



Campaigning TOOLKIT

An aid to understanding
the asylum and immigration
systems in the UK, and
to campaigning for the
right to stay

National Coalition of Anti-Deportation Campaigns (NCADC)

supports community-led campaigns for justice in the asylum and immigration system, with a focus on supporting people facing deportation. We provide support and advice for people facing deportation (enforced removal), their families and their communities; and aim to develop the capacity of local campaign groups and refugee/migrant organisations to campaign effectively.

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Rights of Women have kindly allowed us to reproduce extracts of their excellent handbook on making an asylum application, *Seeking Refuge?* To contact Rights of Women go to www.rightsofwomen.org.uk, and to download the guide, go to www.rightsofwomen.org.uk/legal.php

Note on terminology

Unless otherwise specified, this Toolkit uses the term ‘deportation’ to mean any enforced removal (both administrative removal and deportation). For an explanation of the difference between these two terms, and why we use ‘deportation’, see the section on ‘Imminent Deportation’, and entries in the Glossary.

Contents

- 01 Summary
- 02 Purpose of the Campaign Toolkit

07 Part One: Campaigning to Stay

- 08 Public Campaigning
- 13 Producing Campaign Materials
- 16 Internet Campaigning
- 21 Using the Media
- 24 Building Communities
- 26 Community Campaigning
- 29 Political Campaigning
- 35 Emotional Support
- 39 Understanding Your Legal Case

43 Part Two: Procedures and Legal Background

- 44 Entering the UK (including false documents/refugees)
- 46 Human Rights, Asylum and Status
- 48 What to Do If You Want to Claim Asylum
- 49 The Refugee Convention
- 52 The Screening Interview
- 55 Dublin/Third-country Cases
- 57 Detained Fast Track and Non-Suspensive Appeals
- 59 The Asylum (or Substantive) Interview
- 66 'Evidence' and 'Credibility'
- 69 Particular Issues: Memory, Women, Sexual Violence, Religious Conversion Claims

| | |
|------------|---|
| 72 | What to Do If Your Asylum/Human Rights Claim Is Refused |
| 74 | Appeals |
| 77 | Higher Courts |
| 79 | Scottish Courts |
| 79 | The European Courts |
| 80 | Rule 39 Applications to the European Court of Human Rights |
| 84 | Fresh Claims |
| 92 | Immigration Detention |
| 103 | Imminent Deportation |
| 112 | After Deportation |
| 117 | Glossary |

List of Figures

| | |
|----|---|
| 01 | Information sharing mandate |
| 02 | Campaign story structure |
| 03 | Manjeet and supporters outside court |
| 04 | Letter to the Home Secretary |
| 05 | The asylum process |
| 06 | Excerpt from screening interview record that asks about why you are claiming asylum |
| 07 | Excerpt from screening interview record that asks about your journey to the UK |
| 08 | Excerpt from screening interview record that asks about your health |
| 09 | Detained Fast Track |
| 10 | Excerpt from the end of the interview record of the asylum/substantive interview |
| 11 | The asylum process after first refusal of claim |
| 12 | The courts |
| 13 | Telephone tree |
| 14 | Removal directions |
| 15 | Letter/fax to chief executive officer of airline company |

Summary

Part One of the Toolkit sets out different ways of campaigning for the right to stay in the UK that may be useful in an individual campaign. The strategies could be used individually, or in combination. It is likely that different strategies will be appropriate at different times in your campaign, and a combination of strategies will be most effective. Each campaign is different.

Some of the actions are public, others can be taken up in non-public campaigning. The difference between these types of campaigning is explained at the start of Part One. Other campaigning information, such as campaigning that can be done when a deportation is imminent, can be found in the sections on the relevant part of the asylum/immigration process (Part Two).

Part Two gives an explanation of the procedures for applying for asylum or immigration status. It is a general overview, and it is very important to get legal advice on your individual case.

The sections roughly follow the order in which the procedures may come up in your own case.

The final part of the Toolkit is a Glossary of key terms used in the Toolkit.

Purpose of the Campaign Toolkit

Who Is the Toolkit For?

First and foremost, we aim to help migrants understand the asylum and immigration systems, to know their rights, and to be as well-equipped as possible to make a successful application. In the case of a refusal, we hope the Toolkit enables migrants to know what a campaign is, whether it's right for them, and to be at the centre of the campaign and of all of the decisions made. We want to help migrants' voices be heard.

Most of the Toolkit is written addressing a person going through the process, but is intended to be used by anyone who finds it useful in supporting migrants through anti-deportation campaigns. You or your organisation may be supporting migrants but be unable to get directly involved in individual campaigning work. The Toolkit contains information to assist people who don't have an organisation backing their campaign, information for signposting to appropriate campaign support, and may help you understand the process the person you're supporting is trying to navigate. The Toolkit explains what different campaigns may involve, so that more people are able to make an informed decision about whether they want a campaign.

Many people who campaign for justice have supporters from their community working alongside them. They may be from the same country of origin, social group, religious group, geographical area, or simply people who care about human rights. The Toolkit is also designed to help supporters, and there are particular sections directed to the needs of those in a supporting role rather than experiencing the process directly.

The circumstances facing refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers throughout Europe are more restrictive and dangerous than ever. At the same time, there are more reasons than ever forcing people to flee their homelands, and make lives in the UK. The need for local campaigners and organisations to fight for migrants' rights is clearer than ever. The Toolkit is intended to increase local groups' capacity to fight for these rights and their capacity to support people going through the asylum and immigration systems. Much of the material contained in the Toolkit is based on the experiences of individual campaigns provided by supporters and partners of NCADC. As a National Coalition, we seek to share knowledge and resources across the country. NCADC workers will be using the Toolkit as a training resource, and it can be used by other groups running their own training and workshops.

While many of the campaigning principles and strategies will be relevant outside the UK, the legal processes to which this Toolkit refers are specific to the UK.

What Is This Toolkit Not?

NCADC does not provide Immigration Advice as defined in section 82 v of the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999. Material in this Toolkit is not, and should not be understood as, legal advice.

The Toolkit aims to explain legal processes and terminology to those without a legal background.

Impact of Changes to the Asylum and Immigration System

NCADC was founded in 1995, and since then we have witnessed huge changes to the asylum and immigration systems, changes that have had dramatic consequences for people seeking leave to remain in the UK.

The New Asylum Model (NAM) was introduced in 2005, and from March 2007 all asylum applications were dealt with under this system. While an equivalent overhaul has not taken place in the non-asylum immigration system, the Home Office are generally making decisions more quickly than in the past.

Before NAM was introduced, an asylum applicant might wait weeks or months from first applying for asylum until they had their asylum interview. They then might wait many more weeks and months until they received a decision. If they were refused, it could then be years before any attempt was made to remove them from the UK. At the end of this prolonged process, a person might have developed very strong links to their local community, and have long-term relationships in the UK and children born and raised here.

Under NAM, applicants should be interviewed a matter of days or weeks from their initial application for asylum (therefore usually very soon after they have arrived in the UK). Recently, considerable delays have been experienced as a result of the decision that asylum applications can only be made at the Home Office in Croydon (if an application is not made at the port of arrival) and the introduction of a telephone booking system to arrange a screening interview in Croydon. At the same time, and in direct contrast, it is also possible for a person to arrive in the UK and have their substantive (asylum) interview within two weeks. They could potentially receive their decision (usually a refusal) within another couple of weeks, and be 'appeal rights exhausted' (very limited or no legal routes left) just six months from their entry to the UK.

While the NAM system has brought some substantial benefits to people seeking asylum, there are also notable risks for asylum seekers. The number of people waiting for years in limbo with no leave to remain has been reduced, and the system was also intended to ensure that decision makers were more qualified for the role. But there are obvious psychological difficulties in having to tell your asylum story so soon after fleeing your country, and often after a terrifying journey to the UK. In addition to this, people new to the UK, perhaps with little or no English and often with little understanding of an incredibly complicated system, are far less likely to succeed in their

applications. People who have not had a chance to build support networks among their new communities rarely have people to whom they can turn when things go wrong – particularly when facing detention and deportation.

As the systems have changed, effective campaigning strategies have also changed. Successful campaigns need community or public support. Decisions on applications are being made much more quickly, and with the significant increase in the detention of migrants once their applications have been refused, raising this support has become very difficult. It is hard to gain momentum behind a campaign when there is little time between realising a campaign is needed, and the date set for deportation from the UK.

In the early days of NCADC, it might have been possible to elect a campaign committee, hold monthly meetings, and gradually raise awareness of a case and maybe raise funds. There is simply no longer time for this in many NAM cases. The government is making it increasingly difficult to apply for leave to remain outside of the asylum system, meaning there are ever-increasing numbers of people denied leave to remain despite having good reasons to come to and stay in the UK.

Many of the principles of campaigning outlined in previous NCADC campaigning guides hold true, but new campaign techniques are needed, and the question of ‘What is a campaign?’ needs to be revisited. New tools such as internet campaigning and ‘social media’ can allow campaigns to be publicised very quickly; but these new tools also bring with them new risks, and need to be properly understood.

As well as broadening ideas of what campaigning can mean, and being creative about campaigning tactics, NCADC and local campaign groups are all too often approached by people at risk of deportation or their supporters when there are only 48 hours or less until the scheduled deportation. It is understandable that you may not want to think about your application being refused and you being deported from the UK until you have to. But the more prepared you are for a campaign, the more chance there is that a campaign will succeed. Figures from 2011 show that 75% of asylum applications are refused at first-instance www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/science-research-statistics/research-statistics/immigration-asylum-research/immigration-q4-2011/?view=Standard&pubID=1007858. NCADC aims – with its members, supporters and partners – both to reduce this number and to better prepare people for a negative decision.

