgrounds in Cymru/Wales. Critically, the concept of symbolic power and the state, as Section 8.1.1 and 8.1.2 further address, provided this thesis with the ability to highlight avenues with the potential to counteract securitising agendas. Hence, this thesis, utilised and interweaved theories of securitisation with observations of power, language, symbolism, and the state to demonstrate how historical inequities in the nascence of forced migration protection, not least in terms of gender, have led to the securitisation and classification of sanctuary-seeking identities in Cymru/Wales.

9.1.4 Methodology

> "It is the investigator who starts the game and who sets up its rules: it is most often she who, unilaterally and without any preliminary negotiations, assigns to the interview its objectives and uses, and on occasion these may be poorly specified—at least for the respondent. This asymmetry is underlined by a social asymmetry which occurs every time the investigator occupies a higher place in the social hierarchy" (Bourdieu 1996: 19)

The methodological approach adopted and adapted in this thesis enabled an in-depth analysis of the women's resettlement realities. While the principal tenets of this methodological approach are not original, utilising and altering a traditionally sociolinguistic approach in an interdisciplinary project produced thought provoking data.

The narrative approach to research, orientated around storytelling, provided insight into the everyday experiences of the participants, including their past, present, and future aspirations. Combining methods, particularly storytelling with interactional sociolinguistics,

enabled this thesis to not only observe infrastructural impacts of resettlement, such as route to resettlement, dispersal, and housing, but contributed to understanding the unconscious positioning and enactments of identity at the interactional level. In other words, the participants' experiences and interactions with their resettlement context and local community, and the implications of these encounters in wider discourses of sanctuary/hostility.

Despite the suitability of the methodological framework, the Connection Circle activity appeared to be the most successful tool for data collection, contributing significantly to the depth of the overall findings. The minimal prompts for discussion provided by the Connection Circle supported the participants to autonomously share their stories and experiences of resettling in Cymru/Wales. The interactional element of the Connection Circle also proved useful, with participants both verbally explaining their experiences and noting (in written form) their central thoughts and feelings. The Connection Circle further produced both qualitative and quantitate data. While using the quantitate data was beyond the scope of this thesis, it is also significant, with the potential to be used in future explorations. It is therefore my intention to continue using and adapting the Connection Circle for future investigations. The Connection Circle approach proves relevant for other fields, and my aim is to facilitate its use across fields and sectors. Thus far, I have adopted the method for a research project engaging with care workers experiences of the Covid-19 pandemic, including the current cost of living crisis. Similar to this thesis, the Connection Circle has been successful, enabling participants to share their accounts in a way that makes sense to them.

In some ways, however, this methodology falls short. While Support Workers were included in participant engagements, and 3 (1 from each site) participated and contributed to data collection, their perspectives have taken a back seat in this study. Similarly, no research was conducted with wider community members, policy makers or industry experts. Although it was originally my intention to engage with longer established communities in the regions of investigation, and ethical approval by the university was provided, while conducting the research my approach changed course. The depth and richness of the data encouraged me to orientate the PhD to the women's perceptions only. This approach, therefore, ensured that emphasis and due attention was paid to the people experiencing displacement. It does leave room for future investigations to add to this discussion, disaggregating the participants' stories with policy and industry professional accounts, local communities, and language activists.

Similarly, there is increasing debate regarding the importance of decentring the researcher and adopting reflexivity in research approaches, especially research which explores the lives of people who experience forced migration. While providing a platform for research participants to become active agents in knowledge production is a principal facet of this project's methodology, I am well aware of the possibility of the 'symbolic violence' Ethnography can instigate for people taking part, especially regarding misrepresenting or misinterpreting their stories and needs. For example, the concept of consent (informed and voluntary), according to Ellis et al. (2007: 467-479; cited in Czymoniewicz-Klippel et al., 2020:) involves "culturally bound, western values of individual autonomy, self-determination, and freedom" which may defy cross-cultural translation (Ellis et al. 2007: 467–469). According to Block et al. (2012:71), this circumstance results in the essentiality of "ethical reflexivity" (Block et al., 2012:71). That is, creating an iterative consensual process in consultation with the participants, but also one which is available in their most confident language(s).

