

ICAR Briefing May 2006

Destitution amongst refugees and asylum seekers in the UK

Destitution amongst asylum seekers and refugees in the UK has begun to receive more attention in recent years. Work on this issue largely remains at a local level and is carried out by refugee organisations often in conjunction with local authorities or more mainstream charities such as Oxfam. There is no specific Home Office policy on tackling asylum-related destitution and there are no centrally collated statistics on the subject. Recent interaction between the Home Office and groups working with destitute asylum seekers came in response to the implementation of a number of policies, most notably Section 55 of the [Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002](#)¹. Refugee advocacy groups suggested this policy would make more asylum seekers destitute. For the government, this legislation accords with a broader policy of deterrence and tackling 'abuse of the asylum system'. Other legislation that has been criticised for causing destitution, such as Section 9 of the [Asylum and Immigration Act 2004](#)², accords with the government's policy to create 'incentives for voluntary return'.

Defining destitution

Destitution has been defined by various organisations in similar but distinct ways. Some define destitution by the inability to access statutory support mechanisms, others by the reliance on friends, family and charitable groups for basic subsistence and/or accommodation. It can also be defined by its symptoms or effects, such as homelessness. In this briefing, destitution is considered in the broadest possible terms to allow the use of findings from all reports, but the unclear nature of the definition of destitution alludes to the difficulty of tackling it and the blurring of symptom and effect.

¹ Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002
[http://www.uk-
legislation.hmso.gov.uk/acts/acts2002/20020041.htm](http://www.uk-
legislation.hmso.gov.uk/acts/acts2002/20020041.htm)

² Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants, etc) Act 2004
<http://www.opsi.gov.uk/acts/acts2004/20040019.htm>

Destitution statistics

There are no comprehensive national statistics for destitution among asylum seekers. The only statistical information on this subject is taken from local research projects or the monitoring work of local agencies dealing with destitute asylum seekers and refugees on a daily basis. A selection of statistics from these local sources is given below:

Leeds, Manchester and London

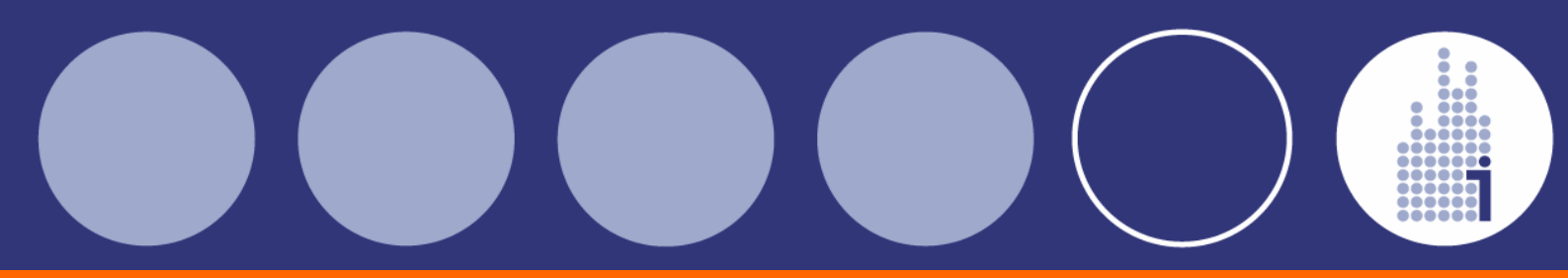
A [report](#)³ published in January 2006 by [Refugee Action](#) and the [Refugee Council](#) looked into the effects of the pilot legislation of Section 9 in these areas. Under Section 9, families who have reached the end of the asylum process can have support removed if they 'fail to take reasonable steps' to leave the UK. In the event that families are made destitute, they can face having their children taken into care. Of the 116 families selected to participate in this review:

- Only one had left the UK as a result of this legislation
- Three had signed up to voluntary return and 12 had taken steps to obtain travel documents
- Almost a third of the families had gone underground without access to support, housing or other services
- 80% of parents had mental health problems.

