

RECOGNISED AS PERSECUTED BUT DENIED ASYLUM

How the UK's asylum policy is betraying its
women, peace and security commitments

March 2026



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INTRODUCTION

On 31 October 2000, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) ('UNSCR 1325') Women, Peace and Security ('WPS') was unanimously adopted. The UK is the 'penholder' (the country responsible for leading negotiations and drafting resolutions) at the Security Council on this agenda. As ministers emphasised in December 2025, this requires leadership from the UK in pursuing and promoting that agenda globally.¹

Among the core concerns of the WPS agenda are preventing violence against women and girls, promoting gender equality and justice, and protecting the human rights of women and girls, as well as their participation in political and peace processes.² To these ends, UNSCR 1325 expressly recognises the importance of the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees ('the Refugee Convention') and states' obligations under it.³ That the UK should fulfil those obligations concerns not only the immediate safety and security of women and girls, including from conflict-related sexual violence and other harms. It concerns the UK's capacity to provide meaningful global leadership.

This briefing draws attention to ways in which the UK is not fulfilling its Refugee Convention obligations or its WPS commitments, including in ways that specifically or disproportionately concern and directly harm women and girls. Worse, its developing asylum policy is set to worsen this failure.⁴ Among other things, this is a betrayal of the UK's commitment to WPS.

The fifth UK National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security emphasises the UK's commitments to supporting the needs of women and girls in crises, including those who are refugees or internally displaced.⁵ It also explicitly acknowledges the importance of integrating the WPS agenda into domestic policies. This includes recognising the gendered impacts of transnational issues such as migration and the need for coherent cross-government approaches.

This briefing focuses on five aspects of this failure of asylum policy, explaining how they each undermine the UK's commitment to WPS (as explicitly recognised in its WPS National Action Plan). There is some overlap between these aspects. A short conclusion then follows, drawing these discrete concerns together.

Our recommendations for the UK government

To ensure its WPS agenda and stated commitments to the rights of women and girls are not undermined by its asylum policy, the UK government should:

- Reinstate the suspended immigration rules for refugee family reunion on the same basis as prior to the suspension.
- Repeal provisions of the Nationality and Borders Act 2022 relating to asylum decision-making.
- Abandon proposals to increase the marginalisation and exclusion of people granted asylum in the UK by halving the period for which asylum is granted, quadrupling the period of lawful residence required before an application to settle is permitted, and reducing the protection in the UK offered by a grant of asylum by further restrictions on access to public funds and new barriers to refugee family reunion.

Among the core concerns of the WPS agenda are preventing violence against women and girls, promoting gender equality and justice, and protecting the human rights of women and girls

- Work with other governments to create and expand safe routes for refugee women and girls to seek and receive asylum, including in the UK and from regions of conflict and countries of transit.

OVERARCHING ASYLUM POLICY

Before considering distinct aspects of the UK's asylum system, it is necessary to consider the overarching policy. For several years this has been dominated by express aims of deterrence and prevention – to prevent people seeking asylum in the UK and deter them from attempting to do so.⁶ Although this is presented as a crackdown on dangerous journeys and irregular migration, there is generally no distinction between preventing these journeys, stopping the people who make them and blocking the purpose (seeking asylum) for which people make them. This is because there is no alternative means for these people to seek asylum; asylum may only be sought by those on UK territory.⁷

It is clear that a high proportion of people seeking asylum in the UK are entitled to it (ie are refugees⁸), so an aim of deterring people from travelling to the UK to claim asylum, without providing safe alternative routes, cannot be distinguished from an aim of restricting the number of refugees in this country.

As well as the refugees who, but for the policy, would seek and receive asylum in the UK, it also has wider impacts.

- The family of refugees, including their partners and children, are affected too. A policy preventing refugees from receiving asylum prevents them from sponsoring family members to join them under any scheme for refugee family reunion. It also prevents refugees from securing safe employment by which they may earn income to support family members, who may themselves be refugees or otherwise living in situations that are insecure, deprived and vulnerable to exploitation.
- The global population of refugees is also affected. When one nation fails or refuses to share asylum responsibilities, it encourages others to do likewise. This impact can be seen in the discussion and development of policy across the EU, the UK's nearest neighbours. There is a growing focus on reducing asylum responsibilities, even though the need for asylum is increasing and capacity and will elsewhere are weakening (especially in places that have long taken far greater responsibility).

