

Innocenti Working Paper

**THE SITUATION OF CHILDREN
IN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES
IN THE UNITED KINGDOM**

Heaven Crawley

**Special Series on Children in Immigrant
Families in Affluent Societies**

IWP-2009-18

October 2009

Innocenti Working Papers

Special Series on Children in Immigrant Families in Affluent Societies

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ISSN: 1014-7837

For readers wishing to cite this document, we suggest the following form:

Crawley, Heaven (2009), 'The Situation among Children in Immigrant Families in the United Kingdom', *Innocenti Working Paper*, no. 2009-18, Florence, UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre.

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Special Series on the Situation of Children in Immigrant Families in Affluent Societies

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<i>The Situation among Children of Migrant Origin in Germany</i> by Susanne Clauss and Bernhard Nauck
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<i>Children in Immigrant Families in Switzerland: On a Path between Discrimination and Integration</i> by Rosita Fibbi and Philippe Wanner
<i>The Situation of Children in Immigrant Families in the United Kingdom</i> by Heaven Crawley

The findings presented in this series are based on data derived from sources of the countries' respective national statistical offices. In several cases, the basic estimates reported have been calculated directly by the national statistical offices on behalf of the country study teams. In other cases, microdata have been provided by the national statistical offices, and specific estimates have been calculated by the country experts.

The results reported represent the best estimates possible on the immigrant population as derived from official statistical sources. Given the fluid nature of the migration phenomenon, it is not possible to know precisely the extent to which the coverage is representative of the whole population of interest or is fully comparable across the countries studied. In general, the number of undocumented arrivals and undocumented residents is more difficult to measure through routine data collection processes, and the country researchers did not specifically address this segment of the immigrant population. Undocumented immigrants and their families may or may not be covered in some of the country analyses.

The country studies have been reviewed as individually indicated by national experts, by members of the international research team, including UNICEF IRC, and by the series editor.

The project has been supported by contributions to the UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre by the Government of Sweden and the Swiss Committee for UNICEF and by a contribution by the Government of Spain to UNICEF for policy advocacy and partnerships for children's rights.

THE SITUATION AMONG CHILDREN IN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

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Summary: The foreign-born population in the United Kingdom reached 4.9 million in 2001, representing 8.3 per cent of the total population. Around 2.1 million children (16.3 per cent of all children) were in immigrant families. A fifth of these children were foreign born. The remainder were born in the United Kingdom of at least one foreign-born parent. More than 40 per cent were in families from Asia, around 20 per cent in families from Africa and around 20 per cent in families from other countries in Europe. Bangladesh, Jamaica, India and Pakistan are some of the main countries of origin.

The following are among key findings of the study:

- Many of the newer countries of origin of immigrants since the early 1990s have no specific colonial or other historical links with the United Kingdom. At the end of 2006, over 30 countries of origin accounted for more than 60,000 immigrants each.
- Children in immigrant families are more likely than children in native-born families to live in two-parent households. It appears that mothers and fathers in immigrant families exhibit significantly higher educational attainment than mothers and fathers in native-born families. The evidence on the performance of immigrant families in the labour market is mixed. Researchers have proposed that the labour market assesses an ethnic penalty on certain ethnic minorities. Ethnic minority families are more likely to live in poor neighbourhoods.
- There is some evidence that places in compulsory education are not always available for immigrant children. There are differential outcomes in education across minority groups. The message from the literature is that no simple explanation exists for the differential educational performance among children across ethnic minority and immigrant groups.
- There is strong evidence that ethnic minority graduates do less well in the labour market than White graduates. Discrimination appears to be one factor.
- The difficulties that refugees and asylum seekers experience have raised concerns about the way immigration policies in the United Kingdom may undermine long-term social and economic inclusion. There is evidence of increasingly negative public attitudes towards asylum and immigration issues.

Keywords: immigrant child, immigrant family, demography, education, labour market, discrimination, citizenship, health, poverty, deviant behaviour

Acknowledgments: A version of the report was discussed at the project review meeting held at the UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, Florence, on 6 June 2008. Thanks to Jacky Tyrie and Jie Wang for background research and data analysis and to Shahin Yaqub for comments on a draft. The material in tables in which the source is shown as 2001 census commissioned tables has been provided by the Office for National Statistics and is © 2006 Crown copyright. Crown copyright material is reproduced with the permission of the controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. The Office for National Statistics bears no responsibility for the analysis or interpretations of the data. Eva Jespersen (formerly of UNICEF IRC) and Donald Hernandez (formerly of University at Albany, State University of New York) have provided additional comments. The study was edited by Robert Zimmermann.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

A-8	Accession eight: the eight Eastern European countries that acceded to the EU on 1 May 2004: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia
EAL	English as an additional language
EU	European Union
EU-12	New EU member states admitted between May 2004 and January 2007: Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia
EU-15	EU member states before May 2004: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

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1. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, concerns about the scale and impact of increases in net immigration have featured prominently in political and popular discourses in the United Kingdom, often emphasizing negative aspects of immigration at the expense of informed debate. There is also a growing research interest in the relationships between immigration and a range of social, economic and political phenomena, including the experiences of particular immigrant groups.

The aim of this report is to examine the situation of children in immigrant families in the United Kingdom based on research evidence and new analysis of the most recently available census data in 2001. The report includes research and data relating to all children in immigrant families, including foreign-born children who have immigrated to the United Kingdom and children who each have been born in the United Kingdom to at least one foreign born parent at the time of census 2001. The families fall into a variety of immigration categories, including refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants who have come to the United Kingdom to work or study or to join family members and who have permission to remain on a temporary or permanent basis.

We begin with a discussion on the scale and patterns of immigration in recent decades. We follow with a summary of the main legislative and policy changes in relation to immigration and their implications for the entry, settlement and naturalization of immigrant children. The report then provides an overview of the characteristics of immigrant households, including the relationship between ethnicity and poverty. The sections that follow describe the existing research evidence as it relates to the education, employment, health, well-being, social inclusion and cultural adaptation of children in immigrant families. Where possible, new empirical data are presented and the relationship of the data to the existing research base is highlighted. We conclude with a summary of our principal findings in terms of the need for more research and analysis on all of these themes.

Table 1: Basic Data on Children in Immigrant Families, United Kingdom, 2001

number and per cent of children

<i>Children</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Age as of last birthday, %</i>				<i>Second generation, %</i>
		<i>0–4</i>	<i>5–9</i>	<i>10–14</i>	<i>15–17</i>	
In native-born families	10,667,844	2,862,466	3,112,420	3,207,718	1,485,240	—
Share, %	83.7	26.8	29.2	30.1	13.9	—
In immigrant families	2,075,530	588,070	581,409	587,393	318,658	1,645,895
Share, %	16.3	28.3	28.0	28.3	15.4	79.3
Region of origin						
EU-15	424,364	28.6	27.8	28.4	15.2	75.7
EU-12	76,787	23.9	28.0	31.6	16.5	85.3
South Eastern Europe	5,243	35.5	26.7	24.6	13.2	55.2
Africa	401,634	28.5	28.4	28.0	15.2	78.3
Asia	835,387	28.3	27.8	28.1	15.8	84.4
Latin America and Caribbean	113,912	22.8	26.4	31.8	19.0	83.7
North America	105,373	30.8	30.0	27.1	12.1	59.1
Oceania	63,843	35.5	29.7	24.4	10.4	73.1

Source: Author analysis based on 2001 census commissioned tables.

Note: The totals by region of origin do not sum to the totals for children in immigrant families; some countries have not been included. For EU-12 and EU-15, see the notes to Table 10. See also the note to Table 4.

2. RECENT PATTERNS IN IMMIGRATION

The scale of immigration to the United Kingdom expanded significantly after World War II in response to economic growth and the demand for labour. The period 1948–1961 saw a relatively open door immigration policy, particularly towards people from Ireland and the former colonies of the British Empire, such as Bangladesh, the Caribbean, Hong Kong (China), India, Kenya, Pakistan and South Africa. Many immigrants from these new Commonwealth countries were given citizenship rights through the British Nationality Act 1948 and were able to enter and remain in the United Kingdom without restriction. There was also substantial immigration from outside the Commonwealth, especially Poles who were recruited as European volunteer workers to provide labour for industries that were required as part of the economic recovery after the war. In the immediate post-war period, 157,000 Poles arrived, along with many Italians.

However, mass immigration was accompanied by prejudice and racial violence. The Government addressed the growing hostility by introducing the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962, which made the majority of Commonwealth citizens subject to immigration controls. These controls were tightened through legislation in 1968 and 1971. By 1972, only holders of work permits or people with parents or grandparents born in the United Kingdom could gain entry, effectively stemming primary immigration from Commonwealth countries.

Although the Government had greatly restricted immigration, immigration did not stop altogether. Some 83,000 immigrants from the Commonwealth settled in the United Kingdom between 1968 and 1975, largely by gaining work permits or obtaining permission to join relatives. The most significant immigration of the decade came in 1972 when the dictator, Idi Amin, expelled 80,000 African Asians from Uganda. These families had been encouraged to settle in Uganda during the days of the Empire. Many held British passports, and, amid a major crisis, the United Kingdom admitted 28,000 in two months.

The British Nationality Act 1981, which was enacted in 1983, added new controls (see elsewhere below). This and other limitations on immigration meant that the major immigration flows during this period involved refugees and asylum seekers. These flows were associated with the collapse of the Berlin Wall, the crisis in the former Yugoslavia and ongoing conflicts in Africa, Asia and the Middle East. Because of colonial links between the United Kingdom and the countries in which these conflicts were taking place, many refugees who were able to choose their destination opted to come to the United Kingdom for familial, linguistic and social reasons. Substantial numbers of people also joined family members who had immigrated earlier. Economic growth in the late 1980s and into the 1990s led to increased demand for labour migrants. Many commentators have suggested that, in the absence of legal routes of entry, this resulted in a growth in undocumented immigration.

