SAFE HOMES, NOT HOTELS

A report into the experiences of asylum seekers in the UK's initial accommodation system in wake of the August 2024 race riots, and proposed accommodation alternatives.

Written by Shaista Aziz & Colette Batten-Turner. Edited by Colette Batten-Turner.



messages of welcome

we welcome you with open arms. I hope you will find peace and prosperity in our beloved, multicultural land. Please remember that the overwhelming majority of us want you here, want your family to have safe refuse and want you to have peace.

Enjoy our fish and chips, our seagulls, our dry humour, our rubbish TV and our beloved NHS.

P.S. always take an umbrella



INTRODUCTION

This briefing paper, produced by Conversation Over Borders, provides an outline of and supports the **Safe Homes Not Hotels** campaign, launched in July 2024. The campaign advocates for the rights of asylum seekers in the UK, calling for safe, community-based initial accommodation rather than Home Office hotels managed by private contractors.

The report highlights systemic issues in hotel-based asylum accommodation, with a particular focus on the experiences of **LGBTQIA+ asylum seekers**, the **rise in Islamophobia**, and the **broader political landscape** shaping public attitudes. It also presents alternative housing models that would provide both economic and social benefits while upholding human rights and integration opportunities.

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Authors: Shaista Aziz and Colette Batten-Turner
Illustrated by: Maddy Bloxham

This publication would not be possible without the courage of people currently navigating the UK asylum system, whose contributed experiences and ideas subsequently shaped this report.



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'LUXURY ASYLUM HOTELS' AND THE RACE RIOTS OF SUMMER 2024

In the summer of 2024, the newly formed Labour government found itself at the centre of a dangerous and racially charged narrative, one that falsely portrayed asylum seekers as "living in luxury hotels". This narrative quickly became a rallying cry for far-right groups, who used it to justify violent riots across **England and Northern Ireland**.

A report by the <u>House of Commons Library</u> (September 2024) documented at least 29 anti-immigration protests that escalated into riots across 27 towns and cities between July 30 and August 7, 2024. These were not simply demonstrations but violent outbreaks, with rioters attacking mosques and hotels housing asylum seekers. The National Police Chiefs' Council confirmed that, by the end of August 2024, over **1,200 individuals had been arrested in connection with the riots,** and hundreds more were identified as suspects. On 2nd September 2024, the government reported that **570 people had appeared in court** as a result of their involvement in the disturbances.

The violence was extreme and targeted. Armed rioters set fire to asylum hotels and attempted to force their way inside, leaving asylum seekers to barricade themselves in their rooms, fearing for their lives. Conversation Over Borders worked in solidarity with asylum seekers across the UK, providing support and assistance during this period and beyond.

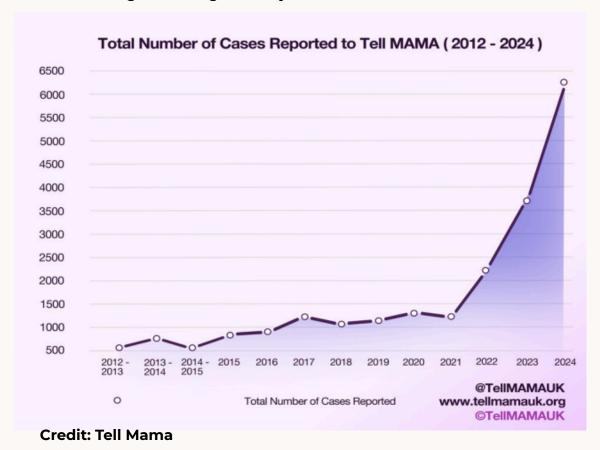
Mosques were also targeted, with Muslim communities living in fear for their safety. Asylum and immigration organisations, alongside the lawyers and advocates supporting them, were forced to close their offices after being named as targets by far-right social media groups. This created widespread fear and anxiety among asylum seekers, their advocates, Muslim communities, and communities of colour, as racist violence took hold across the UK.

These riots were not an isolated event; they were the culmination of years of political rhetoric aimed at **scapegoating and dehumanising asylum seekers, refugees, and British Muslims** for successive governments' failed economic policies and lack of investment in social support. The UK government's failed policies, alongside the rise of far-right movements across Europe, have allowed xenophobia and racism to become entrenched in public and political discourse. The summer riots of 2024 was yet another violent chapter in this ongoing cycle of division and hate.

