



**BAOBAB CENTRE**  
for Young Survivors in Exile

# Earned Settlement Consultation - Evidence from The Baobab Centre

---

Evidence Submission

February 2026



**BAOBAB CENTRE**  
for Young Survivors in Exile

Prepared by: Luka Avramović  
Wajiha Anwar

Reviewer: Fabrice Lyczba

# The Baobab Centre for Young Survivors in Exile

Many multiple-choice questions did not give an opportunity to disagree with the premise of the question. In such cases we have indicated 'Don't know / prefer not to say'. This is also the answer when the question is not relevant to our population.

Our answers are highlighted in yellow. All other text is from the original consultation.

## Earned settlement consultation

### Earned settlement

#### 1. Overall, how clear do you find the proposed changes to the settlement framework?

- Very clear
- Somewhat clear
- Neither clear nor unclear
- Somewhat unclear
- Very unclear
- Don't know / prefer not to say

#### 2. [If unclear] Which aspects of the proposed changes to settlement are not clear?

- The concept of earned settlement
- The overall purpose
- Which groups may be eligible for exemptions from the 10-year qualifying period
- How reductions to the qualifying period will be applied
- How extensions to the qualifying period will be applied
- How reductions and/or extensions will be applied if applicants meet multiple criteria
- How the proposed changes will apply to dependants and children
- Other (please specify)
  - Exemptions for vulnerable groups not mentioned in the original statement;



- How the "requirements in the earned reduction model" will apply to children with and, especially, without adult principal applicants;
- Children in care, care leavers or unaccompanied minors in the asylum system, despite them being "out of the scope of this consultation".

### **3. Overall to what extent do you agree or disagree with the proposed changes to the settlement framework**

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don't know / prefer not to say

### **Character**

This question focuses on character, the first of the four core pillars designed to ensure that applicants make a meaningful contribution to UK society and meet clear, measurable standards.

To be eligible for settlement, applicants will need to meet the suitability requirements set out in the existing Immigration Rules ([Part Suitability](#)) [and applicants must have no current litigation, NHS, tax or other government debt]

This reformed system will, as now, provide for the refusal of applications where core requirements relating to their character and conduct are not met (for example, having a criminal conviction, non-compliance with immigration requirements and considerations pertaining to the public good). It will be mandatory to meet such requirements and there will be no ability to trade with other considerations to determine the qualifying period.

### **1 Do you have any comments on how 'Character' should be considered in relation to settlement? (max 200 words)**

For unaccompanied asylum-seeking children (UASCs), tightening character requirements will only prolong protection decision-making and is unrelated to the need for stability to rebuild a life in the UK. It fundamentally misunderstands the well-documented mental-health effects of prolonged precarity, especially for young people. Research shows that UASCs in the UK have already high rates of psychological distress, including PTSD, depression, anxiety, sleep disturbance and suicidality, stemming from trauma, separation and dangerous journeys (Bamford et al. 2021). Exclusion from and long routes to settlement create severe financial strain, chronic

instability, and cumulative harm to mental health, which are effects amplified for UASCs transitioning into adulthood without family support (Qureshi & Morris 2023, Bamford et al. 2021). UASCs require stability and protection to recover and integrate, not punitive barriers (de Haas 2023). Evaluating 'character' should not delay accessing settlement.

Crucially, certain factors that would count against a young person, such as irregular entry or debt, are outside their control; the Refugee Convention prohibits states from penalising asylum seekers for irregular entry.

Our Head of Psychotherapy, Ferelyth Watt, says:

*"Denying settlement will not result in departure; it will entrench a population of traumatised young people living in insecurity, undermining safeguarding duties and long-term wellbeing."*

## **Integration**

This section focuses on 'Integration'. To be eligible for settlement applicants will need to demonstrate meaningful engagement with British society. This includes passing a Life in the UK test and speaking English at an upper intermediate level (B2 standard under the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages).