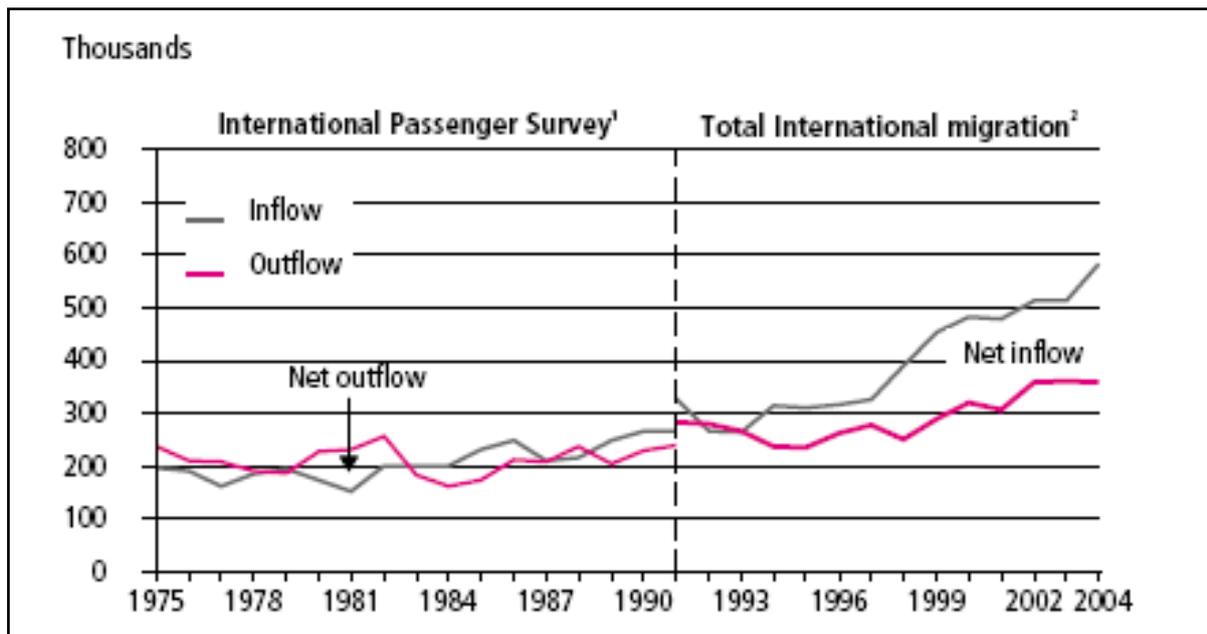
Since 1997, successive rounds of legislation – six in total – have made it considerably more difficult for asylum seekers to travel to and enter the United Kingdom. Managed migration has been introduced to enable low- and high-skilled migrants to enter for work. The United Kingdom was one of the few nations in the European Union (EU) to allow unfettered access to its labour market for nationals of the EU accession countries after enlargement of the union

in May 2004. The shift towards managed migration has occurred in response to growth and labour shortages in some sectors of the economy. The introduction of a points-based immigration system in 2008 is the most recent effort by the Government to encourage highly skilled immigration, but limit the immigration of people without qualifications or relevant work experience.

Despite a long history of immigration, the United Kingdom has only become a net recipient of immigrants relatively recently (Figure 1). The rate of immigration started to rise markedly in the mid-1990s and has steadily increased since then (Figure 2). Net immigration reached a peak of 222,600 people in 2004, before falling back to 185,000 in 2005, when the United Kingdom gained an estimated 292,000 foreign nationals and lost 107,000 UK nationals to emigration (IPPR 2007a). Recent net annual inflows, exceeding 150,000, are at an historical high (Farrant and Sriskandarajah 2006).

The increase in immigration since the mid-1990s has been the result of several factors. Thus, against the backdrop of the emergence of a global migration market, mainly for the highly skilled, the number of work permits issued rose steeply in the late 1990s. Between 1993 and 2003, the number of foreign workers in the United Kingdom increased by 62 per cent, to 1,396,000 (Sriskandarajah et al. 2005). This large increase included people who had arrived under various immigrant categories and quota systems.

Figure 1: International Migration Inflows and Outflows, United Kingdom, 1975–2004



Source: Horsfield (2005).

Note: ‘Net outflow’ and ‘Net inflow’ refer to the difference between the inflow (outflow) line and the outflow (inflow) line.

a. The international passenger survey is a survey of a random sample of passengers entering and leaving the United Kingdom by air, sea, or the Channel Tunnel. Survey data alone have been used to estimate the size of international migration flows prior to 1991.

b. Data on total international migration have been produced using the latest methodology for estimating international migration. They include adjustments for migrants who have not been previously counted.

Figure 2: International Migration Inflows and Outflows, United Kingdom, 1993–2007



Source: Salt (2008).

Throughout the 1990s, the number of asylum applications also climbed considerably. Including dependents, the number grew from 28,000 in 1993 to a peak of 103,100 in 2002, amounting, respectively, to 15.6 and 26.5 per cent of all immigration of non-British citizens (179,200 in 1993 and 418,200 in 2002) (Rendall and Salt 2005). Applications have since declined. By 2006, the number had fallen to 23,610 (Bennett et al. 2007). The number of asylum seekers from various countries has fluctuated over the years, usually reflecting the intensity of conflicts in countries or regions of origin.

There have also been inflows of foreign students arriving for university study, as well as of immigrants joining their families. The number of foreign students peaked at 369,000 in 2002 before dropping to 319,000 in 2003. Non-EU students accounted for 38 per cent of all full-time higher degree students in 2003 (Kofman et al. 2005); they numbered over 210,000 in 2004. In that year, 47,700 Chinese students arrived, marking a 17-fold increase over the 2,800 Chinese students in 1998. The number of Indian students grew from under 3,000 in 1998 to nearly 15,000 in 2004.

According to Kofman et al. (2005), family reunification has emerged as the single most enduring motive for immigration. The number of immigrating spouses and other family members more than doubled between 1993 and 2003. Compared with other forms of immigration, this channel is dominated by women. For instance, of the 95,000 grants of settlement to spouses and dependents in 2004, 20.6 per cent went to husbands, 40 per cent to wives and 28.8 per cent to children. The geographical provenance varied. The Indian subcontinent was origin to 36 per cent of husbands, 28 per cent of wives and 15 per cent of children. The rest of Asia brought 8 per cent of the husbands, 21 per cent of the wives and 18 per cent of the children, while 24 per cent of the husbands, 17 per cent of the wives and 42 per cent of the children came from Africa (Salt 2004).

The United Kingdom is home to a large, though unknown number of undocumented immigrants who have no legal status or right to remain. Research published by the Home Office in 2004 offered a best guess total for undocumented immigrants of between 310,000 and 570,000 (Pinkerton et al. 2004). It appears likely that the number will have increased since that time because the entry channels have been tightened and the number of asylum seekers who have been refused asylum (but who have not necessarily been removed) has risen. However, without a regularization exercise, learning more about the scale and experiences of undocumented immigrants, including children in families, will not be possible. The social and legal position of these undocumented immigrants is one of almost total exclusion from rights and entitlements.

3. SIZE AND ORIGIN OF THE POPULATION OF CHILDREN IN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES

There have been significant changes in the composition of immigration flows in recent years, particularly since the EU enlargement in May 2004. The United Kingdom, along with Ireland and Sweden, decided that it would grant workers from the accession eight (A-8) – the eight Eastern European countries that acceded to the EU on 1 May 2004 – free access to its labour market immediately upon EU enlargement.¹ Since then, workers from the A-8 have been free to immigrate and take up employment in the United Kingdom without work permits. This decision was part of the Government's strategy to manage migration, and the strategy expanded immigration to fill vacancies in skilled occupations and, especially, low-wage occupations in which employers had faced barriers in legally hiring immigrants before the EU enlargement (Ruhs 2006).

In November 2004, a special workers registration scheme was put in place, and, since then, A-8 workers have been required to register with the Home Office within one month of taking up employment. The workers must pay a one-time registration fee, which has been set at £70. The data acquired through the scheme and published every two years help gauge the scale and composition of immigration to the United Kingdom from within the EU (UK Border Agency et al. 2007). From May 2004 to March 2007, 605,375 people from the A-8 successfully registered to work in the United Kingdom (Table 2) (UK Border Agency et al. 2007). The share of A-8 immigrants who remain at any one time is unknown; many of these people arrive to take up temporary jobs in sectors such as agriculture and food processing. A recent report found that slightly less than one quarter of the immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe planned on settling permanently in the United Kingdom (Spencer et al. 2007), a much smaller share than the corresponding shares in earlier immigration flows.

In absolute terms, the immigration of EU nationals since May 2004 has represented the largest single wave of immigration in the history of the United Kingdom. In 2005, an estimated 565,000 people arrived for stays of at least one year. This is equivalent to an average of over 1,500 arrivals each day. While slightly lower than the estimate for 2004 if one allows for margins of error, this maintained the overall trend of substantial immigration that had begun in the late 1990s. Although evidence suggests that the rate of immigration from Eastern Europe has started to decline, the flows have prompted a heated debate about

¹ The A-8 countries are Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.

the scale and impacts of immigration and have raised new and still relatively underresearched issues about the distributional impacts and potential social costs (Ruhs 2006).

Table 2: Applicants in the Workers Registration Scheme by Quarter and Year, United Kingdom, May 2004–March 2007

<i>number</i>						
<i>Year</i>	<i>Approved</i>	<i>Refused</i>	<i>Exempt</i>	<i>Withdrawn</i>	<i>Outstanding</i>	<i>Total</i>
2004	125,880	1,250	640	6,780	0	134,550
2005	204,965	1,800	310	5,245	0	212,320
2006	227,710	1,185	205	5,400	65	234,565
Quarter 1	46,765	320	30	995	0	48,110
Quarter 2	54,890	285	40	1,255	0	56,470
Quarter 3	62,830	315	25	1,580	10	64,760
Quarter 4	63,225	265	110	1,570	55	65,225
2007						
Quarter 1	46,820	180	140	935	740	48,820

Source: UK Border Agency et al. (2007).

Note: The table indicates the number of registered workers, not the number of applications. Only initial applications are counted. The table does not cover the 5,255 additional applications by individuals performing more than one job simultaneously or the 217,210 re-registrations by individuals who have changed employers.

