Asylum and migration: a review of Home Office statistics



REPORT BY THE COMPTROLLER AND AUDITOR GENERAL HC 625 Session 2003-2004: 25 May 2004 This report was prepared for the purposes of informing the Home Office about the reliability of its quarterly asylum statistics; whether those statistics are prepared in line with Office for National Statistics guidelines and standards for compiling National Statistics; and whether, on the basis of statistical evidence, recent changes in the number of asylum applications have had any significant impact on other forms of migration.

This report has been prepared under Section 6 of the National Audit Act 1983 for presentation to the House of Commons in accordance with Section 9 of the Act.

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summary

1 The Prime Minister made a commitment that the government would halve the number of asylum applications by the end of September 2003 compared with October 2002. The Home Office has reported that it met this target, with the number of reported asylum applications falling from 8,770 in October 2002 to 4,225 in September 2003. To provide an indication of the current level of asylum activity, the Figure below shows some of the headline quarterly asylum statistics for January to March 2004, which the Home Office has published today alongside this report on its Internet website at www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/immigration1.html.

Headline statistic	Numbers for the quarter			
Applications	 8,940 principal applicants and 1,645 dependants 			
Initial decisions	 14,640 initial decisions - 535 applications granted asylum, 14,105 refused 80 per cent of substantive applications¹ received in the previous quarter were decided within 2 months 			
Appeals	10,100 appeals received18,255 appeals determined			
Removal of failed asylum seekers	 3,320 principal applicants and 765 dependants removed from the country 			
Applications for support	 7,425 applications 890 applicants notified as being ineligible to apply for support from the National Asylum Support Service (NASS) under Section 55 of the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002 			
Supported asylum seekers	76,245 asylum seekers including dependants were receiving subsistence support or living in NASS accommodation			
Detentions	 1,330 principal applicants and dependants detained 			
NOTE				

1 Excludes applications withdrawn or from people who could have made their asylum applications in other safe countries before arriving in the UK.

Source: National Audit Office summary of Home Office quarterly asylum statistics for the period January to March 2004

The Home Office specifically asked the National Audit Office to:

- Assess the data reliability of the quarterly asylum statistics released by the Home Office (Part 1 of this Report).
- Assess whether the process for compiling those statistics is in line with Office for National Statistics (ONS) guidelines and standards for compiling National Statistics (Part 2).
- On the basis of the statistical evidence, consider whether recent changes in the number of asylum applications have had any significant impact on other forms of migration (Part 3).
- Make recommendations for tackling any weaknesses the audit may reveal.

National Audit Office terms of reference

2 In April 2004, the Home Office asked the National Audit Office to examine the reliability of its quarterly asylum statistics, consider whether recent changes in the number of applications had had any impact on other forms of migration, and report publicly alongside the release of the quarterly asylum statistics in May 2004.

What we did

- 3 The Home Office draws on four key computer databases for the data it uses to compile its quarterly asylum statistics. It operates three of these databases itself, while the fourth is operated by the Immigration Appellate Authority¹ an independent judicial body sponsored by the Department for Constitutional Affairs. The Home Office's databases are operated in a variety of locations around the country to collect detailed information on each asylum case. The Home Office's quarterly bulletins of asylum statistics report on a sub-set of the detailed information that is available.
- For the purpose of our review of the reliability of the asylum statistics, we focused on 12 key sets of data contained within the quarterly bulletins (see Figure 3). We visited 21 offices around the country, including ports of entry, where we examined systems for collecting these key asylum data and entering them onto the relevant databases and where we also interviewed immigration officers and other officials. We examined the work of Home Office statisticians in reviewing quarterly asylum data and preparing asylum statistics for publication in line with a Code of Practice and Protocols issued by the Office for National Statistics. We commissioned from an independent expert a review of whether recent changes in the number of asylum applications have had any significant impact on other forms of migration. We consulted with the National Statistical Society on experts who might help us in our work. Details of our methods are at Appendix 1.
- **5** The National Audit Office is also currently working on two other reports relating to asylum and immigration issues, which are scheduled for publication in June 2004: *Improving the Speed and Quality of Asylum Decisions, and Visa Entry to the United Kingdom: the entry clearance operation.*

¹ The Immigration Appellate Authority (IAA) consists of Immigration Adjudicators and the Immigration Appeal Tribunal (IAT). Adjudicators hear appeals against decisions made by the Home Secretary (and his officials) in asylum and immigration matters, and the IAT hears appeals against decisions taken by the Adjudicator. The Authority is part of the Department for Constitutional Affairs.