The overall impact of this for women and girls is dire, especially for Afghan, Eritrean, Iranian, Palestinian, Syrian and Sudanese women and girls, whose home nations are among those most severely affected by conflict and repression at present, much of which escalating.⁹

Over recent months, the government has begun to introduce a further dimension to its asylum policy. It involves incorporating a limited aim of selection – ie that people are to be selected for asylum in the UK according to criteria and purposes set by the home secretary rather than strictly according to the specific criteria and purposes of the Refugee Convention. The government will therefore seek to make socio-economic gain to the UK a basis for its provision of asylum.¹⁰

The policy aim of deterring people from travelling to the UK to claim asylum cannot be distinguished from the aim of restricting the number of refugees in this country

This compounds the impact on women and girls, especially as concerning the WPS agenda. Socio-economic potential for the UK – particularly as measured according to immigration policy – is not a metric that equates to vulnerability to persecution or other harms. Moreover, it is a metric favouring men, reflecting existing global inequalities in education, employment and mobility. Conditioning protection on such criteria would therefore disproportionately disadvantage women and girls, who are more likely to have experienced interrupted education, unpaid caregiving burdens and structural exclusion.

Worse, making provision of asylum in the UK dependent on this metric provides incentive for others to follow suit, thereby worsening the already dire global circumstances facing refugees – especially those most affected by widespread socio-economic and educational disadvantages, from which women and girls disproportionately suffer and which the WPS agenda ought to be concerned to reduce.

The following sections of this briefing address discrete aspects of the UK's asylum system, explaining both the impact on women and girls and the relation of each aspect to the overarching policy.

REFUSING ASYLUM

Refusing asylum to refugees in the UK is one way in which the aim of deterrence is pursued. Since taking office on 5 July 2024, the present government has implemented provisions of the Nationality and Borders Act 2022 ('NABA 2022') to restrict the capacity of the UK's asylum system to recognise refugee status. Grant rates in asylum decision-making have accordingly plummeted – most acutely for Afghans, but for refugees of other nationality too.

In attempting to explain this sharp decline in recognition rates of Afghans, the government points to previous times when the grant rate was closer to what it is now, as opposed to more recent years. However, the earlier period predates the return of the Taliban to full control of the country, making the comparison inherently unreliable. Indeed, Afghans are more likely to be refused asylum in the UK now than they were before the Taliban returned to power: the grant rate on Afghan asylum claims has fallen from 96 per cent to 34 per cent over the time that this government has been in office. The grant rate for years before the Taliban returned to power ranged between 45 per cent and 62 per cent. Women and girls are among those being refused asylum. In 2025, 370 Afghan women and girls were refused asylum.¹¹ Even Afghan women human rights defenders have reported being refused asylum in the UK,¹² despite the UK's commitment in its WPS National Action Plan to support and champion women human rights defenders as a priority, and its recognition that they 'face specific forms of gendered violence because of their work and because they go against what is considered an 'acceptable' role for women in society'.¹³

There are three aspects to the immediate impact on women and girls. Firstly, the asylum claims of refugee women and girls in the UK are being refused in circumstances where they should have been granted (and would have been granted but for the impact of the NABA 2022). Secondly, women and girls

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Grant rate on Afghan asylum claims

Under the current UK government, fell from:

96%
to **34%**

Grant rate on Afghan asylum claims

Before the Taliban returned to power it was:

45%
to **62%**

in the UK are being refused asylum as dependents on the asylum claims of their husbands or fathers. Thirdly, women and girls outside the UK have been made ineligible for any consideration of refugee family reunion because their husbands or parents have been refused asylum.