Thus, by addressing the inequity of research production, as well as the partiality of my impact on the participants as a presenter and, at times, co-author of their stories (i.e. providing keywords to the participants to support the framing of their stories), the hope is that this method of investigation can lead to further questioning of the impact and role of the researched in people-centred forced migration investigation. Specifically, to borrow from England (cited in Hoque, 2011:78), this research aimed to remain, encourage, and promote "self-critical [and] sympathetic" action in research with "introspection and [..] self-conscious analytical scrutiny."

Finally, as discussed in Section 2.3 of this project, an initial challenge faced by researchers is disentangling homogenised interpretations of people forced to flee their homes. For example, despite asylum seeker and refugee status being neither a distinct nor collective identity—it is a temporary socio-political status—people with a refugee or asylum seeker background are often posited as an inherently vulnerable group, with shared experiences and prospective outcomes, simply due to their shared (temporary) status (Halilovich, 2013). Intersecting refugee/asylum status with gender, as Goodkind and Deacon (2004) highlight, creates an additional variable for homogenisation, an unconscious disregard for individualism. A further generalisation can be made concerning the sample size of researched participants. It is important to note that the relatively small sample size of 17 participants and 3 Support Workers involved in this study does not, necessarily, represent the majority experience of those seeking refuge in Cymru/Wales. It is, therefore, important

to question the viability of how this study prescribed (understood or misunderstood) meaning to the participants' stories and lives. Aware of the partiality of meaning-making in research, I ensured to develop, as far as possible, a methodological approach that welcomes transparency, consultancy, and challenge, rather than one that is definitive and assigned by the researcher.

9.2 Critical Reflections: Notes for Future Investigations

9.2.1 Future Research

Future investigation on Welsh sanctuary provisions is essential. The multidisciplinary approach adopted in this thesis and its connectivity with language, sanctuary, hostility, and security is an area of investigation that is developing. Nevertheless, my emphasis on raising the symbolic potential of the Welsh language to connect with sanctuary provisions seeks to contribute a new dimension to this discussion.

That said, although experiences of forced migration are expansive, and the approach adopted in this thesis is interdisciplinary, the stories collected and presented are orientated around two principal paradigms: language and identity. Further investigation is consequently required to build and expand upon these findings, particularly in relation to the symbolic potential of the Welsh language beyond the geographical regions explored in this thesis. Thus, to further promote accurate and representative data, future investigations should continue collecting data in both rural and urban regions in Cymru/Wales, including areas of higher and lower density linguistic significance. However, as noted in the methodology section of this thesis, my ability to speak Welsh and therefore, perhaps my perceived affinity to Welshness, may have affected the outcome of my engagement with the participants, including how they chose to discuss the Welsh language. While steps were taken to reduce the impact of my identity as a researcher, future investigations could benefit from engagement by both Welsh speaking and non-Welsh speaking researchers, affiliated and disconnected from the Welsh substate. Similarly, future research could compare Welsh sanctuary provisions with other minority language contexts, such as Scotland and Ireland. This method of analysis may further knowledge into the impact of the researcher.

As this thesis draws to a close, the securitisation framework feels far less relevant. At the point of beginning the PhD, the COVID-19 pandemic was underway, and hostile developments in immigration and asylum reached an all-time peak. However, this approach

has left little room to observe how the actions and reactions of hospitality counteract centralised hostile rhetoric. Critically, then, the securitisation lens fails to address the potential of hospitality at the interactional, organisational and even national level to contribute to sanctuary. Future investigations should, therefore, seek to balance the approach assumed in this thesis. A balanced approach will, not only enable future research to observe how hospitality supports sanctuary provisions in Cymru/Wales, but could be used as a lens through which to observe sanctuary in other spheres, such as at the city or even university level in different regions throughout the UK. The findings of such explorations could add depth to discussions of Welsh sanctuary, supporting researchers to observe to what extent national policy making counteracts multinational hostile rhetoric.

