Social Policy & Society 6:2, 219–229 Printed in the United Kingdom
© 2007 Cambridge University Press doi:10.1017/S1474746406003484

Preventing Social Exclusion of Refugee and Asylum Seeking Children: Building New Networks

Hanne Beirens*, Nathan Hughes, Rachel Hek*** and Neil Spicer******

*GHK Consulting, Belgium

**Institute of Applied Social Studies, University of Birmingham, UK
E-mail: n.j.hughes@bham.ac.uk

***Institute of Applied Social Studies, University of Birmingham, UK

****Department of Public Health and Policy, London School of Hygiene and. Tropical, Medicine, UK

Research demonstrates the important role of refugees and asylum seekers' social networks in providing both the practical and emotional support necessary to mitigate social exclusion and promote integration within receiving societies. Based on research conducted by the National Evaluation of the Children's Fund, we highlight the barriers to network building for refugee and asylum seeking children and families, and the ways in which Children's Fund strategies and practices are tackling these. Using the 'Indicators of Integration Framework' developed by Ager and Strang (2004), we describe the activity of Children's Fund services in relation to the concepts social bonds, social links and social bridges. Such attempts to reduce social exclusion are seen to have limited effectiveness when framed by a government policy context favouring the development of social bridges at the expense of social links and bonds.

Introduction

Since 1997, the New Labour government has identified social exclusion[1] as a major policy priority, leading to the instigation of a wide range of government initiatives targeting families and areas deemed to be 'at risk'. The Children's Fund represents one contribution to this policy drive. This intervention sought to promote the development of innovative models of collaboration in the design and implementation of preventative services for children and young people aged 5–13. Funding was devolved to 149 local strategic partnerships, each responsible for developing a local programme intended to respond to and address the needs of 'those children, young people and families most at risk of social exclusion' within the locality (CYPU, 2001).

Young refugees and asylum seekers were often identified by Children's Fund partnerships as a key group at risk of social exclusion. Indeed, it is recognised that refugees and asylum seekers commonly experience multiple problems of social exclusion including material poverty, poor quality housing, discrimination, poor diets and problematic access to health and social care services (Duke, Sales, and Gregory, 1999; Bloch, 2000; Zetter and Pearl, 2000; Schellekens, 2001; Zetter *et al*., 2002; Geddes, 2003; Hek, 2005). Based on research conducted by the National Evaluation of the Children's Fund (NECF), we illustrate the importance that Children's Fund services attached to the promotion of social networks in tackling the social exclusion of refugees and asylum seekers. With reference

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746406003484 Published online by Cambridge University Press

to the 'Indicators of Integration Framework' developed by Ager and Strang (2004), and adopted by the Home Office (2004a), we describe the activity of the services in relation to the concepts social bonds, social links and social bridges. This framework defines the significance of different types of social networks in relation to refugee integration and suggests ways in which central and local government, and the voluntary and private sectors, can promote it. Through the accounts of service users and providers we highlight the barriers to network building for refugee and asylum seeking children and families, and the ways in which strategies, practices and activities are promoting the development of social networks, which both mitigate social exclusion and promote integration. We begin by briefly outlining the 'Indicators of integration framework'.

Indicators of integration framework: social bonds, social bridges and social links

Research studies have established the important role that the social networks of refugees and asylum seekers play in the process of integration by providing both practical and emotional support (Wilkinson and Marmot, 1998; Boswell, 2001). Similarly, research focusing on young refugees and asylum seekers has found network building and connectedness to foster conditions for settlement in the host community (Save the Children, 2004) and promote a sense of identity, self esteem and confidence to combat feelings of isolation (Richman, 1998; Kidane, 2001; Stanley, 2001). While, for many, friendships with people from their own background were vital in helping them settle, the positive effects of mixing with students from a variety of backgrounds are also highlighted in a number of studies (for example, Stanley, 2001; Hek and Sales, 2002).