### **1 What do you think about a 1-year reduction for applicants who can demonstrate advanced English language ability (at C1 standard)?**

- The reduction doesn't go far enough (it should be longer than 1 year)
- The reduction is about right
- The reduction goes too far (it should be shorter than 1 year)
- There should be no reduction for these applicants
- Don't know / prefer not to say

### **2 How do you think integration should be assessed? (please select all that apply)**

- Through a formal test (such a revised Life in the UK Test)
- Through gathered ongoing evidence (such as participation in certified English Language education or employment/volunteering evidence)
- Through completing a cultural orientation course once arrived in the UK
- Through character references from public services professional and British Nationals
- Through evidence of learning and participation within the wider community (including testimonies from relevant organisations/groups)
- In another way (please specify)



Don't know / prefer not to say

### **3 Do you have any further comments on how 'Integration' should be considered in relation to settlement? (max 200 words)**

Integration is not a measurable checklist. Attempts to formally assess it, through English tests, cultural courses, or behavioural evidence, misrepresent what integration is (Spencer & Charsley 2021). Integration happens in many dimensions of life and is shaped by structural conditions such as rights, stability, and security – regardless of whether policy interventions take place (Kierans 2021). Crucially, integration happens through 'trade-offs': a young person may need to work more to support themselves, limiting their chances to continue with education or making new friends (Spencer & Charsley, 2021). Moreover, the tests also risk deepening exclusion rather than promoting belonging (Adem & Okamoto, 2025).

In general, younger children tend to learn languages faster than adults (Dustmann & Fabbri, 2003). However, for UASCs, who often arrive with disrupted schooling, trauma exposure and significant mental-health needs, tying faster settlement to 'advanced' English or formal participation requirements ignores their vulnerabilities and varying engagement capacities in a period of susceptibility.

Linking integration to settlement is fundamentally a xenophobic premise, built on the assumption that people seeking to build a new life in the UK will not want to 'integrate'. Our 18-year experience working with young people from more than 30 countries has proven otherwise.

### **Contribution**

This section focuses on 'Contribution'. This reinforces the principle that settlement should be earned through active participation in the economy and wider society.

To be eligible for settlement applicants must:

- Have contributed to the Exchequer by having annual earnings above £12,570 for a minimum of 3 to 5 years (subject to this consultation), in line with the current thresholds for paying income tax and National Insurance Contributions (NICs), or an alternative amount of income. Please note, however, that these income-related thresholds would not track future changes to the tax system.
- Have no outstanding litigation, NHS, tax or other Government debt

### **1 Do you think the following groups should be exempt from the requirement to have earned above £12,750 for at least 3 to 5 years?**

- Those on maternity leave or long-term illness/disability? Yes/No/**Don't know**



- Those in certain occupations with different pay arrangements (e.g. Ministers of Religion)? Yes/No/ **Don't know**

## **2 Are there any other groups that you think should be exempt from the requirement to have earned above £12,750 for at least 3 to 5 years?**

You may list up to five separate groups. If you think there are more than five groups that should be exempt from the requirement then please list the five that you most strongly feel should be provided with an exemption from this requirement. [200 words max]

This requirement fails to account for structural barriers that prevent many people from working and would unfairly penalise those already facing significant or persistent hardship.

Many UASCs arrive in the UK as children and face trauma-related mental-health difficulties into early adulthood. They will face language barriers, come from little education background, and face barriers in accessing education in the UK. Reaching an education level sufficient to join the job market productively will take them much longer than native young people.

Baobab data from 2022 shows that among 18-25-year-olds in our community, only 25% have attended university (versus 37.5% of UK peers) and 48% have been to college, mostly part-time, with the average time in education just 9 years compared to 18 for UK young people. Expecting them to meet income thresholds ignores their disrupted education, insecure status, and lack of familial safety nets (Bamford et al. 2021).

In our population at the Baobab Centre, we also see people who cannot work full-time or at all due to their health needs, such as people with disabilities, long-term health conditions, and survivors of trafficking, torture, or gender-based violence. Tying settlement to earnings directly discriminates against them.

## **3 To what extent do you agree or disagree that migrants who have worked in an occupation below RQF level 6 should have their standard qualifying period for settlement set at 15 years?**

***Occupations skilled to RQF level 6 are those which require a qualification equivalent to degree level or higher. You can read more about what kind of qualifications this includes [here](#).***

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree



- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don't know / prefer not to say

**4 To what extent to you agree or disagree that applicants who earn a taxable income above £50,270 should be eligible for a reduction in their time to settlement?**

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don't know / prefer not to say

**5 What do you think about the proposed reductions for applicants based on their annual taxable income?**

- **7-year reduction for applicants who earn a taxable income above £125,140** (The reduction doesn't go far enough / The reduction is about right / The reduction goes too far / There should be no reduction for these applicants / **Don't know/Prefer not to say**)
- **5-year reduction for applicants who earn a taxable income above £50,270** (The reduction doesn't go far enough / The reduction is about right / The reduction goes too far / There should be no reduction for these applicants / **Don't know/Prefer not to say**)

**6 Do you think those employed in a public service occupation (i.e. health and education occupations where going rates are based on national pay scales) should be eligible for a reduction in their qualifying period to settlement?**

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to say

Under the proposed reforms, applicants who claim public funds (e.g. benefits and housing assistance) would face a penalty depending on the length of time they claimed public funds during their route to settlement.