9.2.2 Limitations and Barriers

As outlined in Section 6.1.1 and 6.5, there were many limitations and barriers to participant recruitment. Guided by Research Ethics, I only sought to recruit and engage with participants involved directly with community-led, national, and/or international support providers (see Appendix 1). This approach aimed to support with participant safety and wellbeing, ensuring data collection occurred in an appropriate context known to the participants and in compliance with Covid-19 safety regulation, and university health and safety provisions (where required).

All participants involved in this study used sanctuary support services and were introduced to me by the support service. This approach to engaging with potential participants appears repeated throughout sanctuary-based research with women resettling in the Welsh context. For example, both Prowlee (2022) and Shobiye (2023) similarly engaged with participants via formal support services. Inevitably, this means that there is a potential (and additional) research lacuna in sanctuary experiences of in Cymru/Wales, since research, thus far, has been orientated around data collection with formal support provisions. Inevitably, then, women not affiliated with support services may have substantially different accounts of Welsh resettlement and sanctuary. Future investigations should therefore consider broadening the scope of participant recruitment, a sentiment further raised by Prowlee (2022).

An additional condition of Research Ethics was that participants needed substantive English language skills as consent and data collection occurred through the medium of English. This approach to research appears common in the Welsh context, with many researchers

engaging with sanctuary seekers through the medium of English (e.g. Prowlee, 2022; Parker, 2018). Thus, all participants who contributed to this research could speak English to varying degrees (translations of key documents were made available). This approach, without doubt, influenced the outcome of participant recruitment and inclusion, limiting the involvement of participants in the study to women who spoke English and who were also affiliated with support services. Although intended to ensure ethical and appropriate research practices, this approach prevented women currently learning English or unable to speak English from sharing their stories, and may have further influenced the stories the participant chose to share, not least their experiences of resettlement.

Conducting research with the participants monolingually is a limitation of my own research (and language) skills. However, my interest (and background) in linguistics led me to take up language learning before conducting the research. I informally studied Ukrainian, learning basic greetings and phrases of hospitality. I also formally studied an introductory Arabic course via a language learning institution. Although I already speak other languages (to varying degrees), I felt that being in the position of a (very) new speaker was imperative to the research process. It enabled me to remember the difficulty (and frustrations) of self-expression through a newer language, as well as feelings of embarrassment from mispronunciation compared with fluent, longer established speakers. Although not a requirement of the research process, assuming the position of a new learner enabled me to further empathise with the participants and facilitate them to share their stories in a comfortable and multilingual way (c.f. Cox & Phipps, 2022). Critically, though, since this thesis is orientated around the language-identity continuum, learning basic concepts and phrases to recognise the participants' language identities felt both relevant and appropriate. I utilised the basic language skills I acquired prior to researching, including words and phrases the participants taught me, throughout the research process. While this is, by no means, a multilingual approach in its entirety, it is a turn from monolingual conventions.

The importance of taking a multilingual approach to research became paramount in the final few months of this PhD. A perspective reinforced by Phipps (2019). Alongside conducting the thesis, I worked with and supported Masters and Undergraduate students from forced migratory backgrounds to conduct research projects into the ways people with experiences of forced displacement navigate Higher Education. Some of the student researchers conducted their projects through their first languages and explained how this approach enabled both the student researcher and participant to speak more freely and openly. This

role inevitably made me further reflect on the importance of multilingualism in research, particularly in forced migratory research. Future engagements with sanctuary seeking communities in Cymru/Wales should, therefore, seek to look beyond current monolingual, English language orientated research approaches towards a multilingual perspective; an approach I aim to continue developing.

Similarly, future engagement could broaden the investigative approach, looking beyond narrations of language and identity by sanctuary-seeking women. Many of the support workers, volunteers, and staff I met during research activities asked me why I chose to only include women in this study, with one Support Worker, in particular, highlighting that provisions to support men, as well as LGBTQI+ communities, are lacking compared with women's services. While none of the sanctuary-seeking participants queried resettlement provisions for LGBTQI+ communities, some raised that resettlement, including post-arrival support provisions, are catered for women, often resulting in men, in their view, being in extreme isolation and unable to participate in the host society. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to explore and analyse these claims. However, future investigations could substantiate the participants and Support Workers' remarks by taking a more inclusive approach by broadening participant recruitment.