The importance of social networks in refugees and asylum seekers' integration is becoming more widely recognised among policy makers in the UK. The Home Office (2004a) consultation document "Integration matters: a national strategy for refugee integration" provides an analysis of the concept of integration and begins to outline ways in which central and local government, and the voluntary and private sectors can promote it. In doing so it draws on the 'Indicators of Integration Framework' developed by Ager and Strang (2004), which is presented as 'the leading piece of work in this field' (Home Office, 2004a: 40). The Framework, as illustrated in Figure 1, highlights ten 'key domains' seen to be 'of central importance to the integration of refugees' and offers a range of indicators to assess integration 'with respect to that specific domain' (Ager and Strang, 2004: 2).

The domains are organised by four categories. 'Means and markers' are labelled as the 'public face of integration', representing the four 'major areas of attainment that are widely recognised as critical factors in the integration process': 'Employment', 'Housing', 'Education' and 'Health'. Whilst such domains are seen as 'markers' of positive integration outcomes, there is a parallel focus on the 'social connections' and relationships through which people 'experience it in their lives' (Ager and Strang, 2004: 3). Such domains of integration are classified through the language and literature of social capital (citing Woolcock, 1998) as follows:

- 'Social bonds' represent the connections within a community as 'defined by, for example, ethnicity, national or religious identity'. This highlights the need for a sense of identification or belonging to a particular group.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746406003484 Published online by Cambridge University Press

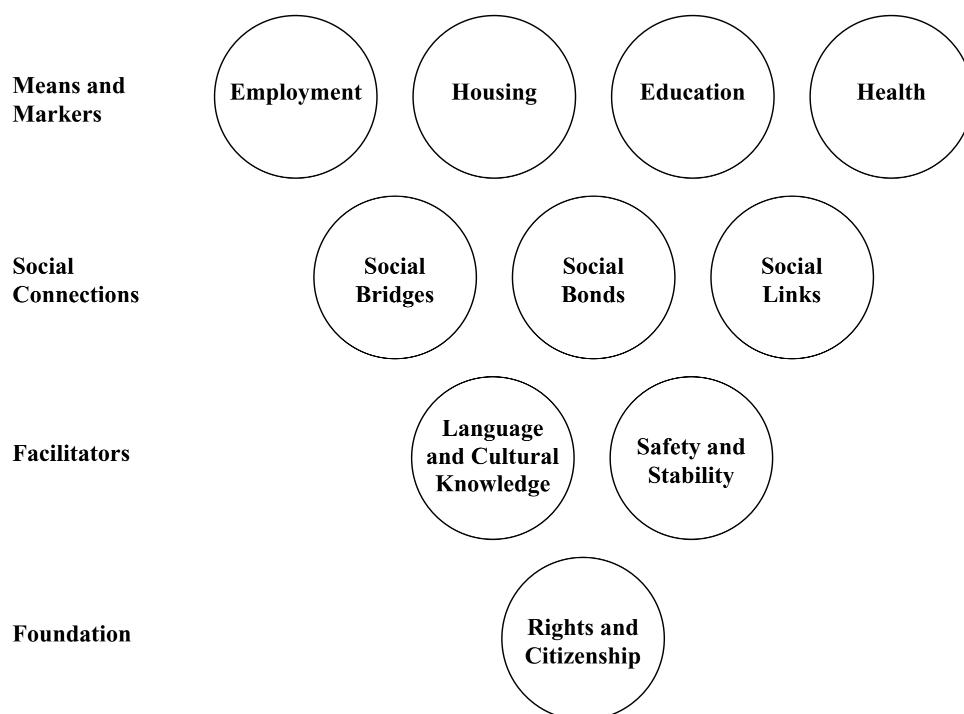

Figure 1 The Indicators of Integration Framework
Source: Ager and Strang (2004).

- 'Social links' relate to engagement with institutions, agencies and services, and the use of available amenities.
- 'Social bridges' is defined as 'social connections with those of other national, ethnic or religious groupings', promoting '"two way" interaction' to support 'social cohesion'.

We use Ager and Strang's definitions of social bonds, bridges and links throughout this article. Whilst we are aware of the debates that surround the concept of social capital in general (see Barnes and Prior in this issue) and in relation to particular groups such as refugees (see for example Griffiths *et al*., 2005; Zetter *et al*., 2005), it lies beyond the scope of this paper to discuss this further.