PERSECUTION FACED BY WOMEN AND GIRLS IN AFGHANISTAN AND IRAN

Due to the severe restrictions Afghan women and girls face as a result of Taliban policies, Amnesty International has found they 'are the victims of a crime against humanity of gender persecution... This is a war against women – banned from public life; prevented from accessing education; prohibited from working; barred from moving freely'.¹⁴

Amnesty International has also reported that women in Iran are subject to persecution and a 'suffocating system of repression'.¹⁵

This persecution faced by women and girls in Afghanistan and Iran is recognised by the UK government, which has stated: 'Over a hundred edicts have systematically eroded the rights of Afghan women and girls'¹⁶ and that Afghan women and girls are subject to 'systematic Taliban oppression'.¹⁷ Similarly, the UK government recognises Iranian women 'continue to endure severe repression in their daily lives'.¹⁸

Under international law, a person who is at real risk of persecution in their country of nationality (or habitual residence if they are stateless) is a refugee and entitled to asylum. However, women and girls are now being refused asylum in the UK in substantial numbers even though they come from countries in which the UK accepts gender-based persecution is routine. This clearly demonstrates that the UK's asylum policy is not working as it should.

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MAKING ASYLUM INSECURE

Making asylum insecure for refugees who are still recognised in the UK asylum system is a further way in which the aim of deterrence is pursued. The government has announced proposals to halve the time the UK's asylum system will permit anyone recognised to be a refugee to remain in the UK before they must renew their application to stay.

Currently, refugees are granted permission to stay for five years. It is now proposed to grant 30 months leave to remain.¹⁹ This will provide significantly less certainty for refugees and anyone who might consider investing in them, such as a prospective employer or educational institution. Access to public funds will also be restricted.²⁰ As a result, the increased difficulties refugees face in recovering from trauma, attaining a feeling of security, finding employment and integrating well are to be compounded by a reduction in support.

'Even after escaping conflict, women continue to live in fear of what comes next, whether they will be allowed to stay, whether their families will be reunited, whether they can build a future. Prolonged uncertainty makes it harder to integrate, to pursue education or employment, to invest in community life and to raise children with stability. Increasing insecurity even after refugee women are granted asylum and prolonging that over years and decades is more than mere policy change. Its human impact will be dreadful.'

Maryam Rahmani, an Afghan woman who came to the UK in 2022 under a now-closed resettlement scheme

These proposals are likely to disproportionately affect refugee women and girls. This is partly because refugee women in the UK are significantly more likely to be dependent on men than the other way around,²¹ a reflection of increased socio-economic disadvantages in their home countries. It is also because these same disadvantages are liable to hinder refugee women who seek and receive asylum in their own right.

BLOCKING INTEGRATION AND NATURALISATION

Blocking integration and naturalisation is a further aspect of making asylum insecure as a form of deterrence. Not only is asylum given to refugees in the UK to be made more insecure by halving the period for which it is granted. The government also proposes to quadruple the ordinary period before which a refugee may be permitted to apply to settle from five years to 20 years.²² A refugee subjected to this would be making their ninth application to stay in the UK before being considered for a grant of settlement, and having to do so after more than two decades of life here. How many more years beyond 20 will depend on how long someone spends in the asylum system after their arrival in the UK before their refugee status is recognised.

The government additionally proposes a scheme of rewards and penalties for either shortening or lengthening the 20-year period.²³ For refugees, the key to shortening this period is to secure improved socio-economic status through work that is treated as skilled and/or relatively well paid.²⁴

The 20-year period, and a scheme of rewards and penalties that favours socio-economic advantage, is likely to compound the disproportionate impact on women of other proposals to make asylum insecure. The integration and social participation of many refugee women and girls are already hindered. This will be made far worse by prolonging the impact of those other proposals, and for such a lengthy period.

A scheme of rewards and penalties that favours socio-economic advantage, is likely to compound the disproportionate impact on women of other proposals to make asylum insecure

BLOCKING REFUGEE FAMILY REUNION

Blocking refugee family reunion is both a means to pursue the aim of prevention and a way by which asylum is made insecure for refugees in the UK as a form of deterrence. The government has already withdrawn the refugee family reunion scheme.²⁵ Its proposals on asylum indicate that this is to become permanent.²⁶

The government says this is to put refugees on a par with British citizens,²⁷ which is to make a comparison of apples and oranges. British citizens in the UK have not suffered the trauma and alienation of forced separation from their home, family, community and country by the fear or experience of persecution, and do not share the barriers to integration in the UK that subsequently arise. Nor have they experienced the asylum system or the deprivations and harms that many refugees endure before they can reach the UK and enter that system.

