



# **Best Start, Bright Futures**

## Tackling Child Poverty Progress Report 2023-2024

**Annex B: Focus report on other  
marginalised groups at risk of poverty**



**Scottish Government  
Riaghaltas na h-Alba**

# Contents

<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>3</b>
<b>Homeless families</b> .....	<b>6</b>
Who are they? .....	6
What barriers and challenges do homeless families experience in relation to child poverty? .....	7
What do we know works to support homeless families? .....	8
<b>Gypsy/Travellers</b> .....	<b>10</b>
Who are they? .....	10
What barriers and challenges do Gypsy/Travellers experience in relation to child poverty? .....	11
What do we know works to support Gypsy/Travellers? .....	12
<b>Victims/Survivors of domestic abuse</b> .....	<b>13</b>
Who are they? .....	14
What barriers and challenges do victims/survivors of domestic abuse face in relation to child poverty? .....	15
What do we know works to support survivors of domestic abuse? .....	16
<b>Families of people in prison</b> .....	<b>17</b>
Who are they? .....	17
What barriers and challenges do families of people in prison face in relation to child poverty? .....	18
What do we know works to support families of people in prison? .....	19
<b>Care experienced</b> .....	<b>20</b>
Who are they? .....	20
What barriers and challenges do those care experienced face in relation to child poverty? .....	21
What do we know works to support those care experienced? .....	22
<b>Families seeking asylum and refugees</b> .....	<b>23</b>
Who are they? .....	23
What barriers and challenges do people seeking asylum and refugees experience in relation to child poverty? .....	24
What do we know works to support asylum seekers and refugees? .....	25
<b>How to access source data</b> .....	<b>27</b>

# Introduction

## Policy context

The Child Poverty (Scotland) Act 2017 sets statutory targets on child poverty to be met by 2030, with interim targets to be met in 2023-24. In order to meet the targets, Scottish Government has published two [delivery plans](#) so far, alongside an [evaluation strategy](#) setting out the approach to measuring progress.

The [original evaluation strategy](#) introduced the concept of [priority family types](#). The analysis identified the types of households more likely to experience child poverty. These are families with a lone parent; with someone disabled; with three or more children; minority ethnic families; families with a baby under 1 year old; and families where the mother is under 25 years old. We know that 90% of children in poverty belong to one or more of the priority family groups.<sup>1</sup> We also know that characteristics overlap, meaning that families will experience different challenges at the same time.

The priority family type concept is used as a lens to better understand people's experiences of poverty, identify gaps in delivery, tailor policy to minimise barriers faced, and help us understand whether policies are likely to support reductions in child poverty. It gives policy makers an equality tool for understanding specific barriers that people may be facing.

The [second delivery plan](#) was developed with the understanding that policies that support the complex circumstances of disadvantaged groups, services and approaches need to:<sup>2</sup>

- Be flexible and able to cope with complexity rather than single issues
- Be available when and where families need them
- Prioritise building trusting relationships with a lead worker, and
- Not give up on people too quickly.

Over time our understanding of people's experiences of poverty has broadened. Beyond the experiences of the priority groups that official statistics can identify, there is a wide range of evidence highlighting other disadvantaged groups who face specific barriers, too. Many of these disadvantaged families face particularly complex circumstances because of multiple adversities. These can include stigma, trauma, marginalisation or mental health problems, and many families will fall into various groups, including existing priority family types. Families facing multiple disadvantages are often amongst those deepest in poverty and will therefore face particularly challenging journeys to get out.<sup>2</sup>

As such, there is a need to strengthen our understanding of the complex nature of poverty experienced by families across Scotland and the need for tailored and person-centred approaches.

This evidence review aims to provide a deeper understanding of the challenges and barriers certain disadvantaged groups face when avoiding poverty or getting out of poverty. This review specifically focuses on families who are:

- Facing homelessness
- Gypsy/Travellers
- Victims/Survivors of domestic abuse
- Families of people in prison
- Care experienced
- Seeking asylum and refugees

While we are looking at these groups in broad terms, it is important to highlight that their experiences are intrinsically linked to the barriers we already see amongst other groups, such as those who live with a disability, are from a minority ethnic background, or who are women. There will be multiple layers of disadvantage that they will be facing. This report is a first attempt at highlighting their experiences as known from published literature thus far.

## Research approach

Learnings from this report aim to support the development of policy interventions that address the needs of our broad communities. Specifically, this evidence review aims to improve our understanding of the experiences of six disadvantaged groups in relation to the three drivers of child poverty: income from employment; income from social security and benefits in kind; and costs of living. This would involve understanding the unique needs of these disadvantaged communities living in Scotland, the barriers and challenges they face in trying to move out of poverty, and the level of support required for these families.

The main **research questions** for the evidence review are:

1. What barriers and challenges do those from each of these six disadvantaged groups experience in relation to child poverty?
2. What is currently working well, and what should the Scottish Government and partners continue to do or do more of, for those from each of these six disadvantaged groups in relation to child poverty?
3. What new policies, actions or approaches should the Scottish Government consider implementing when considering tackling child poverty for those from these six disadvantaged groups?

## Methodology

This report presents a rapid review of empirical evidence relating to the above research questions. We searched the academic and grey literature to find out how each group experiences poverty, what the Scottish Government is already doing to tackle child poverty for each group, and what additional policies or actions could be considered.

The search of evidence covered a wide range of sources, including the databases: Idox; KandE; Knowledge Network; Policy Commons; and ProQuest; as well as Google Scholar. In addition to evaluations undertaken by the Scottish Government, stakeholder websites were also identified and searched for relevant empirical evidence to include in the review. Finally, stakeholder responses to the Scottish Government Child Poverty Delivery Plan consultation and call for evidence were reviewed to identify any additional or missing evidence sources.

Searches were carried out across the three key drivers of child poverty to identify policies or approaches that could have impacts on income from employment, income from social security and benefits in kind, or costs of living. The searches were carried out separately but then cross-referenced against each other to identify areas of overlap and cross-cutting themes in tackling child poverty relevant to several or all drivers. To capture evidence which has been published since the development and publication of the first two Tackling Child Poverty Delivery Plans (in 2018 and 2022), evidence from the past six years was reviewed. Peer-reviewed and non-peer-reviewed evidence was included.

We anticipated the evidence base for some of these groups would be limited as many represent a small number and are under-researched. As a result, we were keen to learn from empirical evidence in countries outside of Scotland to develop a deeper understanding of the challenges facing each of the groups in relation to child poverty. As such, while the primary focus of the review was on evidence from Scotland and the United Kingdom, international evidence was also included where relevant.

## Limitations

This was a rapid evidence review conducted in a short timescale, and not an exhaustive, systematic appraisal of the research evidence. Whilst care was taken to assess the robustness of all evidence included and to capture a full picture of what works, given the broad scope of this project across multiple drivers of poverty and exploration into under researched disadvantaged family types, it should not be interpreted as a fully comprehensive review of all the relevant evidence.

In addition, while the focus of the review is to assess empirical evidence on what works in tackling child poverty, it should be acknowledged that the evidence base across the drivers of poverty and priority families is inconsistent and of varying quality.

Where research gaps in empirical evidence do exist, these have been identified throughout the report.

## Structure of this report

Each chapter is dedicated to examining one disadvantaged family type. Chapters begin by stating key terms of reference and outlining the extent to which families in the group experience child poverty. Each chapter then delves further into the specific challenges and barriers they face in increasing income through employment and social security, and in keeping control of daily living costs. Chapters conclude with evidence or suggestions on what works to support families in this group where the information is available.