The case study partnerships

The following sections review the diverse ways in which Children's Fund services engaged in preventative work with young refugees and asylum seekers and their families promoted these three types of social connections. In order to do so we draw on data collected by NECF in two Children's Fund partnerships from July 2004 to October 2005; one within a Metropolitan Authority and the other within a London Borough.

Beirens *et al*. (2006) discuss the rationales underpinning these partnerships' decisions to target young refugees and asylum seekers as discrete strands of activity, and compare the strategies that they adopted. As discussed in Hughes and Fielding (2006), a key principle

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746406003484 Published online by Cambridge University Press

of the Children's Fund was that targeting of population groups for support should reflect local emphases, priorities and histories. As such, rather than using legal definitions, such as 'asylum seekers' and 'economic migrants' and the differential access to services these entail, the partnership in the Metropolitan Authority constructed its target group around the shared experiences of those newly arrived in the city, with a particular focus on those who had endured traumatic events. The definition of the target group in the London Borough, comprising newly arrived and second-generation refugees, reflected local concerns with the processes through which both the status of being a refugee or asylum seeker and belonging to an ethnic minority group affected chances of social inclusion. This article adopts the terms of 'asylum seekers', 'refugees' and 'newly arrived' as defined by the Children's Fund partnerships.

The two partnerships defined integration into schools, access to mainstream services and the development of appropriate mainstream provision as key strategies in preventing the social exclusion of young refugees and asylum seekers and their families (Beirens *et al*., 2006: 13–21). Similarly, both partnerships emphasised improved emotional well-being. Indeed the partnerships differed in only one respect. Whilst the London Borough partnership identified improving community cohesion and integration as a long-term objective, the Metropolitan Authority partnership focused on family support as a means to further support young people.

A range of services and projects were commissioned by the two partnerships to pursue these objectives. These included after-school and homework clubs, home-school liaison projects, holiday activities, family support services, therapeutic services, community-led organisations and services promoting school integration through individually tailored support packages and capacity building for the schools.

The data collection comprised semi-structured interviews with 39 service providers (including project coordinators and staff); 12 Children's Fund strategic stakeholders (members of the local Children's Fund management teams and partnership board members); seven representatives of statutory agencies; 28 members of school staff (Head Teachers, academic and behavioural support staff); 43 parents/carers of children using the services; and 76 young refugees or asylum seekers. We undertook 29 observation sessions in 25 settings and also accessed services' own monitoring data, such as case files.

Developing social links

Recent research studies suggest that newly arrived families have limited awareness of, and means to access, health and social care services provided by the mainstream, voluntary and community sectors that fulfil their basic needs. For example, despite asylum seekers and refugees' full legal entitlement to National Health Service care (Refugee Council, 2002), and the availability of interpretation services and printed materials in minority languages, many experience multiple barriers to using health services, including language barriers and limited information about eligibility to use services (Woodhead, 2000; Burnett and Peel, 2001; British Medical Association Board of Science and Education, 2002).

The projects funded by the Children's Fund partnerships shared an appreciation of the multiple problems asylum seekers and refugees have in accessing mainstream services. The projects sought to raise awareness of both their rights and means to access services. Parents frequently identified such help as important in ameliorating some of their anxieties. Furthermore, by engaging in advocacy and communicating with statutory services on

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746406003484 Published online by Cambridge University Press

behalf of newly arrived families their particular needs could be better understood and responded to. For example, a project worker ensured GPs were aware of patients' medical histories; this was important since many families lack medical records from their country of origin.

The projects aimed to both secure school places for newly arrived children as well as address some of the many, interrelated factors likely to impact upon their ability to integrate into a new school. These services provided both practical and emotional support in promoting young people's positive engagement at school. This included formal educational support, such as English language support facilitating class participation, or differentiated class work promoting the knowledge and skills the young person already has. Those children who lacked previous experience of formal schooling were supported in understanding school practices and the structure of the school setting. Projects helped them to overcome feelings of fear and disorientation and to get used to the routines and practices adopted by British schools that may contrast with those in their countries of origin.