The ethnically diverse population and the emphasis in policy and practice that is placed on this diversity are reflections of the long-standing history of immigration in the United Kingdom. Since 1991, the census has included questions about ethnicity. The results of the 2001 census indicate that 92.1 per cent of the population was White, while the remaining 7.9 per cent belonged to other ethnic groups (Table 3). Half (50.3 per cent) of the people in ethnic minorities describe themselves as Asian or Asian British. One quarter (24.8 per cent) describe themselves as Black or Black British.² A growing share of ethnic minorities (14.6 per cent) describe themselves as mixed race. The largest first-generation immigrant group (people born outside the United Kingdom; see elsewhere below) is of Indian origin. Bangladeshis form the smallest group, only 2.6 per cent of the first generation. This is explained by this group's relatively recent flow. While the majority of immigrants from the Caribbean arrived between 1955 and 1964, the main period of arrival of first-generation Black African, Indian and Pakistani groups was between 1965 and 1974. Bangladeshi arrivals peaked in 1980–1984. Native-born Blacks of Caribbean origin account for about 36 per cent of the native-born ethnic minorities and form the largest group. Native-born Indians make up the second largest group, and native-born Bangladeshis the smallest.

The data in the 2001 census on the ethnicity of children largely reflect the patterns in the overall population, but with some differences (Table 4). The share of non-White children among all children (11.6 per cent) is higher than the share of non-Whites in the entire population (7.9 per cent). Among all children, 5.7 per cent are Asian or Asian British; the share of this group in the overall population is 4.0 per cent. There are twice as many children of mixed race (2.8 per cent) relative to the size of the mixed race category in the entire population (1.2 per cent).

² The White, Black and related categories, such as Black British, are capitalized in the data in the United Kingdom.

Table 3: Population by Ethnic Group, United Kingdom, April 2001*number and per cent*

<i>Population segment</i>	<i>Total population</i>		<i>Minority ethnic population, %</i>
	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	
All population	58,789,194	100.0	—
White	54,153,898	92.1	—
All ethnic minority groups	4,635,296	7.9	100.0
Mixed	677,117	1.2	14.6
All Asian, Asian British	2,578,826	4.4	55.5
Indian	1,053,411	1.8	22.7
Pakistani	747,285	1.3	16.1
Bangladeshi	283,063	0.5	6.1
Chinese	247,403	0.4	5.3
Other Asian	247,664	0.4	5.3
All Black, Black British	1,148,738	2.0	24.8
Black Caribbean	565,876	1.0	12.2
Black African	485,277	0.8	10.5
Other Black	97,585	0.2	2.1
Other ethnic groups	230,615	0.4	5.0

Source: 2001 census commissioned table.

Among first-generation immigrant children (children born outside the United Kingdom), these figures are considerably higher for all categories. Nearly half (47.4 per cent) of all first-generation immigrant children are in ethnic minority groups. One in five (18.7 per cent) is Asian, while the higher share of Black children may be attributed largely to the Black African category, which represents 12.3 per cent of all first-generation immigrant children. It seems likely that this is a reflection of the increased immigration of refugees and asylum seekers from sub-Saharan Africa during the 1990s.

Table 4: Children by Ethnic Group and First Generation, United Kingdom, April 2001*number and per cent*

<i>Population segment</i>	<i>Total children</i>		<i>First generation</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
All children	12,743,359	100.0	430,446	100.0
White	11,260,533	88.4	226,304	52.6
All ethnic minority groups	1,482,826	11.6	204,142	47.4
Mixed	351,398	2.8	26,621	6.2
All Asian, Asian British	775,308	6.0	89,320	20.8
Indian	269,081	2.1	20,482	4.8
Pakistani	279,634	2.2	26,623	6.2
Bangladeshi	114,827	0.9	16,202	3.8
Chinese	48,617	0.3	9,067	2.1
Other Asian	63,149	0.5	16,946	3.9
All Black, Black British	309,568	2.5	64,815	15.1
Black Caribbean	122,278	1.0	9,478	2.2
Black African	148,702	1.2	52,861	12.3
Other Black	38,588	0.3	2,476	0.6
Other ethnic groups	46,552	0.3	23,386	5.4

Source: 2001 census commissioned table.

Note: The total for all children here differs slightly from the total given by addition of the component totals in Table 1 (12,743,374). This may have arisen because of a recognized mis-coding among 'migrants' by the Office for National Statistics. (Table 1 refers to children in immigrant families; this table refers to ethnic groups.)

One of the impacts of the larger immigration flows has been to boost the share of the population born overseas (Rendall and Salt 2005, IPPR 2007a). The 2001 census data presented in Table 5 show that the foreign-born population rose steadily, from 2.1 million in 1951 to 4.9 million in 2001. As a share of the total population, the foreign-born population almost doubled over this period, from 4.2 to 8.3 per cent. This puts the United Kingdom slightly above the average for the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) of 7.8 per cent, though still substantially below the average of major immigration countries such as Australia (23.0 per cent), Canada (19.3 per cent) and the United States of America (12.3 per cent) (Rendall and Salt 2005).

Table 5: Increase in the Foreign-Born Population, United Kingdom, 1951–2001

number and per cent

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Share in total population, %</i>	<i>Increase over previous decade, %</i>
1951	2,118,600	4.2	—
1961	2,573,500	4.9	21.5
1971	3,190,300	5.8	24.0
1981	3,429,100	6.2	7.5
1991	3,835,400	6.7	11.8
2001	4,896,600	8.3	27.7

Source: Rendall and Salt (2005).

The sharpest growth in the foreign-born population occurred in the 1950s, 1960s and 1990s. The respective growth rates were 21.5, 24.0 and 27.7 per cent. The increase was almost 1.1 million foreign-born people in the decade from 1991 to 2001. This is substantially more than the increase of 600,000 between 1961 and 1971, which saw the next largest absolute increase (Rendall and Salt 2005). Recent estimates suggest that, as a result of the immigration associated with EU enlargement, the share of the population that is foreign-born has risen significantly since 2001. The labour force survey found that 10.1 per cent of the population at the end of 2006 was foreign-born (IPPR 2007a).

The foreign-born population is defined by birthplace, not nationality or ethnicity. Birthplace, nationality and ethnicity are related in the United Kingdom, but not equivalent. The foreign-born population includes people who have been British citizens since birth and people who have become citizens since their arrival. Because other countries also have multi-ethnic populations as a result of their own international immigration histories, country of birth correlates with, but does not equate to ethnic group. Slightly more than half (52.6 per cent) of the foreign-born population in the United Kingdom in 2001 was in White ethnic groups, substantially more than the two fifths born in Europe, North America, or Oceania (Table 6). A quarter (25.1 per cent) was Asian or Asian British, and 3.6 per cent was Chinese.

Among foreign-born residents, Europe was the most common continent of birth, and Ireland the most important country of birth in both 1971 and 2001. However, the share born in Europe fell from 51 to 33 per cent between those years, while the share born in Ireland fell from 24 to 11 per cent (ONS 2005a). Overall, almost half (47.2 per cent) of the foreign-born population in 2001 consisted of British citizens (Rendall and Salt 2005).

Table 6: Foreign-Born Population by Ethnic Group, United Kingdom, 2001*1,000s and per cent*

<i>Ethnic group</i>	<i>Number, 1000s</i>	<i>%</i>
All groups	4,896.6	100.0
White	2,575.1	52.6
Mixed	140.8	2.9
All Asian, Asian British	1,405.5	28.7
Indian	569.8	11.6
Pakistani	336.4	6.9
Bangladeshi	151.6	3.1
Chinese	176.2	3.6
Other Asian	171.4	3.5
All Black, Black British	580.5	11.9
Black Caribbean	238.5	4.9
Black African	321.5	6.6
Other Black	20.5	0.4
Other ethnic groups	194.7	4.0

Source: Adapted from Rendall and Salt (2005)

This trend has led some authors to use the term ‘super diversity’ in describing the population of the United Kingdom. For example, Vertovec (2006) argues that there has been diversification in the countries of origin since the early 1990s and that many of the newer countries of origin have no specific colonial or other historical links with the United Kingdom. This shift has coincided with a proliferation in channels of immigration, in legal categories of immigrants and in international conflicts associated with asylum seeking on a larger scale. Most recently, it has been associated with EU enlargement. The super diversity is reflected in figures published by the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR 2007a) indicating that, in the United Kingdom at the end of 2006, over 30 countries of origin accounted for more than 60,000 immigrants each (Table 7).

The 4.6 million people with non-White racial backgrounds tend to live in large urban areas. As immigration has increased in scale and complexity, the patterns of settlement have changed (Kyambi 2005, Vertovec 2006). The most notable characteristic of recent years is the uneven distribution among immigrants. London remains the main destination, but other areas have been increasing in importance. Immigration into London decreased slightly from 197,000 in 1999 to 170,000 in 2006. By contrast, immigration into the other regions of England and elsewhere in the United Kingdom increased over the period (ONS 2007a). The South East of England received the greatest number of immigrants after London, 81,000 in 2006, up from 68,000 in 1999. The East of England received the next largest inflow, 60,000 immigrants in 2006. This region showed the largest increase, by 24,000 since 1999. In each of the remaining areas of the United Kingdom, immigration rose by at least 7,000 individuals between 1999 and 2006 (ONS 2007a). The explanation for these changes lies partly in government policies – most notably the dispersal of asylum seekers away from London and the South East – and partly in shifting employment opportunities and the associated increases in labour migration.

Table 7: Main Countries of Origin, United Kingdom, End of 2006*number and per cent*

<i>Country of birth</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Share in population, %</i>
United Kingdom	52,980,100	89.93
India	578,600	0.98
Ireland	425,300	0.72
Poland	318,600	0.54
Pakistan	306,400	0.52
Germany	269,350	0.46
Bangladesh	208,900	0.35
South Africa	189,900	0.32
United States	183,700	0.31
Jamaica	162,650	0.28
Former Soviet Union	151,900	0.26
Nigeria	146,300	0.25
Kenya	123,600	0.21
Australia	120,250	0.20
France	117,300	0.20
Zimbabwe	103,650	0.18
Sri Lanka	102,950	0.17
Philippines	99,650	0.17
Italy	98,950	0.17
Ghana	96,650	0.16
Other Africa	95,000	0.16
Somalia	82,300	0.14
Other Asia	81,650	0.14
China	77,800	0.13
Canada	75,000	0.13
Former Czechoslovakia	74,500	0.13
Turkey	69,400	0.12
Hong Kong, China (SAR)	65,800	0.11
Other Middle East	65,150	0.11
Cyprus	64,300	0.11
Portugal	62,200	0.11
Iran (Islamic Republic of)	60,900	0.10
Uganda	60,350	0.10

Source: IPPR (2007a).

Note: The table shows groups consisting of more than 60,000 individuals. The data are based on the labour force survey. The totals are estimates.