ISLAMAPHOBIA AND THE RISING TIDE OF REFUGEE HATE

In February 2025, <u>Tell Mama (Measuring Anti-Muslim Attacks)</u>, an organisation collecting data for the Home Office on Islamophobia, reported **a record high number of Islamophobic hate with 5,837 incidents recorded in 2024**, compared to 3,767 in 2023 and 2021 incidents in 2022. Tell Mama says most of the reported hate is directed towards Muslim men; this is the first time that their data shows a bigger rise in Muslim men being targeted than Muslim women.

Anti-asylum seeker and refugee hate cannot be separated from rising and mainstreamed Islamophobia across Europe; the two are entwined because of how the issue of asylum is framed in the UK and Europe. An estimated 80 million international migrants are Muslim, which translates as around 29% of all people living outside their country of birth, according to Pew Research Center. This means that Muslim identity is linked with the issue of migration and refugees, and disinformation and prejudice towards both groups often intersects. It is important to make these connections if we are to advocate in an ethical way alongside the people and communities facing increasingly draconian state legislation against asylum seekers.



LGBTQIA+ EXPERIENCES IN INITIAL ACCOMMODATION

LGBTQIA+ asylum seekers and refugees face **heightened risks of violence** in initial accommodation hotels due to intersecting discrimination and prejudice. Through Conversation Over Borders' support service for LGBTQIA+ asylum seekers, **IRIS**, we regularly bear witness to the additional vulnerabilities and lack of safety they experience based on their sexuality and/or gender identity. The **Safe Homes, Not Hotels** campaign calls for the closure of initial accommodation hotels and the adoption of a community-based housing model for all asylum seekers, while highlighting the specific risks faced by LGBTQIA+ individuals.

Our campaign amplifies and supports the work of Rainbow Migration's **No Pride in Detention** campaign, by urging the Home Office to acknowledge and address the **disproportionate harm experienced by LGBTQIA+ asylum seekers in detention, and include them in the Adults at Risk register.** Many of our LGBTQIA+ clients have shared experiences of sexual violence, intimidation, and threats to their safety while living in Home Office hotels, simply because of their identity.

"While in Home Office accommodation I experienced sexual assault twice. I was shocked and scared and reported the incidents to the hotel staff. They told me that they had told the perpetrator to stay away from me. As far as I know, they did not report what happened to anyone in the Home Office and they didn't offer me any advice or mental health support. I did not feel safe and was always on edge. I was mocked for being gay and ridiculed by others (asylum seekers living in the hotel). I did not feel in a good place."

S, an LGBTQIA+ Conversation Over Borders community member.

LGBTQIA+ EXPERIENCES IN INITIAL ACCOMMODATION

Another client described being **forced to sleep in the hotel hallway** because they did not feel safe sharing a room with an unknown fellow asylum seeker. Once their sexual orientation became known, they felt vulnerable and feared for their safety.

The client made **multiple complaints to hotel staff,** explaining that they were facing **homophobic intimidation and were concerned about being physically harmed** because of their sexuality. However, no action was taken to address their concerns, and they received no support. As a result, the client felt both scared and isolated. These testimonies are echoed by many of our clients.

Research conducted by specialist organisations such as **Rainbow Migration**, advocating for LGBTQIA+ asylum seekers shows that members of this community are more likely to be **bullied and discriminated against** by both staff and other residents in the accommodation provided.

This discrimination can **further re-traumatise** those who have already fled persecution based on their sexuality and/or gender identity. To stay safe, many are forced to **conceal their sexual identity**, which makes it more difficult for them to **"prove" their identity** as part of their asylum application. It also prevents them from joining LGBTQIA+ support groups, building friendship networks and accessing specialist support, all of which could help provide **critical mental health support** while navigating the asylum system and substantiate their membership in the LGBTQIA+ community to support their asylum claim.



In 2016, <u>the government recognised that transgender and intersex</u> <u>individuals are at a specific risk of harm</u> and should be housed in appropriate accommodation that ensures their safety and wellbeing. The government also acknowledged that **transgender and intersex individuals should not be detained** in most circumstances. The same protections and guidelines should be extended to all LGBTQIA+ individuals. Asylum seekers should be housed in communities where they can integrate, become part of wider society, and have the opportunity to rebuild their lives. Such housing solutions would alleviate isolation, reduce the risks to mental and physical health, and save the taxpayer significant sums of money.