Services also facilitated social links through the identification of the multiple and interrelated needs of young people and their families beyond those to be addressed by the particular service, and subsequent referral to agencies able to address them. In both local authorities, service providers drew upon established links with an array of services, including Refugee Action, British Red Cross and local play and leisure facilities. In addition to signposting users to available support, services also sought to coordinate the multiple services families might receive. For example, for one child with behavioural difficulties meetings were held involving staff from a Children's Fund project, his class teacher and classroom assistants, a family support service and his mother. Together they were able to decide on a strategy so that the child was given a consistent message about what was acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. For another family, served with a Compulsory Relocation Order, the project was able to coordinate a response from the school, their GP and their counselling service, each of whom wrote a letter explaining the support the family were receiving and how important it was for them to stay.

The projects also aimed to empower service users, strongly encouraging the 'proactive involvement' of parents in establishing links with agencies and services and avoiding long-term dependence on the project. This was presented as 'helping them to help themselves', with a role for the young person and their parents in developing the package of support necessary. For example, some services pursued better home–school liaison and boosted the skills and confidence of parents to draw on those links. A parent recounted how she had approached the teacher regarding her daughter's educational attainment:

> My daughter was not good at spelling. I talked with the teacher in the school and she said, 'Yes, you are right because she needs help and I shall get her some'.

This request led to the appointment of a classroom assistant to work with a small group of children once a week, 'teaching them spelling, reading, whatever they want to learn'.

Parents often described the positive effect that the voluntary and community organisations had in boosting their capacity to deal with the problems they experienced as a family or community. Improved knowledge of the resources available and the experience of resolving problems on their own or with the help of other parents boosted their

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746406003484 Published online by Cambridge University Press

confidence and led some to become volunteers. Parents illustrated the ways in which they supported newly arrived families:

> we help people who have [limited English], we'll do translations, we go and talk to the council for them, we do a lot more. We are going out and supporting people where they have got problems either at school, at home or elsewhere.

In parallel to the provision of direct support for young people and their families, projects encouraged mainstream providers to improve the accessibility and appropriateness of their services for asylum seekers and refugees. Project workers emphasised the poor levels of awareness of the needs of asylum seekers and refugees and how to address them among many mainstream providers. This strategy was most evident with regard to projects undertaken with schools, where the importance of building capacity in a sustained and structured way was also highlighted. Efforts to alter the school environment were perceived as representing a crucial element of the longer-term aim to prevent the isolation and underachievement of newly arrived young people. Both partnerships increased the capacity of schools by introducing additional services which work with individual or groups of newly arrived children; for example, through a range of therapeutic services. In addition, some services sought to support teachers and schools, enabling schools to identify and respond to a particular child's needs, develop referral mechanisms and identify and access appropriate specialist services for newly arrived children. School-related staff gave positive feedback about the training received on how to create a 'whole school' approach to support the newly arrived, and indicated the impact this was having in schools.

Promoting social bonds

The literature on refugees and asylum seekers identifies a number of significant barriers to the development of social bonds. Dispersed to disadvantaged areas, often with limited experience of immigration, many asylum seekers have found themselves isolated from other members of their community (Düvell, 2005: 18) and at risk of a number of interconnected problems. These include racial harassment and violence, limited access to local shops, community centres and amenities, and limited opportunities to seek support, leading to isolation, vulnerability, fear for their safety, stress and depression (Duke, Sales and Gregory, 1999; Woodhead, 2000; Sales, 2002). Although research in relation to youth work provision for young refugees is limited (Norton and Cohen, 2000), the few studies that have been conducted, such as by Rutter (2003) and Macaskill (2002), identified significant gaps in relation to out-of-school provision and youth work. Studies suggest there is little holiday or after school provision that could facilitate peer relationships.