Leicester

In June 2005, Refugee Action monitored individuals using one of the six agencies in Leicester that support destitute asylum seekers

³ [Refugee Action and Refugee Council](#) (January 2006)
Inhumane and ineffective – Section 9 in practice
http://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/downloads/rc_reports/Section9_report_Feb06.pdf



and refugees.⁴ During this period, 168 individuals were considered destitute, of which:

- 37% were considered of ‘high vulnerability’
- 78% had been destitute for over one month; 40% for over six months
- 70% had become destitute due to their asylum claim ending
- 19% had ‘slept rough’ at some point during the monitoring
- 18% had dependants.

Birmingham

A study conducted between October 2004 and March 2005 interviewed a number of key stakeholders in Birmingham and the West Midlands more generally. A number of relevant points emerged from this research:⁵

- The number of destitute asylum seekers in the West Midlands is estimated by NASS as 30, the Regional Consortium for Refugees and Asylum Seekers as 10,000 and Refugee Network as 5,000-10,000
- The report estimates there are 1,000-2,000 destitute asylum seekers and refugees in Birmingham
- During the monitoring period, an average of 50 destitute asylum seekers and refugees per week were presenting themselves at the relevant support agencies for accommodation
- 75-80% of this group were male
- 60-70% were destitute as a result of reaching the end of their asylum claim.

⁴ **Refugee Action and Leicester Refugee and Asylum Seekers’ Voluntary Forum** (June 2005) *A report of destitution in the asylum system in Leicester* <http://www.refugee-action.org.uk/campaigns/documents/LVSFDestitutionreport.doc>

⁵ **Malfait, R. and Scott-Flynn, N.** (May 2005) *Destitution of asylum-seekers and refugees in Birmingham*, Restore of Birmingham Churches Together and the Churches Urban Fund

Scotland

An **Oxfam**-funded study issued by the **Refugee Survival Trust** (RST) produced a number of statistics on destitute asylum seekers and refugees in Scotland.⁶ Over 1000 applications for support were made to the RST between January 2000 and May 2004 by asylum seekers left without support. From studying this application data and data from 20 in-depth interviews the **report** suggests:

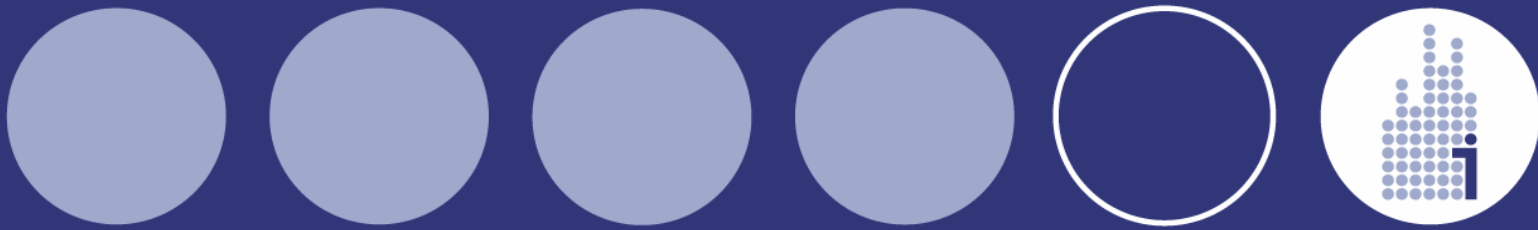
- 52% were made destitute as a result of administrative errors or procedural delays, 95% of which were attributable to the Home Office or to NASS
- The destitution of 15% was policy-induced, primarily as a result of Section 55
- A further 17% made applications as a result of the requirement to travel to Liverpool to claim asylum following the withdrawal of that facility in Glasgow
- Almost a third of applicants had experienced homelessness, and 75% of all applications were specifically for food and basic necessities
- 42% of applicants were people with dependants or expecting a child
- 89% of applicants were not permitted to work.