This is becoming even more crucial as access to justice and legal support declines. Changes in the way legal aid is financed, and cuts to legal aid, have made it harder to secure good quality legal representation. This means more people are going unrepresented, or are represented poorly, and many face exploitation by unscrupulous private solicitors, or people claiming to be solicitors. At the time of writing, the decision on the proposed Legal Aid bill has been delayed by a year. If this bill goes through parliament in its current form, there will be no legal aid available for non-asylum immigration legal advice. This means victims of trafficking (if they do not claim

asylum) will not receive legal aid, for example. Refugees applying for family reunion will not get legal aid. Migrants who are applying for leave to enter or remain in the UK and do not have the funds to pay a private solicitor will be fending for themselves in a highly complicated immigration system.

What Is ‘Campaigning’?

When we ask supporters and activists across the country, ‘What does campaigning mean to you?’, we get a wide range of different answers, including:

- a collective voice
- bringing people together
- raising awareness
- changing systems and minds
- standing together
- fighting for rights
- supporting someone, caring about someone
- reaching your goal

These *ideas* about what campaigning is can be achieved through different types of *actions*. Some categories of campaigning can be identified (community campaigning; political campaigning; legal campaigning; media campaigning; internet campaigning) but some actions will fall into several of these categories.

Some people campaign by organising direct action and protests; others engage with political systems and do letter-writing. What is clear is that the most successful campaigns are the ones that incorporate the broadest campaigning strategy possible, and that recognise different types of people can be effective in different ways. They are also tailored to the needs of each person. For some cases, street protests may be the best form of action; for others, writing to members of parliament.

The different campaign categories, and suggestions of campaign actions, are explored in detail in this Toolkit, but the underlying principle is that a campaign will mean something different to different people, and it’s the person who is at risk of detention and deportation who decides what their campaign should involve. A public campaign isn’t right for everyone and isn’t the only way to understand or define a campaign. This Toolkit looks at different types of support that can be provided to migrants going through the asylum and immigration processes (and that we at NCADC consider to be campaigning), such as helping to gather evidence for a legal case, explaining a legal decision or translating a document, or providing emotional support to someone.

For more information on when a campaign isn’t appropriate, and the ethics of campaigning, go to the ‘Public Campaigning’ section.

Is Campaigning Successful? What Is Your Desired Outcome?

The successes of anti-deportation campaigning are hard to measure. Anecdotal evidence from the campaigns in which NCADC has been involved, and from the experiences of anti-deportation campaigners across the country, shows that campaigning can and does work.

The two questions ‘Is campaigning successful?’ and ‘What is your desired outcome?’ are important to consider together. It is impossible to guarantee that an anti-deportation campaign will stop a deportation, and in many cases a legal action is needed to stop a flight.

A public campaign or co-ordinated actions by supporters may be enough, in some cases, to influence UKBA or the courts into making a positive decision (for more on this, see the section on ‘Political Campaigning’).

It’s clear that, in certain circumstances and with certain airlines, last-minute pressure on an airline can succeed in a person being removed from a flight (see section on ‘Imminent Deportation’). This is an important success – it’s important to remember that stopping a flight is not the same as someone getting leave to remain, but this victory may buy time for legal progress to be made on a case.

In many cases, campaigns are indirectly successful. For example, a person at risk of deportation’s solicitor may secure an injunction stopping deportation and the person may eventually get status. People at risk have told us that they would not have had the strength to continue with the legal process – which can be a long and rocky road – without the knowledge that they had people supporting them. The campaign can be a way of showing that people care; it can boost someone’s morale, giving them the strength to fight another day.

Raising awareness of someone’s case through a public campaign can get the attention of experts and professionals who might be able to help in the case, or might bring new evidence to light. The work done explaining the legal situation of a case might show that there is a legal remedy that has not yet been explored, and this work may not have been done without a campaign group looking at the case.

And, finally, even if a campaign does not succeed in stopping someone being deported from the UK, that does not mean it’s not worth it. If someone facing deportation wants to fight to the very end, a public campaign can be a great way of having their voice heard in a system that tries to silence them. This is especially true for people who have fled their home country because of political activity, as it is hard to maintain an active political identity as an asylum seeker in the UK. Lessons learnt from running an unsuccessful campaign may be vital in running a successful campaign next time. And while anti-deportation campaigns are always fundamentally about the person at risk of deportation, they also raise awareness of the injustices of the asylum and immigration systems that would otherwise go unheard.

PART ONE

Campaigning to Stay

Public Campaigning

The Toolkit: Public and Non-public Campaigning

One of the major decisions you will need to make if you decide to campaign for the right to stay in the UK is whether you want a public or a non-public campaign. You may decide at first you do not want a public campaign, and change your mind along the way. If you do have a public campaign and 'go public' with information about your case, it is not possible to get back all of the information if you decide you no longer want the campaign to be public. This decision is therefore very important, and we begin the Toolkit with an explanation of what public campaigning might involve, the risks and the benefits.

In a public campaign, your story will be shared with the general public rather than just friends, family and close supporters. If you decide this is not for you, you can run a non-public campaign, and the Toolkit gives advice about doing this. The sections on 'Understanding your Legal Case' (and the second part of the Toolkit explaining the asylum and immigration systems), 'Political Campaigning' and 'Emotional support' explain how you can campaign without going public.

If you do make your campaign public, you may need to draw up campaign materials to explain your story, and then use the internet and possibly the media to share your story with the public. For this reason, 'Producing Campaign Materials', 'Internet Campaigning' and 'Using the Media' follow immediately from this section.

Building communities is vital for both non-public and public campaigning: if you decide you want a non-public campaign, you will need a community you trust to support your campaign actions. The most successful public campaigns are those carried out by a community into the general public. Many community campaigning/grass-roots campaigning actions have a public aspect to them.

This campaigning part of the Toolkit then goes on to consider campaigning that does not need to be public (though it could form part of a public campaign also). 'Political Campaigning' is the first strategy explored, followed by 'Emotional Support', and then 'Understanding Your Legal Case'. This last section can be read alongside part two of the Toolkit, which explains the legal procedures and background to the asylum and immigration systems.

Remember: Start thinking about public campaigning as soon as possible: do not wait for a refusal or removal directions. Thinking about and planning for a public campaign can be done very early on. This does not mean you are committed to going public – just that you are prepared in case you do. It is better to have a plan and have materials prepared and not to use them, than to decide you want a public campaign too late.

Ethics and Risks of Campaigning

Under the time pressures of anti-deportation campaigning, the ethics of campaigning can often get forgotten. But they are vitally important: considering the risks of campaigning is especially important if campaigning on behalf of a vulnerable person, or someone with a high political profile.

Who Should Be Campaigning?

- The person at risk of deportation should always be at the centre of the campaign. They make the decisions. This may become harder if the person is detained, but it can still be done.
- Migrant-led campaigning is at the heart of strengthening communities' capacity to campaign independently. Women Asylum Seekers Together (WAST) in Manchester are a good example of this – women who are currently going through or who have gone through the asylum system run workshops to allow other asylum seekers to learn how to campaign against deportation. In this way the capacity of others to campaign can be built by passing on experiences
- Hearing directly from the person seeking the right to stay in the UK is very important. This is what the campaign is about: hearing the voices of those the system tries to silence.
- While the person at risk should be the heart of the campaign, it's good to have as many people involved as possible. People have different experiences and skills they can bring to a campaign, and it's a great opportunity to bring migrant and non-migrant communities together to fight for common beliefs
- People with leave to remain in the UK, especially stable status like British citizenship, can be great to have on board a campaign. Stability of status can also bring material, emotional and legal stability – it can be hard to focus on a campaign if you are worrying about your own immigration status, or becoming homeless.
- Some campaigns may involve public protests and demonstrations but some protests – even those carried out legally – can bring with them a risk of arrest, and it is very important that people without status are not put at extra risk. Attending a protest rarely leads to being arrested and charged with a criminal offence, but it may feel safer if people with British citizenship take the lead on these activities.
- Having a support group or campaign group that includes members who have lived in the UK and the local area a long time can be useful as they may already know about local resources that can be used, and may have been involved in anti-deportation campaigns before.

Confidentiality

- Even when a campaign has gone public, be very careful about which information is to be shared just between the person at risk and the campaign group, and which information has been okayed by the person at risk to go public.
- *Confidentiality is often neglected because of the time pressures involved, but it is of the utmost importance.*
- You may know about someone's case and want to get the campaign material out quickly, but have you checked with the person at risk that:
 - a) they want a public campaign
 - b) how much information they want going public
 - c) they are OK with a photograph being used
 - d) they want their full name and family members' names used?

You can always use real or made-up initials for family members, but you will need to use the person's real name when taking action like calling an airline.

- It is possible to run anonymous public campaigns, for example just using the Home Office reference number if you are writing to the Home Secretary. However, it's hard to get others to connect to a campaign when they don't know much about the person. If you think an anonymous campaign is best, it's likely that a public campaign isn't appropriate (see section below).
- As a supporter, you have may access to the documents of a person at risk. The public campaign may only include an overall summary of the case, without much detail. At every stage, check what it is OK to go public with and what is private to the person at risk/ campaign group.
- It is good practice to get written consent for sharing information about a campaign. This will be needed if a solicitor is going to share any information with a supporter. An information sharing mandate may include the following text:

CLIENT MANDATE PERMISSION TO SHARE CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION

NAME:

DATE OF BIRTH:

HOME OFFICE REFERENCE NUMBER:

I hereby give permission for my solicitor to share confidential information and documents with XXXXX.

Signed:

Date:

Figure 1 Information sharing mandate

Is a Public Campaign Right for You?