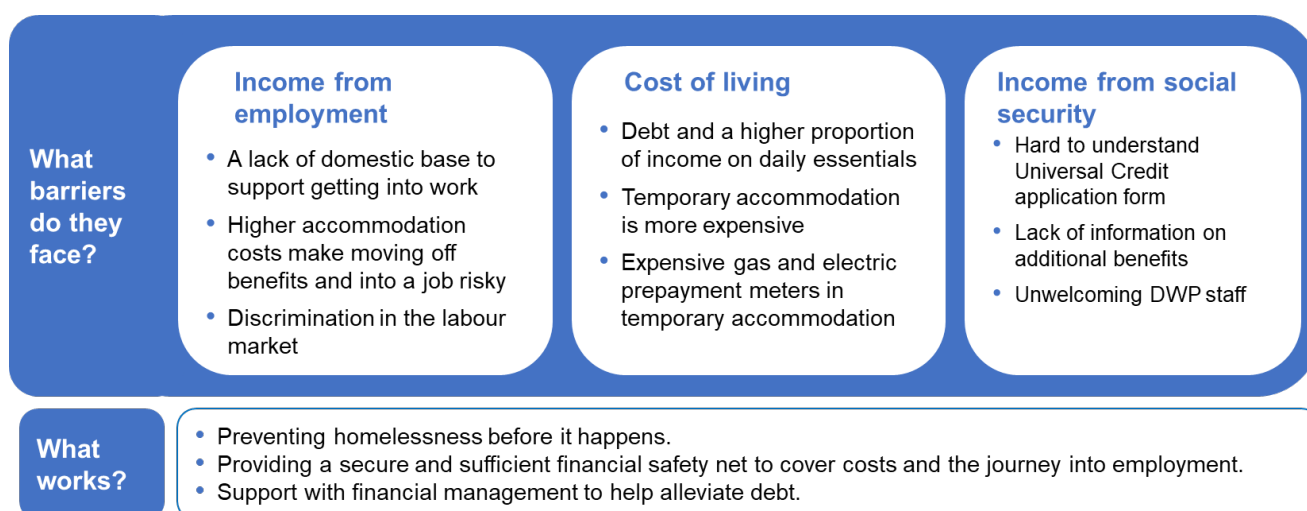
# Homeless families



Scotland has a strong legislative framework to protect families who are at risk of, or are experiencing homelessness. Anyone finding themselves homeless through no fault of their own is entitled to settled accommodation in a local authority or housing association tenancy or a private rental.<sup>3</sup>

However, being homeless can make it harder to escape poverty. It removes the home base from which parents can seek and maintain employment,<sup>4,5</sup> and in some cases, may take children away from the location of their school meaning higher transport costs.<sup>6,7</sup> It can remove local supportive social networks,<sup>8,9</sup> and hinder healthy eating and exercise.<sup>10</sup> This section looks specifically at barriers homeless families face when living in poverty and provides some evidence of what works.

**Figure 1: Barriers and what works for families who are homeless or at risk of homelessness**



## Who are they?

Homelessness can be experienced by many different people. We see that there is overlap between the characteristics of those facing homelessness and the priority groups most at risk of poverty. For example:

- 11% of homeless households are from a minority ethnic background<sup>11</sup>, compared to 4% in Scotland's general population<sup>12</sup>
- 51% of homeless households have someone with at least one additional support need<sup>11</sup> compared to 34% of pupils in Scotland's general population<sup>13</sup>
- 22% of homeless households are headed by a single parent, compared to 4% of Scottish households more generally<sup>11</sup>

In recent years, there has been a rise in the number of children in temporary accommodation (any accommodation used between the point of a homelessness application and the point at which the local authority arranges settled accommodation<sup>14</sup>), an increase which accelerated following the onset of the pandemic and has not slowed since.

## What barriers and challenges do homeless families experience in relation to child poverty?

Poverty and homelessness are intrinsically linked.<sup>7,15</sup> Research on UK families has shown that homelessness typically arises from both individual and structural factors. Structural factors include adverse labour markets driving low earnings, changes to welfare benefits,<sup>16</sup> rising private rental costs, and a lack of social housing,<sup>17</sup> while individual factors include mental and physical ill health, and relationship breakdowns. This is particularly relevant for women, as many become homeless due to relationship breakdowns, and frequently become the main carer for their children. Some circumstances are more complex, for example when the relationship breaks because of experiencing domestic abuse.<sup>11, 16</sup> Further detail is below in the section on [victims/survivors of domestic abuse](#).

### Challenges in increasing income through employment

For many families facing homelessness, the labour market can feel very far away. This is because many of their basic needs are not yet covered and their ability to find and maintain a well-paid, secure job can be limited.

Even when ready to access the labour market, the job seeker can perceive a barrier when they believe there is little to no difference between the value of benefits they receive and the level of wages that they would earn from working after living expenses have been taken into account.<sup>18</sup>

Homelessness can have a long-lasting impact on children, and on the parents (most often mothers)<sup>11</sup> who care for them. In some cases, families in temporary accommodation can face disruption to schooling, or additional costs and time in travelling to school.<sup>19</sup> Homeless children may struggle more to achieve academically and enjoy life, and are more likely to have behavioural problems<sup>5</sup> than peers in long term settled housing, all of which is anticipated to ultimately impact on the amount of income they will be able to make in later life through paid employment.

### Challenges faced when aiming to reduce their costs of living

It is well documented that low income households spend a higher proportion of their income on essential costs of living.<sup>20,21</sup> In Scotland 29% of renting households without children find it difficult to afford their current rent, rising to 37% of renting households with children.<sup>22</sup>

For financially struggling families at risk of homelessness through evictions from privately rented properties, finding a new home is the first challenge. Private rental properties can often be out of reach due to high and ever-increasing rents.<sup>23,4</sup> Apart from high costs, judgement and avoidance of risk also plays a role. A UK-wide survey of those experiencing homelessness found that some landlords and letting agents are reluctant to let properties to welfare claimants and those on insecure work contracts.<sup>4</sup>

In Scotland, there has been positive progress made to increase the social rented housing sector. As of December 2023, 17,619 homes have been delivered, of which 13,483 (77%) are homes for social rent.<sup>24</sup> However, at the same time, there has been an increase in the number of children reported in temporary accommodation.<sup>11</sup> Temporary accommodation is

generally at a higher rental cost than permanent accommodation, creating barriers to reducing costs when moving off the receipt of housing benefit into paid employment would not cover these higher rental costs.<sup>18</sup>

Other costs of living can also be quite significant. The cost of living crisis has had disproportionately harsh impacts on people facing homelessness. While living in temporary accommodation, people paying for gas and electricity must often use expensive pre-payment meters.<sup>6</sup> Low incomes coupled with the current high cost of food have also driven some homeless families to use food banks; in 2023, one in four people referred to food banks in the Trussell Trust network in Scotland were either homeless at the point of referral or had experienced homelessness in the previous 12 months.<sup>25</sup>

### Challenges in increasing income through social security

Research with homeless individuals in Scotland on their experiences of access to welfare benefits has revealed several difficulties.<sup>26</sup> These include:

- Complicated, hard to understand Universal Credit application forms that required the privilege of a computer or phone with internet access
- A lack of available information on what additional benefits they were eligible for, or new benefit types that they now qualified for
- Unhelpful and unwelcoming interactions by DWP staff who were not sensitive to the mental health vulnerabilities of homeless people

Participants suggested more joined up services to better signpost them to benefits they were eligible for, training for DWP staff on a more sensitive approach, plus community hubs to provide support with accessing and navigating the benefits system. This is particularly relevant for those dealing with additional layers of disadvantage, if for example, they are homeless due to a relationship breakdown or are a victim/survivor of domestic abuse.

### What do we know works to support homeless families?

**Preventing homelessness before it happens.** The best way to end homelessness for families is to prevent it from happening in the first place. [The Homelessness Strategy](#) outlines a plan of action with a focus on preventative policies. This includes measures to protect tenants' rights and avoid evictions to prevent homelessness, and deploying a cash-first approach to support families struggling with their housing costs.

**Understanding that barriers and needs are different depending on families' circumstances.** Homelessness will be experienced in different ways depending on the reasons for being homeless or the family's characteristics. For example, women starting a facing homelessness following a relationship breakdown, will have specific barriers to face. Particularly because in many cases they will be the main and sometimes sole carer for their children, in other cases they will have been the victim of abuse by their partner. When other layers of disadvantage are added, such as a disability, then the support required is more complex.

**A secure home as a first priority, but that is only the beginning.** There is ample evidence on the effectiveness of long term rent subsidies and other housing support to

provide housing stability and prevent long term homelessness.<sup>27,28</sup> But support in having a secure home is only the beginning of the journey out of poverty. Evidence on resettlement experiences of homeless people in the UK has indicated that levels of worklessness and poverty continue to be high after (formerly) homeless households accessed settled housing, with three in five of study participants struggling to manage financially after 6 months.<sup>18</sup> This suggests that housing policies should work alongside social security support and long term employability support to ensure sustainable sources of income into the household.