Coventry

Across a two-week monitoring period in October and November 2004, the **Coventry Refugee Centre** dealt with 38 separate cases in relation to destitute asylum seekers.⁷ This is around a sixth of the total number of cases dealt with by the centre in that period. Of the 38 cases:

⁶ **Refugee Survival Trust and Oxfam** (April 2005) *What’s going on? A study into destitution and poverty faced by asylum seekers and refugees in Scotland* http://oxfamgb.org/ukpp/resources/downloads/Whats_going_on.pdf

⁷ **Coventry Refugee Centre** (2004) *Destitution and asylum seekers: a human rights issue.*



- 29 (76%) were destitute as a result of reaching the end of their asylum claim
- Of these, 10 were awaiting further legal representation, 10 were refusing or waiting to apply for Section 4 support and 3 were trying to access further legal representation.

The report suggests that this is only a fraction of the number of destitute asylum seekers in Coventry, with the Chair of the Coventry Kurdish Association estimating there to be 500 destitute Kurdish people in Coventry.

Case study

The [Economic and Social Research Council](#) (ESRC) recently funded a study on the welfare of forced migrants in Leeds. [Meeting Basic Needs? Exploring the welfare strategies of forced migrants](#) found that destitution is a real but largely hidden problem among those who are denied access to public welfare under Section 55 or because their asylum claim has been rejected.

The following extracts are taken from interviews with destitute asylum seekers in Leeds:

*“To be honest sometimes, depending on the weather conditions we just find something to see us through the next morning... Just walk by sometimes and just find a corner to just sleep in
... At one stage it was terrible, very cold in the night and we didn't have enough to cover ourselves and it was traumatic. All night... you are shaking, you are trembling.”*

“There is no way I can find money. In this country I'm not allowed to beg and I'm not allowed to work so I don't even have accommodation to live in. I live here and there, here and there. I don't know what to do.”

The study was conducted by Peter Dwyer and David Brown in the [School of Sociology and Social Policy](#) at the University of Leeds.

Causes of destitution

Recent research and monitoring of destitution among asylum seekers and refugees in local areas have uncovered that destitution is experienced at every stage of the asylum process and also by

those recently granted refugee status. For example, asylum seekers whose claim is currently being considered can have entitlement to support withdrawn as a result of not lodging their claim in time (see section 55 below) or as a result of procedural errors by NASS. At the end of an asylum claim, whether the asylum claim is positive or negative, destitution can still be experienced. If the claim fails, then NASS support is withdrawn with further 'Hard Case' support under Section 4 being conditional on agreeing to voluntary return and subject to sometimes lengthy procedural delays.⁸ Conversely, those granted refugee status have their NASS support withdrawn after 28 days and those struggling to find alternative accommodation and employment in that space of time can become destitute. The issues of employment and housing for refugees and asylum seekers are dealt with by other bodies of literature and practical initiatives.⁹ There are also various periods of transition in the asylum process in which applicants can fall through gaps in the support system.

Some of the causes of destitution among asylum seekers and refugees are specific to the particular stage of the asylum process at which destitution is experienced, while others are more general causes. The report by the RST and Oxfam¹⁰, suggests that causes of destitution fall broadly into three categories: administrative error or procedural delay; policy-induced causes; and circumstantial causes. Some of the most frequent causes of destitution include:

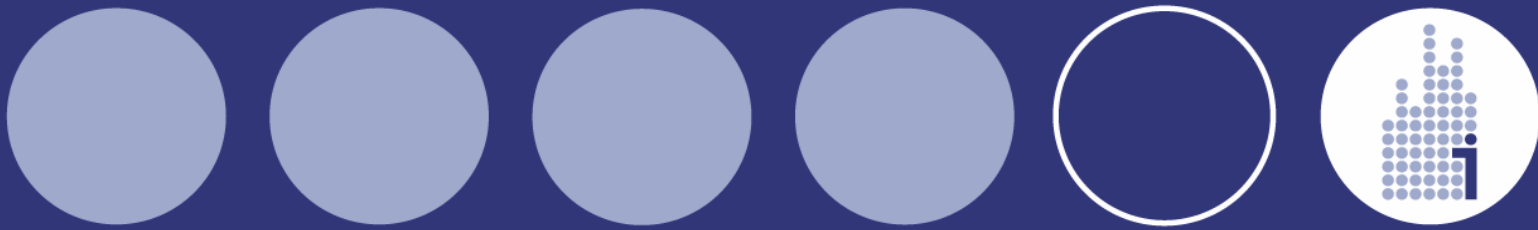
Legislation limiting support

The primary example is Section 55, a specific piece of legislation that removes support for those who do not register their claim for asylum 'as soon as reasonably practicable' after the person's arrival in the UK. Early indications of the effects of this policy suggested that thousands of in-country applicants could be left destitute and the legislation received criticism from the Inter-Agency Partnership (IAP) and the [National Association of Citizens Advice Bureaux](#)

⁸ For an explanation of Section 4 processes and their potential to cause destitution see [Stoke Citizens Advice Bureau](#) (October, 2003), *Mind the gap: failed asylum seekers and hard case support*, p.5

⁹ See for example: Bloch, A. (2004) *Making It Work: Refugee employment in the UK*, London: Ippr and [National Audit Office](#) (July 2005) *National Asylum Support Service: The provision of accommodation for asylum seekers*

http://www.nao.org.uk/publications/nao_reports/05-06/0506130.pdf
¹⁰ Refugee Survival Trust and Oxfam (April 2005)



(NACAB).¹¹ As a result of this response and a number of legal challenges against the legislation in 2004, more recent research suggests that destitution as a result of Section 55 is on the decline.¹² Furthermore, support networks have been organised locally specifically in order to provide support to those deprived of it by Section 55, though the issue is still of concern to advocacy groups.

Another example of legislation that has contributed to destitution is Section 9, a pilot project of which has been running Manchester, Leeds and London. Under Section 9, families whose claims have failed and who do not take active steps toward voluntary return can have their support terminated. However, recent press coverage suggests that the government is to scrap the proposed national roll-out of this legislation, as some families have been driven into hiding or undocumented employment.¹³

Restrictions on legal aid

These restrictions, implemented in April 2005, have forced many lawyers to withdraw from offering advice on asylum claims as they do not believe they can operate effectively within the new restriction of only being able to claim for five hours work. As a result many asylum seekers are unable to continue with their claim or mount a successful appeal against a decision that could be overturned, leading to a withdrawal of support and/or accommodation.¹⁴

Procedural delay and administrative error

In all the locations where research has taken place on destitution, a cause that has often been highlighted is errors by NASS or the Home

Office. This was most starkly the case in the study of applications to the RST in Glasgow, where it accounted for 52% of examples of destitution. Problems included delay in support following dispersal, support being incorrectly terminated, faulty application registration cards and vouchers not arriving at the correct address.¹⁵

Gaps in support structures

The support provided to asylum seekers at various stages of their claim is not organised in a joined-up manner. There are examples of destitution amongst asylum seekers whose claims have failed and are in the process of applying for and awaiting a decision on Section 4 support, as NASS has no obligation to provide accommodation in the period between one form of support ending and another commencing.¹⁶

Inflexible support structures

The support system that is currently in place for asylum seekers is often incapable of adapting to a change in people's circumstances such as a new address. As the life of asylum seekers becomes increasingly complex, caused by dispersal or relocation of certain asylum facilities,¹⁷ the system has found it difficult to cope.¹⁸

Other causes of destitution

Poor communication about available benefits and about status is also highlighted as a cause of destitution among asylum seekers and refugees. This is particularly relevant to what have been deemed by one piece of research as 'sudden policy changes' that cause upheaval for the system and the individuals supported by it.¹⁹ EU accession has also been a cause of destitution for people previously considered asylum seekers but who are now considered European Nationals and so not eligible for NASS support.