Foreign-born people tend to be younger than the native born. They are also more likely to be of working age, between 25 and 44. This age group makes up a much larger relative share of the foreign-born population (Farrant and Sriskandarajah 2006). The age structure of the foreign-born population that arrived during the year prior to the 2001 census demonstrates the demographic potential of immigration in expanding the labour force. Among the 140,000 new foreign-born entrants who were in the labour force in 2001, about a quarter were between 16 and 24, which was a considerably higher share relative to the entire foreign-born population. Slightly under half of all foreign-born immigrants were 25 to 34 (ONS 2005b). The ethnic minority population also has a younger age structure than White groups (DCSF 2005a). Population figures for 2001 indicate that people of mixed race had the youngest age structure; half were under the age of 16. The Bangladeshi, other Black and Pakistani groups also showed young age structures: 38 per cent of both the Bangladeshi and other Black

groups were under 16; slightly over a third of the Pakistani group and 30 per cent of the Black African group were also in this age group. This compares with the 20 per cent of the White native-born group who were under 16.

The fact that immigrants are likely to be relatively young when they arrive means that the various ethnic minority groups associated with separate waves of immigration exhibit different demographic profiles. The immigration of people born in Africa and Asia is recent; so, they have a younger profile than the native-born population. Immigrant groups with an older age structure have typically arrived earlier and have become more well settled. Thus, people of Caribbean origin, because the group was involved in earlier, large-scale immigration flows, have an older age structure, on average, than the native-born population: the ratios in 2001 were 45.6 and 30.7 people above the age of the state pension (men aged 65 or above and women aged 60 or above) per 100 people of working age, respectively. In 2001, the Ireland group had a ratio of 65.9 people of pension age per 100 people of working age; this reflected an immigration flow starting in the 1950s or earlier (ONS 2005a).

No national database includes data on the number of children in immigrant families, while Home Office data cover dependents, but do not differentiate among them (Dennis 2002). Although not all foreign nationals are immigrants, estimates suggest that children under 15 account for around 3 per cent of the total foreign-born population. Collicelli (2001) finds that, in schools in England, immigrants make up 10.7 per cent of school students under 15, while, in Scotland, the share is 2.2 per cent, and in Northern Ireland, 3.8 per cent. However, these shares exclude children and young people who are not in mainstream schools or who are over 15; there is no comparable information on Wales.

Although it exhibits problems in accuracy and in the details of demographic breakdowns, the data set covering asylum-seeking children and young people is the most comprehensive. According to this data set, in 2002, when the number of asylum applications was at a peak, approximately 21,000 children entered the United Kingdom as part of asylum-seeking families. There were an estimated 6,200 to 8,500 separated or unaccompanied minors entering each year (Fazel and Stein 2004, Hewett et al. 2005). Data on Wales suggest that, in 2003, there were 1,435 dependents in asylum-seeking families. The number of these dependents who were 0 to 17 years of age is unknown (Hewett et al. 2005). According to Bhabha and Finch (2006), 8.8 per cent of all asylum applications in 2004 were submitted by unaccompanied or separated children, although this excludes children whose age is disputed.

Data from the workers registration scheme provide some information about the number of children arriving as part of the wave of A-8 immigration, although the data are somewhat contradictory. In March 2004–May 2007, 705 registered workers were under 18 years of age (UK Border Agency et al. 2007). A small share of the registered workers who had applied between May 2004 and March 2007 declared that they had dependants living with them when they applied. Among those who had dependants, the average number was 1.5 (Table 8).

Meanwhile, however, data presented in the same government report (UK Border Agency et al. 2007) shows that, in May 2004–March 2007, there were 86,575 applications for the child benefit (Table 9). This is significantly higher than the number of children registered as dependents (33,745).

Table 8: Dependents of Registered Workers by Quarter and Year of Application, United Kingdom, May 2004–March 2007

number

<i>Period</i>	<i>Registered workers</i>		<i>Dependents</i>		
	<i>Total</i>	<i>With dependents</i>	<i>Age 0–16</i>	<i>Age ≥17</i>	<i>Total</i>
2004	125,880	5,485	4,455	4,070	8,525
2005	204,965	10,695	8,510	7,775	16,285
2006	227,710	19,780	16,480	13,400	29,875
Quarter 1	46,765	3,690	3,060	2,525	5,590
Quarter 2	54,890	4,210	3,495	2,815	6,310
Quarter 3	62,830	5,185	4,365	3,445	7,810
Quarter 4	63,225	6,690	5,555	4,615	10,170
2007					
Quarter 1	46,820	4,850	4,200	3,200	7,400

Source: UK Border Agency et al. (2007).

Note: The table indicates the number of registered workers, not the number of applications. Only initial applications are counted. The table does not cover multiple applications by individuals performing more than one job simultaneously or re-registrations by individuals who have changed employers. The age is the age as of the last birthday.

Our analysis of census data provides, for the first time, a comprehensive overview of the number of children in immigrant families, regardless of immigration status. In 2001, there were 12,743,374 children in the United Kingdom (but see Table 4 and the note thereto). Of these, 10,667,844 (83.7 per cent) were in native-born families. A total of 2,075,530 children (16.3 per cent) were in immigrant families. This means that nearly one child in six may be described as a child in an immigrant family. Given the recent immigration trends described above, it seems likely that the share of children in immigrant families has risen since 2001.

Table 9: Applications for the Child Benefit, United Kingdom, May 2004–March 2007

number

<i>Period</i>	<i>Received</i>	<i>Approved</i>	<i>Rejected^a</i>	<i>Terminated</i>
2004	5,089	2,086	907	23
2005	22,490	10,363	3,162	197
2006	41,183	32,803	8,348	579
Quarter 1	10,353	7,710	1,932	182
Quarter 2	7,063	7,121	1,896	125
Quarter 3	11,686	8,168	1,930	159
Quarter 4	12,081	9,804	2,590	113
2007				
Quarter 1	17,813	12,405	8,348	167
Total	86,575	57,657	15,725	966

Source: UK Border Agency et al. (2007).

a. Includes claims that have been withdrawn.

A fifth (20.7 per cent) of the children in immigrant families in 2001 were foreign-born (first generation). The remainder were born in the United Kingdom of at least one foreign-born parent (second generation). The shares of first- and second-generation children vary considerably by region of origin (Table 10). This is a reflection of the chronology of the successive waves of immigration into the United Kingdom.

Table 10: First- and Second-Generation Children in Immigrant Families by Region of Origin, United Kingdom, 2001

per cent

<i>Region of origin</i>	<i>First generation, %</i>	<i>Second generation, %</i>
EU-15 ^a	24.3	75.7
EU-12 ^b	14.7	85.3
South Eastern Europe	44.8	55.2
Africa	21.7	78.3
Asia	15.6	84.4
Latin America and Caribbean	16.3	83.7
North America	40.9	59.1
Oceania	26.9	73.1

Source: 2001 census commissioned table.

a. EU-15 = EU member states before 2004: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

b. EU-12 = EU member states admitted between May 2004 and January 2007: Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia.

The table shows that children in immigrant families from Africa, Asia, and Latin America and the Caribbean are more likely than other immigrant children to be second rather than first generation. The shares of the second generation are particularly high among children in families from the old Commonwealth countries of India (91.4 per cent) and Pakistan (90.7 per cent). The shares are much smaller in families from countries, such as Somalia (42.0 per cent), from which the immigration flows are generally more recent.

The distribution of children in immigrant families by region of origin, particularly the significant waves of immigration from South Central Asia and the Caribbean, is also a reflection of the history of immigration into the United Kingdom (Table 11).

Slightly more than 40 per cent of all the children are in immigrant families from Asia. Pakistan is the country of origin of 12.2 per cent of all children in immigrant families, and India of 8.8 per cent. This means that, among these children, one in five is in an immigrant family from India or Pakistan. Bangladesh is the country of origin of 5.6 per cent of the children in immigrant families. Together, Bangladesh, India and Pakistan are the countries of origin of more than a quarter (25.6 per cent) of all children in immigrant families.

Africa is the region of origin of nearly one child in five (19.4 per cent) in immigrant families. Although the numbers are not large for any one country, Ghana (1.4 per cent), Kenya (3.3 per cent), Nigeria (2.5 per cent) and South Africa (2.3 per cent) each have strong colonial links to the United Kingdom. Somalia, which accounts for 1.1 per cent of all children in immigrant

families, is one of the countries of origin from which there have been significant flows of refugees and asylum seekers in recent decades.

Table 11: Distribution of Children in Immigrant Families by Region of Origin, United Kingdom, 2001

number and per cent of children

<i>Region of origin</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%^a</i>
EU-15	424,364	20.4
EU-12	76,787	3.7
South Eastern Europe	5,243	0.3
Africa	401,634	19.4
Asia	835,387	40.2
Latin America and Caribbean	113,912	5.5
North America	105,373	5.1
Oceania	63,843	3.1

Source: 2001 census commissioned table.

Note: All countries are not included; shares do not sum to 100. For EU-12 and EU-15, see the notes to Table 10.

The majority (72.3 per cent) of children in immigrant families from Latin America and the Caribbean are in families from the Caribbean. Jamaica is the most important country of origin in this group. This is a reflection of the long-standing relationship between the United Kingdom and Commonwealth countries and is associated especially with significant immigration from the Caribbean in the first part of the 20th century.

A large share of the children are in immigrant families from other countries in Europe. According to the 2001 census, the EU-15 was the region of origin of the families of one child in five (20.4 per cent) among all children in immigrant families, while 3.7 per cent were in families originating from the EU-12.³ Ireland (6.6 per cent) is the most important country of origin for children in immigrant families from Europe. Irish immigration has a long history because of the close proximity and complex relationship between Ireland and the United Kingdom. Labour force surveys and other data available since the 2001 census suggest that the share of children in immigrant families from the EU-12 has increased significantly as a result of the policies of the Government towards labour immigration from the A-8.

Over half (58.7 per cent) of all children in immigrant families have parents who have separate countries of origin. There is considerable variation among children according to this indicator (Table 12). Thus, a much smaller share of children in families from Asia have parents from separate countries of origin. The share is particularly small among children in families from Bangladesh (21.4 per cent).

³ The EU-12 are the EU member states admitted between May 2004 and January 2007: Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia. The EU-15 are the EU member states before 2004: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

Table 12: Parents in Separate Country-of-Origin Groups by Region, United Kingdom, 2001

per cent of children

<i>Region of origin</i>	<i>Children in immigrant families, %</i>
EU-15	72.1
EU-12	76.4
South Eastern Europe	44.0
Africa	61.8
Asia	45.7
Latin America and Caribbean	74.6
North America	75.6
Oceania	72.1

Source: 2001 census commissioned table.