In any event, women and girls are disproportionately the beneficiaries of refugee family reunion visas.²⁸ Refugee family reunion has long been a critical route for many women and girls to find safety.²⁹ Closing this safe route and making family reunion dependent on their husbands or fathers securing relatively highly paid work will leave these women and girls with a choice between permanent separation or attempting their own dangerous journey to be reunited. Either option is liable to prolong or even increase their exposure to insecurity, deprivation and vulnerability to exploitation.

Restrictions on refugee family reunion must be assessed through a WPS lens. Displacement from regions of conflict is often gendered.³⁰ Generally, it is men who undertake lengthy journeys to seek asylum away from these regions. Women and girls often remain in insecure settings due to factors such as caregiving responsibilities, the risks of travelling,³¹ and restrictive social and cultural norms all of which influence decisions about how to invest limited resources or incur significant debt in seeking long-term stability and opportunity. Blocking or delaying family reunion can therefore prolong women and girls' exposure to violence and exploitation, and may compel them to follow on further unsafe journeys controlled by smugglers. A gender-responsive asylum system – consistent with WPS and international commitments – should recognise that family unity is frequently central to protection, recovery, and long-term stability for those fleeing conflict, for both women and men.³²

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UK-FRANCE DEAL

The UK-France deal was introduced in August 2025.³³ It is intended to serve the aims of deterrence and prevention. Under this deal, anyone who seeks asylum in the UK by crossing the Channel from France by small boat (unless they are accepted to be a child) is at risk of being returned to France (if the French authorities will accept the person back) in exchange for someone else.³⁴ This deal is presented as if providing a safe route for refugees in France to seek asylum in the UK.³⁵ But it is vitally important to note:

- Firstly, nobody can come to the UK under these arrangements unless they are to be swapped with someone who has made the dangerous crossing. Insofar as the deal creates a safe route, it makes that dependent on others attempting and completing an unsafe journey.³⁶
- Secondly, selection to be swapped into the UK is random.³⁷ For anyone hoping to claim asylum in the UK – for example, to be reunited with family or for some other powerful reason of connection to the UK – it is impossible to predict whether that hope will be satisfied, how long may pass or how the individual's circumstances may change during this period before any decision will be made.

The structure of this deal is antithetical to any real provision of a safe route and offers no reliable alternative for any refugee. Therefore it offers no real succour to women and girls, whose circumstances on journeys seeking asylum are marked by substantial insecurity, deprivation and vulnerability to exploitation.

CONCLUSION

The WPS agenda cannot be confined to the UK's external engagement. The UK's credibility depends on coherence between its international commitments and domestic practice. Women and girls fleeing conflict are often displaced as a direct consequence of gendered harms, including conflict-related sexual violence, persecution, trafficking and the collapse of essential services. A gender-responsive asylum and migration framework is integral to WPS implementation. As a Security Council penholder, the UK has a particular responsibility to demonstrate that its domestic asylum policies reflect the principles it advances globally.

At a time of rising conflict and displacement – as the prime minister himself has emphasised³⁸ – ensuring that the UK's asylum system meaningfully responds to the lived realities of women and girls from conflict-affected contexts is essential to the integrity and effectiveness of the agenda itself.

'Acknowledging the UK's consistent backing of Afghan women and girls through diverse interventions for more than two decades, as a result of UK NAP 1325 implementation in conflict affected countries, much more is expected from the UK in terms of providing protection for Afghan women and girls here in the UK. Making it ever harder to find protection and stability leaves them struggling for the way they want to live. This is not just a quote, it is a lived experience.'

Hasina Safi, former minister of women's affairs in Afghanistan, who came to the UK in 2021 under Operation Pitting

As a Security Council penholder on WPS, the UK has a particular responsibility to demonstrate that its domestic asylum policies reflect the WPS principles it advances globally