¹¹ **Inter-Agency Partnership (2004)**, *The impact of Section 55 on the Inter-Agency Partnership and the asylum seekers it supports*,

http://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/downloads/rc_reports/iap_s55_feb04.pdf and **National Association of Citizens Advice Bureaux (2004)**, *Inquiry into asylum applications*

second supplementary submission.
http://www.citizensadvice.org.uk/index/campaigns/social_policy/consultation_responses/cr_immigrationassylum/cr_asylum_applications

¹² **Malfait, R. and Scott-Flynn, N.** (May 2005) p.9

¹³ **Hinsliff, G. and Doward, J.** 'U-turn on plan to take babies from refugees', *The Observer*, January 29 2006

¹⁴ **Mayor of London (2005)** *Into the Labyrinth: Legal advice for asylum seekers in London*.

http://www.london.gov.uk/mayor/refugees/docs/labyrinth_report.pdf

¹⁵ **Refugee Survival Trust and Oxfam** (April 2005) p.24-5

¹⁶ **Refugee Action and Leicester Refugee and Asylum Seekers' Voluntary Forum** (June 2005) p.12.

¹⁷ A particular example is the closure of the facility to apply for asylum in Glasgow. Asylum seekers arriving in Scotland have regularly sought support from the RST for travel costs to Liverpool, where they can claim asylum. See **RST/Oxfam report**, p.14

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.53

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. iv



Effects of destitution

Research has shown that destitution is characterised by a number of recurring symptoms, including: lack of shelter and sleeping rough;²⁰ inability to feed and cloth oneself; and a reliance on informal support structures. Such symptoms are often experienced in combination and can create a number of negative effects on an individual's well-being as identified by recent research. A selection of these is listed below:

Physical health problems

Applications for support by destitute asylum seekers are often to cover food costs and other basic needs. Lack in these areas can obviously affect the physical health of an individual and is exacerbated by the removal of health provision for some categories of people.²¹

Mental health problems

Similarly, a number of recent research findings include negative effects on mental health. Destitute asylum seekers and refugees can suffer from extreme anxiety, depression and vulnerability. They can also suffer from disempowerment as a result of being forced into dependency on NASS and then having that support removed.²²

Social problems

As many destitute asylum seekers become dependent on 'good will' support from family and friends, this can create strains on relationships, particularly if the resources of the family and/or friends are also very limited. Some research suggests that even where this support is available; it is often in poor conditions and overcrowded housing.²³

Exploitation

Without entitlement to welfare support or access to the regular labour market, destitute asylum seekers can become involved in irregular employment often in exploitative, dangerous but hidden conditions. Research in Birmingham uncovered instances of prostitution and criminality amongst destitute asylum seekers and

refugees.²⁴ Yet, by its very nature, this sort of activity is out of sight and difficult to quantify; it is probable that using purely empirical evidence is likely to underestimate the extent of the problem.

The spiralling nature of destitution

Many of the above effects can also become causes of further destitution leading to prolonged or repeated phases of destitution for some asylum seekers and refugees.²⁵ Physical health problems can affect the ability to address the problems of destitution, while mental health problems can affect an individual's confidence in the system and desire to appeal against a negative decision. This potential spiralling effect is something that has been identified as a phenomenon in poverty more generally, and projects or research looking to address this may also be relevant for destitution among asylum seekers and refugees.²⁶ Additionally, it appears that the most extreme destitution is experienced when a number of the symptoms exist at the same time to produce a combination of the effects described above.