9.2.3 Researcher Positionality and Forced Migration Research Industries

It is important to reiterate, as this thesis draws to a close, that I do not have personal experiences of forced migration. Instead, I share affiliations with the identity of the hosting context (Cymru/Wales). Tewolde (2020) points out that there are positives to host-nation researchers engaging with people forced to migrate, "such as detachment and minimal bias [and] […] empowerment of participants as they are treated as experts of the research topic". However, Tewolde further points out that there are also major disadvantages. These disadvantages, as Tewolde (2020) continues, relates to complexities "in securing access to participants, challenges in establishing rapport […], and failure to understand cultural/ethnic nuances in participants' stories and lived experiences". Thus, although flexibility and consultation were central to the research design and methodological approach (see Chapters 6), it feels imperative to recognise the limits of this research, and its implications on participants. Critically, the potential likelihood that a host-nation researcher is unable to fully understand the realities of being forced to migrate to a new, often unknown, place.

Throughout the data collection, I was acutely aware of how participating in the project may impact people. I was also conscious of my positioning as a researcher, and whether participants felt at ease to guide the research agenda, but also assert if they felt uncomfortable taking part. The significant changes that occurred in the data collection methods, due to participant consultation, indirectly implies that the women felt enough at ease to critique and alter how their stories were being shared. However, an awareness of the impact of the research, including my positionality as a researcher, remained a central (personal) concern. As Landau (2019:25) explained:

> "[P]ower imbalances are intrinsic to every social relation, including research partnerships. Despite the best intentions of those involved in the design and conduct of research partnerships, these asymmetries of power condition research partnerships in conscious and unconscious ways, with the danger that partnerships can reproduce the very unequal power relations they seek to reverse".

I am, therefore, very grateful to the participants who reflected during their Connection Circle activity that taking part in the research was making them think and consider their current circumstances, their home, and their futures very deeply. Although the participants were not criticising the research, their comments stayed with me throughout the research process, guiding and influencing my approach to interactions to ensure no harm was caused to the participants. This self-awareness remained during data analysis, leading me to consistently question, re-question, and consider my interpretations of the women's stories and data I chose to present.

However, I often felt uncomfortable being a researcher and frequently questioned whether I was the right person to be sharing and framing the women's stories. For example, as noted in the acknowledgments of this thesis, my hope is that the women's stories have been shared and framed in a just and cohesive way, without misinterpretation and misrepresentation. Many of the woman shared that they would read this thesis when it was published. I hope, if they do read this, that they feel comfortable with my presentation of their stories and feel able to critique me if I have not done them justice. I also hope that my approach to research, being influenced and centred around a consultative and consensual model, did no harm to the participants. While I am confident that this project adhered to Research Ethics, I suspect that the research may have caused participants to consider their circumstances deeply and critically.

I also regularly reflected on whether my research would have enough significant impact on the future of Welsh resettlement to warrant asking the participants to share their time and their stories. This became pertinent when one participant based in Gwynedd asked me whether my research will personally help her, in which I honestly answered, no. My personal concerns to ensure participant wellbeing during the research process, and my aim to accurately represent the women's stories, led me to literature on knowledge production about people forced to migrate. Engaging in this area of study made me further reflect on this thesis, and whether I should continue to academically engage in the field. This research, in particular, opened my eyes to the exploitation involved in some research endeavours, from the sub-contraction of research assistant labour (Sukarieh & Tannock, 2019) to the political economy of forced migration and border control (e.g Shivakoti & Milner, 2022). Morris' (2020) exploration of the growth of refugee industries, in particular, made me reflect on my formulation of this project, my approach to research, and the implication of potentially contributing to the growth of forced migration industries, rather than sanctuary provisions.