Key conclusions

6 We reached the following key conclusions:

The asylum data and statistics are in most respects reliable, including the Home Office's reporting that the number of asylum applications halved between October 2002 and September 2003.

There are, however, several weaknesses in the process of compiling the statistics and in their presentation, some of which impact on other items in the published statistics.

The Home Office applies the National Statistics Code of Practice and Protocols well in some areas, but there is scope for the Home Office to consult users more, present the statistics more clearly and improve their coverage. The Home Office has appropriate practices in place to ensure the integrity of its asylum statistics, in line with established protocols.

There is no clear statistical evidence that the reduction in the number of asylum applications has had any significant impact on other forms of migration.

Reasons for migration are extremely complex and a change in numbers for any route of entry may reflect the operation of a broad range of factors. Often, these factors work independently of one another and reflect decisions taken by a myriad of people and organisations, including migrants themselves, governments and other organisations, in response to changing circumstances.

Reductions in the number of asylum applications can be explained, in part, by measures taken by the government to manage down the intake of asylum seekers, alongside other wider trends. The UK remains a very attractive destination for some people from overseas. In the time available, the statistical analyses in this Report focused on changes in the number of people entering the UK through individual routes of entry. Further research might usefully be carried out to compare asylum flows with the combined statistics for all routes of entry and by nationality. This would allow a broader picture to be obtained of any relationships that might exist between asylum and other forms of migration, rather than one based only on individual routes.

Key findings

On the reliability of the asylum data and statistics

- 7 The asylum data and statistics are in most respects reliable including the Home Office's reporting that the number of asylum applications halved between October 2002 and September 2003. There are several weaknesses in the process of compiling the statistics and in their presentation, however, some of which impact on other items in the published statistics:
 - although the data and statistics reliably record the number of asylum applications received, there is a weakness in the system for referrals of illegal immigrants that brings a risk to the completeness of the data. Where illegal immigrants are arrested but then not detained in police cells or immigration removal centres, they may be referred by the police or some enforcement offices to the nearest Home Office unit where they may make their application for asylum. There is a risk that some of these illegal immigrants do not present themselves at any of the Home Office units, do not make an application and disappear once more from view. The Home Office did not have procedures to check that all people so referred subsequently made an asylum application. It recorded some 50 people a month being referred in this manner. Although this is likely to be an understatement of the number of referrals, it is less than 2 per cent of the number of applications actually recorded;