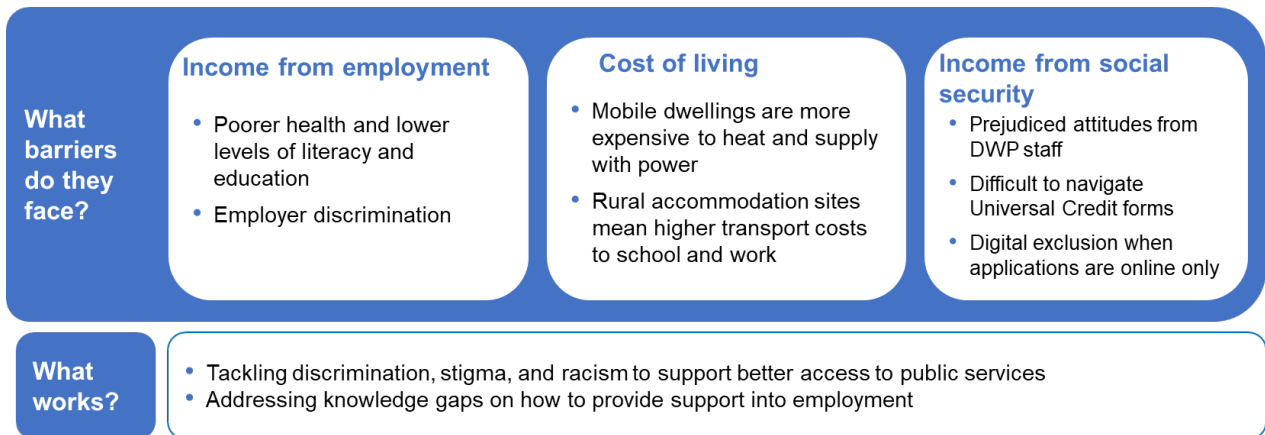
**Financial management can be difficult without a safety net.** Long term low incomes from employment can force families into debt as they attempt to meet general household or one-off costs.<sup>18</sup> Recent evidence shows that neither the resettlement of a family into stable accommodation nor support into paid employment will in and of themselves (or in combination) be enough to lift the vast majority of homeless people out of poverty.<sup>18</sup> Instead, a clear understanding of a family's need and a combination of various forms of support across all three drivers of poverty is required.

# Gypsy/Travellers



Gypsy/Travellers refers to persons who wander or travel for the purpose of making or seeking their livelihood and includes those who live permanently or temporarily in settled housing.<sup>29</sup> This is the term used by National Records of Scotland to describe communities including Romany Gypsies and Scottish and Irish Travellers. The term may not be how the communities choose to identify themselves.

**Figure 2: Visual summary of barriers and what works for Gypsy/Travellers**



## Who are they?

In the 2022 census, 3,343 people in Scotland identified themselves as White: Gypsy/Traveller. However, this figure is generally agreed to be an underestimate of the population. This is because these communities may not be fully reached through traditional survey methods, may not identify with the categorisation in the census, or may opt to hide their identity due to historical discrimination against them. As a result, census records are likely to under-count true numbers.<sup>30</sup>

This community intersects with other risk factors for poverty. Gypsy/Travellers families in Scotland are more likely to:

- Have mothers under 25 years of age<sup>31</sup>
- Have three or more children<sup>32</sup>
- Be headed by a single parent<sup>32</sup>

There is a lack of data on child poverty levels within the Gypsy/Traveller community in Scotland.<sup>33</sup> However, across Europe, it is estimated that 80% of Gypsy/Traveller children live below poverty lines.<sup>34</sup>

There are also other types of Travellers, such as Occupational Travellers, Show-people and New Age Travellers, as well as Roma from Central and Eastern Europe. These are all distinct groups with distinct cultural identities, traditions, and histories, many of whom no longer lead nomadic or 'travelling' lifestyles but who still maintain interlinked social and familial groups distinct from mainstream Scottish society as they have done for centuries. For example, the Scottish Census began counting its Roma population in 2021, and numbers are very small. However, Romani families share many of the disadvantages of other Gypsy/Traveller communities: racism, discrimination and social exclusion leading to poor outcomes in health, education, and employment.<sup>35</sup>

## What barriers and challenges do Gypsy/Travellers experience in relation to child poverty?

Gypsies/Travellers have been persecuted for hundreds of years, experiencing violence, harassment, direct discrimination, displacement, and efforts to eradicate their culture.<sup>36</sup> This marginalisation persists today in many parts of the world at societal, institutional, and structural levels, blocking opportunities in the areas of public life that support social mobility, such as education, healthcare, and employment.<sup>36</sup>

Social exclusion in this group is exacerbated by the intersectional disadvantages of gender and disability. Gypsy/Traveller women, who are more likely than men in their families to be the key actor in interactions with GPs, schools, social workers, and accommodation providers,<sup>37</sup> experience an extra layer of discrimination when trying to access public services, and disabled Gypsy/Travellers experience even greater barriers.<sup>38</sup>

## Challenges faced when aiming to increase income through employment

Recent evidence tells us that Gypsy/Travellers continue to face high levels of discrimination, judgement, and prejudice in Scotland.<sup>39</sup> For example, Scottish social attitudes data (2015) has revealed how this negative judgement extends into the employment realm; one in three people in Scotland (34% of respondents) felt that Gypsy/Travellers are unsuitable primary school teachers.<sup>40</sup>

Qualifications are another barrier. Lower levels of literacy and education make it harder to find and keep a job. More than 60% of UK Gypsy/Traveller households have no one with any formal educational qualifications, compared to 10% amongst the general population.<sup>32</sup>

The increasingly digitalised economy and the decline of many traditionally manual jobs has disproportionately disadvantaged Gypsy/Travellers, many of whom favour self-employment and vocational skills passed down the generations.<sup>41</sup>

Other issues around employment include: being evicted by local authorities from unauthorised encampments making it difficult to plan and consistently attend work; accommodation site challenges in accessing stable broadband to apply for jobs online; and a gendered male 'breadwinner' culture that encourages women to avoid employment to carry out unpaid domestic and care work in the home.<sup>42</sup>

## Challenges faced when aiming to increase income through social security

Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland felt that DWP staff held derogatory attitudes towards them and were discriminating in their interactions. They reported that this made them feel stressed and anxious every time they had to speak to DWP or the Jobcentre.<sup>43</sup>

Gypsy/Travellers perceived the Universal Credit (UC) application to be complex and difficult to navigate, and it was felt that questions in the forms and assessments were designed to stop people from making successful UC applications.<sup>43</sup>

The process of applying can also be more difficult. Gypsy/Traveller communities are generally less likely to have access to a stable broadband connection and are more likely than other groups to be digitally excluded, leading to issues in accessing state benefits for which applications need to be made online.<sup>41</sup>

## Challenges faced when aiming to reduce their cost of living

There are some specific issues that can make costs of living higher.

- A recent study in Northern Ireland found that mobility and home energy costs are relatively higher for Gypsy/Traveller families than for the majority population.<sup>36</sup>
- Poorly insulated and mobile accommodation necessitates the use of expensive natural gas canisters, diesel generators, or pre-paid electricity meters costing up to £10 per day, leaving less money for food and wellbeing.<sup>36</sup>
- The tendency of Gypsy/Traveller sites to be in rural locations with a lack of public transport often requires the ownership of a car to transport children to school and to get to work.<sup>36</sup>

## What do we know works to support Gypsy/Travellers?

This overview of what works is based on what the evidence states should work considering the barriers known, rather than on empirical reviews of what works in practice.

**Addressing racial discrimination and harassment** is already a cross-cutting aim<sup>44</sup> relevant to the child poverty agenda but is particularly relevant for Gypsy/Travellers. Policies or interventions should actively address the discrimination, stigma, and structural and cultural racism that this group faces every day. As such, anti-poverty policies should have a greater focus on race.

**Addressing data gaps** to better understand the barriers Gypsy/Travellers face in Scotland relating to accessing education, employment, and income from social security benefits<sup>45</sup>. Currently, the Scottish Government, in partnership with COSLA, is undertaking a listening exercise with Gypsy/Traveller communities to understand what their priorities are. This is to help the Scottish Government develop a new Action Plan for this group. The research started in Summer 2023 and aims to conclude in Summer 2024.