The importance of social bonds was recognised by both partnerships, leading to the funding of two community-based organisations in the London Borough partnership and a voluntary sector run project within the Metropolitan Authority. Parents and children described these organisations as creating spaces to meet, share traditional drinks and foods, exchange stories and give and receive informal support. For example, dropping off children at the after-school homework clubs organised by the two community-based projects presented parents with opportunities for social interaction: 'It gives us an

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746406003484 Published online by Cambridge University Press

excuse. You come here for your children and you socialise as well.' A mother explained that through one project which convened women's meetings: 'I've met people that I might not normally have met . . . it's expanded my social networks.' A father claimed these informal meetings often provided both practical and emotional support which could be reciprocated: 'I feel I can help somebody else now . . . when new people are coming . . . and that I can tell them how I was and how far I've come.'

Similarly, children and young people described the inclusive atmosphere of after-school clubs provided, which fostered the development of friendships with community members. A young person said: 'We found cousins that we never knew about.' Several parents underscored the importance of these social bonds in reference to children's development:

> confidence-wise my son has really developed. He has started to understand his background as in a community and to understand the language much better.

Young refugees and asylum seekers also contrasted the sense of belonging and security experienced at the after-school clubs with the racism and prejudice they were subjected to in mainstream school: 'There's always racism in all schools but in Turkish school no one can be racist to anyone.'

Building social bridges

Schools and after-school clubs constitute key settings in which refugee and asylum seeking children and young people are able to develop social bridges, although limited English language skills and emotional and behavioural problems may hamper such network building (Candappa, 2000; Stanley, 2001). Hostility towards minority ethnic communities among some members of majority ethnic society constitutes an additional, sometimes overriding, barrier to building social bridges with members of other groups. Refugees and asylum seekers are often treated with suspicion, fear or even violent harassment. Studies have shown that such negative reactions often lead newly arrived families to draw on existing or new social bonds (rather than bridges) and community-based refugee organisations for practical and emotional support (Griffiths *et al.*, 2005; Zetter *et al.*, 2005). The closed nature of some of those networks, however, presents the danger of sparking further discrimination by some members of 'mainstream society', with refugees and asylum seekers being portrayed as not wanting to become part of their new host country. This is a 'Catch 22' situation – but one that must be recognised if, as current government policy prescribes, social bridges are perceived as the cornerstone of successful integration for refugees and asylum seekers.

Many Children's Fund services aimed to promote the emotional well-being of young refugees and asylum seekers who had suffered traumatic events in their country of origin, during flight or upon arrival in the UK. In particular, therapeutic services sought to improve the child's emotional well-being and behaviour and facilitate the building of social bridges. School staff suggested that schools tend to lack the resources to address needs of this type. For example, a refugee girl recounted suffering from nightmares and insomnia when she arrived in the UK. 'There were a lot of bad things that happened in [country of origin] I always kept on thinking about.' Isolation resulted from this as 'I

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746406003484 Published online by Cambridge University Press

was scared to see new people or to go to school'. She described the art therapy sessions provided by a Children's Fund project as offering her a safe space to discuss and come to terms with her experiences and emotional responses. The fear to interact with peers eventually dissipated and she soon made many friends.

The projects not only sought to remove barriers, but also actively created opportunities for network building. The extra-curricular and holiday activities they organised stimulated communication and interaction among peers. While some children made friends amongst those attending the Children's Fund project, others gradually gained the social skills and confidence to build relationships with children in the classroom or on the playground. One project attempted to engage other young people from their class into the work they were doing with refugee and asylum seeking children and encourage friendships among different ethnic groups. A class teacher commented that, after a refugee boy was told he could invite a friend to weekly outings and free play sessions, the whole class wanted to play with him and be his friend.

The Children's Fund programmes in both local authorities sought to challenge a tradition of segregated youth provision. Many projects adopted an integrative approach by actively inviting children from different ethnic, national or cultural backgrounds to participate in activities, and subsequently referring on to other services, both within and outside of the Children's Fund programme. As such, these projects facilitated peer interaction and relationships with children from different schools, areas or communities.

Some projects fostered social bridges through organising activities that encouraged children to communicate with each other in non-verbal ways. For example, we observed a Therapeutic Horticulture session in which a boy from Zimbabwe and a boy from Palestine helped each other with their vegetable plots. In previous sessions, these boys had mostly kept to themselves and refrained from talking. This illustrated ways in which young refugees and asylum seekers with limited English proficiency can still take part in group activities, engage in team work and make contact with others.