As Morris, for example, explained, the prominence of forced migration research industries has generated significant and globalised capital enterprises (Morris, 2020). For Morris, then, migration, especially people subjected to refugee categorisation, are at the epicentre of financial exploitation. As Morris writes:

> "European governments sought increased control over the demographic makeup and political structure of the new nation state (Dowty 1987). This included developing more organized bureaucracies to regulate access across borders and track new arrivals, while actively engaging in nation building projects. Governments feared anarchy within their borders and wanted to maintain the territorial balance of power. These interests coincided with a steady growth in organizations keen to carry out the practices of governing sovereign territory." (Morris, 2020: 2680)

In recent years, numerous opportunities to capitalise on the experiences of people forced to migrate have been documented, from "specialised transportation and labour immigration companies, multinational companies managing detention centres or establishing border security, to organised criminal networks profiting from human smuggling and trafficking",

not to mention knowledge production in academia. In essence, forced migration is commercialising (Gammeltoft-Hansen & Sorensen, 2013). The financial growth sector of forced migration has thus led to the exponential expansion of industries invested in researching people forced to migrate.

Although I am confident that this thesis makes important contributions to Welsh sanctuary provisions, and addresses a significant dearth in engagement, I am still reflecting on the role of the researcher, my rationale for conducting this study, and the responsibility this entails.

9.3 Final Reflection

Given the discussions above about refugee research industries, it feels pertinent to end this thesis with a reflection on what I hope will come from conducting this project, and perhaps then, what research I aim to pursue next. As writing this PhD progressed and drew to a close, I often thought about what would make Cymru/Wales a Nation of Sanctuary and given historical and contemporary injustices in immigration and asylum systems and governance, what was owed to future generations of people seeking sanctuary to repair this fractured and hostile reality. In fact, as this thesis has made clear, approaches to immigration and asylum, past and present, have powerful forces of social reproduction. Ghazoul's (2022) thoughts and explorations resonate with this. As Ghazoul aptly summarises:

> "[…] I made a kind of plea, I think I was dreaming a little. I said that when the Welsh independent movement struggled alongside other anti-colonial and anti-racist movements, when the yearning in Wales to dismantle white supremacy was as strong as the yearning to free ourselves from English supremacy, when we championed multiple liberation strugglers as our own and drove all emancipatory aspiration into one – when we did this, we'd be moving in the direction of something, we might be getting somewhere. We'd still be small, yes, but formed perfectly as some kind of forced to be reckoned with."

The 'temporal politics' of this thesis, then, is that if injustices in supranational and multinational histories and approaches to immigration and asylum are not addressed, they will continue to govern (and hinder) future approaches to Welsh resettlement. This reality not only impacts Welsh institutional governance and frameworks but leads to the production and reproduction of these views and actions in everyday interactions. This reality has been further addressed by the Welsh Government, who note that:

> "The successful integration of refugees and asylum seekers will require concerted effort on the part of the Welsh Government, Welsh public services and Welsh communities."

It feels pertinent, given recent developments in Welsh constitutional reform, to end this thesis with one of the participant's remarks about resettlement and life in Cymru/Wales. It, critically, reaffirms to the reader that alternative narratives and restorative futures are possible. In her words, the participant shares:

"day by day, month by month, everything is getting better."

Appendix

Appendix 1: Ethical Approval

This is an automated confirmation email for the following project. The Ethics Assessment status of this project is: APPROVED

Applicant Name: Sarah Tierney
Project Title: Refugee Women and Welshness: Exploring identity, language ideology and experience pre during and post the Covid-19 Pandemic in Wales
Project Start Date: October 2020
Project Duration: 3 years (PhD programme)
Approval No: SU-Ethics-Student-230921/4231

NOTE: This notice of ethical approval does not cover aspects relating to Health and Safety. Please complete any relevant risk assessments prior to commencing with your project.

Neges awtomataidd yw hon ar gyfer y prosiect canlynol. Statws Asesiad Moeseg y prosiect hwn yw: APPROVED

Enw'r Ymgeisydd: Sarah Tierney
Teitl y Prosiect: Refugee Women and Welshness: Exploring identity, language ideology and experience pre during and post the Covid-19 Pandemic in Wales
Dyddiad Dechrau'r Prosiect: October 2020
Hyd y Prosiect: 3 years (PhD programme)
Rhif y Gymeradwyaeth: SU-Ethics-Student-230921/4231

SYLWER: Nid yw'r hysbysiad hwn o gymeradwyaeth foesegol yn cynnwys agweddau sy'n ymwneud ag Iechyd a Diogelwch. Dylech gwblhau unrhyw asesiadau risg perthnasol cyn dechrau eich prosiect.