**Supporting income through employment** by providing targeted support for Gypsy/Travellers to develop their own business, alongside accessing funding and training to do so.<sup>46</sup> There is also evidence from elsewhere in the UK that highlights building the trust of Gypsy/Travellers through positive interactions with services such as healthcare, the police, and local authorities can support Gypsy/Travellers' engagement with other services.<sup>47,48</sup>

# Victims/Survivors of domestic abuse



Domestic abuse can take many different forms. It can be physical abuse, but it can also include coercive and/or controlling behaviour. Examples below are not an exhaustive list, but provide an idea of what form controlling and coercive behaviour may take. Abuse that has the effect of:

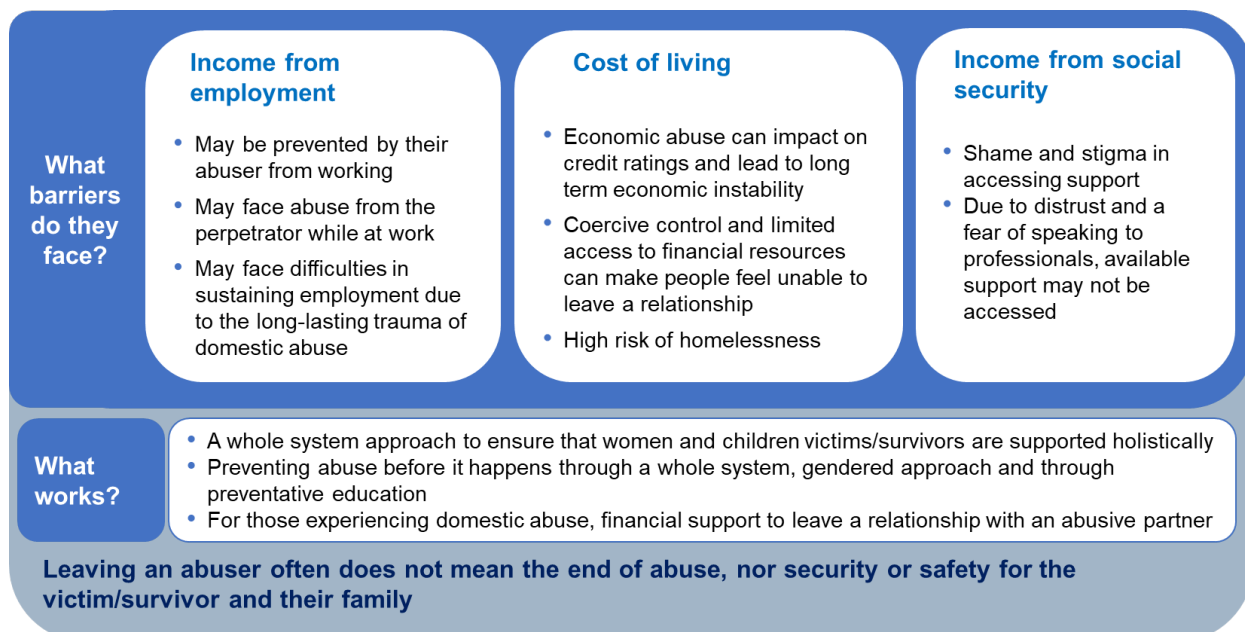
- Making someone dependent on or subordinate to the abuser
- Isolating someone from their friends, relatives or other sources of support
- Controlling, regulating or monitoring someone’s day to day activities
- Depriving someone of, or restricting their freedom of action e.g. controlling their phone/communication access or access to money
- Frightening, humiliating, degrading or punishing someone e.g. abusive name calling, playing mind games that causes someone to doubt their sanity <sup>49</sup>

The vast majority of domestic abuse reported to the police is experienced by women and is perpetrated by men. Four in five (81%) incidences in 2022/23 involved a female victim and a male suspected perpetrator.<sup>50</sup> Therefore, this chapter considers the issues that affect women victims/survivors of domestic abuse.

Leaving an abuser often does not mean the end of the abuse nor security or safety for the victim/survivor. Leaving a perpetrator is a time of increased risk of serious violence, and a time when a woman is statistically most likely to be killed by her perpetrator.<sup>51</sup> Abuse, often in the form of threats, stalking, economic abuse, or physical violence, often occurs post separation.<sup>52</sup> It is likely to have long lasting impacts for the carer and their child(ren).

Research highlights that women living in low income households may experience particular challenges, and have fewer safety nets around them, in order to survive through domestic abuse.<sup>53</sup> Further, fleeing abuse can put women at risk of falling into poverty. Women experiencing domestic abuse often become lone parents, with limited capacity to earn independently and are likely to report financial challenges and ongoing financial abuse from their former partner (for example, withholding child support contributions).<sup>53</sup>

**Figure 3: Barriers and what works for victims/survivors of domestic abuse**



## Who are they?

There were 61,934 incidents of domestic abuse recorded by police in Scotland in 2022/23. However, domestic abuse is an under reported and often hidden crime. It is estimated that only one in six (16%) partner abuse incidents are reported to the police.<sup>54</sup>

Victims/survivors of domestic abuse strongly overlap with lone parents, also a group primarily made up of women, who are also a family group already identified as at greater risk of poverty. For example, in 2022/23 4,859 of homelessness applications were due to reasons of domestic violence of abuse. This equates to 12% of all homelessness applications during this period.<sup>11</sup> Further, homelessness trend data from 2009-2019 show that over half of women making a homeless application for reasons of domestic violence or abuse are single parents.<sup>16</sup> This means that not only do victims/survivors of domestic abuse have to face the challenges of being a lone parent, the gendered aspects of poverty and being high at risk of homelessness (see the section on [homelessness](#)), but they also navigate the barriers and challenges facing them as a result of their experiences of abuse.

In particular, gendered assumptions are critical in shaping women's vulnerability to domestic abuse. This includes:

- Incorrect assumptions that access to household incomes and resources are equally shared by both partners
- Situations of financial dependency which can put women at risk of poverty if they leave, including whether benefits are received as a dependent or in one's own right
- Gendered expectations regarding women's caring responsibilities which limit employment prospects
- Situations where male partners prevent women from working, claiming benefits, or leaving the house<sup>53</sup>

Additionally, findings from the Scottish Crime and Justice Survey report that around a third of respondents who experienced abuse from a partner had children living in their household – with 71% noting the children were present (in or around the house or close by) during the most recent incident.<sup>1, 55</sup> However, it is important to note that children are not simply witnesses to the violence but they do also experience the abuse, control, and fear.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Scottish Crime and Justice Survey asks those experiencing psychological or physical abuse a number of questions which focus on the last time these things happened to respondents. In this set of questions, respondents are asked, 'Were any of the children in your household PRESENT (e.g. in or about the house, or close by) at the last incident?'

## What barriers and challenges do victims/survivors of domestic abuse face in relation to child poverty?

This section considers the barriers and challenges victims/survivors of domestic abuse experience in relation to child poverty.

### Challenges faced when aiming to increase income through employment

**Experiencing domestic abuse can impact on job stability.** A 2019 report from Women's Aid highlights the economic impacts that domestic abuse has for women who experience abuse or who have survived it. One in five women were prevented by their abusive partner from having paid employment, while one in three women experienced domestic abuse while at work or college. This was found to jeopardise their job or ability to complete their course and had a negative impact on future employment opportunities.<sup>57</sup>

**Greater support required in order to sustain employment.** Even after leaving an abusive partner, some women may struggle with the consequences of long term trauma arising from the abuse they have experienced. This can make sustaining employment challenging.<sup>58,59,60</sup>

### Challenges faced when aiming to increase income through social security

**The right support at the right time.** Informal and formal support for women who have experienced domestic abuse has to be available and accessible at the time of need, particularly when leaving an abusive relationship. Accessing services may be difficult for women due to reasons of self-protection, shame and fear for others, including their child.<sup>61</sup> This can be compounded by a distrust of individuals with a fear of opening up to, and or speaking to, someone new or unfamiliar to them.<sup>62,63,64</sup> This means that women may not access the support available to them, such as social security benefits or emergency funds (e.g. Scottish Welfare Fund). This is a particular challenge for migrant or asylum seeking women who have limited access to support services and many social security entitlements<sup>65</sup> (further consideration of this can be found on the section on [families seeking asylum](#)).