*The Home Office recognises that some applicants (such as those from vulnerable groups) may have extenuating circumstances to claim public funds. Later questions will explore whether specific groups should be exempt from the proposed reforms.*

**7 What do you think about the proposed penalties for applicants claiming public funds?**

*Ensuring that the UK can remain compliant with its international obligations, these penalties would exclude migrants covered by Trade Continuity Agreements and Social Security Coordination Agreements.*

**5-year penalty for applicants who claim public funds for less than 12 months during their route to settlement?**

- The penalty doesn't go far enough (it should be longer)
- The penalty is about right
- The penalty goes too far (it should be shorter than 5 years)
- There should be no penalty for these applicants
- Don't know / prefer not to say

**10-year penalty for applicants who claim public funds for more than 12 months during their route to settlement**

- The penalty doesn't go far enough (it should be longer)
- The penalty is about right
- The penalty goes too far (it should be shorter than 5 years)
- There should be no penalty for these applicants
- Don't know / prefer not to say

**8 To what extent do you agree or disagree that once someone has been granted settlement in the UK they should be eligible to claim public funds (e.g. benefits and housing assistance)?**

*Ensuring that the UK can remain compliant with its international obligations, these penalties would exclude migrants covered by Trade Continuity Agreements and Social Security Coordination Agreements.*

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don't know / prefer not to say

**9 To what extent do you agree or disagree that giving back to local communities (e.g. by volunteering) should be considered as a contribution that can reduce the length of time required to qualify for settlement?**

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree



- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don't know / prefer not to say

**10 [If organisation] Does your organisation currently accept or manage volunteers?**

- Yes
- No
- Don't know / prefer not to say

**11 [If organisation with volunteers] How easy or difficult do you think it would be for applicants to provide evidence of giving back to the community?**

- Very easy
- Somewhat easy
- Neither easy nor difficult
- Somewhat difficult
- Very difficult
- Don't know/prefer not to say

**12 [If organisation with volunteers] Considering any potential benefits or challenges, what would be the overall impact of recognising giving back to the community as a contribution towards settlement for your organisation. Would this have**

- A very positive impact
- A somewhat positive impact
- No impact
- A somewhat negative impact
- A very negative impact

**13 Do you have any further comments on how 'Contributions' should be considered in relation to settlement, including any potential benefits or challenges of recognising giving back to the community as a contribution towards settlement? (200 words)**

Many UASCs will struggle to meet mandatory income thresholds or maintain stable employment, not because of a lack of willingness to contribute, but because of barriers like age, trauma, delayed education, and uncertain immigration status. Where young people cannot access housing assistance or benefits, pressure shifts onto crisis provision (Leon 2023). Withholding support defers costs longer-term by increasing the likelihood of homelessness, interrupted education, and barriers to employment, limiting children's ability to participate economically and socially (Benton et al. 2022).

People applying for settlement shouldn't be punished for using public funds because settlement should provide equal access to support needed for a dignified life, particularly for unaccompanied minors.

Our Casework Advocate, Chrissie Wild, says:

"NRPf clauses are not a deterrent. It is a one-way street to long term destitution. Access to public funds means, after a period of uncertainty – where you do not have the right to work – you are given the foundation on which you can set up a new life, find work and contribute to the economy and the UK. NRPf for those granted refugee status will mean a massive rise in homelessness and its associated issues such as mental illness, drug addiction, violent crime."