- *Going public may be risky. Would a public campaign put you or members of your family at increased risk in your country of origin?*

It is difficult to know for certain when this is the case. As emergency travel documents will have to be issued (through the embassy of your home country) in preparation for deportation going ahead, the authorities may already know about your scheduled return. In many countries, immigration officials and security forces are not well connected, so the officials who know about your return may not be the ones you are at risk from. But they might be. A public campaign may raise awareness of your situation in your home country. As there is no guarantee that a public campaign will stop a deportation, you need to think very carefully about whether it is safe to have a public campaign or not. Sometimes people decide it is not exactly safe, but that the risk is worth taking.

- *Would a public campaign put you at risk if the campaign is successful?*

Information may come out through a public campaign (for example, about your history, your relationships or your sexuality) that you don't want your local community to know. If you manage to stop a deportation, you need to remember that you will probably be living among that community.

- *Would a public campaign endanger family members (either in the UK or the country of origin)*

See above. You can make sure that no family members' names or photographs, or identifying information, are used in a campaign.

- *Are there children involved?*

Thinking about whether a campaign is appropriate is especially important when children are involved. Children can be an important part of a campaign, and their schools can be a great source of support for campaigns. Does the child want the school to know about their family background? Does your child know that your immigration status is uncertain, or the reasons why you had to leave your country? There might be information you've never told them before. Think carefully before using photographs of children in campaign material. You may not wish to use your child's name or other identifying information (such as the school they attend) in campaign material.

- *Will a public campaign make UKBA target you for deportation?*

While there are campaigners who believe this has happened, another outcome could be that the noise your campaign is generating will put pressure on UKBA, and that they make a positive decision so that the noise goes away!

- *Will a public campaign affect your legal case?*

Many legal advisors are wary about public campaigns against deportation, but others can be supportive. It depends on the situation as well as the lawyer. There may be situations when a public campaign is not a good idea: maybe you do not want to draw attention to your case, as it will benefit you if UKBA delay. Always ask your legal advisor what they think – but remember, the choice is ultimately yours. Remember that a public campaign can have a *positive* impact on your case; a public campaign may encourage your MP to get involved, and the MP can speak directly

to UKBA and raise questions about your case or the issues at stake in civic forums.

- ***Does the person at risk of deportation understand the risks of public campaigning?***

If you are not confident they do (they may be under too much emotional pressure, or there may be mental health issues impeding capacity to understand the risks), think about whether non-public campaigning would be more appropriate (see 'Political Campaigning', 'Understanding your Legal Case', 'Emotional Support').

Other Issues to Consider

- Raising awareness of injustices in the asylum and immigration systems is very important, and someone's campaign may provide very good evidence of that. Nonetheless, the best interests of the person at risk is always paramount. A political agenda should never outweigh the needs of the person at risk in a campaign.
- It's common in campaign material to highlight the contributions a person has made to British society. This is clearly an important factor in campaigning against deportation, and has implications for private life (Article 8) arguments but it is also problematic. By representing people at risk of deportation as model citizens, we risk stigmatising those who – for many reasons – haven't been dedicated volunteers, part of a faith group, or an active member of their community. There is a danger of representing immigration status as something that should be 'earned' through good behaviour, rather than a fundamental human right.
- Another consideration when presenting the human story behind the campaign is the risk of depicting a migrant as a victim. It makes sense to want to inform the public of the terrible experiences many migrants (particularly those seeking asylum) have faced. In the face of institutional and public anti-immigration rhetoric, it's important to counter the fears and myths about immigration with human stories. But there is always the danger that by emphasising someone's vulnerability – hoping to motivate people to support the campaign or change their views about asylum seekers – we disempower migrants by representing them as passive, continual victims. We do not want to create a hierarchy of need. This is tricky to address as you will want to write campaign material in a way that reaches people, and makes people understand the importance of someone getting leave to remain. It can be helpful to think about a positive angle of fighting for justice and rights, rather than a victimhood angle of helping someone in need.
- By the time someone is facing deportation, they will have had to tell their story many, many times. When campaigning, it can be beneficial to think about ways of avoiding them having to tell their story again, if this something they do not want to do. One way of doing this is for a campaign group to write a campaign summary from information found in the person at risk's immigration documents. They can then ask the person if they approve of the summary, and if there is anything they want to change.
- Campaigning publicly is hard work and campaigners may need support and help

to last the course. It may help to keep the long-term goal of securing safety in mind and also a sense of 'one step at a time', as a campaign can often feel overwhelming.

- Each aspect of a campaign can bring new suggestions, new supporters and new possibilities for action. Taking these can be both empowering but also help keep momentum and stave off feelings of hopelessness and despair. Having a group around a campaign also helps keep the burden light and generates new ideas and expertise.
- If you have carefully considered the risks of a public campaign and have decided it is the best option for you, public campaigning can raise awareness of your story to a very wide audience. Hearing about the support for your campaign and how much people who have never met you, care about you, can be very moving and a reminder of the many good people in the world.

Producing Campaign Materials

If you want to raise awareness about your story among a small group of supporters, or for use in a public campaign, you will need to think about how to present that information.

People may find it easier to engage with your story if you use a photograph of yourself, but not everyone wishes to do this. Explain why your story matters in a compelling way – you only need to include information you are happy to share. Supporters may wish to know a bit of the legal background to understand what is happening with your case, but too many legal details can be confusing to readers.

People want to hear from *you*. If you can write a few lines about why your story matters, it can be very powerful. You may also like to ask family or friends to write a few lines, or a supporter explaining why they are supporting you.

Here is an example of what one supporter has written for a campaign:

I am supporting his campaign because he is a very kind and honest man ... He has a huge amount to contribute to British society and it would be a great loss and an injustice if he is deported.

Producing Campaign Materials for Someone Else

If you are producing campaign materials for someone else – maybe because they cannot write English very well, they are in detention, or they have requested your help for another reason – you will need some background about the person at risk's case. By the time someone is facing deportation, they will have had to have told their story to many different people. Think about how you could get the information needed for campaign materials with as little distress as possible.

One way of doing this is to use documents. If the person facing deportation is comfortable showing you their papers, you could read documents such as their asylum reasons for refusal letter (or any UKBA refusal letter), court determinations, immigration factual summaries (these are issued at the same time as the removal directions), and the latest applications submitted to UKBA (particularly, fresh claims).

You can then write a summary of their story from these documents. Remember these documents will be quite dry, and you will need to give the audience a sense of the person, not just the case.

Always show a draft of the campaign materials to the person facing deportation – they can check it for accuracy, and whether they are happy with how they are being represented.

Campaign Material Checklist

- Who are you? Is your campaign just about you, or about your family too?
- Which country are you from?
- If you've applied for asylum, what were you fleeing from?
- Is there evidence from news stories or human rights groups about problems in your country which you can include in your campaign material?
- Why shouldn't you be removed from the UK? (Partner, children, community in UK; medical or mental health reasons, etc.).
- When did you leave your home country and how long have you been in the UK?
- Where have you been living in the UK? Where are you now? Have you been detained?
- What has gone wrong in your case (why hasn't your reason to fear return or reason to stay in the UK been recognised)?
- What stage is your case at: have you been refused asylum or other leave to remain? Lost an appeal? Been detained? Been issued with removal directions or a deportation order?
- How urgent is your campaign? Is it an early stage in your case so you are trying to slowly and steadily gather support, or have you been issued with removal directions so you need people to take action that day?
- What do you want supporters to do? (Campaign actions)
- How can supporters contact the campaign if they have letters of support or get a response from the airline/UKBA?
- Remember: If you're asking people to write to UKBA or the Home Secretary, they'll need to include your Home Office reference number (see 'Political Campaigning' section, 'Contacting the Home Secretary') and your name.
- Remember: If you're asking people to contact an airline, they'll need to include the flight number and date of flight, as well as your name (see 'Imminent Deportation' section on airline campaigning).

- Has everyone named or pictured in your campaign given their permission to be included?
- Is the story in your campaign material the same as that submitted to UKBA? It could be damaging to your case if you have information in your campaign that is different from the information in your legal case.

Below is an example of a campaign story structure, but you can use any structure you think works best.

NAME OF CAMPAIGN

Campaign headline: name, country of origin, risk

For example: *Ali Mohammed threatened with deportation to Somali next week, his life would be at risk and his family life with British partner ripped apart.*

Introductory paragraph

For example: *Ali Mohammed, a 30-year-old man from Somalia, is 'terrified of being sent back to Somalia. Al-Shabaab will find me no matter where I go. Communities in Somalia are small and close-knit, and it's a world I just don't know any more.'*

Threat in home country (if asylum case)

For example: Give a brief explanation of what happened to Ali and why he would be at risk if returned. Follow with paragraph of general evidence on risk in Somalia, such as news stories and human rights reports. Always include references.

Family and community life in the UK

For example: How long in UK, family/partner/children, community involvement (local), faith groups? Explain the impact on Ali, and those around him, if he was not allowed to stay in the UK.

The case

Give a clear, simple explanation of what is happening with the legal case, so supporters understand what might happen next or what the time-frame is for campaigning.

For example: *UKBA refuse to believe that Ali is from the area of Somalia he says he is. In his asylum interview, he could not understand the interpreter clearly. Despite telling UKBA this, and providing evidence about Al-Shabaab's persecution of him, his appeal was refused. Ali's solicitors are gathering new evidence to support his case but need more time.*

Take action

What do you want supporters to do and by when? Include contact details and if you wish, model text they can use. What outcome are you calling for? (Release from detention? Suspension of deportation? Refusal to carry the person on a flight? Status to be granted?)

How can supporters inform you of any responses or ask questions?

Figure 2 Campaign story structure

Internet Campaigning

Why Use the Internet?

- it's quick
- it's responsive
- it's cheap
- it reaches a wider audience
- it can access hard to reach communities
- it may be more democratic.