### Challenges in reducing costs of living compounded by the cost of living crisis

[Previous focus reports](#) has shown that many low income families entered the cost of living crisis already in a very vulnerable position. We know that lone parents are particularly vulnerable to increased costs of living and suffer negative impacts compared to most other types of households.<sup>1</sup> This is further compounded for women with experiences of domestic abuse who often have no or limited ability to reduce their costs of living.<sup>66</sup> For example, a recent report from Women's Aid in England found that in 2022/23 four in five survivors did not have enough money to pay for essential items for them and/or their children (80%) and needed to access foodbanks (79%).<sup>67</sup>

**The long lasting impacts of domestic abuse on finances.** While in abusive relationships, women can experience economic abuse. This can take many forms, but it involves the perpetrator restricting the woman's ability to acquire, use, or maintain money or other economic resources.<sup>68</sup> Women can be forced to take out debt or be tightly

restricted in accessing joint money.<sup>66</sup> This can have a long term impact for survivors of domestic abuse. For example, research conducted by Refuge highlights how over a quarter (26%) of survey respondents with experience of economic abuse had a negatively impacted credit rating.<sup>69</sup> This means that after leaving an abusive relationship, the survivor can face further economic instability. More fundamentally, a lack of access to money, high levels of debt, and a low credit rating can be a barrier to victims/survivors leaving an abusive relationship and living independently.<sup>69</sup>

**A feeling of limited options in times of crisis.** There are examples of perpetrators of abuse using the ongoing cost of living crisis as a tool of coercive control to further limit access to financial resources by way of checking spending, denying access to money, or decreasing the money available to buy household essentials.<sup>66</sup> Similar findings were found during the COVID-19 pandemic where restrictions placed women in the situation where they felt unable to leave the abusive relationship.<sup>70</sup> Times of social and economic crisis make it easier for perpetrators to exercise control and make it more difficult for women to leave the household and relationship, with many support services for women observing that periods of lockdown placed women at greater risk, while also reporting an escalation of abuse for some victims during these periods.<sup>71</sup>

## What do we know works to support survivors of domestic abuse?

Specifically on the links between **poverty and domestic violence**, research highlights that policy solutions to tackle domestic abuse must be aimed across the whole system.<sup>72,73</sup> Experiencing domestic violence can impact on many aspects of a person's life. Impacts can be wide, and therefore a whole systems approach is needed to ensure that women<sup>74</sup> and children<sup>75</sup> victims/survivors are supported holistically, and for perpetrators to be held to account.

A pilot fund, [Fund to Leave](#), was set up to provide women experiencing domestic abuse with a payment for essential items which they may need when leaving a relationship with an abusive partner. The pilot ended on 31 March 2024 and Scottish Government are now working closely with delivery partners to evaluate the fund with a view to understanding how effective it is at preventing women's homelessness as a result of domestic abuse. This will help to inform the next steps.

However, there is also a need for primary prevention, in preventing abuse before it happens.<sup>76</sup> This approach is evident in [Equally Safe](#), a Scottish Government strategy commitment to eradicate violence against women and girls (VAWG). This Strategy refers to a **whole system and gendered approach** to prevent and tackle all forms of VAWG with the understanding that it is only by working together nationally and locally to create system change can the human rights of women, children and young people be realised.

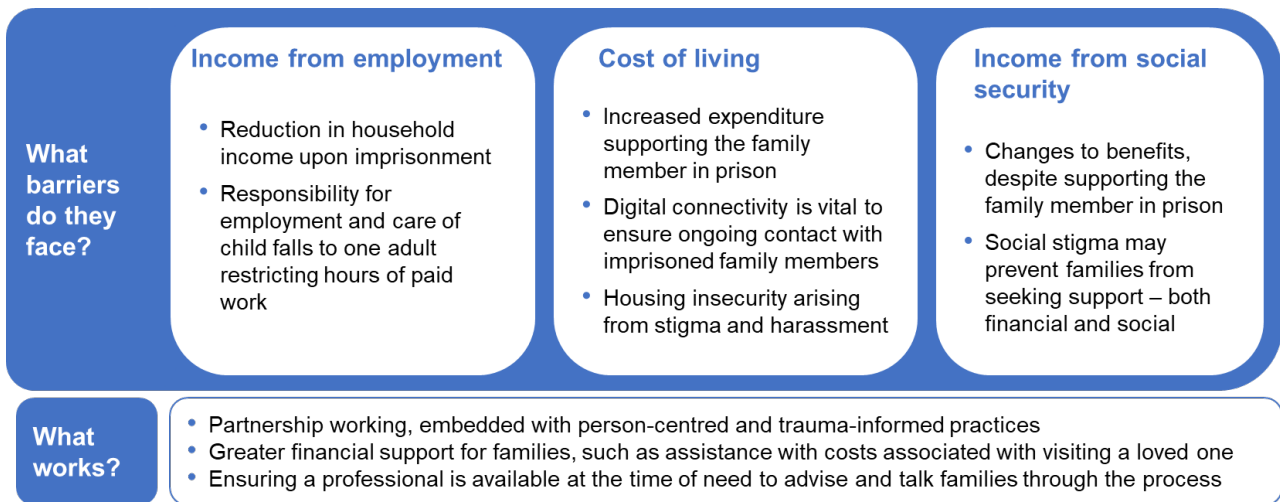
Recent research in the Scottish context points to greater **preventative education** for young people regarding respectful relationships and a need for greater support during times of economic crisis, such as during the COVID-19 pandemic and the cost of living crisis.<sup>77</sup> Recent policy actions in this area include the development of a [framework](#) to be used at a whole school level to prevent and respond to gender based violence.

# Families of people in prison



Families of people serving a custodial sentence have been referred to as the ‘hidden’, ‘innocent’, or ‘collateral’ ‘victims of punishment or crime’.<sup>78,79</sup> When a person is in prison, there can be financial, social, and emotional impacts on family dynamics and relationships of those outside.<sup>79</sup>

**Figure 4: Visual summary of barriers and what works for families of people in prison**



## Who are they?

In 2022/23, the average daily prison population was 7,426,<sup>80</sup> with the average length of custodial sentence being 329 days.<sup>81</sup> More specifically, 49% of individuals arriving to prison in 2022/23 came from the 20% most deprived areas of Scotland.<sup>80</sup> Those in prison are also more likely to be men. In 2022/23, women made up 6% of the individuals experiencing imprisonment.<sup>80</sup>

It is not possible to assess exactly how many children are affected by the imprisonment of a family member. Results from the 2019 Prisoner Survey suggest that, of all those in custody, three in five (61%) reported having children, with over one third of this group (37%) receiving visits from their children while in prison.<sup>82</sup> A widely quoted estimate from 2012 suggests that between 20,000-27,000 children are affected by parental imprisonment in Scotland.<sup>78</sup> This figure includes those with a parent in prison, but not those who are impacted by wider family members’ imprisonment – including that of siblings. The figure was last estimated in 2012 and is likely to have changed since as there has been a significant transformation in the number, and profile, of people in prison over the past decade.<sup>83</sup>

The imprisonment of a household or family member can be a highly stressful event for a child or young person. Indeed, having a parent or carer in prison and has been identified as an Adverse Childhood Experience. This means that children and young people affected are more likely to have adverse and lifelong impacts on health and behaviours.<sup>84,85,86,87</sup>

## What barriers and challenges do families of people in prison face in relation to child poverty?

Imprisonment can play a role in creating, sustaining, and deepening poverty for those families with a loved one serving a custodial sentence.<sup>88, 89, 90</sup> Societal stigma can limit the support given to families with a loved one in prison. Other types of loss, such as a family member in the armed forces or a death are deemed more acceptable methods of a change in family structures and dynamics, while imprisonment does not tend to receive the same levels of social support and acknowledgement.<sup>89</sup>

### Challenges faced when aiming to increase income through employment

**Reduction in household income from paid employment.** A reduction in household income from paid employment can occur if the person in prison was previously in paid work. One research study on the cost to families of imprisonment estimates that an average of £890 a month is lost from the household income when a partner is imprisoned, with the family financial situations moving from stable to unstable.<sup>88</sup>

**One adult, multiple roles.** Following imprisonment, the adult caregiver remaining at home, often a woman, must take on multiple roles and responsibilities, including those the person in prison used to do.<sup>79, 88, 89, 91</sup> Mostly, this includes employment. But beyond having to manage increased hours for paid work or start it in the first place, the parent often becomes a sole carer for their child(ren) while navigating and caring for their partner in prison (e.g. buying clothing, telephone calls, visiting).<sup>88</sup> This pressure on time<sup>92</sup> can restrict the hours the carer can do paid work and can exacerbate existing disadvantages.