The census does not collect information on citizenship. The lack of data on citizenship is a reflection of the history of immigration to the United Kingdom. Many immigrants have lived for a considerable time in the United Kingdom without needing to acquire British citizenship because they are Commonwealth nationals and arrived before the changes resulting from the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962 (see elsewhere below).

Evidence from the 2001 census indicates that the ages of children in immigrant and native-born families are similar and evenly distributed (Table 13). There are no notable differences by age among the children in immigrant families according to region of origin.

Table 13: Distribution of Children 0 to 17 by Age and Region of Origin, United Kingdom, 2001

number and per cent of children

<i>Children</i>	<i>0–4</i>	<i>5–9</i>	<i>10–14</i>	<i>15–17</i>
In native-born families	2,862,466	3,112,420	3,207,718	1,485,240
Share, %	26.8	29.2	30.1	13.9
In immigrant families	588,070	581,409	587,393	318,658
Share, %	28.3	28.0	28.3	15.4
Region of origin				
EU-15	28.6	27.8	28.4	15.2
EU-12	23.9	28.0	31.6	16.5
South Eastern Europe	35.5	26.7	24.6	13.2
Africa	28.5	28.4	28.0	15.2
Asia	28.3	27.8	28.1	15.8
Latin America and Caribbean	22.8	26.4	31.8	19.0
North America	30.8	30.0	27.1	12.1
Oceania	35.5	29.7	24.4	10.4

Source: 2001 census commissioned table.

Note: The age is as of the last birthday.

The gender ratio is identical among children in immigrant and native-born families: 104.2 boys per 100 girls. However, among children in native-born families, there are large differences by race and ethnic origin (Table 14). Thus, the gender ratios are lower among children in mixed and Black Caribbean families (at 101.9 and 100.1 boys per 100 girls, respectively) and higher among children in families in Asian groups, particularly Bangladeshi (106.0) and other Asian (108.5) families.

Table 14: Gender Ratio by Race-Ethnic Origin and Region of Origin, United Kingdom, 2001

boys per 100 girls

<i>Children</i>	<i>Boys per 100 girls</i>
<i>In native-born families, by race-ethnic origin</i>	
All children	104.2
White	104.3
Mixed	101.9
Asian, Asian British	
Indian	102.7
Pakistani	105.0
Bangladeshi	106.0
Chinese	102.2
Other Asian	108.5
Black, Black British	
Black Caribbean	100.1
Black African	104.2
Other Black	104.2
Other ethnic groups	106.4
<i>In immigrant families, by region of origin</i>	
EU-15	104.5
EU-12	105.8
South Eastern Europe	104.7
Africa	105.9
Asia	101.4
Latin America and Caribbean	102.3
North America	88.8
Oceania	128.2

Source: 2001 census commissioned table.

There are also differences in gender ratios among children in immigrant families. These differences are evident in relation to regions of origin, and they may seem surprising. For example, the ratio of boys per 100 girls is lowest among children in families from Asia although it is highest among native-born families in Asian or Black Asian ethnic groups in the United Kingdom. It seems likely, however, that this contrast is an anomaly caused by the small number of children in some country-of-origin categories. The ratios for North America and Oceania also appear to be anomalies created by the relatively small numbers of children in these regional groups. Among individual countries, the ratio of boys per 100 girls is higher than average within immigrant families from India (105.5), but around the average for families from Pakistan (104.6) and below the average for families from Bangladesh (103.0).

4. CURRENT NATURALIZATION AND CITIZENSHIP POLICY

4.1 Immigration policy

Since 1997, the Government's approach towards immigration has been based on the concept of 'managed migration'. This approach reflects the idea that, if managed properly, immigration can generate significant economic benefits. Under the approach, the Government has been relatively liberal in issuing work permits to employers who wish to recruit migrants from outside the European Economic Area for employment in skilled or highly skilled occupations.⁴ This has led to a large increase in the number of work permits issued to skilled migrants. It has also been associated with the Highly Skilled Migrants Programme launched in 2002 and a points system (based on the Australian model) that was introduced in February 2008 and that aims to facilitate and simplify the regulation of immigration and employment among skilled and highly skilled workers from outside the European Economic Area (Home Office 2006a).

While opening routes for the highly skilled and allowing unfettered access to the labour market by A-8 nationals, the Government has tightened controls over other forms of immigration, including family reunification and the immigration of low-skilled workers, asylum seekers and students. Before the EU enlargement, government policies for the immigration and employment of non-EU-15 migrants in low-skilled occupations were relatively limited in scale, and they were also sector specific and much more restrictive in terms of the rights of the immigrants who were admitted relative to the policies towards skilled immigrants. The low-skilled programmes did not, for example, grant migrants the right to family reunion or the right to permanent settlement. The new points system strictly limits low-skilled immigration from outside the European Economic Area.

Likewise, through restrictions on access to state benefits and to employment opportunities, the asylum process has sought to control the ability of asylum seekers to support themselves (Gardner 2006). For example, the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999 established the National Asylum Support Service and provided for the dispersal of asylum seekers to various parts of the United Kingdom. It removed any remaining benefit entitlement from asylum seekers, prevented asylum seekers from working and created a new voucher system that stopped cash payments other than £10 per week. The act also removed the obligation under the Children Act 1989 for local authorities to ensure that refugee and asylum-seeking children had adequate living standards.

These changes in immigration policy have had a direct impact on the nature and scale of immigration and on the experiences of children in immigrant families. Immigration status is a crucial factor in determining an individual's relation to the state, its resources and legal system and the labour market and other structures, and it is an important catalyst in the formation of social capital. For instance, immigration status, particularly the status associated with work and study, sets limits on the duration of residence, and most integration policies and inclusion programmes do not apply to people with temporary immigrant status. Asylum seekers are given temporary admission while their cases are being examined and are

⁴ The European Economic Area includes the EU, plus Iceland, Lichtenstein and Norway.

explicitly excluded from the benefits of integration and inclusion policies. They are not allowed to work or to receive certain welfare supports, and the Home Office may oblige them to relocate. Limited residence in a single location may hinder service provision and other supports. A report by the Office for Standards in Education found that half the schools it surveyed showed a high turnover among asylum seekers who were students (Ofsted 2003). One school reported that 27 per cent of its students had come and gone within a single year. While the students had a positive impact on most classes, teachers were frustrated with such brief school participation.

Many of the recent changes have had implications for asylum-seeking children (Ayotte and Williamson 2001, Stanley 2001a, Dennis 2002, Rutter 2003a, Humphries and Mynott 2001). These impacts are the focus of much of the existing research. For example, the Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act 1993 removed the right of asylum seekers to social housing. It also meant that, if asylum seekers had any access to a roof, however temporary, they were not otherwise eligible for housing. There is evidence that this resulted in increased mobility among asylum-seeking families. Moreover, continuity in the access to education and health care services for children in these families became difficult. Research suggests that young people experience a constant underlying sense of anxiety in relation to immigration issues and that their ability to settle is compromised by long waits and lack of information (Humphries and Mynott 2001, Stanley 2001a). Studies have found that, although children and young people have varying levels of awareness about their immigration status, the majority of young people say the status is important (Wolde-Giyorgis et al. 1998, Kidane 2001a). The impact of asylum detention on children has been a particular focus of research in recent years (Cole 2003, Crawley and Lester 2005).

A number of reports and studies make specific recommendations for improvements in the asylum system that would reduce the impacts of immigration controls on children and improve their ability to gain access procedures and become included in society. Thus, a recent report suggests that resources should be focused on helping asylum-seeking families understand the process and receive proper support (Reacroft 2008). The need to improve the access to information among families and children seeking asylum or in the refugee resettlement process has also been highlighted (Robinson 1998).

Policies claiming to offer a safe haven to refugees, while being harsh so as to placate an increasingly xenophobic electorate, do little to counter the hostility in the media against economic migrants and asylum seekers and their children (Tomlinson 2005). Ironically, immigration controls that have a negative impact on children in some immigrant families exist side by side with policies introduced to improve the care and protection available to children and young people.

Victoria Climbié, a young immigrant girl, died in November 2000 after months of sustained abuse at the hands of her foster-carers. Following her death, the Government overhauled its child protection policies. The response was set out in two documents: 'Keeping Children Safe' (DCSF et al. 2003) and *Green Paper: Every Child Matters* (DCSF 2003). The green paper prompted a debate about services for children, young people and families that culminated in 'Every Child Matters: Next Steps' (DCSF 2004a). The framework provided through this document forms the basis of a new approach to services for children, 'Every

Child Matters: Change for Children' (see DCSF 2004b). The Every Child Matters framework aims to bring about root-and-branch reform of children's services. The Government's stated goal is to ensure that all children and young people, whatever their background or circumstances, have the support they need to achieve five main outcomes: to be healthy; to stay safe from maltreatment, neglect, discrimination and crime; to achieve through learning at school and realizing personal and social development; to make a positive contribution to society by participating in decisionmaking, supporting the community and the environment and engaging in positive, law-abiding behaviour; and to achieve economic well-being.

The Every Child Matters framework is intended to bring about whole system change. It has resulted in a comprehensive reorganization of children's services with wide-reaching implications for education, health, social services, voluntary and community organizations, and other agencies (Crawley 2005).

Despite these steps, a number of children's organizations remain concerned that immigration controls continue to take precedence over the best interests of immigrant children.

4.2 Policies on integration and social inclusion

Until 2001, a multicultural model dominated the approach to integration and social inclusion in the United Kingdom. This meant that, while there were concerns about educational and employment outcomes among new and growing ethnic minorities, no formal policies existed. Since late 2001, however, the approach has been shifting from a focus on race and racism towards more formal strategies and policies designed to promote social cohesion (Rutter, Cooley et al. 2008). This shift has been confirmed in a report by the Commission on Integration and Cohesion (2007), which was established by the Government to examine integration and social inclusion at the local level and make recommendations for improvements in policy and practice. The report highlights that, beyond provision for refugees, who account for a small share of immigrants, no governmental entity is responsible for addressing barriers to inclusion. This contrasts with several EU countries that offer national or regional programmes for all new immigrants, in some cases tailored to individual needs. The commission found evidence indicating that some immigrants face barriers to inclusion such as a lack of practical knowledge about living in the United Kingdom and about their rights and responsibilities, a lack of recognition of their qualifications, a lack of language or employment skills, difficulties in finding courses in English for speakers of other languages, a lack of opportunities to meet local people, and demonstrations of hostility or ignorance by others. It recommended that all levels of government should do more to welcome and include new immigrants and to enable new residents and existing residents to adjust to one another.