- there are some weaknesses in the data on the timeliness of initial decisions. The Home Office aims to make 75 per cent of initial decisions within two months of the asylum application. Dates on which asylum decisions are despatched to applicants are sometimes recorded before official decision letters have been sent out, overstating the Home Office's performance against its target. By contrast, in 17 per cent of the 103 decision cases we tested, despatch dates had not been recorded despite the decision letters having been sent out. At least half of these cases had been despatched within the Home Office's target period. Their omission understated the Home Office's achievement of its timeliness target in 2002-03;
- removals of asylum applicants are not always evidenced satisfactorily. Many planned removals are aborted late in the removal process, so confirmation that a failed applicant has left the country is important. In 6 per cent of the cases we tested, there was no supporting evidence to confirm the removals;
- although the data on applications for NASS support are generally reliable, the Home Office's presentation of the statistics is, in our view, materially misleading. The Home Office includes in its statistics on the number of applications for NASS support, only applications from asylum seekers deemed eligible to apply for support. It shows separately those deemed ineligible. This approach could lead to users of the statistics misunderstanding the total number of people who apply for support. The latest quarterly statistics published today report 7,425 applications for NASS support and 890 cases deemed ineligible in the quarter. It is not clear to the user that these two figures need to be added together to arrive at the total number of applications of 8,315 and so the statistic for the number of applications is materially understated;
- data on asylum seekers supported by NASS do not include some people receiving support. The providers of NASS accommodation for asylum seekers estimated that, at the end of March 2004, 2,611 people who were recorded as no longer being in receipt of NASS support were in fact still in their accommodation. The Home Office told us that some providers do not evict people whose NASS support has been terminated, as this would make them destitute. It is revising its contracts to include eviction clauses and to link contractor payments to available spaces, as a means of encouraging providers to evict. We consider this weakness materially affects the statistic for the number of asylum seekers supported by NASS;
- We also found that the statistics on asylum seekers supported by NASS at the end of March 2004 included many for whom support should have been terminated but had not been. This represents a waste of public resources. Incomplete data on the Home Office's main asylum database results in cases not being identified for cessation of support on the due dates. In a sample month, we found that some 300 cases identified by the Immigration and Nationality Directorate (IND) for cessation had not been identified as such until after the due date. In our sample testing of Home Office files on asylum seekers supported by NASS as at 31 March 2004, we found several cases where support should have been terminated but had not been; and
- the Home Office recently identified that 212 people detained in prison were missing from the detentions database and therefore from the statistics and this is material to the published total. The Home Office relies on the Prison Service and individual prisons to inform it of details of non-UK nationals detained in prisons, but these arrangements do not work well. The Home Office has not always been informed of the numbers of such detainees. Home Office data include details of some detainees who have been released from prison without its knowledge, while some detainees are not included in the Home Office had no evidence on file to confirm those recorded as being detained in prison.

8 In the time available we were not able to select and test a large enough sample of data entered on the Home Office's asylum databases to provide with sufficient precision a view on the reliability of the statistics. During the three weeks available, the Home Office was able to make available 276 (some 80 per cent) of the 350 files we selected for audit testing. The above conclusions on the reliability of the asylum data and statistics are therefore based on the assurance we have taken from our review and testing of the operation of data entry procedures and the results of the files we audited. Our view on reliability is also affected by the 74 files that the Home Office was unable to provide in the time available for our testing.

On the application of the National Statistics Code of Practice and Protocols

- **9** In 2002, the National Statistian, as head of both the Office for National Statistics and the Government Statistical Service (GSS) issued a Code of Practice setting out eight principles that government statisticians are expected to follow and uphold. The ONS has also issued 11 separate Protocols, providing further information on how key aspects of the Code should be implemented. The Code and the Protocols are available on the National Statistics website at www.statistics.gov.uk/about/national_statistics/cop/default.asp.
- **10** The Home Office applies the Code and Protocols well in some areas, but there is scope for further improvement:
 - it has given insufficient attention to consulting formally with users other than those in government;
 - the quarterly asylum statistics do not allow all users to understand how the asylum process works. The Home Office is working to improve them;
 - the quarterly asylum statistics do not provide a comprehensive picture of people receiving support funded by the Home Office. They only disclose those people residing in NASS accommodation or in receipt of subsistence allowances. The statistics therefore fail to account for up to 16,000 asylum cases involving single people or families in accommodation and receiving subsistence funded by the Home Office, but whose support is administered under arrangements with local authorities. The Home Office has not included any of these cases in its asylum statistics because of difficulties in obtaining reliable data from all local authorities. The number of these cases is decreasing over time because there are no new cases being funded under these arrangements. In addition, under another set of arrangements that has now been ceased, the Home Office pays the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) to support some asylum seekers; such cases are now estimated to have fallen to around 1,000. The Home Office knew that the number of cases was falling and would eventually cease and therefore decided that its resources were better devoted to data on asylum seekers supported by NASS;
 - Home Office statisticians need to improve documentation of their work. They could better record the work they actually carry out in their preparation of the statistics, to aid internal review of the work and external validation of it in National Statistics reviews; and
 - statistical definitions reflect UK legislation and asylum systems. The Home Office is working with European counterparts on greater harmonisation, however, on key definitions for asylum statistics provided to the European Commission for its own publications.