**Mental health and wellbeing.** The evidence repeatedly highlights the emotional distress partners face supporting someone in prison due to limited financial support, emotional support, and the stress associated with supporting a loved one in prison.<sup>88</sup> These stressors can lead to family members being forced to give up work.<sup>93</sup>

### Challenges faced when aiming to increase income through social security

**Changes to benefit entitlement.** Families previously making a joint claim for social security are required to make a single claim upon imprisonment of the other claimant. This can lead to changes in Universal Credit and other support they may receive, which reduces the household income, despite still supporting the family member in prison (see the following sub-section on [costs of living](#)).<sup>93</sup> For new claimants, the process of applying for benefits can be stressful and draining while the delay in receiving Universal Credit can be problematic for families.<sup>88</sup>

**Social stigma.** The stigma associated with imprisonment can lead to family members attempting to conceal and mask the incarceration of a family member. This prevents them from seeking support, both social and financial.<sup>94</sup>

### Challenges faced when aiming to reduce their cost of living

**Supporting the imprisoned family member.** Family income tends to decrease following imprisonment of a family member, but expenditure can increase.<sup>79</sup> Evidence suggests that the median total spent per month supporting a family member in prison is £180.<sup>88</sup> These

costs entail: visitation – including travel costs and food<sup>95</sup>; payment into the prisoner's Personal Account; clothing; or stamps to send letters.<sup>88</sup>

**Digital connectivity.** Keeping in touch with imprisoned family members is vital, especially for children and young people to maintain parental-child relations.<sup>92</sup> However, there can be issues to ensure ongoing contact. Research highlights how during times of financial strain, internet is often cancelled to reduce costs, while other households struggle to set up video calls due to not having appropriate technology or not having the correct identification (which comes associated with a cost, e.g. passport or driving licence).<sup>88</sup>

**Cutting costs.** Living on pressured household budgets can lead to the primary caregiver skipping meals and not buying clothes in order to provide for their children and imprisoned partner. This can extend to limiting or stopping socialising and attending activities which cost money,<sup>88</sup> despite social support being a protective factor to mediate the harmful effects of the imprisonment of a family member.<sup>89</sup>

**Housing insecurity.** When a family member goes into prison, benefit entitlement changes. This can impact on their home situation. Research suggests that some families need to move home due to changes to their benefit entitlement,<sup>96</sup> for reasons of stigma or harassment,<sup>88</sup> or due to loss of household income and change in financial circumstances, which may leave families unable to afford to remain in the familial home.<sup>97</sup>

## What do we know works to support families of people in prison?

Across the evidence base, there are clear learnings on what may work to best support families of people in prison, particularly around partnership working. The [Vision for Justice](#) recognises the need for collaborative working embedded in person-centred and trauma-informed practices which take into account the system-wide impact of justice actions. How this looks in practice varies throughout the evidence, but there is an understanding that families may place greater trust in third sector services rather than state services (due to their engagement with the justice system),<sup>98</sup> and there is a role for services to align and work closely together in order to ensure appropriate, timely, and valuable support for families with a loved one in prison.

Other areas for support, include:

- Greater financial support for families with a family member in prison, e.g. greater assistance with costs associated with visiting a loved one in prison.<sup>88,93</sup>
- Further opportunities for family bonding and provision for children of prisoners including family days, seasonal events, and special sessions (e.g. Book Bug).<sup>99</sup>
- Accessible information at the time of need, for example, greater awareness raising of the Scottish Welfare Fund.<sup>88</sup>
- Close contact with a professional, such as a Family Contact Officer, who is available at the time of need, and can advise and talk families through the process of imprisonment is viewed as crucial and instrumental.<sup>99</sup>
- For children and young people, ensuring a trusted adult is in place to provide a supportive relationship and consistent understanding and empathy.<sup>100</sup> For example, teachers may be well-placed to fulfil this role due to their regular contact with children and young people.<sup>101</sup>

# Care experienced

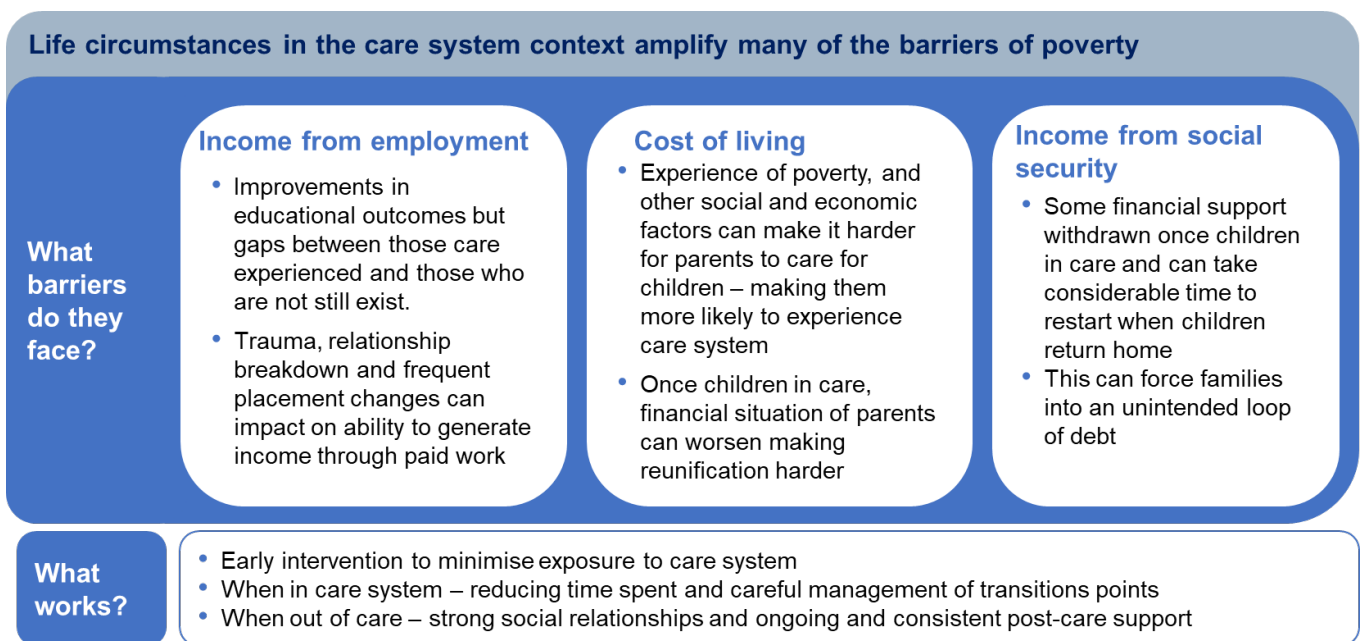


‘Care experienced’ is a broad term widely considered to encompass anyone who at any point in their life has been looked after in some way. This includes children currently looked after at home or away from home, those who have left care, or adults who at some point were looked after themselves.

For families who experience poverty, various social and economic factors can make it harder for parents to care for children, and mean they are more likely than others to be involved in the care system. Moreover, having a child taken into care can have immediate financial impacts on parents.

Experiences of poverty will be unique and vary depending on at what point in the care journey the person is at. For example, whether a person is born into care or experienced care later in their young life, whether a person has been through a child protection process, has been or is being looked after, or is in the process of transitioning out of care and into adulthood.

**Figure 5: Visual summary of barriers and what works for those care experienced**



## Who are they?

There are no exact statistics on the number of people who are ‘care experienced’ overall. However, Scottish Government collects information on the number of children currently going through different stages of the system. The latest data shows since 2014 there has been a downward trend in the rate of children **on the child protection register** (which occurs when it is agreed at a child protection planning meeting that a child or young person is at risk of significant harm from abuse or neglect, and the family needs support from professional services in order to reduce the risk of harm) or **being looked after**.

Poverty can make some families experience the care system. For others, going through the care system makes them experience poverty. We know that:

- Some parents of children in care will have had to navigate various financial and housing difficulties throughout their lives, which may include domestic abuse, parental mental health difficulties, substance misuse, and criminal histories.<sup>102</sup>
- When children in care become parents, they also seem to be more likely to experience worse health outcomes. They are more likely to smoke, rate their own health as poor/fair, have a high level of depressive symptoms and feel like they never get what they want in life.<sup>103,104</sup>
- Parents who have experienced care at some point are more likely to have no or low qualifications, which can limit the income received through employment.<sup>103</sup>

## What barriers and challenges do those care experienced face in relation to child poverty?

Losing a child into care is very traumatic for parents and wider family networks. It can bring feelings of shame and stigma, and have profound immediate and longer term impacts, including on mental and physical health, welfare, and housing entitlement.<sup>102</sup> Life circumstances in the care system context will amplify many of the barriers of poverty that many families were already experiencing.

### Challenges faced when aiming to increase income through employment

Better education is generally seen as a route to higher paid employment in the future. In Scotland, educational outcomes for looked after children have significantly improved over the past 10 years. However, there are still large gaps compared with all pupils. Looked after school leavers are more likely to leave school earlier and do so with fewer qualifications.<sup>105</sup> For example in the 2021/22 school year, 78% of looked after school leavers achieved one or more qualification at SCQF level 4 or better, compared to 96% of all leavers. On a similar trend, 32% of school leavers looked after within the year left school in S4 or earlier, at more than double the rate of all school leavers (12%).