In addition to promoting positive or stronger cultural identities amongst young refugees and asylum seekers, projects in both local authorities also drew upon a range of approaches and activities to increase cross-cultural learning. An art therapist explained that:

> We try to link a lot of activities around countries [. . .], we always try to bring in cultural things. So you can encourage them and make them feel supported to talk about where they're from and promote a sense of belonging and identity.

Conclusion

This article illustrates the range of support provided by the two Children's Fund partnerships across the three domains of social links, bonds and bridges. Interviewees described a number of positive effects of these interventions. The establishment and development of 'social links' between refugee and asylum seeker communities and mainstream services represented a key element of service provision in both local authorities. Both partnerships attempted to support access to appropriate mainstream services and develop those services so as to ensure they are more willing and better able to address users' needs. As such, services sought to both ensure appropriate services become available and that existing services are more appropriately and inclusively delivered.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746406003484 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Furthermore, interviewees claimed that the Children's Fund projects had introduced them to other members of their community. Adults referred to social bonds as providing opportunities for reciprocal practical support in engaging mainstream health and social welfare services, and emotional benefits in terms of coping with stress and depression resulting from the difficulties experienced whilst in the UK and their uncertain futures. Children and young people explained that they built social networks with peers at school, through after-school and weekend activities, with other young people in the neighbourhood and through family friends. These networks provided the positive experience of friendship, protection and security of peer groups and support with their schoolwork. The value that asylum seeking and refugee children and parents bestowed on these relationships often reflected the view that these promoted a sense of belonging and community, a stronger cultural identity and increased confidence; all of which helped the young people in their interaction and engagement with their wider social environment.

Social bridges were further created and strengthened by services that promoted social and emotional literacy skills, facilitated peer relationships, created opportunities for non-verbal communication and interaction and encouraged intercultural learning. Therapeutic services helped some young people to overcome traumatic experiences prior or subsequent to arrival, that sometimes hampered friendship formation with fellow pupils.

In combination this multifaceted approach of the Children's Fund services to the development of social networks can be seen to address a number of problems of social exclusion and therefore strengthen that presented by the current government policy agenda. Nevertheless, while New Labour policy often acknowledges the significance of social bonds in relation to refugees and asylum seekers' integration, many policy discourses and initiatives still favour the principle of pulling them out of their 'closed' networks and encouraging them to form relationships with majority ethnic communities (Home Office, 2004b; JRF, 2006). The different dispersal policies and programmes of successive British governments, including the most recent one implemented by the National Asylum Support Scheme, underestimate the importance of asylum seekers' social bonds. Hence, despite increased focus within the Children's Fund and other policy areas on the development of social links through important reform to mainstream services, the continued dispersal of asylum seeking families to areas of the country lacking in the necessary infrastructure may be counterproductive. In light of the significant barriers and challenges identified, the growing emphasis on social bridges at the expense of the development of social bonds could potentially limit the effectiveness of attempts to reduce social exclusion amongst refugees and asylum seeking families.

Note

1 For a more detailed discussion of how the concept was used in the Children's Fund initiative and in the National Evaluation of the Children's Fund, see Edwards *et al.* (2006) and NECF (2005).

References

Ager, A. and Strang, A. (2004) *Indicators of Integration: The experience of integration final report*, London: Home Office.

Beirens, H., Mason, P., Spicer, N., Hughes, N. and Hek, R. (2006) *Preventative Services for Asylum Seeking Children: A final report of the National Evaluation of the Children's Fund*, London: DfES.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746406003484 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Bloch, A. (2000) 'Refugee settlement in Britain: the impact of policy on participation', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 26(1): 75–88.

Boswell, C. (2001) *Spreading the Costs of Asylum Seekers: A critical assessment of dispersal policies in Germany and the UK*, Anglo-German Foundation for the Study of Industrial Society.

British Medical Association Board of Science and Education (2002) *Asylum Seekers: Meeting their healthcare needs*, London: BMA.

Burnett, A. and Peel, M. (2001) 'Health needs of asylum seekers and refugees', *British Medical Journal*, 322: 544–547.