On whether there is a statistical relationship between the reduction in the number of asylum applications and other forms of migration

- 11 The trend of asylum applications was upward in the months leading up to the autumn of 2002, when there was a sharp fall followed by an even sharper fall at the start of 2003. The number of applications then rose gently from June to September 2003, before falling once more. The Home Office has attributed the sharp fall in reported asylum applications since October 2002 to a range of statutory and non-statutory measures to reduce the number of applications, and to wider trends in asylum flows.
- 12 Since before October 2002, the Home Office has modelled the combined effects of the various measures on the number of asylum applications and re-forecast on a six-monthly basis, taking account of actual monthly asylum applications. The number of asylum applications has declined by more than the Home Office's most optimistic forecast of October 2002, although that forecast did not take account of all intake reduction measures that were subsequently introduced.
- **13** Professor John Salt and James Clarke at the Migration Research Unit of University College London (UCL) undertook, on our behalf, a review of whether, on the basis of the statistical evidence available, recent changes in the number of asylum applications have had any significant impact on other forms of migration. They examined whether the reduction in the number of asylum applications since 2002 was due to:
 - fewer asylum seekers wanting to come to the UK, reflected in increased asylum applications in other European countries commensurate with the reduction in this country; and/or
 - some people who might previously have claimed asylum entering the country through other legal migration routes; and/or
 - some people not choosing to claim asylum upon coming to this country, having entered or stayed illegally.

There is no statistical evidence that asylum seekers who might otherwise have come to the UK switched to other Western European destinations

14 The UCL team analysed data on the number of asylum applications received by 17 Western European countries² in 2002 and 2003, and found that, like the UK, most other Western European countries also experienced a decline in the number of asylum applications over the period 2002 to 2003. No other country in this group experienced as large a reduction as that of the UK, however, and only Portugal had a percentage reduction greater than that of the UK. The reduction in the number of asylum applications elsewhere in Europe, including in most of the UK's neighbouring countries, suggests there was a common trend across the region and that a diversion of asylum seekers away from the UK in order to claim asylum elsewhere in Western Europe was unlikely to have occurred.

² Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland.

There is no statistical evidence that some people who might previously have claimed asylum entered the country through other legal migration routes

15 The UCL team examined 10 different data sets over the four years 1999-00 to 2002-03 to determine whether people who might previously have come to the UK claiming asylum entered the country instead as another form of legal migrant.

The	e 10 different data sets examined by the UCL team
	Applications for work permits ¹
	People entering the UK with work permits
	Workers joining the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme $(SAWS)^2$
	Workers joining the Sectors Based Scheme (SBS) ²
	People entering the UK as domestic workers
	People entering the UK as au pairs
1	People entering the UK under European Community Association Agreements $(\mbox{ECAA})^2$
	People entering the UK as students
	International Passenger Survey (IPS) data on immigrants and emigrants ³
	International Passenger Survey (IPS) data on visitors
NC	DTES
1	This data set consisted of applications for work permits from employers for people outside the country, and first permissions for work permits for people already in the country. It excluded extensions to existing work permits and changes of employer.
2	See glossary.
3	Immigrants are people who have been out of the UK for more than a year and enter the country with the intention of remaining for more than a year. Emigrants are people who have been in the UK for more than a year and leave with the

Source: National Audit Office summary of data sets examined by the UCL team

intention of living abroad for more than a year.

16 Between 2002 and 2003, there was a net reduction of 34,763 in the number of asylum applications in the UK. The Figure below shows the 11 nationalities where there were the largest reductions. Together, these nationalities accounted for some 80 per cent (29,446) of the total gross fall of 36, 819 in the number of applications.

17 These 11 key countries have a wide geographical spread and represent a broad spectrum of experience in the generation of asylum seekers, including the incidence of major wars, local conflicts and their aftermath, repressive regimes and the involvement of particular persecuted groups in the population. They form a reasonable group against which to measure the possible diversion of flows into other routes of entry. It can reasonably be expected that, if there had been any diversion of asylum seekers into other routes of entry into the UK, it would show up in the data for these 11 key countries. The focus was therefore upon these 11 key countries throughout the statistical analysis.