This shift in emphasis is reflected in the development of specific policies designed to promote social inclusion among immigrants. For example, the Government has tasked regional strategic migration partnerships to develop strategies to promote inclusion among all immigrants. These bodies are usually led by regional local government associations and consist of local authorities, the police, health authorities and non-governmental organizations. They focus on the institutional and functional aspects of inclusion, particularly the ability of immigrants to access services such as health care and English language classes (Rutter,

Cooley et al. 2008). The Government has also sought to generate debate around the concept of 'Britishness' and is in the process of changing the criteria for citizenship (see below).

However, tensions are growing between immigration policies and policies at the devolved regional level. Because immigration is not a devolved issue, immigration control policies that are established by the Government are applicable in England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales (Dunkerley et al. 2005, Hewett et al. 2005, Conway 2006). Meanwhile, the support and protection of children, including immigrant children, are the responsibility of the authorities in the devolved areas. Conway (2006) suggests that this separation in responsibilities leads to a lack of coherence and consistency in service delivery that is compounded by the separate structures among other relevant organizations, such as the National Health Service.

Regional differences also exist in the types of services available to immigrant families. Separate organizations have been established to assist immigrants arriving in the various parts of the United Kingdom. In Wales, for example, organizations have been set up by the Welsh Assembly Government to assist newly arrived immigrants. These include the Wales Strategic Migration Partnership. Dunkerley et al. (2006) suggest that devolved governments and local authority areas have a potentially significant role to play in service provision despite the devolution issue.

4.3 Naturalization and citizenship policy

Until legislation was passed in 1914, citizenship and the process of naturalization were largely uncodified (Rutter, Lattore et al. 2008). The British Nationality Act 1948 established the status of citizen of the United Kingdom and colonies. It also gave all citizens of Commonwealth countries the right of abode in the United Kingdom and the right to take up UK citizenship. These rights were revoked through the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962, which also established that citizens of Commonwealth countries and Ireland have the same civic rights as UK citizens, including the right to vote in all elections, but that they do not have the right of abode and are subject to immigration controls, including controls on the right to work and carry out business.

Naturalization and citizenship today are still largely based on the British Nationality Act 1981, which distinguishes between British citizens by descent and British citizens otherwise than by descent. British citizens otherwise than by descent may automatically pass on British citizenship to their children born outside the United Kingdom. Individuals born outside the United Kingdom may acquire British citizenship by descent if one or both of their parents are British citizens. Citizens by descent cannot automatically pass British nationality on to their children born outside the United Kingdom or its overseas territories (though, in some situations, children may be registered as citizens).

The requirements for naturalization and the acquisition of citizenship by British citizens by descent and non-British citizens vary according to immigration status (Rutter, Lattore et al. 2008). Immigrants may be granted citizenship by descent if they are born to or adopted by British citizens. Alternatively, they may apply for naturalization if they have been resident in the United Kingdom for a minimum of three to five years and have been granted indefinite

leave to remain. People married to UK citizens must have been resident in the United Kingdom for three years or more, while others must be resident for five years or more. In both cases, applicants must be able to speak an adequate level of English (or Welsh or Gaelic), must not have spent a significant amount of time outside the United Kingdom during the period of residency and must have been compliant with immigration controls. People granted citizenship are able to vote and have access to employment, health care and education in the same way as native-born citizens.

Since 2005, immigrants have been expected to demonstrate English language proficiency and knowledge of life in the United Kingdom before they may be granted citizenship. This may be accomplished either by completing a course in English and demonstrating progress or by taking the test, Life in the United Kingdom. In the points system, the vast majority of immigrant workers are expected to speak English; there is also a proposal for an English proficiency requirement for immigrating spouses.

In February 2008, the Government published 'The Path to Citizenship: Next Steps in Reforming the Immigration System' (UK Border Agency 2008), which outlines proposals for changing the citizenship procedure and the path to remaining in the United Kingdom as a permanent resident. Under these proposals, which are known collectively as 'earned citizenship', immigrants will be expected to pass through three steps: temporary residence, probationary citizenship and citizenship or permanent residence. Advancing through the steps would depend on successfully meeting new criteria in four areas: English language proficiency, self-sufficiency and the payment of taxes, obeying the law, and becoming part of the way of life in the United Kingdom.

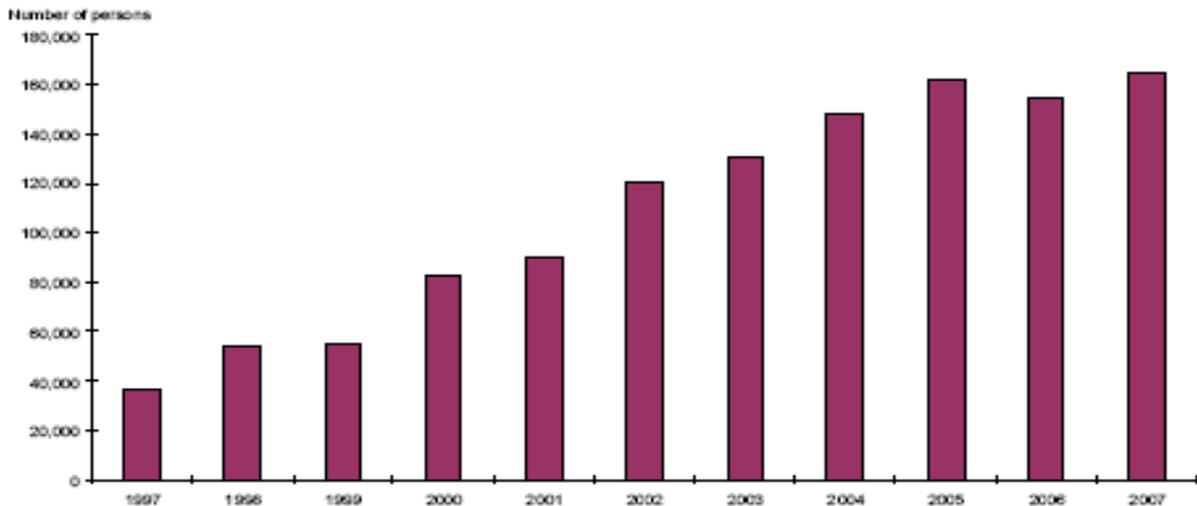
According to the most recent Home Office statistics, the number of persons granted citizenship rose by 7 per cent, to 164,635, in 2007 (Mensah 2008). Among the grants, 53 per cent were supplied on the basis of residence, and 18 per cent on the basis of marriage; another 25 per cent were for children. Citizens of countries in Africa and Asia accounted for 31 and 44 per cent of all grants, respectively. The main countries of origin were Afghanistan, India, Pakistan, the Philippines and South Africa, each accounting for between 5 and 9 per cent of all grants.

Since the mid-1990s, the number of grants of citizenship has been steadily rising (Figure 3). According to Rutter, Lattore et al. (2008), this trend reflects the greater immigration during the period, particularly for asylum, but also the growing number of arrivals on work or student visas since around 1988. The number of citizenship applications rose in 2003 and 2004, and this led to a higher number of grants of citizenship in 2005. Many people who were already eligible for citizenship, but who had not previously applied were applying during these years to avoid the citizenship test and language proficiency requirements that were introduced at the end of 2005.

Rutter, Lattore et al. (2008) have also found that two foreign-born residents in five who are likely to be eligible for citizenship have not applied and that immigrants from poor countries are much more likely to apply than are immigrants from rich countries. Immigrants from South Asia (Bangladesh, India and Pakistan) and Africa are the most likely to hold UK citizenship after five or more years of residence. Immigrants born in Ireland are the least

likely to apply for citizenship after five or more years of residence. Rutter, Lattore et al. (2008) have also found that quite a few immigrants born in France, India and South Africa are citizens of third countries, that is, neither their country of birth nor the United Kingdom.

Figure 3: Grants of Citizenship, United Kingdom, 1997–2007



Source: Mensah (2008).

5. DATA ANALYSIS AND LITERATURE REVIEW: INCLUSION AND OTHER SOCIAL ISSUES

5.1 Definitions and methodological clarifications

5.1.1 Research issues

This report provides the first systematic review of information on the situation of children in immigrant families in the United Kingdom and therefore represents an important contribution to the knowledge base. There are, however, several limitations in our source material.

There is a trend in research on immigrants and children to stress differences among children by generation with respect to arrival in the country of settlement. Thus, immigrants who have been born abroad are classified as the first generation. Individuals born in the United Kingdom to at least one immigrant parent born abroad would be the second generation. The third generation would represent individuals born in the United Kingdom to parents of immigrant origin born in the United Kingdom.

There are few statistical resources in the United Kingdom that are amenable to the distinctions drawn in this sociological taxonomy based on immigrant generations. This absence reflects a general conceptual vagueness about immigration. Indeed, the evidence regarding outcomes among immigrants in the United Kingdom is limited because many studies focus on more broadly defined populations (Spencer 2006). The most important distinction is between people who are foreign-born (that is, born overseas regardless of citizenship, including UK citizenship) and people in ethnic minorities.

By definition, the foreign-born will include immigrants who have been born abroad, but who have moved to the United Kingdom recently and immigrants who have been residing in the United Kingdom for a long time, for example, the many immigrants who arrived immediately following World War II. The foreign-born category does not include children who were born to immigrant families already residing in the United Kingdom. (These children are in the second immigrant generation.) Information on the duration of residence of the foreign-born population is only rarely gathered, although the length of residence may be one of the most important variables influencing the process of inclusion and integration. Moreover, naturalized immigrants, no matter the generation in which they are included, may simply disappear from the statistics, thereby leaving more recent immigrants overrepresented (Spencer and Cooper 2006).

The data on ethnic minorities also show limitations. Because these data cover both newly arrived immigrants and subsequent generations, they hinder individualized analysis of the impact of the immigration experience. Indeed, with the exception of refugees and asylum seekers, virtually all policy approaches and virtually all the documentation on education, employment, service provision, poverty and social cohesion are framed in terms of ethnic origin rather than immigration status. Immigrants who do not fall within the ethnic categories on which data are collected will be excluded. Likewise, ethnicity does not differentiate between people who are recent immigrants or who are long-term residents or among the first, second, or third generation. Thus, for example, among Somalis in any single locality or throughout the United Kingdom, there will be UK citizens, refugees, asylum seekers, persons granted exceptional leave to remain, undocumented migrants, and people who have been granted refugee status in another European country, but who have subsequently moved to the United Kingdom.