Appendix 2: Participant Information Sheet

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET
(Version 1.1, Date: xx/xx/20xx)

Please read the information in this document carefully and take time to make your decision. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me.

Project Title:

Refugee Women and Welshness: Exploring identity, language ideology and experience pre during and post the Covid-19 Pandemic in Wales

Contact Details:

Sarah Tierney – [redacted]

My name is Sarah Tierney and I am in the second year of a three-year PhD programme in the Department of Welsh at Swansea University. The title of my PhD is *Refugee Women and Welshness: Exploring identity, language ideology and experience pre during and post the Covid-19 Pandemic in Wales.*

Purpose of the research:

The purpose of this PhD is to research both with women from refugee and asylum backgrounds, and longer-established Welsh communities, to compare opinions about Wales, refugee and asylum seeker resettlement, and experiences throughout the Covid-19 Pandemic.
This research will examine the following with women from a refugee and asylum-seeking background:

1. How, and in what ways, do the women identify and connect to Wales
2. What are the women's ideologies about Wales and resettling in Wales

3. How do the women perceive the Welsh language
4. What are/were their experiences of living in Wales during the Covid-19 Pandemic

I will then explore the opinions of longer-established communities in Wales. For example, people who have lived in Wales for at least one generation; people who are Welsh speaking; or people who self-identify as Welsh. I will investigate the following with these communities:

1. How, and in what ways, do they identify and connect to Wales
2. What are their opinions of refugee resettlement in Wales
3. How do they perceive the Welsh language
4. What are/were their experiences of living in Wales during the Covid-19 Pandemic

Once the data has been collected from both communities, I will then compare the findings and outline possible similarities and difference in experience and opinions.

Why have you been chosen for this study?

You have been chosen to take part in this research as you have expressed interest in this project. It is important that you voluntarily join this project as a participant. This means that you are under no obligation to join this research unless you would like to take-part.

You can withdraw from this study at any point and you do not need to provide me with any reason for this. If you decide to withdraw from the study, your data will be deleted upon your request and in line with GDPR regulation. This means that your data will not be used for the study.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you take part in this study, you will be asked to take part in three phases. These will take place either in-person or online, depending on the Covid-19 restrictions and whether you feel comfortable meeting in-person.

1. The first phase involves me interviewing you in a focus group (a small group of your peers). This will take between 30 minutes to 1.5 hours.

1. The second phase involves me providing you with key words and a camera. You will then be asked to take photos of objects/places in your local area which best represent these key words for you and what your experiences were/are during Covid-19. I will then work with you on a 1-2-1 basis to collate these images and create a short video (3-5 minutes).

2. Finally, you will be asked to complete a short survey and will then be interviewed by me on a 1-2-1 basis.

As all these phases are led by you, the time that these will take will vary depending on how much time you are able to allocate. However, I predict that the interviews will take between 30 minutes to 1.5 hours.

What are the possible disadvantages of taking part?

Please be assured that there are no identified disadvantages of joining this study. This study will only take up some of your time.

I will be consulting with you throughout the research to ensure you are comfortable with each phase and what is being asked of you. This will ensure that you can ask any questions and can keep me up to date with your time commitments.

If you identify any disadvantages throughout this research, please let me know. This will allow me to ensure this disadvantage is minimised as far as is possible.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

By taking part in this study, you are providing invaluable data to help me to identify where policy and planning are successful for supporting refugee and asylum-seeking women during their resettlement in Wales. Your contribution will help me to identify what areas of support need to be improved.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

Please be assured that any data I collect about you (interviewees, questionnaires, videos and recordings) will be completely anonymized. The data will also be safely stored in line with GDPR regulation in an encrypted and password protected Swansea University One Drive. This means that none of this data will reveal who you are and will protect your identity. You can read more about GDPR regulation, including your right to access, amend and delete your data via Swansea University's Data Protection webpage (here: https://www.swansea.ac.uk/about-us/compliance/data-protection/your-rights/).