Reduction in the number of asylum applications from nationals from 11 key countries, 2002 to 2003

Nationals from 11 key countries together accounted for 29,446, or 80 per cent, of the total (gross) fall in asylum applications over the period 2002 to 2003.

Total net ¹ reduction in the number of applications, 2002-03	34,763
Total gross ¹ reduction in the number of applications, 2002-03	36,819
Country of nationality	Gross Reduction
Iraq	10,524
Afghanistan	4,912
Zimbabwe	4,373
Sri Lanka	2,427
Serbia and Montenegro	1,462
Somalia	1,442
Czech Republic	1,292
Poland	894
Sierra Leone	769
Democratic Republic of Congo	688
Romania	663
Total reduction across these 11 countries	29,446
NOTE	

NOTE

1 There were reductions in asylum applications from some nationalities, and increases from others. The total gross reduction is the sum of the former, while the total net reduction is the former minus the latter.

Source: The UCL team's analysis of Home Office data

18 There was no significant statistical relationship between the number of work permit applications and asylum applications over the period. Nor did the pattern and trend for workers under the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme provide conclusive evidence that people, who might previously have come to the UK claiming asylum, entered the country instead under that Scheme. If any diversion did occur, it would appear to relate mainly to Polish nationals, whose participation in the Scheme increased the most. There might, however, be many reasons for this increase and further examination would be required to explore these.

- **19** As the Sectors Based Scheme only started as recently as May 2003, it was not possible to conduct any trend analysis within the Scheme or to compare the trend with that of asylum applications. The number of people of different nationalities on the Scheme does not appear to be related to the fall in the number of asylum applications over the period. It is therefore unlikely that the Scheme represents an alternative route of entry into the UK for people who might previously have entered the country as asylum seekers.
- **20** The number of people coming to the UK as domestic servants was too small to have had any impact on the number of asylum applications. The number of people coming to the UK as au pairs increased in 2002 and 2003, due to 2003 being the first year that nationals from six Eastern European countries were eligible to enter the country as au pairs. Overall, the entry of such nationals precludes any meaningful comparison between changes in the number of au pairs and of asylum applications over the period.
- **21** There is also little likelihood of a link between the increase in entrants under European Community Association Agreements (ECAA) and the fall in the number of asylum applications over the period. It is likely that the buoyant state of the UK labour market and the opportunities offered by the ECAA system would have persuaded nationals of some of the countries covered by these arrangements to come to the UK to work.
- 22 The number of overseas students entering the UK fell by 13 per cent between 2002 and 2003, while the total number of students from the 11 key countries fell by some 5 per cent. The evidence therefore does not support the view that potential asylum seekers have been diverted into entering the UK as students.

Limitations or inadequacies in other sources of data precluded further statistical analysis for the purposes of this review

23 The Home Office relies on the ONS to provide information on the number of migrants and visitors arriving in and departing from this country, from its International Passenger Survey. The Survey is intended only to provide a broad indication of the numbers of migrants and visitors and does not sample enough migrants to allow for any meaningful analysis of the nationalities of people arriving in the UK as migrants. Although there are major limitations in interpreting visitor data for the purposes of this review, given the wide range of people and types of journey they cover, there does not appear to be a clear or consistent link between the fall in the number of asylum applications and the change in the number of visitors to the UK in 2002 and 2003.

24 The UCL team would also, ideally, have liked to include in their statistical analysis the annual National Statistics about migrant workers, published by the DWP as complementary data alongside the other 10 data sets analysed. The most recent set of published statistics was for 2001-02, however, and therefore did not cover 2002 or 2003. DWP was due to publish the 2002-03 statistics in April 2004 but has announced today that publication has been delayed because of concerns about the quality of statistics produced from data taken from the National Insurance Recording System. Previous years' statistics have always undercounted, to some degree, the total number of migrants applying to work in the UK each year. Further details are set out in DWP's Press Notice issued today, which can be found at www.dwp.gov.uk/mediacentre/press_release_archive_index.asp. The Department expects to receive new data from the System in July 2004, which will allow it to revise prior years' statistics and provide a more complete picture of migrants applying for National Insurance numbers. It will then use these to publish relevant National Statistics, although DWP will not be able to announce a date for their publication until it has received the new data. As the DWP data were intended to complement the other data sets used by the UCL team, their absence did not impair the statistical analysis or its results.