As a result of these definitional and conceptual issues, the ethnicity-focused approach used in analysing the situation among minority groups or in developing models and policies in the study of multiculturalism is inadequate and often inappropriate in addressing the needs of immigrants or in understanding the dynamics of immigrant inclusion or exclusion (Vertovec 2006). It is therefore not possible properly to assess the circumstances among newly arrived wives and husbands in the job market, for instance, or among second-generation children at school, or among low-wage work permit holders. There is rather limited evidence on the situation of children in immigrant families who are not refugees or asylum seekers. Much of the evidence on experiences and outcomes among second-generation children is subsumed within the general literature on ethnic minorities. In the absence of such evidence, one must rely on proxy measures for the populations of interest (Spencer 2006). Thus, in education, for example, data on children for whom English is not the first language can be used to fill out our understanding of children in immigrant families, although these data may include other children as well. Of course, undocumented migrants are not usually covered at all.

5.1.2 Our data

We have identified research evidence on the situation of children in immigrant families through a mapping exercise on a range of digital resources and databases. We have thus been able to pick out relevant literature by relevant population subgroups, including, for instance, refugees and first- and second-generation immigrants, and by relevant themes, for example,

health, housing, education and welfare. Our electronic searches have covered the websites of institutions, organizations and individuals active in the field.

The statistical information about the circumstances of children in immigrant families presented in this report is based on our analysis of data collected for the 2001 census. The census was conducted on 29 April 2001 and was organized by the Office for National Statistics (in England and Wales), the General Register Office for Scotland and the Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency. This represents the most recent census data available. (The next census will be undertaken in 2011.) The data set for the analysis represents 100 per cent of the information available from the census for the United Kingdom as a whole. It has not been possible to differentiate between the circumstances of children in immigrant families living in England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales because of the relatively small size of the total populations of Northern Ireland and Scotland (1.7 million and 5.1 million, respectively, in 2001) and because the census data on England and Wales are combined.

The data set includes children between the ages of 0 and 17 in immigrant or native-born families. A child in an immigrant family is defined as a child who is either foreign-born (first generation) or who has been born in the United Kingdom and who has at least one parent who is in the home and who is foreign-born (second generation). If the child is foreign-born, then the country of origin is the child's country of origin. If the child is born in the United Kingdom, the country of origin is the mother's country of birth if the mother is foreign-born. If the child and the child's mother are not foreign-born or if the child is born in the United Kingdom and is living only with the father, then the country of origin is the father's country of birth. Children in native-born families are children who have been born in the United Kingdom and who each have two parents who have also been born in the United Kingdom.

5.2 Family environment

5.2.1 Size and structure of the family

Family size and household composition play an important role in determining the situation of immigrant families in the United Kingdom. This is because larger families and one-parent families are more likely to be living in poverty (see elsewhere below).

Recent immigrants are more likely to be single or, at least, arrive without other family members. This accounts for a marked difference in the family and household structure among immigrants who have arrived recently and among all immigrants (Table 15). This difference exists as well among immigrants from OECD and non-OECD countries (first four columns in Table 15). In both of these groups in 2001, only around a third of recent immigrants were accounted for by couples in two-parent households; the corresponding share was over one half in the overall immigrant population (Rendall and Salt 2005).

For immigrants with children, the 2001 census provides information on the composition of the family in the home, including information on children living in one- or two-parent households, on mothers and fathers in the case of one-parent households, on the number of siblings in the household and on grandparents living in the household.

Table 15: Family Status of Population by Country of Birth and Length of Residence, England and Wales, 2001

per cent

<i>Family status</i>	<i>Born in OECD</i>		<i>Not born in OECD</i>		<i>All foreign-born</i>		<i>Born in United Kingdom</i>	
	<i>Resident <1 year</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>Resident <1 year</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>Resident <1 year</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>Resident <1 year</i>	<i>All</i>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not in a family								
Pensioner	0.4	8.7	0.9	5.1	0.7	6.5	1.5	6.9
Other	33.3	18.3	28.4	15.8	31.0	16.8	21.4	9.7
In two-parent families								
Part of couple	32.3	51.7	34.7	56.1	33.5	54.5	38.5	46.6
Dependent child	12.9	7.7	12.4	6.3	12.6	6.8	12.6	18.0
Other child	1.2	1.8	2.0	2.8	1.6	2.5	9.5	5.2
In one-parent families								
Parent	0.8	4.5	1.9	6.9	1.3	6.0	2.7	4.4
Dependent child	1.7	2.1	3.0	2.3	2.3	2.2	2.7	5.4
Other child	0.6	1.0	1.2	1.7	0.9	1.5	3.4	2.1
Not in a household	16.7	4.2	15.5	2.8	16.1	3.3	7.7	1.6

Source: Rendall and Salt (2005).

Note: People who are not in a household include, for example, students living in residence halls at schools.

Children in immigrant families are more likely than children in native-born families to live in two-parent households. According to the data, 83.6 per cent of the children in immigrant families live in two-parent families, compared with 75.3 per cent of the children in native-born families. This means that there are relatively more one-parent households among native-born families than among immigrant families. The share of children in one-parent households varies across regions, however (Table 16). The share of one-parent households is significantly higher among children in immigrant families from Africa and in families from Latin America and the Caribbean.

There are striking differences by ethnicity in the share of children in native-born families who are living in one-parent households (Table 16). The share is especially high among Black Caribbean (75.0 per cent) and Black African (70.4 per cent) households. Indeed, children in these groups appear more likely to live in one-parent households regardless of whether the family members are immigrants or native born. This is confirmed by Platt (2007a, 2007b), who also finds that one-parent families show higher risks of poverty because of the pressures of combining work and childcare among lone parents. While mothers in one-parent Black African and Black Caribbean households are more likely to be in employment than mothers in other households, this does not necessarily allow these mothers to avoid poverty, and it may affect other aspects of welfare such as social networks as well.

There are notable differences in the number of siblings in the home by the country of origin of immigrant families and by the ethnicity of children in native-born families: 41.3 per cent of children in immigrant families have two or more siblings aged 0–17 compared with 31.9 per cent of children in native-born families (Table 17). This suggests that immigrant families are more likely to be larger.

Table 16: Children according to Family Structure, United Kingdom, 2001*per cent of children*

<i>Children</i>	<i>Two-parent family</i>	<i>Mother-only family</i>	<i>Father-only family</i>
<i>In native-born families, by race-ethnic origin</i>			
All children	75.3	22.7	2.0
White	76.5	21.5	2.0
Mixed	40.7	57.2	2.1
<i>Asian, Asian British</i>			
Indian	74.5	23.1	2.4
Pakistani	50.3	45.8	3.9
Bangladeshi	59.7	34.5	5.8
Chinese	62.9	33.1	4.0
Other Asian	55.0	41.5	3.2
<i>Black, Black British</i>			
Black Caribbean	25.0	72.6	2.4
Black African	29.6	66.5	3.9
Other Black	23.4	74.5	2.1
Other ethnic groups	47.3	48.2	4.5
<i>In immigrant families, by region of origin</i>			
All children	83.6	14.7	1.7
EU-15	83.5	14.9	1.6
EU-12	86.3	12.5	1.2
South Eastern Europe	86.4	—	—
Africa	77.4	20.5	2.1
Asia	87.6	10.7	1.7
Latin America and Caribbean	68.9	28.3	2.8
North America	87.2	11.5	1.3
Oceania	87.9	11.0	1.1

Source: 2001 census commissioned table.

Children in native-born families of Bangladeshi or Pakistani ethnic origin live in households with higher average numbers of children (Table 17). This is consistent with research by Platt (2007a, 2007b), who has also found that household size is substantially greater than average among families of Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani ethnic origin. This suggests that there are greater demands on the available incomes within these households.

There are significant differences in size among immigrant families according to region of origin. Thus, it appears that immigrant families from Africa and Asia are more likely to be larger than immigrant families from other regions of origin. Within the regions, there are likewise significant differences by country. For example, 71.6 per cent of all children in immigrant families from Somalia have two or more siblings in the home.

While the share of children in families in which there is at least one grandparent at home is small among children in immigrant families (6.3 per cent) and native-born families (3.0 per cent), children in immigrant families from Asia are more likely to live in extended-family households relative to families from other regions. This may also have effects on levels of household income and poverty.

Table 17: Children according to the Number of Siblings 0–17 in the Home, United Kingdom, 2001

per cent of children

<i>Children</i>	<i>No siblings</i>	<i>One sibling</i>	<i>Two or more siblings</i>
<i>In native-born families, by race-ethnic origin</i>			
White	23.0	45.2	31.8
Mixed	28.0	38.2	33.8
<i>Asian, Asian British</i>			
Indian	20.4	42.4	37.3
Pakistani	16.6	28.2	55.2
Bangladeshi	16.4	27.1	56.5
Chinese	30.3	37.9	31.9
Other Asian	25.8	36.3	38.0
<i>Black, Black British</i>			
Black Caribbean	29.6	38.6	31.8
Black African	26.2	36.1	37.7
Other Black	29.5	37.0	33.4
Other ethnic groups	27.8	33.3	38.8
<i>In immigrant families, by region of origin</i>			
EU-15	24.2	43.4	32.4
EU-12	24.2	45.2	30.6
South Eastern Europe	28.7	48.5	22.8
Africa	19.3	40.3	40.4
Asia	15.9	33.2	50.7
Latin America and Caribbean	28.2	41.2	30.6
North America	20.8	44.5	34.7
Oceania	22.9	45.6	31.5

Source: 2001 census commissioned table.

5.2.2 Educational attainment among parents

Although there are difficulties in interpreting the 2001 census data, which are based on the levels of the qualifications achieved, it appears that mothers and fathers in immigrant families exhibit significantly higher educational attainment than mothers and fathers in native-born families (Table 18). Mothers generally show lower levels of educational attainment than fathers in both cases.