It's quick

Campaigns now have to be put together much more quickly because the decision-making processes in the asylum and immigration systems have, by and large, sped up. To gather as much support as possible, campaign materials need to be published as soon as possible to allow them to be circulated widely.

Using the internet to respond to this time pressure can be very effective. A webpage can be built in less than an hour (see, for example, www.webs.com); an email can be sent within a matter of minutes; and internet campaigning tools can spread a campaign very fast, very quickly.

It allows a campaign to be responsive

If someone is facing deportation, their situation can change very quickly. This means that campaign materials might need to be updated many times during a campaign. There will still be campaign actions where printing off leaflets will be worthwhile, but online materials can be amended instantly and at no cost.

It's cheap

The internet can be used to mobilise a campaign for no financial cost. Even if you don't have a computer or internet connection yourself, libraries and community centres often have computers you can use. If you're using a public computer, be careful about your internet security (see 'What Are the Risks of Internet Campaigning' below).

You can set up a campaign website for free (and you can ask NCADC to create a campaign page on their website); there are several free websites for creating online petitions; and you do not need to pay to set up an email account or an email list. All of the uses of the internet suggested below are free (there may be companies that charge for some of the services, but there are free alternatives for all of them).

It reaches a wider audience

Campaign materials on the internet can reach anyone with an internet connection anywhere in the world. Social networking tools, in particular, can make the reach of a campaign very wide.

It can access harder-to-reach communities

You may feel that there are groups of people or individuals who could support your campaign and take action in a variety of ways, but who you are not able to physically meet or telephone, or who are under-represented in real-life communities. The internet may provide ways of reaching people you wouldn't otherwise normally reach, particularly if they are in a different geographic area to you or you cannot access them easily (for example, if you are detained or you have been moved a long way from your home because of asylum accommodation, or because they are in a different country to you). Some people may feel more comfortable engaging with an online campaign, but would be unable to participate in public, for example.

It's more democratic

For the reasons explained above, it could therefore be argued that the internet makes campaigning more democratic. This can be true, but it's important to remember who internet campaigning can exclude (see below).

How Can the Internet Be Used?

- building online communities
- information sharing
- finding evidence for a case
- communication
- social networking
- publicising campaigns (webpage, online petition)
- fundraising page.

Building online communities

Virtual (online) communities can be formed, overcoming some of the barriers of physical communities. Groups of people can be brought together, irrespective of their physical location, to share information and experiences and offer each other support. For example, there may be an online community of a particular country's diaspora now physically located in different countries. Or people who have been through the asylum process can form an online community to exchange their experiences and offer suggestions to those currently facing difficulties. People from very different backgrounds might form an online community to further a shared cause, such as raising awareness of human rights abuses or injustices in the immigration system.

Information sharing

The internet can be used for researching asylum, immigration and human rights issues. Useful information can be stored online, making it accessible to others. This might be in the form of a blog, or an online archive. Documents can be shared, or worked on collaboratively, through web-based file sharing applications such as Google documents (<http://support.google.com/docs/bin/answer.py?hl=en&answer=49008>) and Dropbox (www.dropbox.com).

Finding evidence for a case

A large amount of country of origin information is available on the internet. See the section on 'Fresh Claims' for good sources of reliable evidence that might support your case, and could possibly be used as further submissions if it is relevant to your claim.

Communication

Email groups can be set up very easily. They are free, and allow people signed up to the group to send emails to everyone else signed up to that group. You normally need someone to act as an administrator/moderator of the group. Email groups can connect people for discussing issues when face-to-face meetings aren't possible.

Conference calls are useful for connecting supporters and campaigners who are geographically dispersed. While most telephone conference call technology has a small charge attached to it, Skype and Google Hangout are free online alternatives to this (though sound quality can be variable, and you need a decent internet connection for it to be effective).

Online communication can be used for an individual supporter contacting a person at risk of deportation, as well as for mass communication. Although there are restrictions on the use of internet in detention centres, email can be a good way to keep in contact with detainees because it is free.

Email is also a useful way of sending information about a legal case to campaigners. This is because documents can be scanned and emailed, or questions can be answered about a person's situation. Some ideas of questions to ask can be found on this first advice page of the NCADC website: <http://ncadc.org.uk/resources/firstadvice.html>. Telephone communication for people with limited English can be tricky, and some people also find it easier to write about their situation than have to vocalise it once more. Email does not provide the same human contact as a phone call, but it can be a useful additional form of communication.

It is a good idea to set up a campaign email address. This is so any responses from, for example, the Home Office or an airline can be forwarded on to the campaign group. Messages of support can also be sent in this way, and emails sent to the Home Office or an airline can be blind-copied (bcc), so that the campaign group can see how many people are taking action.

Social networking

Social networking tools can be utilised for sharing news, reports and information and also for publicising individual campaigns. Twitter is especially effective in spreading news a long way very quickly, as people do not even need to have a Twitter account to look at information being shared on Twitter. People might 'retweet' (share online through Twitter) something you have put on a Twitter account, and other people simply searching for your group's name, or a theme such as 'asylum' or 'deportation' can see your message and pass it on to thousands of others. If you are using Twitter for

different organisations or for different purposes, there are tools that allow you to send a message through different accounts at the same time (the most popular of these are TweetDeck and HootSuite). Twitter is great for instant sharing of information, and 'live tweeting' can allow you to see messages from people attending an event while it's going on. Twitter's speed is also one of its major drawbacks – there is a time limit to searching someone's tweets, and if you send out a message it is to a certain extent dependent on people seeing it at that moment to have any impact.

There tends to be less 'traffic' on Facebook, which allows you to search for information or messages posted more easily. Facebook can be used as a way of communicating with supporters or the public, and some campaigns set up a Facebook site specific to the campaign. It can be a good way of reaching core Facebook demographics, especially young people, who might not engage with more traditional campaign material such as leaflets.

Facebook can also be used to create and advertise events. These events might be taking place in the real world, or they may not! A good way of connecting supporters who are geographically spread can be to create a virtual event. This could be a 'Day in Solidarity with [name of person at risk of deportation]'. You can invite people on Facebook and ask them to take certain actions – an event can focus attention for short intense activity. Facebook isn't particularly flexible, but you can choose between creating a page and asking people to 'like' it, or you could create a 'person' and invite people to befriend that person (NCADC, for example, is a person not a page on Facebook). Being a person allows you more control over who can see your information – pages are generally completely open to the public.

** Remember that Facebook is blocked in detention centres.*

Other social media tools

Social media tools change very quickly, and it can be difficult to keep up. The Google response to Facebook, G+, may become very useful and is more functional than Facebook, but at the moment does not have the same level of exposure that Facebook does.

There are a wide range of online tools that can be used creatively to raise awareness of a campaign and mobilise people to take action. Don't just think about text and words. Photos, videos and sounds can engage people in a way that words often can't. Tools such as YouTube and Vimeo (to which you can upload videos) are simple to use, and host sites such as Flickr can be used for photograph albums. If the person at the centre of a campaign is comfortable with this, a voice recording of their story or what they want the campaign to achieve can be very powerful, and creates a sense of human connection in a virtual online environment.

Publicising Campaigns

A campaign webpage or online petition could be created to raise awareness of a campaign (which is then shared very easily via email, or Facebook and Twitter etc). Webpages are simple to set up, and there are plenty of free sites. Think about whether you

want to use a photo, if you want just one page or sub-pages, and how much information you want to share. Remember: this page will be probably be completely public.

Some people also set up online petitions (and again, there are plenty of free sites you can do this through, though they vary in quality). Campaign groups can then encourage supporters to sign the petition in a way unlimited by the geographical location of the supporters. Be clear about what you are calling for in the petition, and where it is going to go. Petitions are not often directly effective (i.e. in influencing the Home Office decision) unless they are signed in huge numbers but they can be indirectly important, for example by showing the person at risk of deportation just how many people care about their situation.

Publicising campaigns in this way can mean that people who could be useful for the campaign may hear about it and get in touch, as well as getting supporters to take action. It may be that someone interested in the country of origin or the issue (such as sexuality), or a lawyer, may take an interest in the case and offer to help out.

Fundraising page

While a campaign can be run very cheaply or for free, there are sometimes costs for a complex or big campaign. These may be printing costs (T-shirts, leaflets) or campaign support costs such as refreshments for events or travel costs. The biggest expenditure will be if a campaign group decides to pay for private legal advice (see 'Understanding Your Legal Case'). This can be very expensive, and fundraising can be a good way of paying for this as well as raising awareness of the campaign.

There are lots of ways of fundraising (a social event, a challenge that is sponsored), and fundraising can be facilitated by having an online donation page. There are different versions of these; many fundraisers use [justgiving.co.uk](https://www.justgiving.co.uk).

What are the Risks of Internet Campaigning?

No control over information

Once information has gone out on the internet, you cannot control what happens to it. Even if you decide to take down a campaign page, Tweets and Facebook posts, information can be found in search caches, and there's no way of tracking who has seen the information. Before you decide to use the internet for campaigning, think very carefully about the pros and cons of public campaigning (See 'Ethics and Risks in Public Campaigning')

Too public

Internet campaigning gives a campaign maximum exposure. Because of this, if you think that using the internet would put you at risk you shouldn't use it. You should also think very carefully about whether *any* form of public campaigning is right for you ('See Ethics and Risks in Public Campaigning')

You need to be careful about what information goes on the internet. The main reason

UKBA use to refuse applications is inconsistencies in stories. There is a chance that information used in a campaign could be used against your case if it isn't consistent with what you've submitted to UKBA.

Some campaigners have experienced unpleasant hacking, where hostile groups have left anti-immigration messages on an event page, for example. Having good internet security can reduce the chances of this. Check your online materials regularly.