## Residence

*This section focuses on 'Residence'. This pillar aims to recognise lawful, continuous residence in the UK. In order to meet the qualifying period for settlement, applicants will need to have spent the required time in the UK on a route, or routes, that leads to settlement set out in the existing [Immigration Rules](#).*

*Under the proposed reforms, a person's pathway to settlement will also depend on their history of compliance with immigration laws. Applicants who arrived in the UK illegally (e.g. via a small boat), arrived in the UK on a visit visa, or who have overstayed their visa for 6 months or more, will have additional time added to their standard qualifying period for settlement, or prevented from settling in the UK altogether.*

**1 Which of the following penalties do you think should be applied to each of the following applicants?**

	<b>A penalty of 20 years</b>	<b>A penalty of 10 years</b>	<b>A penalty of 5 years</b>	<b>There should be no penalty for these applicants</b>	<b>Don't know / prefer not to say</b>
<b>Applicants who arrived in the UK illegally</b>				<b>X</b>	



Applicants who initially entered the UK on a temporary visit visa (typically this visa permits stays of up to 6 months for tourism, visiting family or friends or short-term business activities)				X	
Applicants who have overstayed their original visa by 6 months or more				X	

**2 Do you have any further comments on how 'Residence' should be considered in relation to settlement? (200 words)**

Linking settlement to mode of arrival or past irregular residence would unfairly penalise UASCs for circumstances beyond their control, as many use dangerous routes due to the lack of safe asylum pathways for UASCs (King's College London, 2025). The Home Office (2025a) itself acknowledges that current reforms prioritise deterrence over expanding safe routes. According to the Home Office's report *Asylum seeker decision-making in journeys to the United Kingdom (2022)*: "Existing evidence (...) indicates the correlation between state policies and strengthening border control on the one hand, and asylum seeker decision-making on the other, is highly disputed if not denied. (...) [T]ightening migration policies is ineffective given the complexity of people's choices to migrate."

Therefore, if the tightening measures will not reduce the amount of asylum seekers (including children) coming to the UK, and children usually do not have access to safe journeys or control over illegal entry, then the proposed policies would be ineffective at reducing the number of applicants or reducing unsafe journeys. In addition, the rules punish UASCs for circumstances beyond their control, which research additionally shows is due to Home Office error, inability to pay fees (Gbikpi 2024), or misunderstandings about complex immigration rules.

## Eligibility and equalities

*This section focuses on whether specific groups (including potentially vulnerable groups) should be exempt from, or receive reductions to, the proposed earned settlement reforms.*

**1 Where the standard qualifying period is proposed to increase from 5 to 10 years, which of the following options do you think should apply to each of the following visa holder groups?**

	Reduction (of 5 or 7 years from the Standard qualifying period of 10 years)	Apply full change (standard qualifying period of 10 years)	Don't know / prefer not to say
Applicants who currently require 3 years continuous residence under the Global Talent route			X
Applicants who currently require 5 continuous years residence under the Global Talent route			X
Applicants who currently require 3 continuous years residence under the Innovator Founder route			X
Applicants on humanitarian visa routes (e.g. Syrian, Afghan)	X		

**2 To what extent do you agree or disagree that dependants of migrants who hold Global Talent or Innovator Founder visa status should retain their current 5-year path to settlement?**



- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don't know / prefer not to say

**3 To what extent do you agree or disagree that there should not be transitional arrangements for those already on a pathway to settlement?**

*Transitional arrangements refer to temporary measures which are designed to ease the impact of the new rules for those already in the UK and on an existing pathway to settlement.*

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don't know / prefer not to say

**4 Do you think the following vulnerable groups should retain their current arrangements and be exempt from the proposed settlement changes?**

	Yes	No	Don't know / prefer not to say
<b>Victims of domestic violence and abuse</b>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		
<b>Bereaved partners</b>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Children and young adults who grew up in the UK without immigration status</b>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		
<b>Adults with long-term care needs</b>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		

**5 Are there any other vulnerable groups that you think should be considered as part of this consultation?**

You may list up to five separate groups. If you think there are more than five groups that should be exempt from the requirement then please list the five that you feel will be most affected by these changes.



Unaccompanied asylum-seeking children, and all people who have at some point during their process towards regularisation been under the age of 18.

**6 Do you think the following Armed Forces groups should retain their current time period to settlement or should further reductions be available to this group**

	Retain current arrangements	Further reductions should be applied	Don't know / prefer not to say
Members of HM Armed Forces			X
Immediate family members of HM Armed Forces			X

**7 To what extent do you agree or disagree that dependant partners of migrants should earn settlement in their own right?**

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don't know / prefer not to say

**8 To what extent do you agree or disagree that dependent children of migrants should earn settlement in their own right? (with employment-related requirements waived if they were admitted as a dependant under 18)**

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don't know / prefer not to say

**9 To what extent do you agree or disagree that resettled refugees should have a 10-year route to settlement?**

- Strongly agree
- Agree



- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don't know / prefer not to say

**10 [If organisation providing immigration advice or support services] As an organisation which provides immigration advice or support services, are there any migrant groups in particular that you think will face barriers in demonstrating their eligibility or meeting new requirements for settlement? [200 words]**

Children, especially unaccompanied minors, often struggle to prove their age because documentation may be unclear, unavailable, or lost during journeys to the UK (Home Office 2025b). This is compounded by unreliable age assessments, which in the first half of 2024 led to "603 referrals of young people wrongly placed in adult accommodation or detention" (Dorling 2025).