BRITAIN'S HOUSING CRISIS AND AUSTERITY: FUELING ANTI-MIGRANT SENTIMENT

According to the housing and homelessness charity Shelter, <u>354,000 people</u> were experiencing homelessness in England in 2024, including 161,500 children.

Among them, **16,600 single individuals** were living in hostels or other forms of homeless accommodation. Record numbers of households are now living in temporary accommodation across England. As of June 2024, a total of **123,100 households were in temporary accommodation** – a record high, representing a 16.3% increase compared to the previous year. The number of households with children in temporary accommodation rose by 15.1% annually, reaching 78,420 households. **As a result, the total number of children living in temporary accommodation has now reached 159,830.**

The housing crisis in Britain is the result of successive governments **failing to invest adequately in social housing** and **failing to build enough affordable homes** to meet the needs of the population over many decades. Every year, grim statistics and data are released, showing that more and more people—particularly families with young children—are languishing on council housing waiting lists, while being forced to survive in inadequate temporary housing, often living in a single room.

The demonisation of asylum seekers and refugees is deeply connected to the frustration many people rightly feel about their inability to access **decent**, **affordable housing and public services**. This frustration is compounded by decades of austerity measures, which have led to the decimation of essential services. Mainstream populist political parties and governments have fostered a false, dehumanising narrative that fuels racist violence and hatred on the streets. This narrative wrongly blames asylum seekers and refugees for the 'strain' on the country's housing and public services. In reality, the issue is that **public services have been systematically underfunded for many years**, with austerity measures eroding the everyday services that people rely on for a decent quality of life.

Conversation Over Borders, alongside specialist LGBTQIA+ and housing organisations advocating for change, faces numerous challenges in the current rampant anti-refugee and asylum-seeker political climate. The demands of our campaign, Safe Homes Not Hotels, and of the <u>coalition body</u> <u>Homes4All</u> that we stand with, remain clear: everyone, including asylum seekers and refugees, has the right to safe and secure housing. This requires significant investment from the government in social housing for all.



PRIVATE PROFITEERING AND EXPLOITATION: CLEARSPRINGS, MEARS AND SERCO

The cost of accommodating asylum seekers in the UK has long been a contentious political issue, central to the Conservative government's **'Hostile Environment'** policy. This policy, far from being evidence-based, is deliberately designed to make life as difficult as possible for people seeking asylum. The government claims this approach serves as a deterrent, intending to prevent asylum seekers from arriving in the UK.

In May 2022, **Refugee Action** stated:

"There is **no evidence** that the hostile environment achieves its stated aim of forcing people out of the UK but there is an extraordinary amount of evidence of the damage being done."

According to the Institute of Public Policy Research's IPPR, <u>Transforming</u>
<u>Asylum Accommodation report</u>, by the end of June 2024, nearly 97,000 asylum seekers were being provided with housing by Home Office contractors.

Asylum seekers are typically first housed in initial (reception) accommodation, then moved into community-based dispersal accommodation - or in some cases, hotels, hostels, and former military bases. The rise in asylum applications since 2021, combined with a backlog of 119,000 cases and a shortage of available rental accommodation, has resulted in demand for dispersal housing far outstripping supply. The Home Office has used hotels, managed by private contractors, to meet this increased accommodation need.

The Home Office outsources asylum accommodation to three private contractors: **Clearsprings Ready Homes, Mears,** and **Serco**. These contractors are responsible for providing transport, housing, food, and laundry services at the hotels, with many of these tasks delegated to sub-contractors.

Research by the Institute for Public Policy Research revealed that in 2023-24, the Home Office awarded AASC contracts worth £4.7 billion to these private companies. These lucrative private contracts, funded by taxpayers, run until 2029, with a break clause in 2026.

For £3.5 million a day, Clearsprings Ready Homes manages accommodation for asylum seekers characterised by squalid, unsafe conditions, mouldy food, reports of racism from hotel staff and a general disregard for asylum seekers' possessions. Managing asylum seeker hotels is their sole business. In the last financial year, Clearsprings Ready Homes made £90 million in profit from taxpayer funded Home Office contracts for managing initial accommodation hotels, and Clearsprings' CEO Graham King entered the Sunday Times Rich List with a net worth of £750 million.

One of Conversation Over Borders' **pregnant clients reported becoming ill** due to the lack of culturally appropriate food available in the hotel. She explained that her body could not adjust to the heavily spiced and limited food options. Her doctor wrote to the hotel managers, explaining that her pregnancy was complicated and that she needed access to fresh food, yet **no changes were made to her diet**, with serious implications for her health and the health of her unborn child.