Remember that while you may not feel like you're in public, because of the way people use the internet (often at home on their own), using the internet is very public campaigning.

Not real engagement?

There are worries that internet campaigning encourages passive engagement – people might 'like' a Facebook page, or sign an online petition and then think they don't need to do any more. People also fear that it distracts from the importance of person-to-person support and getting the message out into the streets. This can certainly be true, and the best campaigns use internet campaigning to publicise a combination of other campaign strategies.

Can exclude non-IT skilled individuals and groups

NCADC receives lots of queries about using the internet from groups who are inexperienced in this area, but have lots of experience getting committed supporters to attend meetings and get out on the streets. The internet can be very useful, and if you know someone who does have IT skills, it's great to get them on board.

But, not everyone has access to the internet, and not everyone can use the internet at a very high level. So wherever possible, internet campaigning should be used in combination with other campaigning strategies.

Using the Media

Is Using the Media in a Campaign a Good Idea?

If you have decided that you want your campaign to go public, you will need to think about whether or not to engage the media. Like internet campaigning, there is no going back once your campaign has been put out in the media.

It's a big decision, but using the media can be very effective if it goes well. Using the media means that your campaign reaches a far wider audience than through your network of supporters. You can reach people who might not normally care about immigration or human rights. This new audience might be moved to take action in support of your campaign. High-level media involvement means that UKBA are more likely to know about your campaign – which can work to your advantage.

CASE STUDY

A campaign for a lesbian Jamaican woman in the detained fast track system was covered by ITV local news. Journalists/reporters began ringing up UKBA about the case, and soon after the woman was released from the detained fast track. While it is always difficult to prove that campaigning had a direct effect, it's likely that media attention put pressure on UKBA to behave more responsibly.

What Are the Risks?

The way the media works can put a lot of pressure on people. Journalists/reporters are working to tight deadlines and so rarely give you time to prepare yourself to give your story or give the answers you would like to their questions.

If you are supporting someone who is facing deportation, think about how you can support them if they decide to use the media. What can you do to prepare for an interview? Can you insist that you get chance to read the copy before it is published? If it's a radio interview, can you ask that it's pre-recorded rather than live? If it's your campaign, think about protecting yourself. What tricky questions are likely to be asked? (The media likes controversy, and will usually try and ask difficult questions to get a more 'interesting' piece.) What are the key points you want to get across? Make sure you say them! Are there things you want to make sure you *don't* say?

Even with all these precautions, there's a chance you could be misrepresented in the media. Something you said could be taken out of context, shortened, or even completely changed. Your views may be accurately reported, but within a hostile story with negative commentary. There are actions you can take after the event if you feel you've been misrepresented (e.g. a complaints procedure, right to reply), but think first about who is covering the story and the political stance of the paper/broadcaster to assess how problems might occur.

Not everyone will sympathise with your campaign, and so media attention could also mean negative attention. This is especially the case with online media, where comments sections on stories can be hostile and distressing (despite the existence of a cursory moderating procedure).

Think about the information you are giving to the media – is there a risk it could be damaging to the case? Information that contradicts your legal case could be problematic.

One of the outcomes of the increased attention for a campaign resulting from using the media (which can be vital to making it a successful campaign), is *too much* attention. Going through the asylum or immigration system is very stressful, and you may feel

that you do not want the extra burden of phonecalls, deadlines or increased awareness about your situation. This risk is an important consideration for all forms of public campaigning, and a campaign group is essential for supporting you through this.

Does it work?

Another view on the media is that it doesn't make much difference to the outcome of a campaign. It can be beneficial, there are risks, but some of the time it's of no consequence. There are certainly campaigns where media coverage has helped, but it is not the case every time. This is worth bearing in mind if you are worried about getting the media involved, or have limited time and resources.

Local media

If you are going to involve the media in a campaign, local media outlets (newspapers, radio and television) are a good place to start. They are more likely to be interested in running the story, and are perhaps more likely to run a sympathetic story about a local person. You may be able to engage local residents in community campaigning as a result of the coverage. BBC local radio fairly frequently run stories about people facing deportation. Local media sources do seem to be interested in stories about local families, so think about how your campaign fits into that picture.

It's a good idea to do some research first – which media sources have covered asylum and immigration campaigns before, and what was the tone of the coverage?

As well as raising awareness of your individual campaign, you'll also be contributing to how immigration is reported (generally negatively at the moment). It's difficult to shift the debate on a national level, but local media is vital in this fight.

National media

National media sources reach a far larger audience but are harder to influence. Certain newspapers are more likely to run positive immigration stories (*The Guardian*, the *Independent*) but these tend to be issue-based stories (which your campaign might fit into). Think about how you would 'pitch' your story to the media – while the family drama element might interest local media, it's likely that a political story would appeal to larger newspapers or broadcasters. Do some research on journalists with a good record of giving sympathetic coverage or even campaigning on the issues – for example, those who have won awards for journalism during Refugee Week or from Amnesty International – and perhaps approach them first.

Engaging the press is often a case of luck and timing! A journalist hearing about your story who was wanting to write about a similar issue, a quieter news week, your campaign arriving at the right desk or email in-box at the right time – these are likely to be decisive factors. Find out if any of your supporters have contacts in the media you could use.

Alternative media

A lot of alternative media sources are available, especially through the internet. They can be much more accessible and many have a pro-immigration agenda. They do tend to have a smaller audience than more traditional media, however. There is a sense that using these alternative sources for issue-campaigning can be 'preaching to the converted' (i.e. everyone reading it/listening to it already agrees with what you're saying, and you're not engaging with the harder-to-reach audiences that are vital to mass support of an issue). This is less of a concern for individual campaigning – you will be reaching a significant audience of people who tend to care about human rights and migration issues.

Blogs may be a forum for publishing information about your campaign, or campaign portals such as 38 degrees www.38degrees.org.uk. There are some online magazines such as Open Democracy (www.opendemocracy.net), which often carry stories concerning asylum, immigration and human rights.

You could also think about contacting media groups that work specifically to counteract the overwhelmingly negative portrayal of immigration in mainstream media, such as the Testimony Project (www.testimonyproject.org), Press Gang (<http://pressgangleeds.blogspot.co.uk>) or Migrant Voice (www.migrantvoice.org).

There are also some alternative internet (or limited broadcast) radio stations you could contact (such as Refugee Radio www.refugeeradio.org.uk) and Afghan Voice (www.afghanvoice.org.uk/avfm). These will have much smaller audiences than local BBC radio stations, but are very interested in the issues at the heart of individual campaigns.

Building Communities

Community support is of ever-more importance in fighting deportations. As the government tries to destroy community links between new migrants and local communities by increasing the use of immigration detention, and moving detainees continually within the detention estate, strong active communities uniting against injustice are more and more crucial.

Being a part of your local community has many benefits: communities can provide social and emotional support; being part of a community can be a way of making new friends, learning English, finding out about the UK; and there may activities you can get involved in. Keeping active can be very important, especially if you are not allowed to work, and you may be able to contribute skills and experiences to a local group.

As well as all of the benefits discussed above, having good community links is very important to a successful campaign. If your community already knows you, they

will probably very quickly step up to help you out if something goes wrong (if your application is refused, if you are detained or you are facing deportation).

Your community is whatever you decide it is, but here are some suggestions for where you can meet people:

- children's school
- college/university
- church/mosque/temple etc.
- country of origin community/regional (e.g. Pan-African groups; Francophone group)
- identity community: e.g. LGBTI (lesbian gay bisexual transgender and intersex) group, older person's group, HIV+ group
- political groups – UK politics, or political groups active in the UK (e.g. the Zimbabwean MDC party)
- professional groups including trade unions
- asylum/refugee/migrants groups
- neighbours
- drop-ins
- local community centres.

These are all sources of ongoing support, and if you decide you want to campaign, think about which of these groups you could approach to support your campaign, even if they do not already know you.

TESTIMONY

Charles Atanga is a journalist who fled imprisonment and torture in Cameroon. Following a strong community anti-deportation campaign in Glasgow which gained support across the UK, Charles won the right to stay in April 2011.

I was involved in community activities and around my trade union, the National Union of Journalists. I was completely integrated in the community and the society and felt welcome and less rejected. When I was facing removal back to my country, I received support from community based organisations which work with refugees and asylum seekers and churches as I was a member of a church. I fought with a huge backing of MSPs, MPs, trade unionists and community based organisations. All these have contributed to keep me safe and alive in this country. It is very very important to socialize first, integrate, speak to people, tell your story to people and work so that people who know you can come in force to fight with you against the Home Office decision to refuse you sanctuary...

Challenges of Building a Community

- Not everyone who has been through the asylum or immigration system wants to be an active member of the community – some people want to just move on with their lives when they have leave to remain, or want to keep themselves apart from the community while they are going through the process
- Not all communities will be suitable to approach – for example, some communities may not be supportive of someone seeking asylum because of sexuality, or if a community group is dominated by one political faction, and you are a member of an opposition group, you may find support lacking
- Some people fear that information about them will get back to the authorities in their home country through country-specific community groups.

Community Campaigning

What Is Community Campaigning?

Community campaigning is also referred to as grass-roots campaigning, and in this Toolkit we use the term to mean any kind of campaigning that involves supporters getting together and taking action.

Political campaigning and legal campaigning might also involve elements of community campaigning, and community campaigning often also employs the tools of internet campaigning. The emphasis is on people working together. This is especially important with communities being disrupted by the increasing use of immigration detention. This disruption means you may have to think creatively about who your community is – see ‘Building Communities’, above. Communities such as schools and faith groups can be very powerful community campaigners.

Community campaigning can be a great opportunity for individual campaigns to work together – a solidarity meeting or public protest could be organised that raises awareness of several campaigns, and general issues. This can be a good way of people providing each other with mutual support and, together, you will have a louder voice.