For the reasons outlined in this briefing, the government's asylum policy is a betrayal of the WPS agenda and the leadership role the UK has formally undertaken. That policy pursues and effectively promotes a dangerous disregard for the security and wellbeing of the women and girls most heavily affected by the conflict and instability with which the WPS agenda is concerned.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Oral Evidence on Women, Peace and Security to the International Development Committee, 16 December 2025, HC 782, <https://committees.parliament.uk/oralevidence/16934/pdf/>
- 2 These core concerns run through the entirety of UNSCR 1325 (2000), [https://docs.un.org/en/S/RES/1325\(2000\)](https://docs.un.org/en/S/RES/1325(2000))
- 3 UNSCR 1325 (2000), paragraph 9, [https://docs.un.org/en/S/RES/1325\(2000\)](https://docs.un.org/en/S/RES/1325(2000))
- 4 That developing policy is confirmed by the Home Secretary's Written Statement of 2 March 2026 (*Hansard* HC, 2 March 2026 : Cols 49-51WS, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2026-03-02/debates/2603026000012/AsylumChanges>) and most fully elaborated in *Restoring Order and Control: A statement on the government's asylum and returns policy*, CP 1418, November 2025, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/asylum-and-returns-policy-statement>
- 5 UK women, peace and security national action plan 2023 to 2027, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/uk-women-peace-and-security-national-action-plan-2023-to-2027/uk-women-peace-and-security-national-action-plan-2023-to-2027>
- 6 This aim is, for example, expressly written into the UK-France Agreement, France No. 2, July 2025, that title of which states it to be on 'Prevention of Dangerous Journeys', https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/68909bb2486754ec288783c2/CS_France_2.2025_Dangerous_Journeys_Agreement.pdf
- 7 Nationality and Borders Act 2022, section 14 (although this has been Home Office policy for years before the passing of that provision).
- 8 Final outcomes concerning asylum claims made in years dating back to 2007 identify the range of annual grant rates as between 50 per cent and 80 per cent save for the years 2023 and 2024, which particularly concern decision-making under the present government (since the previous government had adopted a blanket policy of refusing to decide claims made in these years).
- 9 The prime minister and home secretary have each acknowledged the worsening global situation in, for example, their respective Preambles to *Restoring Order and Control: A statement on the government's asylum and returns policy*, CP 1418, November 2025, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/asylum-and-returns-policy-statement>
- 10 *Restoring Order and Control: A statement on the government's asylum and returns policy*, CP 1418, November 2025, p29 sets out proposals for new safe routes, which are limited to a community sponsorship scheme and capped routes for 'talented' student refugees and 'skilled' refugee workers, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/asylum-and-returns-policy-statement>
- 11 Immigration system statistics quarterly release, <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/immigration-statistics-quarterly-release>
- 12 <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2025/apr/05/afghan-rights-defender-told-she-faces-no-risk-from-taliban-as-home-office-denies-asylum>
- 13 <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/uk-women-peace-and-security-national-action-plan-2023-to-2027/uk-women-peace-and-security-national-action-plan-2023-to-2027>
- 14 Afghanistan: Taliban's treatment of women and girls is crime against humanity, <https://www.amnesty.org.uk/latest/afghanistan-talibans-treatment-women-and-girls-crime-against-humanity-major-new/#:-:text=The%20report%20covers%20the%20period,%E2%80%9CThese%20are%20international%20crimes>
- 15 Iran: New compulsory veiling law intensifies oppression of women and girls, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2024/12/iran-new-compulsory-veiling-law-intensifies-oppression-of-women-and-girls/>
- 16 The UK unequivocally condemns the appalling erosion of women and girls' rights in Afghanistan: UK statement at the UN Security Council, <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/the-uk-unequivocally-condemns-the-appalling-erosion-of-women-and-girls-rights-in-afghanistan-uk-statement-at-the-un-security-council>
- 17 Afghanistan: Statement made on 17 June 2025, <https://questions-statements.parliament.uk/written-statements/detail/2025-06-17/hlws705>
- 18 Foreign Secretary statement on Iran: *Hansard* HC, 14 January 2026: Cols 788ff, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2026-01-13/debates/94D92574-B962-41F2-BD4C-B290EC113BC7/Iran>