It is beyond reprehensible that private companies are **profiteering millions of pounds** while asylum seekers are forced to endure **unsafe and unsuitable**



conditions. Taxpayer money is being used to prop up **staggering private profits,** while asylum seekers are scapegoated for the waste of public money and the government fails to invest in social housing for all.

Without urgent, proactive change to the current asylum accommodation model, there is a very real risk that the racist violence seen on the streets this summer will be repeated, and once again, asylum seekers will bear the lethal consequences of government policy failures.

LAUNCH OF SAFE HOMES NOT HOTELS CAMPAIGN

In July 2024, Conversation Over Borders (COB) launched its advocacy campaign, **Safe Homes Not Hotels**, developed by LGBTQIA+ individuals with direct experience of living in hotels. The campaign began with the Lived Experience Campaign team identifying key issues within initial accommodation hotels and proposing practical solutions.

This effort culminated in the creation of an <u>Open Letter addressed to Home</u> <u>Secretary Yvette Cooper</u>, calling for the closure of initial accommodation hotels in response to the summer riots. The Open Letter called for:

- Urgently ensure the **safety and protection** of all asylum seekers and refugees, in the face of Islamophobic and racist mob political violence and intimidation.
- Ensure there are **clear evacuation protocols** for hotels, and that these are shared with contractors running the hotels, to make sure people are safe.
- **Short and long trauma informed mental health** and wellbeing support to be put in place for asylum seekers and refugees.
- Ensure that any **future "dispersal" schemes** are structured around asylum seekers and refugees living within communities, as isolation heightens the risk of them becoming targets for racism and violence.
- House asylum seekers and refugees in communities, where they can settle, become part of the fabric of wider society, move into employment and live lives of dignity, hope and safety.

The Open Letter was signed by more than 50 asylum and refugee organisations, and over 10,500 members of the public, calling for asylum seekers to be safely housed in communities where they could build connections with their neighbours. The letter gathered <u>widespread media attention</u> and received a response from Yvette Cooper's office, despite no changes being made to policy.

As of March 2025, the Ministry of Justice is <u>readying prisons in case of further</u> <u>summer riots</u>. In this context, we urge the Home Office to revisit its contingency and evacuation plans for initial accommodation sites, which were shown to be sitting targets for racist violence during the August 2024 riots.

ALTERNATIVE HOUSING MODELS

Many of the current Home Office initial accommodation contracts with private contractors are set to end in 2029, with a break clause in 2026. Conversation Over Borders is joining with **other organisations across the sector** in urging the government to take immediate action and develop an alternative housing model for asylum seekers.

The Home Office's current proposed alternative, the <u>large sites programme</u>, risks many of the same infringements on human rights and extortionate costs as the hotels models and must not be implemented. The previous government was found to have <u>wasted billions of pounds on unsuitable sites</u> and the Public Accounts Committee has now warned the Home Office that it must <u>address its 'dysfunctional' culture</u> for the same catastrophic mistakes not to be repeated.

According to the National Audit Office:

- The Home Office expects its large sites programme to cost £1.2 billion.
- It believes these sites will now cost £46 million more than using hotels.
- Asylum accommodation at four large sites is expected to cost £230 million by the end of March 2024, with 900 people living in them by the end of January 2024.
- The Home Office is now resetting its large sites programme and developing a longer-term accommodation strategy.

We urge the government to work with **local authorities, asylum seekers** themselves, and **advocacy organisations** to co-produce an asylum accommodation scheme modelled on community-based housing.

In the immediate term, we are calling on the government to pass the contracts being managed by **Clearsprings, Serco** and **Mears** to local authorities and/or third sector bodies at contracts break clause in 2026 to manage the transition to an alternative, community-based housing model. An alternative model could be achieved at **a fraction of the cost currently being paid to private companies** managing hotel accommodation, providing better value for taxpayer money and, critically, a system that protects the human rights of asylum seekers, while enabling them to integrate into the communities around them.

ALTERNATIVE 1: REPLICATING A HOMES FOR UKRAINE HOSTING SCHEME

The **Homes for Ukraine Scheme** is a prime example of what is achievable when the government works proactively to create fair, community-based alternatives to initial accommodation sites. The scheme, which launched on 14 March 2022, successfully welcomed **over 153,300 Ukrainians** to the UK by 21 February 2023.