What Actions Can You Take?

Last-minute airline campaigning

See ‘Imminent Deportation: Last-minute Campaigning Actions’.

Solidarity meetings

These can be quite low-key, or on a very big scale. They are useful for bringing together a broad range of people – for example, people who don’t want to get involved in public demonstrations, but want to show their support for a campaign. They could be in the

form of a coffee morning, an evening meeting, or a campaign preparation day.

If possible, take photographs of the meetings. Photos are a really good way of demonstrating how much support a campaign has (especially if the person at risk of deportation is in detention).

If you want people to write letters of support or sign a petition, solidarity meetings can be a good way of getting lots of people together to do so at the same time.

Another important element of solidarity meetings is the idea of the safe space. This is especially so if supporters include undocumented migrants, or young people. It means you can control who comes to the meeting and how public it is.

Protests/direct action

The key difference we make in this Toolkit between solidarity meetings and protests is that protests are more public. They would tend to take place in the public eye, and be designed to get the attention of as many people as possible.

Protests and vigils are often used in issue-based campaigning, such as the weekly Zimbabwe vigil (www.zimvigil.co.uk) outside the Zimbabwe embassy in London, raising awareness of human rights abuses in Zimbabwe and the concerns of Zimbabwean asylum-seekers and refugees.

Protests and vigils can also be used to raise awareness of an individual campaign, and to show the person at risk of deportation and decision-makers how much support there is for them.

If you have time to hold regular protests, it's best for them to be in the same place at a regular time. You might choose to hold a protest at a known local site, and meet there every week. This allows momentum to grow behind a campaign, and means that campaign actions aren't entirely dependent on emails or people phoning each other.

Another possible protest action is a gathering outside a bail hearing or an appeal hearing. RAPAR, (www.rapar.org.uk/index.html) a Manchester-based human rights organisation which works with displaced people, has helped campaign groups organise these gatherings, including for the successful Lydia and Bernard campaign (see www.rapar.org.uk/lydia-and-bernard-must-stay.html). These gatherings work well in Manchester because the immigration tribunal is in the city centre, on a busy shopping street.

If you have a legal representative, check with them first about holding a protest outside a court. The decision is ultimately yours, but it's good to get their advice on the matter. A large presence outside the court (identified with the campaign by wearing T-shirts or holding signs, for example) is very clear evidence that the person at risk of deportation is an important part of the community, and may support legal arguments being made in court (for example, on the basis of private life in the UK).

Printing postcards or leaflets to send to MPs or the Home Secretary are a good way of giving people something they can use or hand on themselves to build a campaign.

Here is Manjeet, who was supported by RAPAR, with her lawyer and supporters outside the court before her judicial review hearing.



Figure 3 Manjeet and supporters outside court (Source: <http://www.rapar.org.uk/keep-manjeet-safe-in-the-uk.html>)

For any public protest or demonstration, it's important to inform the appropriate authority you are planning an event. Not all protests, however, have legal permission to take place. Be clear of the legal issues involved. Green and Black Cross are an organisation that provides legal support for protests and you can approach them for advice if you are organising a public demonstration: <http://greenandblackcross.org>

If you want to organise a direct action think about the risks and who should be involved. Even entirely legal direct actions may attract the attention of the police or security, and it is generally advisable that only people with British citizenship or secure status should take part (remember that even indefinite leave to remain can be revoked, though only for serious crimes).

You can find out more about direct actions protesting against deportations from the following groups and networks:

No Borders is a network of activists who call for freedom of movement. They have a presence in many countries, especially across Europe, and there are local branches in the UK you can join: <http://noborders.org.uk>

The *Stop Deportations* network works to build resistance to deportations, particularly mass deportations on charter flights. It is a loose network that communicates through an email group to arrange actions and meetings. You can find out more here: <http://stopdeportations.wordpress.com>

No One is Illegal campaigns for the total abolition of immigration controls. They work to raise public awareness on this, and are involved in demonstrations against deportations. www.noii.org.uk

Is Community Campaigning Public Campaigning?

Community campaigning does involve some level of public campaigning, but this can be kept to a low level (see ‘Solidarity Meetings’ above). Community campaigning at its most effective when it mobilises local communities and involves different types of campaigning to work together.

Political Campaigning

What Do We Mean by Political Campaigning?

This section looks at engaging political figures in an individual campaign. It does not look at political lobbying on issues such as changing policy and law, as this falls outside the scope of this Toolkit.

The appropriate people to try and involve in the campaign will depend on the situation. Here are some of the political figures you could think about contacting:

Local councillor/mayor

These are the people elected to make decisions at a local level, and can be more approachable than national political figures, although they do not have as much political influence. They’ll be well-placed to know about local situations, however, and may be interested in getting involved in a campaign if they can see that it affects a lot of local people. Local councillors in Stockton-on-Tees, for example, passed a motion expressing concern about UKBA’s country guidance on Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) after three refused asylum seekers were removed from Stockton to the DRC (see http://ncadc.org.uk/world/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/unsafe_return.pdf).

The involvement of local government figures can also generate useful publicity for a campaign, as shown in the strong Khethiwe Must Stay campaign in Bristol (<http://khethiwemuststay.posterous.com>).

Members of parliament

Members of parliament (MPs) can raise your case with UKBA or, if appropriate, the Home Secretary. This could be if you have received a negative decision, have been waiting a very long time for a decision and want a response, if you are detained, or if you are facing deportation.

You can find out who your local MP is here: www.theyworkforyou.com

Your MP will depend on the constituency you live in or have strong connections to (a constituency is an area of the UK where the voters elect one MP).

It's never too early to start thinking about meeting your MP. If they already know you, then if you go to speak to them about receiving a negative decision on an application or receiving removal directions, they will be more likely to want to help. You can find out about their surgery times (it's much more effective to meet them in person than to phone or email – if you're in detention, ask a supporter to go and see the MP).

Try to research your MP – have they got involved in asylum and immigration campaigns before? Do they have a known anti-immigration or pro-deportation stance? If they have a generally negative stance on immigration, it's still worth trying to engage them on an individual case. You can find out more about your MP's interests on this website: www.parliament.uk/mps-lords-and-offices/mps/

Linking your campaign to an area of the MP's interest may encourage them to get involved in your case. Think about what an MP can realistically do, and try and talk in a language they can respond to (clearly setting out your objective, what it is the MP can do about it, recognising the obstacles there may be to them getting involved but explaining why it is worth them doing it). Be polite, but do not be intimidated.

MPs may get involved in your campaign in different ways. They may attend awareness-raising events for a campaign: the presence of a MP is likely to generate media interest.

More commonly, they may raise your case with the Home Secretary. This can be very useful, as the Home Office have to respond to the MP's query. This is important not only in anti-deportation campaigning: many people have found that an intervention from their MP has got an immediate response from UKBA/the Home Office (for example, over a delay in making a decision, lost documents, etc.), whereas the migrant's or supporter's own inquiries have been ignored for months and even years.

Remember that, while an MP has no obligation to take up your case, they have a duty to respond to their constituents. If they do take up the case, it's likely that most of your dealings will be a caseworker or other office staff rather than the MP directly.

If your MP is unwilling to get involved, think about whether supporters live in other constituencies and could approach their MP. If you are in detention (probably in a

different constituency from the one you lived in), you and your supporters may be able to lobby the MP for the detention centre constituency to look at your case. John McDonnell, MP for Hayes and Harlington, has said that he considers the detainees at Colnbrook and Heathrow detention centres (which fall within his constituency) to be his constituents. Friends, family and supporters who live in the area where you used to live before you were detained can also go and speak to your old MP and ask for their support.

The willingness or otherwise of an MP to get involved in your case is probably not going to depend on their political party – there are some very active MPs on individual cases whose party have a negative stance on immigration.

Note: An MP may decide that s/he will only deal directly with the person at risk of deportation, and not with a supporter, especially if the supporter does not live in the constituency. A recent response from an MP was:

*[the MP] is bound by both parliamentary and Data Protection rules and can only make representations on behalf of his own constituent and not at the request of third parties. I'm afraid our office cannot intervene in *****'s case unless he himself instructs us to do so.*

Unfortunately, the person was in detention by this time. Had he been in touch with his MP earlier, it may have helped.

Mike Kaye, of the Still Human Still Here campaign, is a strong advocate of engaging with MPs:

MPs can be important partners in an anti-deportation campaign. However, they are much more likely to be supportive if they already know and trust you and fully understand the work you and your organisation do in the community.

Members of the Scottish Parliament

Scotland is part of the United Kingdom, and elects MPs to the UK parliament, but it also has a Scottish parliament. The Scottish government has powers in areas such as health, education and justice, but *not* immigration and asylum. These matters are 'reserved' to the UK parliament, meaning the Scottish government and members of the Scottish parliament (MSPs) can have no influence on the law. This should not rule out MSPs representing their constituents in a similar way to MPs, but since around 2009 the UKBA, unlike other UK government agencies, has had a policy of refusing to respond to MSPs.

Some MSPs will not get involved in your campaign and will advise you to contact your MP. However, some MSPs will still try to help. The support of an MSP can raise the profile of campaign, and an MSP may know people (both in parliament and in other areas) who could be useful, so it is always a good idea to try.

Members of the European Parliament (MEPs)

MEPs represent UK constituencies, but do not have a role in the UK parliamentary system. Although MEPs cannot raise cases directly with the Home Secretary, they

may have parliamentary contacts or be able to exert some influence in a campaign. Having the name of an MEP behind a campaign also gives it credibility and is likely to attract more public and media attention. MEPs can raise questions in the European Parliament, which means their researchers will help look into the response.

The Home Secretary and the immigration minister

The Home Secretary has the discretionary power to stop a deportation or to grant leave to remain outside of the immigration rules, but it is rare that this power is exercised and even rarer for it to be clear in a campaign that this has occurred.