Candappa, M. (2000) 'Hell of a haven', *Community Care*, 20 July.

Children and Young People's Unit (2001) *Children's Fund Guidance*, London: DfES.

Duke, K., Sales, R. and Gregory, J. (1999) 'Refugee resettlement in Europe', *Refugees, Citizenship and Social Policy in Europe*, 6: 105–131.

Düvell, F. (2005) 'Active participation of immigrants in the United Kingdom', Report of the European POLITIS research project, Universität Oldenburg, www.ini-oldenburg.de/politis-europe.

Edwards, A. *et al.* (2006) *Working to Prevent the Social Exclusion of Children and Young People: Final Lessons from the National Evaluation of the Children's Fund*, London: DfES.

Geddes, A. (2003) 'Migration and the welfare state in Europe', in S. Spencer (ed.), *The Politics of Migration: Managing opportunity, conflict and change*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Griffiths, D., Sigona, N. and Zetter, R. (2005) *Refugee Community Organisations and Dispersal: Networks, resources and social capital*, Bristol: Policy Press.

Hek, R. and Sales, R. (2002) 'Supporting refugee and asylum seeking children: an examination of support structures in schools and the community', Middlesex University, Haringey and Islington Education Departments.

Hek, R. (2005) *The Experiences and Needs of Refugee and Asylum Seeking Children in the UK: A literature review*, Birmingham: NECF.

Home Office (2004a) *Integration Matters: A national strategy for refugee integration*, London: Home Office.

Home Office (2004b) *Strength in Diversity*, London: Home Office.

Hughes, N. and Fielding, A. (2006) *Targeting Preventative Services for Children: Experiences from the Children's Fund*, London: DfES.

Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF) (2006) *Findings – Experiences of New Immigration at the Neighbourhood Level*, February 2006 York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Kidane, S. (2001) *Food, Shelter and Half a Chance: Assessing the needs of unaccompanied asylum seeking and refugee children*, London: BAAF.

Macaskill, S. (2002) *Starting Again: Young asylum seekers views on life in Glasgow*, Scotland: Save the Children.

National Evaluation of the Children's Fund (2005) *Interim Report on Thematic Case Studies: An analysis of strategies and rationales*, Birmingham: NECF, www.ne-cf.org.

Norton, R. and Cohen, B. (2000) *Out of Exile: Developing youth work with young refugees*, Leicester: Youth Work Press.

Richman, N. (1998) *In the Midst of the Whirlwind: A manual for helping refugee children*, London: Save the Children.

Rutter, J. (2003) *Working with Refugee Children*, York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Sales, R. (2002) 'The deserving and the undeserving? Refugees, asylum seekers and welfare in Britain', *Critical Social Policy*, 22(3): 456–478.

Save the Children (2004) *Young Refugees: Providing emotional support to young separated refugees in the UK*, London: Save the Children.

Schellekens, P. (2001) *English Language as a Barrier to Employment, Education and Training*, London: DfES.

Stanley, K. (2001) *Cold Comfort: Young separated refugees in England*, London: Save the Children.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746406003484 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Wilkinson, R. and Marmot, M. (1998) *Social Determinants of Health: The solid facts*, Copenhagen, World Health Organization, www.who.dk/healthy-cities.

Woodhead, D. (2000) *The Health and Well-Being of Asylum Seekers and Refugees*, London: Kings Fund.

Woolcock, M. (1998) 'Social capital and economic development: towards a theoretical synthesis and policy framework', *Theory and Society*, 27(2): 151–208.

Zetter, R., Griffiths, D. and Sigona, N. (2005) 'Social capital or social exclusion? The impact of asylum-seeker dispersal on UK refugee community organisations', *Community Development Journal*, 40(2): 169–181.

Zetter, R., Griffiths, D., Sigona, N. and Hauser, M. (2002) *Survey on Policy and Practice Related to Refugee Integration*, European Refugee Fund Community Actions 2001–2002.

Zetter, R. and Pearl, M. (2000) 'The minority within the minority: refugee community-based organisations in the UK and the impact of restrictionism on asylum seekers', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 26(4): 675–697.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746406003484 Published online by Cambridge University Press