The scheme allows individuals in the UK to sponsor a Ukrainian national or family to live with them, provided they have suitable accommodation. According to government data, **74,000 people applied to host Ukrainian refugees**, demonstrating the public's willingness to help integrate refugees into communities.

Hosting schemes are a much more cost effective way of housing asylum seekers compared to hotels; Homes for Ukraine costs £350 per month for guests who have lived in the UK for less than one year, and £500 per month for guests who have been here for one year or more.

Initial accommodation hotels are estimated to cost approximately £4,300 per person, per month.

Beyond reducing the cost of accommodation, hosting schemes within communities promote cross-cultural dialogue and social cohesion, while enabling asylum seekers to better integrate into the communities around them, improve their English, access school and college and ready themselves to move forward with their lives in the UK.



ALTERNATIVE 2: REPURPOSING OF DISUSED BUILDINGS AND CAPITAL SUBSIDY

In 2024, several local authorities, including **Dorset, Derbyshire, Northumberland, Lincoln,** and **Oxford** purchased homes to accommodate Afghans and Ukrainians arriving in the UK through government resettlement schemes. These properties can also be used to house people and families facing homelessness, who are and being forced into temporary accommodation. These initiatives are part of efforts to relieve the pressure on council housing lists, which have been stretched by growing numbers of people waiting to be housed.

We support the calls of housing specialists such as **SOHA Housing Association** in advocating for piloting a **capital subsidy programme** as a solution to the demand for initial accommodation housing. This would allow councils and housing associations to receive central government grants to buy or renovate properties specifically for temporary housing, thereby saving the government money on hotel accommodation contracts.

Under these proposals, asylum seekers or homeless families could be housed in **former commercial properties** that have been converted, or homes that lie empty prior to the regeneration of housing estates. Councils or housing associations could also buy unsold properties on the open market, using them as temporary accommodation for a period before turning them into general social housing stock.

In their 2024 report, 'An alternative model for funding asylum and temporary housing: building a more cost effective and humane system', SOHA Housing Association states:

"With £8 million being spent every day on asylum hotels and an additional £1.7 million on hotels for homeless people, it has been calculated that a £1.75 billion capital grant could pay for itself within just seven months. There are compelling economic arguments in favour of such schemes, but public opinion could prove to be an obstacle to its implementation, due to the very real concerns about the broader housing crisis in the UK."

ALTERNATIVE 2: REPURPOSING OF DISUSED BUILDINGS AND CAPITAL SUBSIDY

Addressing asylum accommodation without simultaneously improving services for homeless families risks **exacerbating existing tensions and fostering resentment** between communities. If the government is to make meaningful progress in tackling both housing crises, it must ensure that the solution benefits everyone – asylum seekers, refugees, and homeless Britons alike – while upholding human dignity and supporting the most vulnerable in society.

Realistically, we will need to see a combination of the above schemes to **fairly** accommodate people seeking asylum in the UK and also protect and house people native to the UK. However, these schemes illustrate what can be achieved when a community-based approach to housing refugees is applied. They show that, with proper collaboration between central and local government, we can create sustainable alternatives to the Home Office's costly and inhumane hotel system.

FINANCIAL INDEPENDENCE AND THE RIGHT TO WORK

It is crucial to **urgently reframe the public and political narrative around asylum seekers**. Rather than being seen as a "burden" or a "problem," people seeking asylum should be recognised as integral parts of our wider communities and society. **This shift can only occur if people seeking asylum are granted the right to work.**

By doing so, they can **contribute to the economy** and **stop being scapegoated** for government policies that waste millions of taxpayers' money – particularly at a time when public services are already under strain and many working people are facing financial insecurity. **This would reduce societal tensions and increase social harmony,** reducing the very real risk of incidents like the 2024 race riots being repeated.

FINANCIAL INDEPENDENCE AND THE RIGHT TO WORK

One client within the Conversation Over Borders community proposed that asylum seekers should be taxed at a higher rate on their earnings until their leave to remain is granted.

He acknowledged that he was not yet a British citizen, but argued that allowing asylum seekers to work and gain financial independence would not only benefit them personally and reduce taxpayer costs, but could contribute more to the economy and social services through increased taxes.