For this reason, many campaigns call on supporters to contact the Home Secretary, urging them to use their discretionary powers because of the compelling nature of the case. This contact will be most powerful when it is individual and personal (especially from people who know the person at risk as this also shows they are a central part of the community) and when it is done in large numbers.

Some people get petitions signed and send these on to the Home Secretary. It is difficult to know exactly how effective this is as a campaigning strategy, but it's likely that petitions are much more likely to make an impact if they are signed by many hundreds or thousands of people. Petitions are much more effective when combined with another campaigning action – for example, a group of people going to hand in the petition in person at the Home Office headquarters.

Some campaigns have used the parliamentary e-petition initiative (<http://epetitions.direct.gov.uk/how-it-works>), where more than 100,000 signatures could get an issue brought before the House of Commons. Quite apart from the difficulty of getting that number of signatures for an individual campaign, there is little evidence of success with this strategy so far, as it appears that even petitions with this number of signatures are often not debated, and need other political pressure.

Some campaigns also call for contacting the immigration minister, who serves under the Home Secretary. The power to use discretion in stopping a deportation or granting status is only available to the Secretary of State (the Home Secretary), but contacting the immigration minister can be used to try and reach the Home Secretary.

Some campaigns hope that by sending letters and petitions to the Home Secretary or immigration minister, they may favourably influence the decision-making of the UKBA in an individual case. It is very unusual for it to be revealed that discretionary power has been exercised in a case, therefore it is hard to know how often pressure of this kind leads to UKBA changing its mind.

CASE STUDY

A recent campaign involved college students and teachers signing a petition against the deportation of a young student. They then all took this petition to the Home Office government office at 2 Marsham Street in London. The campaign group were told by the legal representative that the deportation was stopped due to the intervention of the immigration minister.

It seems likely that the Home Secretary or immigration minister are more likely to respond to campaigning pressure when the campaign is high profile, which may be achieved through public demonstrations and media pressure.

If you are short of time, or do not want to ask your supporters to do too many things, it may be worth considering whether contacting the Home Secretary or immigration minister (when it is unclear how successful this is as a campaigning strategy) is an effective use of campaigning time. Urgent airline campaigning, or encouraging supporters to see their MP (who may then raise the case directly with the Home Secretary), might be better actions to concentrate on. The Home Office receives vast amounts of correspondence from people about their case, or in support of someone else's case, and so you need to think about how you can make your campaign stand out.

Contacting the Home Secretary

If you are encouraging supporters to contact the Home Secretary, they can write letters, fax or email. If there is not much time, they can just fax and email.

The postal address is [at time of writing]:

Rt. Hon. Theresa May, MP
Secretary of State for the Home Office
2 Marsham Street
London
SW1P 4DF

The email addresses to use are:

mayt@parliament.uk

UKBApublicenquiries@UKBA.gsi.gov.uk

CITTO@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk

Privateoffice.external@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk

psc Correspondence@cabinet-office.gsi.gov.uk

The fax number is: 0207 0354745 (when faxing from outside the UK, use 00 44 2070354745).

- Communications should always include the Home Office reference number of the person at risk. This is usually a 7-digit number, starting with the first letter of the surname (or the surname recorded by UKBA anyway) e.g. A1234567. This can be found on all personalised letters from UKBA.
- A letter written in a supporter's own words is much more powerful, but if you are trying to mobilise a lot of people quickly, it can be useful to provide model letters that can be used. These might look something like this:

Rt. Hon. Theresa May, MP
Secretary of State for the Home Office,
2 Marsham St
London
SW1P 4DF

Dear Ms May

RE: XXXXX, HO Ref. Number A1234567

I have read about the above person seeking sanctuary, and I think it a great injustice that he has not been granted leave to remain in the UK. It seems clear to me that X is in danger if returned to Y[country], given his history of activism with [party/group there].

[Information of asylum case if there is one, references to objective evidence supporting this claim]

X has thrown himself into UK life. As an active member of _____, X has many friends within his local community. [community involvement, faith group, family, friends, volunteer work]

In light of [summarise risk on return/life in UK in few words], I urge you to use your powers as Home Secretary to cancel X's removal directions/ grant X leave to remain.

Yours sincerely,

Name:

Address:

City:

Postcode:

Figure 4
Letter to
the Home
Secretary

- Remember that all letters should be signed and dated. If you are sending an email or word-processed letter, you can type your name at the bottom as a signature.
- It's a good idea to have a campaign email address (this can be set up very easily using something like gmail), so that any responses can be sent on to the campaign, so emails sent can have the campaign email address blind copied in (bcc – so that the campaign gets some sense of how many people are taking actions), or so that any queries or messages of support can be sent on directly to the campaign.

When Should You Start Political Campaigning?

As soon as possible! Political figures such as MPs are very busy, so the sooner you start trying to meet with them and to raise awareness of your campaign, the better. MPs who are initially reluctant to support your case may be convinced by seeing how many of their constituents are supporting you, and it takes time to gather this support and demonstrate it.

You can start to find out how to contact different political figures, their past stances on issues, and to get details on MPs' surgeries. You may wish to speak to your MP before a decision has been made on your asylum or immigration application (if it is taking a long time, for example). Don't wait until your case has been finally refused (at court). You won't be able to meet with your MP if you are detained (even if your supporters can), and it's hard to get people meaningfully involved at the point of removal directions/deportation orders being issued.

Is Political Campaigning Public Campaigning?

Political campaigning can form part of a public or of a non-public campaign. If you've decided you want a public campaign, you can use the community mobilisation ideas (see 'Community Campaigning') to encourage supporters to contact the political figures named above. A high level of contact is probably most effective in contacting the Home Secretary. Some campaigners feel that people contacting MPs en masse actually has a detrimental effect, and it's better to try a personal, individual approach.

If you've decided you don't want a public campaign, political campaigning can be done more discreetly. You can ask friends and community members who you know and trust to contact the Home Secretary, or to come with you to see the MP, or to speak to their MP.

Emotional Support

Emotional support is an essential part of public and non-public campaigns. The emotional support element of a campaign is one of the main reasons many campaigns can be considered successful, even if a legal action eventually decides the outcome of the campaign, or indeed even if deportation is not ultimately prevented. Seeing how many people care about a campaign can be of great comfort to the person

at risk of deportation – whether this is close supporters they know personally, or unknown supporters taking actions for their campaign. The asylum and immigration systems are incredibly dehumanising, and so being able to see the love and support of friends, community members and supporters is very important.

This support is important in itself. It may also encourage other positive outcomes. The person at risk can feel that a campaign gives them a sense of political engagement (especially if they are political activists and feel that their experiences in the UK have stripped them of their political identity). A campaign may boost their morale meaning they have more strength to pursue lengthy and difficult legal procedures.

Many asylum seekers find support and strength from their faith and from regular practice of prayer in their tradition. They also find supporters in their local mosque, church or tradition and these are important sources of inspiration for many campaign groups. These faith groups can offer venues for meetings and a sense of sanctuary from the rigours and worries of the asylum system. In a secular country like the UK, the faith dimensions of campaigns are often overlooked in favour of other forms campaigning, but faith communities have a long tradition of action for justice in the UK and are disproportionately involved in providing support for asylum seekers and refugees through a range of charities. If you are a person who draws strength and support from your faith and from a faith community that prays with you and for you, then you may find this to be important for both emotional support and for gathering together a campaign.

Even if the campaign does not stop the deportation, the person facing deportation may feel empowered by having fought to the end, and having not gone silently. Campaigns can give migrants a voice in a system that seeks to silence them.

CASE STUDY

A is a gay man from Sierra Leone, whose asylum application was initially refused under the old rules that allowed the Home Office to rule that LGBT people could return to their home country and be 'discreet' about their sexual orientation to avoid persecution. He refused to return, and was surviving without any state housing or benefits, and suffering from depression, always worried about being detained and deported.

He approached NCADC for help, and we referred him for support to a gay men's health group, and a local community organisation. Following the change in asylum case law, where the 'go home and be discreet' rule was overturned, NCADC referred A to a solicitor, to prepare a fresh claim under the new rules.

Despite the change in case law, UKBA intensified their efforts to remove A, requiring him to sign more frequently, and demanding that he attend weekly interviews to discuss returning to Sierra Leone, getting photographs taken to

prepare travel documents. A found this experience, which went on for several months, very intimidating and stressful.

A began to text NCADC every time he went to report and sign at UKBA, so that we would be able to act quickly and contact his solicitor and friends if he was detained. Campaign materials were already prepared in case of an emergency. Eventually, A's solicitor submitted a fresh claim. It was accepted, and refugee status was granted.

A told NCADC that without the support during this period he would not have been able to stand up to the Home Office, or engage with his solicitor to put in a fresh claim, and he would probably have been deported.

TESTIMONY

A member of RAPAR in Manchester, who had an anti-deportation campaign and now assists other asylum seekers and migrants with their own campaigns, says:

The UKBA takes the control away from whoever who claims for asylum. This is control over a matter which can affect their lives and can even be defined to be a life and death situation at times. The fact that echoes in the individual's head is that they can't do anything about it and this is frustrating.

We put individuals in the core of their campaigns and get them to participate and get involved in the decision making process. By this they feel more in control and have their spirits lifted. They will always be accompanied by an experienced campaigner in making decisions, so we make sure they do not take a wrong turn or step and are always confident in the decisions. The second benefit of this system is our campaigners can work much more efficiently and be able to work on more campaigns as the work is shared.

Well-being and Coping Strategies

Going through the asylum and immigrations system is very difficult and stressful. Sometimes it can be hard to think about anything else. But constant worry about your case can leave you feeling emotionally exhausted, and less able to cope with the process.