Useful websites

- British Red Cross <http://www.redcross.org.uk/> - see local area pages on services to destitute asylum seekers and refugees
- B-mag <http://www.b-mag.org.uk/ASDF.htm> - asylum seeker destitution fund operating in Birmingham
- Citizens Advice Bureau <http://www.citizensadvice.org.uk/> - information on local services, policy documents and consultation briefings
- Mayor of London <http://www.london.gov.uk/mayor/housing/homelessness.jsp#refugees> - information on London provision and activity

²⁰ **Refugee Action and Leicester Refugee and Asylum Seekers' Voluntary Forum** (June 2005)p.20

²¹ For detail on these entitlements see *Ibid.*, p.14

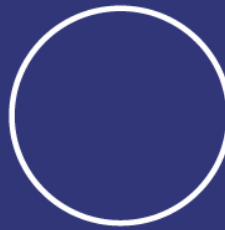
²² **RST/Oxfam report**, p.35

²³ **Malfait and Scott-Flynn**, p.11

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.11

²⁵ **RST/Oxfam report**, p. ii

²⁶ For evidence of this see '[Persistent poverty and lifetime inequality: the evidence](#)', workshop held by HM Treasury, November 1998



- Office of the Deputy Prime Minister <http://www.odpm.gov.uk/index.asp?id=1149659> – information on homelessness
 - Oxfam’s UK Poverty Programme <http://www.oxfamgb.org/ukpp/index.htm>
 - Refugee Access <http://www.refugeeaccess.info/> - a directory of services for refugees in the North of England
 - Refugee Action <http://www.refugee-action.org.uk/ourwork/WhereWeWork.aspx> - information on local services
 - Refugee Council - information of local services <http://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/refugeecouncil/what/what001.htm>
- Destitution
campaign: <http://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/supportus/campaigns/destitution.htm>

Organisations involved in destitution

This section gives details of some of the key organisations working on the issue of destitution and lists some of the practical and policy initiatives they are involved with. Future work on destitution is likely to be more preventative through political lobbying, while research is likely to look more into the root causes and long-term effects of destitution on individuals and communities.

Practical initiatives

The [British Red Cross](#) operates a number of projects in many areas of the UK, one of which, the Refugee Orientation Project, focuses on the arrival of asylum seekers and preventing destitution early in the asylum process. Another, the Destitution Project was set-up to combat Section 55 more specifically. Examples of these projects can be found, amongst other places, in Manchester, Birmingham and Leicester. The British Red Cross is also attempting to act in a more preventative capacity by co-ordinating a

national body on destitution to share learning from research and practical initiatives as well as to form a more influential lobbying presence. In April 2005 they hosted a conference on this issue, the details of which can be found in the appendices of a research report into destitution in Birmingham.²⁷ As a follow-up to this activity, a meeting was held in January 2006 at which Refugee Action, Refugee Council, Shelter, Migrant Helpline and other key stakeholders were present.

[Birmingham Money Advice and Grants](#) are an organisation offering advice and assistance on welfare issues. In 2003, an [Asylum Seekers’ Destitution Fund](#) was established to provide support to those whose NASS support had been withdrawn.

Leicester Primary Care Trust has set up ASSIST, a project that registers destitute asylum seekers and provides essential health services that are withdrawn at the end of a claim.

[Medecins du Monde UK](#) has recently established [Project: London](#) in association with [Praxis](#). The project provides free medical assistance to asylum seekers who are unable to access mainstream NHS healthcare services in London.

Policy initiatives

Whilst support work to help destitute asylum seekers and refugees is vital, the root causes of destitution also need to be addressed and this involves political campaigning on issues such as adequate legal advice and support for those who are destitute.

Lobbying:

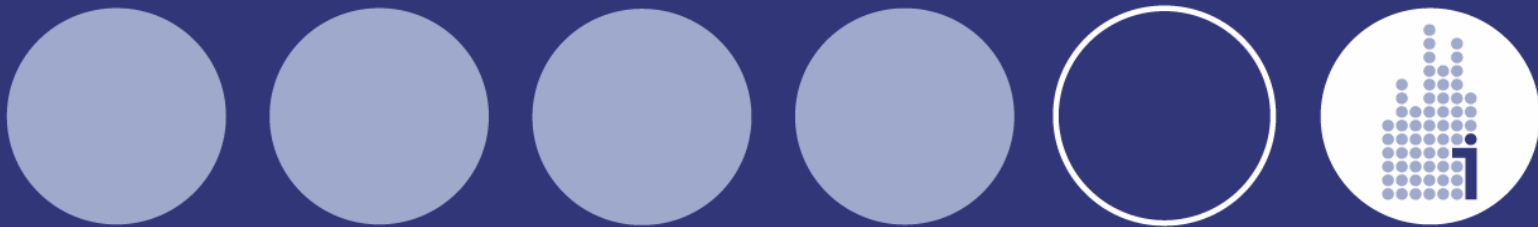
Section 55

There were a number of responses from organisations concerned about the implications of this legislation. Most notably these included the NACAB, [Inquiry into asylum applications second supplementary submission](#), August 2004, and IAP, *The impact of Section 55 on the IAP and the asylum seekers it supports*, February, 2004.

Section 9

There has been consistent lobbying from the major refugee advocacy agencies on Section 9, which is currently reaching a climax as the Home

²⁷ **Malfait and Scott-Flynn**, appendix 2



Office decides whether to roll-out nationally the pilot programmes that have been running around the UK. In January 2006, Refugee Action and Refugee Council released a report on the Section 9 pilot, [Inhuman and Ineffective - Section 9 in practice](#). This is a report of the two agencies' experience in the areas where the pilot project has been running and the findings suggest that the policy has been more effective at creating destitution that achieving its stated objective of increasing voluntary return. There is competing opinion on whether the programme will be made national, with the Observer suggesting that a senior Home Office source claiming the roll-out was 'very unlikely'.²⁸ The immigration minister, Tony McNulty, has suggested that the decision will be taken only after an official evaluation.²⁹

Conflicting policy objectives

The recent report by Refugee Action and the Refugee Council indicates that withdrawing support under Section 9 has influenced only a handful of families from their sample of 116 to sign-up for voluntary return. This suggests that irrespective of the humanitarian implications of this policy, it should be urgently reviewed on the grounds that it is ineffective at achieving its stated objective. Consequently, the destitution caused by these policies undermines a separate Home Office policy on reducing the prevalence of illegal working. As mentioned above, one of the knock-on effects of destitution has been to force many failed asylum seekers into such irregular, often exploitative employment.

Legal Challenges:

Section 55

Legal challenges to this legislation have been received by the High Court in abundance, prompting a test case known as the [Limbuela case](#)³⁰. The Lords' ruling suggested the government had a duty to prevent foreseeable destitution caused by this policy.³¹ While individual legal cases are still being brought against this legislation, one section of the law is still operational and it can still be applied so long as it is not in breach of Article 3 of the [European](#)

[Convention on Human Rights](#), which states that no one shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Section 9

A case brought against this piece of legislation recently failed in the high court. The case of a woman known only as 'K' was unsuccessful as the judge declared it was the remit of the government, not the courts, to decide the desirability of the policy.³²

Resources

Association of Directors of Social Services, *Press Release – Aspects of the Queen's Speech belong to an earlier century*, November 27, 2003
<http://www.adss.org.uk/pres/2003/queen/shtml>

Bail for Immigration Detainees and Asylum Aid (April 2005) *Justice Denied: Asylum and Immigration Legal Aid – A System in Crisis*
<http://www.asylumaid.org.uk/Publications/Justicedenied.pdf>

Commission on Urban Life and Faith (May 2006) *Faithful Cities: A call for celebration, vision and justice*
<http://www.culf.org.uk/files/Faithful%20Cities.pdf>

Churches Regional Commission for Yorkshire and the Humber (April 2006) *'Living Ghosts' Briefing Paper on Destitute Asylum Seekers*
<http://www.crc-online.org.uk/downloads/Destitute%20Asylum%20Seekers%202006.pdf>

Coventry Refugee Centre (2004) *Destitution and asylum seekers: a human rights issue*, Coventry Refugee Centre for International Human Rights Day.