Allowing people seeking asylum to work could help address **critical skills shortages**, particularly in the construction industry, which currently has **39,000 unfilled vacancies**. Experts warn that the government's pledge to build **1.5 million new homes is at risk of failure due to a lack of skilled workers.** To meet the annual target of 300,000 homes, an estimated 25,000 bricklayers, 3,000 plumbers, 4,000 plasterers, 10,000 carpenters, and 3,000 electricians are needed, according to the Home Builders Federation (HBF) and the Construction Industry Training Board (CITB).

Rather than relying on an <u>"influx of overseas builders"</u>, as some construction experts predict, the government could scale up employment opportunities for asylum seekers and train them through existing industry schemes. This would not only create the vital workforce required to **deliver the UK's homebuilding targets** but also support asylum seekers and refugees in gaining skills, integrating into British society, and contributing to the economy.

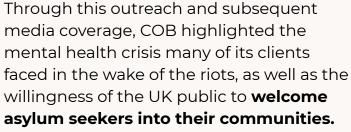
Granting asylum seekers the right to work would also undermine the damaging narrative that they are a **financial 'burden'** - a claim often exploited by political parties to fuel social division. Instead, it would highlight their potential as **active contributors** to the country's future, helping to address the housing crisis while **fostering a sense of belonging and inclusion**.

MESSAGES OF WELCOME AND PUBLIC ATTITUDE

In tandem with the launch of *Safe Homes, Not Hotels*, Conversation Over Borders initiated a <u>Messages of Welcome</u> campaign, inviting members of the public to send **handwritten notes of solidarity** to asylum seekers and refugees targeted by far-right violence. These messages were delivered to individuals in Home Office hotels across the country.

Thousands of people participated in this action in the weeks following the August race riots, putting forth a message of solidarity that is aligned with research suggesting that **80% of the UK public** want an asylum system that is **fair, compassionate and well managed**. The Messages of Welcome campaign demonstrated the desire among the UK public for a more humane and socially responsible approach to the asylum system. The campaign garnered widespread media attention, including coverage from the **BBC, The Guardian, Evening Standard**, and national radio and television.

In the run-up to Christmas 2024, Conversation Over Borders extended the **Messages of Welcome movement** into a pasting campaign, encouraging the public to display messages of welcome in their cities across the UK. This campaign broadened the public's engagement with the issue, amplifying the message that asylum seekers should be welcomed, not vilified.





MESSAGES OF WELCOME AND PUBLIC ATTITUDE

"The racist unrest in August 2024, which is the worst seen in more than a decade, has been fueled by decades of **political misinformation** and **anti-immigrant sentiment**.

For many asylum seekers and refugees at Conversation Over Borders, the violence has triggered painful memories of trauma; people who sought sanctuary in a country they believed would offer safety are now **confronted with violence and a rhetoric of hate**.

Although the voices of hatred are loud, they represent a **tiny minority**. The majority of the public want to **extend a hand of welcome to newcomers to the UK**. It is time we develop community-based housing that gives the wider public the opportunity to meet, welcome and integrate with people seeking refuge in the UK, reducing the likelihood of racist violence fostering by promoting social cohesion."

Colette Batten-Turner, CEO of Conversation Over Borders



CONCLUSION

The UK's asylum housing system is at a crisis point. The continued reliance on initial accommodation hotels to house people seeking safety and asylum in the UK is financially unsustainable, socially damaging, and unsafe for asylum seekers, particularly LGBTQIA+ individuals and other vulnerable groups. The current model fosters isolation, fuels far-right rhetoric, and allows private companies to profit from taxpayer money while failing to provide dignified housing.

There is a viable, evidence-based alternative. By **replicating community hosting schemes, repurposing disused buildings,** and **granting asylum seekers the right to work,** the UK government can create a more humane, cost-effective, and integrated asylum housing system. These reforms would reduce government expenditure, improve community cohesion, and enable asylum seekers to rebuild their lives with dignity and security.

With the break clause in initial accommodation hotel contracts fast approaching in 2026, we have a window of opportunity to implement alternative, community-based housing solutions that prioritise **dignity**, **integration**, and **long-term sustainability**. The government must act now. Investing in community-based alternatives is not just a moral imperative - it is an economic and social necessity. **The time for Safe Homes, Not Hotels, is now.**



Messages Of Welcome

I'm born and raised in the UK. My parents and grandparents are as English as you can get, as far back as you go. We all want you here. We are excited about a new griend joining our country. What a special griend too. Someone with the guts to change the course of their lives. To do what's right for them. Best wishes and massive hats off for your bravery. Stay, please. You make our home better. It's yours now.