Once the child finishes their education and is out of the care system, a myriad of different challenges makes it particularly difficult for care leavers to increase their income through employment. A study from Australia examined barriers care leavers face to improving their education and employment. The main barriers included a need for extra support to overcome the impacts of trauma, relationship breakdown and frequent placement changes. These barriers are then combined or associated with ongoing life challenges for care leavers such as already living on a low income, mental health issues, and limited social networks.<sup>106</sup>

### Challenges faced when aiming to reduce their cost of living

Living in poverty can add societal and economic pressures on parents to care for their children. For some families this means that they are more likely to then experience the care system. We know that those with care experience are more likely to live in poverty,<sup>107</sup> be food insecure,<sup>108</sup> and miss out on life experiences.<sup>108</sup>

A secure and stable home can make an important difference to care leavers. But housing alone is not what any young person needs to thrive. Research shows that receiving services and stable housing did not eliminate a young person's struggles with employment, education, and mental health. Further, a setback in one domain can often undermine their ability to maintain housing. Key structural barriers included housing quality, and the location of and access to transport links.<sup>109</sup>

### Challenges faced when aiming to increase income through social security

For families in precarious financial circumstances, having a child taken into care can have immediate financial impacts on parents. Particularly because some financial support, in the form of benefits, is withdrawn when children go into care and can take considerable time to restart when the children return home. This can start an unintended loop of debt that can impact on the future reunification of parents with their children.<sup>110</sup>

Research from Social Security Scotland found specific barriers faced by care experienced applicants when aiming to increase their income through social security:<sup>26</sup>

- a complex and often unfamiliar benefit system
- difficulty finding information
- stigma built in the system
- strong reliance of their sector organisations to help navigate the system

### What do we know works to support those care experienced?

A wide range of evidence is clear on what works to support those care experienced to avoid poverty. In summary, evidence highlights:

- **Early intervention** with families to prevent a need to enter the care system in the first place. Even though families are known to the services, the current scaffolding provided is not sufficient to keep families together while navigating difficult times or to avoid repeat removals.<sup>102</sup>
- When in care, a wider family unit needs to be considered and **siblings need to be supported** to stay together where safe to do so.<sup>102</sup>
- There is also a need a need to **reduce the time spent in the care system** and reduce the instability caused by experiencing multiple placements.<sup>111</sup>
- A need to carefully **manage transition points** “into” and “out of” care.<sup>112, 113</sup> In practice this means better preparing care leavers for this transition by maintaining supports for longer and ensuring they do not reach a “cliff edge” where support is suddenly stopped; tailoring support to meet the specific needs of each care leaver; and grounding support in more comprehensive aftercare planning.
- And once out of care, **strong social relationships**, and **ongoing** and consistent **post-care support** – from key workers, partners, friends, and former carers – could be a crucial enabler of life stability and help care leavers navigate life challenges. Consistency and continuity were highly valued and were described as helping care leavers build relationships of trust and gain access to support services.<sup>106</sup>

## Families seeking asylum and refugees

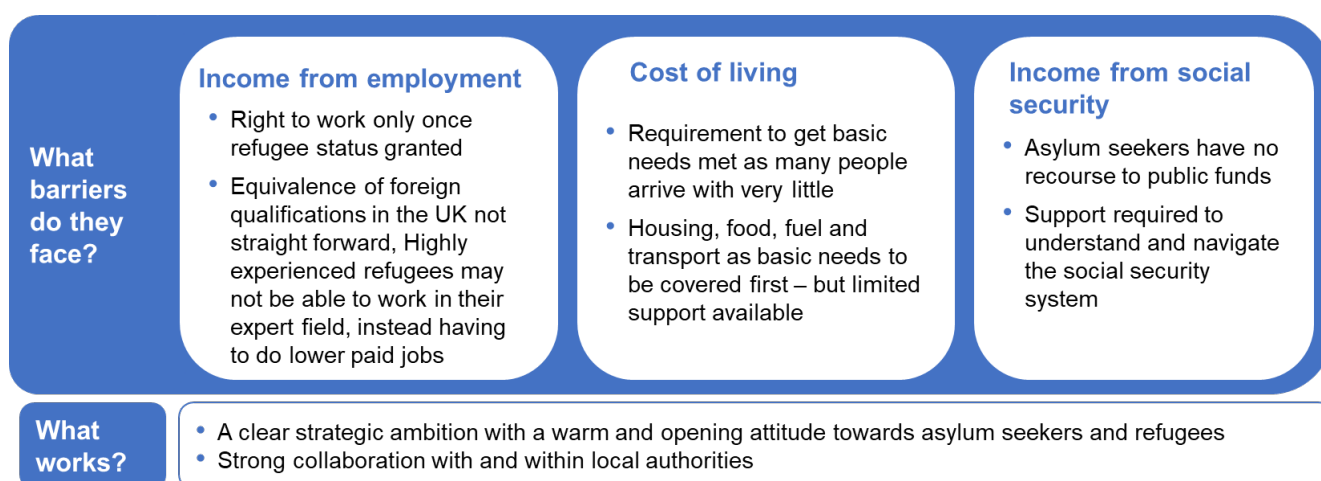


People seeking asylum is the term used to describe people who arrive in the UK from another country and ask for asylum. To be eligible, they must have left their country and be unable to go back because they fear persecution. Until they receive a decision as to whether they are a refugee, they are known as an asylum seeker.

Asylum is a matter reserved to the UK Government. This means that the Scottish Government cannot make laws which affect these matters. However, many of the services which are essential to supporting people seeking asylum and refugees are the responsibility of the Scottish Government and local authorities. This includes health, education, legal services, and housing. It is in this space that the [New Scots Refugee Integration Strategy](#) was developed. The vision is for a welcoming Scotland where refugees and people seeking asylum can rebuild their lives from the day they arrive.

This section presents available information on Scotland but draws on other UK or international evidence for a rounder understanding of experiences.

**Figure 6: Visual summary of barriers and what works for asylum seekers/refugees**



## Who are they?

It is not possible to accurately estimate the number of asylum seekers who live in Scotland, but it is estimated to be around 5,000.<sup>114</sup> There is no information on the characteristics of those arriving in Scotland. However, across the UK as a whole it is estimated that around a fifth (19%) of people seeking asylum in the UK in the year ending June 2023 were children (aged 17 and under). Overall, 7% were children who had arrived in the UK alone without a parent or guardian.<sup>115</sup>

## **What barriers and challenges do people seeking asylum and refugees experience in relation to child poverty?**

The barriers described below will be deeper and harder to overcome for those still pending a response to their asylum application. In some cases, people seeking asylum and refugees will also have to deal with societal judgement and institutional racism.<sup>116</sup>

### **Challenges faced when aiming to increase income through employment**

People arriving in the UK claiming asylum are not allowed to work or seek employment until refugee status is granted - or specific permission to work has been given under Paragraph 360 or 360C of the Immigration rules.<sup>117</sup>

Even when granted refugee status and therefore the ability to work in the UK, there may be limits to the sources of income they can access. This is because not all degrees / qualifications are accepted in the UK. For many, this means that in practice they need to undertake work below their own knowledge and capabilities or in a field that does not compliment their skills and expertise.

An international study across 10 countries from the World Bank Group found that refugees in countries with more liberal refugee policy regimes have better socio-economic outcomes. For example, countries that allow access to the labour market and free movement see higher refugee employment rates. Refugee children in countries with more generous educational rights for refugees are also more likely to be in school.<sup>118</sup>

Recent analysis suggests that granting the right to work to people seeking asylum in Scotland would add £30m per year on average to the Scottish economy if granted immediately on arrival, or £16m per year if granted after a six-month waiting period. However, findings also recognise various challenges to successful employment. The full benefits of a right to work policy may only be realised if it is supported by a wider infrastructure of adequate reception and settlement and integration services, including housing, the timely processing of asylum claims, and adequate welfare support to protect against poverty and destitution.<sup>114</sup>

When supporting people to increase their income through employment, careful consideration of people's circumstances is required. In Scotland specifically, refugees reported how frontline advisers constantly emphasised to them the need to search for, and secure, paid employment.<sup>26</sup> They mentioned how the appointments in the Jobcentre focussed on searching for jobs without considering their particular circumstances as refugees including previous qualifications, knowledge and experience. As a result, some perceived job search activities as mandatory conditions for eligibility of certain benefits.

### **Challenges faced when aiming to increase income through social security**

While people seeking asylum wait to obtain refugee status, they have no recourse to public funds. They will have access to basic health needs and a right for their children to be in education. However, social security support is highly restricted.<sup>119, 120</sup> This is true across the UK, including Scotland.