Hinsliff, G. and Doward J. 'U-turn on plan to take babies from refugees', *The Observer* January 29 2006
http://observer.guardian.co.uk/uk_news/story/0,,1697356,00.html

Inter-Agency Partnership (2004) *The impact of Section 55 on the Inter-Agency Partnership and the asylum seekers it supports*, Inter-Agency Partnership.

²⁸ Hinsliff, G. and Doward, J., January 29, 2006

²⁹ Travis, A. 'Asylum scheme drives families underground', *The Guardian*, January 31, 2006

³⁰ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/guardianpolitics/story/0,,1698525,00.html>
³⁰ <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld200506/ldjudgmt/jd051103/adam-1.htm>

³¹ BBC online, 'Lords throw out key asylum rule', 3 November 2005
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4402596.stm>

³² BBC online, 'Asylum benefits challenge fails', 31 January 2006
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4663056.stm>



http://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/downloads/rc_reports/iap_s55_feb04.pdf

Malfait, R. and Scott-Flynn, N. (2005) *Destitution of asylum-seekers and refugees in Birmingham*, Restore of Birmingham Churches Together and the Churches Urban Fund.

Mayor of London (2004) *Destitution by design: withdrawal of support from in-country asylum applicants*, Greater London Authority
http://www.london.gov.uk/mayor/refugees/docs/destitution_by_design.pdf

Mayor of London (2005) *Into the Labyrinth: Legal advice for asylum seekers in London*, Greater London Authority
http://www.london.gov.uk/mayor/refugees/docs/labyrinth_report.pdf

Migrants Resource Centre (2006) *Seeking Asylum: A report on the living conditions of asylum seekers in London*, Refugee Media Action Group
http://www.migrantsresourcecentre.org.uk/documents/SeekingAsylum_000.pdf

National Association of Citizens Advice Bureaux (2002) *Distant voices: Citizens Advice Bureau clients' experience of continuing problems with the National Asylum Support Service*
http://www.citizensadvice.org.uk/distant_voices

National Association of Citizens Advice Bureaux (2004) *Inquiry into Asylum Applications second supplementary submission*
http://www.citizensadvice.org.uk/winnn6/index/campaigns/social_policy/consultation_responses/cr_immigrationasylum/cr_asylum_applications

Positive Action in Housing (2004) *Destitute asylum seekers – briefing on available resources*
<http://www.paih.org/archive/campaigns/destitution%2006/Destitution%20Resources%20Briefing%20Revised.pdf>

Refugee Action and Leicester Refugee and Asylum Seekers' Voluntary Sector Forum (2005) *A report of destitution in the asylum system in Leicester* <http://www.refugee-action.org.uk/campaigns/Destitution.aspx>

Refugee Action and Refugee Council (2006) *Inhumane and ineffective – Section 9 in practice*
http://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/downloads/rc_reports/Section9_report_Feb0

Refugee Council (December 2005) 'Asylum Seeker Destitution' speech by Maeve Sherlock made at the Church Action on Poverty Conference, Manchester
http://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/downloads/new/speeches/destitution_Sherlock_Dec05.pdf

Refugee Survival Trust and Oxfam (2005), *What's going on? A study into destitution and poverty faced by asylum seekers and refugee in Scotland*
http://oxfam.intelli-direct.com/e/d.dll?m=234&url=http://oxfamgb.org/ukpp/resources/downloads/Whats_going_on.pdf

Renewal.net (2005) *Integrating refugee and asylum seeking families*
<http://www.renewal.net/Nav.asp?Category=:neighbourhood%20renewal:tackling%20exclusion:asylum%20seekers>

Stoke Citizens Advice Bureau (2003) *Mind the gap: failed asylum seekers and hard case support*, (available on request from Stoke CAB, tel: 01782 201234)

Travis, A. 'Asylum scheme drives families underground', *The Guardian*, January 31, 2006
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/guardianpolitics/story/0,,1698525,00.html>



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