In the absence of data on illegal migrants it was not possible to assess whether some people have decided not to claim asylum but have entered, or stayed in the UK, illegally

- **25** There are neither data sources nor estimates of the number of people living illegally in the UK. It was therefore not possible to assess whether some people have decided not to claim asylum but have entered, or stayed in the country, illegally.
- **26** A study completed in 2002 for the Home Office reviewed methodologies used by researchers and government agencies in other countries to estimate the size of illegal populations. The Home Office told us that it is evaluating whether any of the methods described in the 2002 study could be applied in the UK.

Further analysis of how individual routes of entry work for individual countries would be helpful

27 The UCL team focused their statistical analyses on changes in the number of people entering the UK through individual routes of entry. The analyses pointed up variation between countries, which makes generalisation difficult. Any diversion away from applying for asylum might, for example, be spread differentially between various alternative routes of entry and might therefore have to be assessed collectively, rather than analysed by individual routes. It is also possible that any diversion might have slowed a decrease already taking place in other routes. To assess how far this might be the case, however, further research would be required. Such research might usefully assess the way in which each of the routes of entry has operated with respect to individual sending countries. Research might also be carried out to compare asylum flows with the combined statistics for all routes of entry and by nationality. This would allow the Home Office to obtain a broader picture of any relationships between asylum and other forms of migration, rather than one based only on individual routes.

Recommendations

- 28 We make the following recommendations:
 - i The Home Office should improve its documentation to evidence the removal of failed asylum seekers and illegal immigrants, in order to be able to demonstrate that it has actually removed these people from the country.
 - ii Given that most files are passed between different offices and worked on by a variety of officials at various stages in the asylum process, the Home Office needs to improve its control over the management of asylum case files. Better controls over the movement and location of files would reduce the staff cost involved in tracing and retrieving files, reduce delays in handling applicants' cases, and improve accountability.
 - iii The Home Office needs to establish and follow common arrangements at the local level for the referral of illegal immigrants by the police to local enforcement offices. It needs to stop the practice whereby some of its enforcement offices refer potential asylum applicants to its Asylum Screening Units to make their asylum applications, rather than register the applications themselves.
 - iv While the Home Office is trying to solve the problem of contractors not evicting people whose right to receive support has ceased, it should in the meantime include in its quarterly asylum statistics the number of such people who continue to receive support by occupying NASS-funded accommodation.
 - As part of its quality assurance work, the Home Office should give particular attention to keeping the CID database up-to-date as cases progress so that cases are identified for cessation of NASS support on the due dates.
 - vi The Home Office should establish regular meetings with key user groups, such as academics, Members of Parliament and interest groups, to discuss the content and presentation of its asylum statistics, and ways of making its asylum statistics more understandable to the general user, including the media. It should consider users' needs and make its deliberations of any changes widely available on its website.
 - vii The Home Office should include in its asylum statistics its best estimates of the number of asylum seekers living in accommodation run by local authorities but funded by the Home Office. It should also set out its plans to confirm the number of such people.
 - viii The Home Office should improve the way it records the work carried out by its statisticians in preparing the asylum statistics, to aid internal review and external validation during National Statistics reviews.
 - ix The Home Office should work with the Office for National Statistics to put in place better means of identifying migrants entering the UK, to be used for statistically reliable analyses of migration trends including by nationality. Measures might include, for example, recording all migrants and other visitors as they enter or leave the country.
 - x The Home Office should complete, as a priority, its review of methods that could be applied in this country to estimate the number of illegal immigrants in the UK, and take action to put in place any methods found to be suitable.
 - xi The Home Office should carry out further analysis of asylum and migration statistics, comparing asylum flows against the combined statistics for all routes of entry and by nationality in order to obtain a broader picture of any relationships between asylum and other forms of migration rather than one based on a route-by-route approach.
 - xii The Home Office should carry out a data matching exercise between its asylum databases and data on other routes of entry, as a means of identifying whether any refused asylum seekers have subsequently entered the country by other means.