At Baobab, over a third of young people were age assessed, and 64% of disputed cases were eventually found to match the age originally claimed, often after long disputes. This resulted in 68% of age-disputed young people received an initial negative asylum decision, compared to 55% among non-age-disputed minors (Baobab Centre 2024).

They may also have issues being kept aware of or following changes to their status or their rights due to the complexity of requirements and limited access to advice (Gbikpi 2024) or poor mental health, which has been shown to affect nearly 90% of all UASCs who have suffered detention or flawed age assessments (Ehnholt 2018). Children also face financial challenges in meeting the minimum income requirements, NRPf rules and immigration application fees, which could be a detriment to their physical and mental wellbeing, especially in cases close to destitution (Gbikpi 2024).

**11 [If organisation providing immigration advice or support services] What are the main barriers that you think this group / these groups will face? (please select all that apply)**

- Lack of documentation
- Complexity of requirements
- Language barriers
- Financial barriers
- Health-related barriers
- Limited access to advice / support
- Other (please specify) Racism, discrimination, marginalisation

**12 Do you have any further comments on how specific groups should be considered in relation to settlement? We particularly welcome views on how the proposed changes could affect children in the UK. (200 words maximum)**

The proposed settlement reforms risk disproportionately penalising unaccompanied minors, making it difficult for them to evidence 'good character' and compliance with new requirements. Many children arrive through irregular routes because there is no comprehensive framework that enables young people seeking sanctuary to travel safely to the UK; existing pathways are limited and restrictive even for adults (King's College London 2025) and non-existent for unaccompanied children. Treating route of entry as a negative factor ignores that unaccompanied children are highly vulnerable to trafficking and exploitation across origin and destination, and many are unlikely to be carrying identity documents (Home Office 2025b).

Linking settlement progression to NHS debt or mental health related care would be especially harmful. It risks discouraging children from accessing necessary healthcare and support, compounding trauma, and creating additional barriers to demonstrating stability and integration (Leon & Rosen 2023). Hostile-environment measures have already increased immigration checks and charging practices around NHS access, embedding fear and avoidance of services (Saenz Perez 2023). Unaccompanied children may carry complex debt burdens from journeys, family obligations, or exploitative actors, and may conceal these due to fear of jeopardising status, undermining their ability to access help and meet evidential requirements (Leon & Rosen 2023).

### **Impact on organisations**

**1 [If organisation] To what extent, if at all, do you think the proposed reforms will impact your organisation in the following ways:**

- Ability to attract suitable candidates
- Ability to retain existing migrant workers
- Workforce planning
- Administrative burden

**2 [If organisation with intention to sponsor in the future] To what extent, at all, do you think the proposed reforms will affect your organisation's plans to sponsor employees to work in the UK on a visa in the future?**

- Much more likely to sponsor
- Slightly more likely to sponsor
- No change
- Slightly less likely to sponsor



- Much less likely to sponsor
- Don't know / prefer not to say

**3 [If education provider organisation with intention to sponsor in future] To what extent, if at all, do you think the proposed reforms will affect your organisation's plans to sponsor students to study in the UK on a visa in the future?**

- Much more likely to sponsor
- Slightly more likely to sponsor
- No change
- Slightly less likely to sponsor
- Much less likely to sponsor
- Don't know / prefer not to say

**4 [If organisation with intention to sponsor in the future] To what extent, if at all, do you think the proposed reforms will affect your organisation's plans to sponsor refugees and displaced people to work in the UK on a visa in the future? (e.g. such as visa and community sponsorship scheme)**

- Much more likely to sponsor
- Slightly more likely to sponsor
- No change
- Slightly less likely to sponsor
- Much less likely to sponsor
- Don't know / prefer not to say

**5 [If organisation] Please provide any evidence you may have on whether the proposed changes might influence visa applicants' or visa holders' decisions to come to or remain in the UK.**

**6 [If organisation] Do you have any further comments on the potential impacts on your organisation in relation to the proposed changes to settlement?**



## Sources

Adem, Muna, and Dina G. Okamoto. 'The Social Psychology of Immigration: A Multidimensional Approach'. In *Handbook of Social Psychology: Vol. 2: Meso and Macro Perspectives*, edited by Jan E. Stets, Karen A. Hegtvedt, and Long Doan. Springer Nature Switzerland, 2025. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-93138-3\\_10](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-93138-3_10).