Research in Scotland demonstrates the crucial need for a key worker to help people navigate and understand the system for the first time as there will be a wide variety of

basic needs to be covered.<sup>26</sup> Some administrative processes can be particularly complex, such as registering at a GP practice, finding an NHS dentist, or opening a bank account.

A recent study concluded that the system appears to be geared towards Scottish people. It states that the universalist orientation of Getting It Right For Every Child (GIRFEC) can make migrant children and families invisible as their specific needs and circumstances were not adequately considered.<sup>121</sup> To counteract this, sufficient resources need to be in place, both in money and capacity to improve staff knowledge on migration issues, ensure that services support cultural understanding, and make sure that this is reflected in everyday practice.<sup>121</sup>

## Challenges faced when aiming to reduce their cost of living

Many people arriving in Scotland seeking asylum need urgent support to get their basic needs met. This includes, amongst other things, housing, food, and clothing. Not all asylum seekers receive immediate asylum support, though the proportion who do appears to be increasing over time.<sup>122</sup> At a UK level, of the 11,450 individuals in receipt of asylum support at the end of June 2023, 43% were in hotel accommodation, 53% were in other accommodation and 4% were in receipt of subsistence support only.<sup>123</sup>

Families seeking asylum or those already granted refugee status will in many cases face multiple challenges. For example, those with no access to official accommodation will face the barriers described in the [Homeless chapter](#). Under [Section 25 of the Children \(Scotland\) Act 1995](#) local authorities are obliged to provide unaccompanied children with accommodation and safeguarding. From this point onwards they become looked after children. The barriers highlighted in the [care experienced chapter](#) will be heightened for these children.

International research shows how vulnerable groups, including people seeking asylum and refugees, have been the most negatively affected by disruption to food systems, such as lockdowns. This is due to loss of employment and income. Social protection has a key role to play in times of health and economic shocks.<sup>124</sup>

There are some supports asylum seekers and refugee parents can access for their children, including free education and healthcare. Children are also entitled to free school lunches, milk, breakfast and fruit (if the local authority provides it), school meals during the holidays, and clothing grants (if the local authority provides it). Very little is known about how children from families seeking asylum or refugees experience the educational system.

## What do we know works to support asylum seekers and refugees?

**Having a clear strategic ambition for the Government.** A strong and clear political stand from Government illustrating an opening and warming attitude towards refugees and asylum seekers can set the tone and foster activity at national and local level. Indeed, an [evaluation of the New Scots Refugee Integration Strategy](#) shows that the Strategy has had a positive impact overall. The strategy was warmly welcomed by stakeholders and there has been positive progress towards the four specific outcomes. However, measuring impact of the strategy has been difficult. Many stakeholders wondered whether the positive outcomes achieved would have happened anyway.<sup>116</sup>

**Strong collaboration with and within local authorities.** [Research](#) looking into the key role that local authorities play found that over the past 8 years there has been a transformation with local authorities adapting rapidly to delivering various resettlement programmes (the Syrian and Ukrainian schemes cited as examples).<sup>125</sup> The research identified key factors for a successful integration of refugees/asylum seekers. Successful integration needed to support people across the following areas:

- Language support. Having a key focus on ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) support.
- Ability to raise own income through employability training and advice on how to use own skills/degrees/qualifications if possible.
- Basic needs including accommodation, welfare and housing advice, support in registration with GPs and dentists, access to travel and connections with the community.

## How to access source data

The data collected for this social research publication:

- are available in more detail through Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics
- are available via the source list below
- may be made available on request, subject to consideration of legal and ethical factors. Please contact <email address> for further information.
- cannot be made available by Scottish Government for further analysis as Scottish Government is not the data controller.

<sup>1</sup> [Tackling child poverty priority families overview - gov.scot \(www.gov.scot\)](https://www.gov.scot/publications/tackling-child-poverty-priority-families-overview/pages/8/)

<sup>2</sup> [Tackling child poverty delivery plan 2022-2026 - annex 6: what works - evidence review - gov.scot \(www.gov.scot\)](https://www.gov.scot/publications/tackling-child-poverty-delivery-plan-2022-2026-annex-6-what-works-evidence-review/pages/8/)

<sup>3</sup> [Homelessness - gov.scot \(www.gov.scot\)](https://www.gov.scot/publications/homelessness/pages/8/)

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.crisis.org.uk/ending-homelessness/homelessness-knowledge-hub/types-of-homelessness/barely-breaking-even-the-experiences-and-impact-of-in-work-homelessness-across-britain/>

<sup>5</sup> [https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Michel-Vols/publication/334364192\\_Common\\_Trends\\_in\\_Eviction\\_Research\\_a\\_Systematic\\_Literature\\_Review/link/s/5d25d123458515c11c21da26/Common-Trends-in-Eviction-Research-a-Systematic-Literature-Review.pdf](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Michel-Vols/publication/334364192_Common_Trends_in_Eviction_Research_a_Systematic_Literature_Review/link/s/5d25d123458515c11c21da26/Common-Trends-in-Eviction-Research-a-Systematic-Literature-Review.pdf)

<sup>6</sup> [experiences-of-homelessness-during-a-cost-of-living-crisis full-report.pdf](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/334364192/Common-Trends-in-Eviction-Research-a-Systematic-Literature-Review/link/s/5d25d123458515c11c21da26/Common-Trends-in-Eviction-Research-a-Systematic-Literature-Review.pdf#full-report)

<sup>7</sup> Mabhala, M., Esealuka, W. A., Nwifo, A. N., Enyinna, C., Mabhala, C. N., Udechukwu, T., ... & Yohannes, A. (2021). Homelessness is socially created: Cluster analysis of social determinants of homelessness (SODH) in North West England in 2020. *International journal of environmental research and public health*, 18(6), 3066.

<sup>8</sup> [Common-Trends-in-Eviction-Research-a-Systematic-Literature-Review.pdf \(researchgate.net\)](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/334364192/Common-Trends-in-Eviction-Research-a-Systematic-Literature-Review/link/s/5d25d123458515c11c21da26/Common-Trends-in-Eviction-Research-a-Systematic-Literature-Review.pdf#full-report)

<sup>9</sup> [Housing article revised final full.pdf \(hud.ac.uk\)](https://www.hud.ac.uk/~housing/housing_article_revised_final_full.pdf)

<sup>10</sup> [2023-The-Trussell-Trust-Hunger-in-the-UK-report-web-updated-10Aug23.pdf \(trusselltrust.org\)](https://www.trusselltrust.org/2023-The-Trussell-Trust-Hunger-in-the-UK-report-web-updated-10Aug23.pdf)

<sup>11</sup> [Homelessness in Scotland: 2022-23 - gov.scot \(www.gov.scot\)](https://www.gov.scot/publications/homelessness-2022-23/pages/8/)

<sup>12</sup> [Ethnicity | Scotland's Census \(scotlandscensus.gov.uk\)](https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/ethnicity)

<sup>13</sup> [Introduction - Pupils with complex additional support needs: research into provision - gov.scot \(www.gov.scot\)](https://www.gov.scot/publications/introduction-pupils-with-complex-additional-support-needs-research-into-provision/pages/8/)

<sup>14</sup> [temp+accom+categories.pdf \(www.gov.scot\)](https://www.gov.scot/publications/temp+accom+categories/pages/8/)

<sup>15</sup> [https://pure.hud.ac.uk/ws/files/37298602/Housing\\_article\\_revised\\_final\\_full.pdf](https://pure.hud.ac.uk/ws/files/37298602/Housing_article_revised_final_full.pdf)

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.gov.scot/publications/homeless-applications-from-women-due-to-domestic-violence-or-abuse-statistics/>

<sup>17</sup> <https://www.gov.scot/publications/hidden-homelessness-international-evidence-review-exploring-ways-identifying-counting-hidden-homeless-populations/pages/8/>

<sup>18</sup> [Homelessness Poverty FullReport.pdf \(hud.ac.uk\)](https://www.hud.ac.uk/~housing/Homelessness_Poverty_FullReport.pdf)

<sup>19</sup> [Living In Limbo - Survey of Homeless Households Living in Temporary Accommodation - Shelter England](https://www.shelter.org.uk/living-in-limbo-survey-of-homeless-households-living-in-temporary-accommodation-shelter-england)

<sup>20</sup> [Low-income families 'terrified for winter' as inflation stays high | CPAG](https://www.cpag.org.uk/low-income-families-terrified-for-winter-as-inflation-stays-high)

<sup>21</sup> [Many low-income families won't have resources to bear another inflation rise | Joseph Rowntree Foundation \(jrf.org.uk\)](https://www.jrf.org.uk/many-low-income-families-wont-have-resources-to-bear-another-inflation-rise)

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