Everyone has a different way of coping – think about what works for you. While your immigration status is of course very important, it's also important to try and give yourself a break from thinking about it. Think about activities that can distract you or help you relax for at least a short period every day, which can help your mind and body recover a little.

You may find being around friends helpful; or praying or attending a place of worship. Some people find going for a walk, getting fresh air, or doing some other kind of exercise makes them feel a bit better. Others find distraction in playing with their children; or watching television; reading a book; dancing; listening to music. It can be helpful to keep busy through activities such as making things – sewing and knitting, for example. Cooking and eating healthily can help, as can trying to have a good sleep routine (this is sometimes called sleep hygiene: while worry can make sleep difficult, certain things like making sure you get up and try to go to bed at the same time every day; avoiding caffeine in the afternoons and evenings; not eating spicy foods or a heavy meal too close to bedtime, can help).

There are very simple relaxation techniques that can be useful for calming down your mind, and are easy to do during the day or if you're trying to get to sleep. There are different techniques available easily on the internet, such as www.bbc.co.uk/health/emotional_health/mental_health/coping_relaxation.shtml

Emotional Support for Supporters/Wider Campaign Group

(See also: 'After Deportation'.)

To be able to provide emotional support to somebody facing removal/deportation, campaign supporters need to make sure they are looking after their own well-being.

Most campaign group members are non-paid workers who have a lot going on in their lives, and sometimes their own asylum and immigration situations to deal with. Mutual support and self-care are essential for sustainable campaigning.

The Sheffield Campaign to Defend Asylum Seekers uses a good mutual support model. People with a campaign are paired up with a campaign group member who works very closely with them. The pairs then also have regular big group meetings so concerns can be shared, and ideas suggested. This is important so people don't feel isolated or overwhelmed, but allows for an effective, trusting relationship between the person at risk and the campaigner at the same time.

Anti-deportation campaigning may mean witnessing injustice, including a friend being deported. Making sure you look after your own well-being as an individual, and that there are structures in place for mutual support within a campaign group, can help ensure that you have the emotional reserves to carry on fighting after a deportation. Campaigning is a long fight – there may be small victories along the way such a release from detention on bail, or the stopping of a flight, but in order to reach a positive decision, stamina and patience will be needed.

You should also beware of vicarious (secondary) trauma. This can happen when you work closely with, or frequently with, people who have experienced trauma. You may begin experiencing high levels of stress, including some of the symptoms of trauma and post-traumatic stress. There are some useful practical techniques for managing vicarious trauma in this article: www.melissainstitute.org/documents/Meichenbaum_SelfCare_11thconf.pdf

Because the issues at stake in migration campaigning can be so important, it is common to throw yourself into campaigns again and again. Burnout (sudden loss of motivation to continue) is a big problem in campaigning, and can be very damaging not just to the person directly experiencing it, but to the campaign they are involved in. With the highs, lows, and extreme stresses of the asylum and immigration systems, it's important for supporters to represent stability and reliability as much as possible.

While the difficulties and dangers of supporting a person at risk of deportation are clear, the rewards can be great. You can meet amazing people, both migrants and their supporters. Campaigning can be fulfilling and invigorating: it's an incredible feeling to fight for justice and human rights and to stand up and show that UKBA, the courts and the government do not speak for all of us.

Understanding Your Legal Case

If you have a good legal representative, most of the legal work on your case will be done by them. But it's important to understand your own legal case – you will have a better sense of whether your legal representative is doing a good job, and you will know what things you and your supporters can do yourselves.

With government cuts to legal aid and the huge obstacles to obtaining good-quality, free legal advice, understanding your case is more important than ever.

Understand the System

This Toolkit is designed to help with this, and Part Two goes through the asylum and immigration processes and what to expect. You can also ask supporters and organisations for help with this – it is not 'giving legal advice' (which only accredited people are allowed to do – see 'Giving Legal Support without Giving Legal Advice', below) to explain how the asylum and immigrations systems work, or what certain documents mean.

Know your rights at different stages of the system, and know what the options are for the stage you are at. Knowing what could come next will help you prepare.

Gather Evidence

See sections on 'What to Do If You Want to Claim Asylum' and 'Fresh Claims' for more information on what is meant by evidence. It is best to try and get evidence supporting your claim as soon as possible because evidence can take a long time to gather. The earlier you start, the earlier you will find out what problems there may be and think of ways to overcome them.

Your legal representative will usually be able to find evidence about the general situation in your country but not about your own personal situation. You will usually

be the best person to gather evidence about your personal situation. If you can find any evidence to show that you, personally, would be in danger in your home country, then you should gather this and give it to your lawyer as soon as possible. Evidence that shows your claim is likely to be true will be very helpful to your case.

McKenzie Friends

You may be able to obtain some assistance from organisations such as law clinics, who help people without a lawyer to prepare their cases for court. What assistance they are able to provide varies, but it can include helping you to prepare a witness statement and put together evidence for your case. Law clinics may also be able to send someone (usually a volunteer) to assist you at court. A person supporting you at court in this way is known as a 'Mackenzie friend'. They are not legally representing you. Instead, the volunteer performs the role of giving you quiet assistance in presenting your case. They cannot answer questions for you but can assist you in making notes of what happens at the hearing, and in some cases also giving you assistance in making submissions to the court.

Is Your Legal Representative Doing a Good Job?

It is not always easy to know the answer to this. Legal aid lawyers are so busy that they can find it hard to respond to you quickly. Remember that they need time to work on your case, and constantly ringing them will not allow them to do this. But if your lawyer is very slow in getting back to you, or doesn't explain themselves properly, you should try to get your questions answered (and find someone to help ask the questions if necessary).

It's OK to ask your lawyer questions. If it is difficult to speak to your lawyer on the phone, then an easier way to speak to them might be to arrange an appointment. Alternatively, you can send a letter or email. Often lawyers will find it easier to reply to these.

- You should always have a copy of your documents, and anything the lawyer has submitted to the Home Office. Keep all your paperwork together in one organised file.
- You should always know the last action the lawyer took: what they did, when, and when they expect a response.
- Your legal representative should speak to you before and after each stage in the process of applying for leave to remain (e.g. your Home Office interviews, the decisions on your case).
- Make sure your lawyer knows your contact details. If you change address or phone number, let your lawyer know as soon as possible.
- Contact your lawyer any time you receive a letter from the Home Office or from the Courts and Tribunals service.
- Contact your lawyer prior to any appointments with the Home Office (other than routine reporting/signing events).

Often we are contacted by people whose files have been with a solicitor for a long time and nothing is being done on their case. Find out why. Is your lawyer waiting for you to gather evidence? Has your lawyer done all they can and they are now waiting for a response from UKBA? Has your lawyer actually said they can't do anything further on your case? This is a common problem with fresh claims: you might approach a lawyer to help you with this, but they will need evidence to submit before they can do it. You may think they are working on the fresh claim, but they are very unlikely to be doing anything on the fresh claim if you have not provided them with new evidence.

It's vital to know whether or not you have a current application with the Home Office. If you have no leave to remain and no outstanding applications, you are at high risk of detention and deportation.

Resource: Finding a legal advisor

You can look for an immigration advisor near-by using these resources on the NCADC website: <http://ncadc.org.uk/solicitors.html>

Resource: If you want to make a complaint against your legal advisor

You can ask to speak to your solicitor's supervisor for information on how to do this, or go to the OISC website: http://oisc.homeoffice.gov.uk/complaints_about_immigration_advice/

Giving Legal Support without Giving Legal Advice

It is illegal for anyone not accredited with OISC/LSC (the regulatory bodies of immigration advice) to give legal advice. However, there are plenty of things that a supporter, campaign group or other organisation can do that do not constitute giving legal advice.

One may be to look for objective evidence on your country of origin or particular situation (see 'Fresh Claims').

Another may be to explain the asylum and immigration system, using resources such as this Toolkit; the Rights of Women handbook, *Seeking Refuge?* (www.rightsofwomen.org.uk/legal.php); or personal/professional experience.

Make sure the person explaining the system has accurate, up-to-date knowledge of the system. Giving the wrong information is worse than giving no information.

A useful action can be to explain or translate legal documents. The documents you receive refusing your asylum/immigration application, or your court judgment, are often long and complicated. If a campaign group can be trained in how to read these documents, and what to look out for, they may be able to give general assistance without giving legal advice. This may be:

- reading the reasons for refusal letter or court determination and pointing out which parts of your testimony are being doubted;
- finding other case law or guidelines that the document may refer to; or
- explaining the meaning of technical terms.

Campaigning TOOLKIT

An aid to understanding
the asylum and immigration
systems in the UK, and
to campaigning for
the right to stay

First and foremost, we aim to help migrants understand the asylum and immigration systems, to know their rights, and to be as well-equipped as possible to make a successful application. In the case of a refusal, we hope the Toolkit enables migrants to know what a campaign is, whether it's right for them, and to be at the centre of the campaign and of all of the decisions made. We want to help migrants' voices be heard.

Most of the Toolkit is written addressing a person going through the process, but is intended to be used by anyone who finds it useful in supporting migrants through anti-deportation campaigns. You or your organisation may be supporting migrants but be unable to get directly involved in individual campaigning work. The Toolkit contains information to assist people who don't have an organisation backing their campaign, information for signposting to appropriate campaign support, and may help you understand the process the person you're supporting is trying to navigate. The Toolkit explains what different campaigns may involve, so that more people are able to make an informed decision about whether they want a campaign.

Many people who campaign for justice have supporters from their community working alongside them. They may be from the same country of origin, social group, religious group, geographical area, or simply people who care about human rights. The Toolkit is also designed to help supporters, and there are particular sections directed to the needs of those in a supporting role rather than experiencing the process directly.