Bamford, Jordan, Mark Fletcher, and Gerard Leavey. 'Mental Health Outcomes of Unaccompanied Refugee Minors: A Rapid Review of Recent Research'. *Current Psychiatry Reports* 23, no. 8 (2021): 46. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11920-021-01262-8>.

Baobab Centre. *Looking for "the Youthful Lustre": The Experiences of Age-Disputed Young People at the Baobab Centre, in Their Own Words*. The Baobab Centre for Young Survivors in Exile, 2024. <https://www.baobabsurvivors.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/01/2024-Age-Dispute-Report-1.pdf>.

Benton, Ellie, Jacob Karlsson, Ilona Pinter, Bert Provan, Kath Scanlon, and Christine Whitehead. *Social Cost Benefit Analysis of the No Recourse to Public Funds (NRPF) Policy in London*. LSE, 2022.

Dorling, Kamena. *Lost Childhoods: The Consequences of Flawed Age Assessments at the UK Border*. Refugee and Migrant Children's Consortium. Helen Bamber Foundation, 2025. <https://helenbamber.org/resources/reportsbriefings/lost-childhoods-consequences-flawed-age-assessments-uk-border>.

Dustmann, Christian, and Francesca Fabbri. 'Language Proficiency and Labour Market Performance of Immigrants in the UK'. *The Economic Journal* 113, no. 489 (2003): 695–717. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0297.t01-1-00151>.

Ehnholt, Kimberly A., David Trickey, Jean Harris Hendriks, Hannah Chambers, Mark Scott, and William Yule. 'Mental Health of Unaccompanied Asylum-Seeking Adolescents Previously Held in British Detention Centres'. *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 23, no. 2 (2018): 238–57. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1359104518758839>.

Gbikpi, Nath. *Fee Waivers: What Can You Do If You Cannot Afford to Pay Your Immigration Application Fee? - Free Movement*. Procedure. 10 December 2024. <https://freemovement.org.uk/fee-waiver-policy-who-qualifies-and-what-does-the-home-office-policy-say/>.

Haas, Hein de. *How Migration Really Works: 22 Things You Need to Know about the Most Divisive Issue in Politics*. Penguin Books, 2024.



Home Office. *Asylum Seeker Decision-Making in Journeys to the United Kingdom (2022)*, 2025. <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/asylum-seeker-decision-making-in-journeys-to-the-united-kingdom-2022/asylum-seeker-decision-making-in-journeys-to-the-united-kingdom-2022>.

Home Office. *Understanding Asylum Seeker and Asylum-Route Refugee Vulnerabilities, Needs, and Support (2022)*, 2025. <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/understanding-asylum-seeker-and-refugee-vulnerabilities-and-needs-2022/understanding-asylum-seeker-and-asylum-route-refugee-vulnerabilities-needs-and-support-2022>.

Kierans, Denis. *Integration in the UK: Understanding the Data*. Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, 2021. <https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/reports/integration-in-the-uk-understanding-the-data/>.

King's College London. *Expanding Safe Pathways to the UK for Sanctuary Seekers: A Framework to Guide Policy Makers*, 2025. <https://www.kcl.ac.uk/service/assets/expanding-safe-pathways-to-the-uk-for-sanctuary-seekers.pdf>.

Leon, Lucy. *Understanding Migrant Destitution in the UK: Literature Review*. *Understanding Migrant Destitution in the UK*. 2023. <https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/publication/understanding-migrant-destitution-in-the-uk-literature-review>.

Leon, Lucy, and Rachel Rosen. 'Unaccompanied Migrant Children and Indebted Relations: Weaponizing Safeguarding'. *Child & Family Social Work* 28, no. 4 (2023): 1056–65. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cfs.13025>.

Qureshi, Amreen, and Marley Morris. *Hidden Hardships: The Immigration System and Child Poverty*. Institute for Public Policy Research, 2025.

Spencer, Sarah, and Katharine Charsley. 'Reframing "Integration": Acknowledging and Addressing Five Core Critiques'. *Comparative Migration Studies* 9, no. 18 (2021) (2021). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-021-00226-4>.