Once the study has been concluded, all information that will be made available to people in my PhD (interview transcripts, questionnaire results and your short self-made videos) will be anonymized and will not include any information which reveals your identity.

What if I have any questions?

You are welcome and encouraged to contact me if you have any questions or concerns about this project, or the information outlined in this document [redacted]).

You are also welcomed to contact my supervisor at Swansea University, who will be happy to answer any additional questions you might have.

My Supervisor's details are:
Dr Gwennan Higham
Department of Welsh
[redacted]
Swansea
SA28PP

[redacted]
[redacted]

If you wish to raise a query or complaint about how this research is being conducted and consented, you are encouraged to contact the Swansea University Research Integrity Department:

researchintegrity@swansea.ac.uk

Thanking you very much for your interest in this research and your participation.

Kind regards,
Sarah Tierney

Appendix 3: Participant Consent Form

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM
(Version 1.1, Date: / /2022)

Project Title:

Refugee Women and Welshness: Exploring identity, language ideology and experience pre during and post the Covid-19 Pandemic in Wales

Contact Details:
Sarah Tierney – [redacted]

Please initial box

1. confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet dated ...../...../..... (version number .....) for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions. ☐

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason. ☐

3. I understand that sections of any of data obtained may be looked at by responsible individuals from Swansea University or from regulatory authorities where it is relevant to my taking part in research. I give permission for these individuals to have access to these records. ☐

4. I agree to take part in the above study.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Date	Signature
_____	_____	_____
Name of Person taking consent	Date	Signature
_____	_____	_____
Researcher	Date	Signature

Personal data collected on this form will be processed in line with the General Data Protection Regulation 2016 and the Data Protection Act 2018. Further information about how your data is managed is available on the University Research Privacy Notice.

https://www.swansea.ac.uk/about-us/compliance/data-protection/research-privacy-notice/

Appendix 4: Overview of Collected Data

Participant	Site	Formal Data Collected
	Casnewydd/Newport	• Audio Recorded Focus Group (Duration:00:31:59) • Connection Circle (2 x 1-hour sessions) • Captioned Photography (3 Photographs with explanatory sentence/paragraph)
	Casnewydd/Newport	• Audio Recorded Focus Group (Duration:00:31:59) • Connection Circle (2 x 1-hour sessions) • Captioned Photography (4 Photographs with explanatory sentence/paragraph)
	Casnewydd/Newport	• Audio Recorded Focus Group (Duration: 00:31:59) • Connection Circle (2 x 1-hour sessions)
	Casnewydd/Newport	• Audio Recorded Focus Group (Duration: 00:31:59) • Connection Circle (2 x 1-hour sessions

	Casnewydd/Newport	• Audio Recorded Focus Group (Duration:00:31:59) • Connection Circle (2 x 1-hour sessions) • Captioned Photography (5 Photographs with explanatory sentence/paragraph)
	Casnewydd/Newport	• Audio Recorded Focus Group (Duration:00:31:59) • Connection Circle (2 x 1-hour sessions) • Captioned Photography (15 Photographs with explanatory sentence/paragraph)
	Casnewydd/Newport	• Audio Recorded Focus Group (Duration:00:31:59) • Connection Circle (2 x 1-hour sessions) • Captioned Photography (10 Photographs with explanatory sentence/paragraph)
	Wrecsam/Wrexham	• Audio Recorded Connection Circle and Interview (Duration: 01:40:45)

	Wrecsam/Wrexham	• Unrecorded Connection Circle
	Gwynedd	• Unrecorded Connection Circle
	Gwynedd	• Unrecorded Connection Circle and Joined Interview (note form)
	Gwynedd	• Unrecorded Connection Circle and Joined Interview (note form) • Captioned Photography (5 Photographs with explanatory sentence/paragraph)
	Gwynedd	• Audio Recorded Connection Circle and Interview (00:54:06)

	Gwynedd	• Unrecorded Connection Circle
	Gwynedd	• Unrecorded Connection Circle and Interview (note form)
	Gwynedd	• Unrecorded Connection Circle
	Gwynedd	• Unrecorded Connection Circle

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