- 19 Home secretary's Written Statement of 2 March 2026 (Hansard HC, 2 March 2026: Cols 50WS), <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2026-03-02/debates/2603026000012/AsylumChanges>, and *Restoring Order and Control: A statement on the government's asylum and returns policy*, CP 1418, November 2025, p13, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/asylum-and-returns-policy-statement>
- 20 *Restoring Order and Control: A statement on the government's asylum and returns policy*, CP 1418, November 2025, p14, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/asylum-and-returns-policy-statement>
- 21 Asylum claims and decisions detailed data sets, Asy_D01: Asylum Claims, <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/69958f76b33a4db7ff889d43/asylum-claims-datasets-dec-2025.xlsx> clearly establishes the disproportionate representation of women and children among dependents. This data shows that in 2025, 4,468 women, 5,987 girls, 6,454 boys, and 1,573 men were dependents on an asylum claim. In that year, 17,695 main applicants were female and 64,432 main applicants were male.
- 22 Home secretary's written statement of 2 March 2026 (Hansard HC, 2 March 2026 : Cols 50WS, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2026-03-02/debates/2603026000012/AsylumChanges>) and *Restoring Order and Control: A statement on the government's asylum and returns policy*, CP 1418, November 2025, p13, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/asylum-and-returns-policy-statement>
- 23 It is unclear how the rewards and penalties set out in *A Fairer Pathway to Settlement: statement and accompanying consultation on earned settlement*, <https://www.gov.uk/government/consultations/earned-settlement> CP 1448, November 2025 are to apply to refugees.
- 24 Home secretary's written statement of 2 March 2026 (Hansard HC, 2 March 2026 : Cols 50WS, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2026-03-02/debates/2603026000012/AsylumChanges>) and *Restoring Order and Control: A statement on the government's asylum and returns policy*, CP 1418, November 2025, pp13-14, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/asylum-and-returns-policy-statement>
- 25 Statement of Changes to Immigration Rules, HC 1298, September 2025, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/statement-of-changes-to-the-immigration-rules-hc-1298-4-september-2025>
- 26 Home secretary's written statement of 2 March 2026 (Hansard HC, 2 March 2026: Cols 50WS, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2026-03-02/debates/2603026000012/AsylumChanges>) and *Restoring Order and Control: A statement on the government's asylum and returns policy*, CP 1418, November 2025, p14, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/asylum-and-returns-policy-statement>
- 27 Home secretary's written statement of 2 March 2026 (Hansard HC, 2 March 2026 : Cols 50WS, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2026-03-02/debates/2603026000012/AsylumChanges>) and *Restoring Order and Control: A statement on the government's asylum and returns policy*, CP 1418, November 2025, p14, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/asylum-and-returns-policy-statement>
- 28 The Migration Observatory identifies that between 2010 and 2024 women and girls made up 92 per cent of people granted a refugee family reunion visa: *Migration and gender in the UK*, 17 October 2025, <https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/reports/migration-and-gender-in-the-uk/>
- 29 *Ibid.*
- 30 See eg, <https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/Headquarters/Attachments/Sections/Library/Publications/2018/Discussion-paper-Disrupted-families-en.pdf> concerning Syrian refugees
- 31 For example the UN Refugee Agency has estimated that '90% of women and girls moving along the Mediterranean route are raped', <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/news/briefing-notes/unhcr-warns-devastating-spike-risk-gender-based-violence-women-and-girls-forced>
- 32 For example see <https://www.helenbamber.org/resources/research/family-against-odds-psychological-impact-family-separation-refugee-men-living>
- 33 Agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of the French Republic on the Prevention of Dangerous Journeys, July 2025, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/68909bb2486754ec288783c2/CS_France_2.2025_Dangerous_Journeys_Agreement.pdf
- 34 Article 1, *ibid.*
- 35 For example, the then home secretary, the Rt Hon Yvette Cooper, did not demur from the explicit suggestion put to her that this established a safe route in answering a question in the House immediately before the finalisation of the Agreement: Hansard HC, 14 July 2025: Col 59, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2025-07-14/debates/FB7A58F9-C363-47BE-A26C-CFABBF2BC69B/UK-FranceMigrationCo-Operation#contribution-D0AEA468-3449-4DB3-A407-BC469573E2BE>
- 36 Article 1.3, Agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of the French Republic on the Prevention of Dangerous Journeys, July 2025, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/68909bb2486754ec288783c2/CS_France_2.2025_Dangerous_Journeys_Agreement.pdf
- 37 UK/European Applicant Transfer Scheme, Version 1.0, August 2025, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/uk-european-applicant-transfer-scheme-caseworker-guidance>
- 38 Prime minister's foreword to *Restoring Order and Control: A statement on the government's asylum and returns policy*, CP 1418, November 2025, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/asylum-and-returns-policy-statement>

parliament@amnesty.org.uk
info@gaps-uk.org