There are, however, differences in parental educational attainment in immigrant families across regions and countries of origin (Table 19). For example, parents in families from Africa and Oceania are more likely to have higher levels of educational attainment. The share of parents who have completed the first stage of tertiary education and have therefore gained a first or higher degree or other professional qualification are, respectively for Africa and Oceania, 41.1 and 45.7 per cent among fathers and 37.1 and 43.2 per cent among mothers. In contrast, mothers and fathers in immigrant families from Asia show lower educational attainment than mothers and fathers in all other groups. This is largely consistent with the findings on parents in native-born families according to race-ethnic origin.

Table 18: Children according to the Level of Education of the Parents, United Kingdom, 2001

number and per cent of children

<i>Education completed</i>	<i>In immigrant families</i>		<i>In native-born families</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Fathers</i>				
Primary education	444,666	25.2	1,577,155	19.2
Lower secondary education	450,773	25.6	3,686,134	44.9
Upper secondary education	132,193	7.5	600,534	7.3
Tertiary education, first stage	733,524	41.7	2,354,817	28.7
<i>Mothers</i>				
Primary education	575,885	27.7	2,126,962	20.4
Lower secondary education	629,510	30.3	5,329,333	51.1
Upper secondary education	170,410	8.2	775,692	7.4
Tertiary education, first stage	656,335	31.6	2,195,587	21.1

Source: 2001 census commissioned table.

Note: Data on educational attainment in the United Kingdom do not correspond readily to the categories used in this UNICEF series. In the United Kingdom, educational attainment is described according to the qualifications achieved rather than the number of years or stages of education completed. We have therefore interpreted the data based on assumptions about the likelihood that an individual will have needed to complete a certain stage of schooling to attain the relevant qualifications, as follows: primary education = no qualifications; upper secondary education = GCSE (general certificate of secondary education) and A-level (advanced level) qualifications; tertiary education = degree and professional qualifications.

Table 19: Children in Immigrant Families according to Parental Educational Attainment and Region of Origin, United Kingdom, 2001

per cent of children

<i>Region of origin</i>	<i>Father completed</i>			<i>Mother completed</i>		
	<i>Primary education</i>	<i>Upper secondary education</i>	<i>Tertiary education, first stage</i>	<i>Primary education</i>	<i>Upper secondary education</i>	<i>Tertiary education, first stage</i>
EU-15	15.0	34.7	35.1	17.2	47.2	33.7
EU-12	17.7	36.8	32.4	19.3	48.5	30.7
South Eastern Europe	22.2	27.2	39.9	24.2	34.2	39.3
Africa	9.4	28.6	41.1	17.6	42.9	37.1
Asia	34.7	23.4	30.6	44.5	29.9	23.6
Latin America and Caribbean	15.4	26.3	29.2	17.0	44.2	35.5
North America	6.8	26.8	54.7	7.5	38.4	52.6
Oceania	7.4	35.7	45.7	8.7	46.8	43.2

Source: 2001 census commissioned table.

Note: See the note to Table 18 on qualifications and equivalent stages of schooling completed.

5.2.3 Parental employment

The evidence on the performance of immigrant families in the labour market is mixed (Somerville and Wintour 2006). While we have not been able to identify from the data the differences in experiences among people according to immigration status, there are clearly marked differences in the employment outcomes among immigrant families according to

country of origin and ethnic background. These differences have implications for the children in these families.

The immigrant community is generally well educated. In 2000, there were 5 per cent more university graduates among immigrants than among the White native-born population, although there was large variation according to country of birth (Dustmann et al. 2003). As a result, most immigrant groups do better in economic terms, on average, than the native-born population (Farrant and Sriskandarajah 2006). The analysis by Rendall and Salt (2005) of data from the March-May 2005 labour force survey shows that the average gross weekly earnings among the overall population is £384.52. Breaking this down by country of birth reveals that the native born earn an average of £380.49 per week, while the foreign-born earn considerably more, at £424.80. This is because of the immigration of high-skilled earners who have responded to the demand created by the shift towards a knowledge-based economy. The share of the foreign-born population at the bottom of the income spectrum earning under £100 a week (9.7 per cent) is smaller than the corresponding share among the native-born population (12.8 per cent) (Sriskandarajah et al. 2005).

The observation that immigrants earn more on average than the native born is not, however, indicative of the socioeconomic inclusion of immigrants. Indeed, there is strong evidence that some immigrant communities rank consistently lower on most indicators than the UK average. There have been large and persistent differences in employment and earnings in the labour market according to immigration status and ethnicity since the 1980s. The experiences of immigrants vary widely and tend to be more polarized, that is, concentrated at both the upper and the lower echelons of the skills and income spectrum (Kyambi 2005).

Dustmann et al. (2003) have analysed the performance of immigrants in the labour market. They attempt to draw a comprehensive picture of this performance and the process of adaptation among the immigrants to the performance of the native-born White population. They investigate four indicators of economic performance: employment, participation in the labour force, self-employment and wages. The analysis distinguishes between men and women and between groups according to country and ethnic origin. They investigate the effects of specific variables in detail. They also consider labour market outcomes among individuals in ethnic minority groups who have been born in the United Kingdom and compare the outcomes among these people with the outcomes among native-born Whites and foreign-born individuals in ethnic minorities. They find that employment and labour force participation rates among foreign-born ethnic minority groups are considerably lower than rates among native-born Whites. Immigrants in ethnic minority groups have a lower average probability of employment. Immigrants in the Black African, Black Caribbean and Pakistani groups are the most disadvantaged. This is true of both men and women. The authors find that the differences across groups have increased substantially since 1979 and that employment and labour force participation among minority immigrants are more volatile over the economic cycle. They find that, at comparable ages, levels of educational attainment and other measurable characteristics and by geographical distribution (location), White immigrants and native-born Whites show similar probabilities of employment.

This evidence suggests that immigrants are, on average, less likely to be employed than the native-born population. Indeed, labour force survey data show that the employment rate

among the foreign-born population is lower than the rate among the native-born population. For example, Rendall and Salt (2005) find that, among the 3.3 million foreign-born people of working age in England and Wales in 2001, 61.4 per cent were employed and not in school, 23.9 per cent were not participating in the labour force and not in school, 9.6 per cent were in school, and 5.1 per cent were unemployed. Among the native born, a higher share (71.1 per cent) was accounted for by the employed, while lower shares were unemployed (3.8 per cent), not participating in the labour force (17.7 per cent), or in school (7.4 per cent). Using the same data, Wheatley Price (2001) finds that more recent immigrants show higher unemployment rates relative to earlier cohorts.

There are major differences across countries of origin. Lack of labour force participation is marked among refugees and asylum seekers. The evidence on employment among refugees is limited, but it points towards weak performance and high levels of unemployment, low levels of labour force participation and underemployment regardless of prior education and work experience (Bloch 2002, Somerville and Wintour 2006). Kyambi (2005) has found that new immigrants from Somalia have particularly low employment rates, at 12.2 per cent. Performance also differs by gender. Women immigrants are more likely than the men to be unemployed or not in the labour force (Dustmann et al. 2003).

The differences by ethnicity and country of origin are considerable in earnings levels among immigrants who are in employment. Chiswick (1980) found that, while White immigrants earn as much as their native-born counterparts, non-White immigrants experienced an earnings penalty of 25 per cent (see also Shields and Wheatley Price 1998, Dustmann et al. 2003, Clarke and Lindley 2006). While individuals in most White immigrant communities have higher average wages than native-born Whites with the same characteristics, immigrants in all ethnic minority communities have lower average wages. This is true among men and women, although the differences are greater among men. The wage differentials are substantial, reaching about 40 per cent among men in the Bangladeshi group.

Farrant and Sriskandarajah (2006) show that, while some immigrant groups are performing above the native-born average, other country-of-origin groups appear to be struggling. Particularly low weekly earnings have been reported among some groups. For example, large shares of new immigrants from Bangladesh, China, the former Czechoslovakia and Hong Kong (China) have earnings below half the median level. Farrant and Sriskandarajah indicate that new immigrants from Bangladesh, which accounts for the sixth largest foreign-born group in the United Kingdom, appear to be especially disadvantaged.

The differences in socioeconomic outcomes among immigrants according to location in the United Kingdom are significant. This is largely a reflection of the variations in outcomes by region among all groups across society. Thus, immigrants in the South East and South West of England approached employment rates of 80 per cent in 2004, while immigrants in Northern Ireland and the North East of England lagged, with rates under 70 per cent. These differences are echoed in household incomes. In 2003, for example, the North East of England showed the lowest annual regional gross domestic household income per head, at £10,787, which is 14 per cent less than the UK average (Marais et al. 2005). An analysis of the regional socioeconomic profile of new immigrants also reveals large variations across regions (Kyambi 2005). Thus, new immigrants in Yorkshire and the Humber are less likely to

be in employment, while new immigrants in Northern Ireland are more likely than the local population born in Ireland or the United Kingdom to be in employment.

Evidence is emerging that the overall situation among immigrants may be changing. It appears that, as patterns of immigration shift, immigrant flows are becoming more concentrated at the low-skill end of the labour market, suggesting an overall reduction in skill levels and incomes among immigrants (Salt 2004). This is confirmed by Anderson et al. (2006), who have found that immigrants from the A-8 work for relatively lower earnings and for longer hours than the average by occupation. Many have no paid holidays, sick leave, or written contracts. These trends may have longer term implications for average socioeconomic outcomes among immigrants and among particular ethnic or country-of-origin groups.

Under current legislation, asylum seekers are prohibited from working. Research has identified this policy as a source of considerable frustration among young people over 16 years of age, as well as their parents (Hewett et al. 2005). Among asylum seekers, ethnic minorities fare worse than the White population in this regard. Refugees are additionally disadvantaged because of a 36 per cent unemployment rate. Refugees are often only able to obtain jobs that are not commensurate with the jobs they had in their countries of origin (Bloch 2002). They tend to face more difficulty in finding permanent positions, and they earn less than their ethnic minority counterparts. Only 47 per cent are entitled to paid holidays, compared with 92 per cent among these counterparts.

Many studies have found large variations in employment outcomes across ethnic groups. In the 12 months to November 2005, the lowest unemployment rates were among Whites (4.4 per cent) and the Indian ethnic group (6.8 per cent). Unemployment rates were highest among ethnic minorities in the Black or Black British group (12.8 per cent) and the Bangladeshi or Pakistani group (15 per cent) (ONS 2006a). Bloch (2002) has found that, among women, economic activity rates are highest among the Black Caribbean and White groups and lowest among the Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups. Unemployment among women is higher across all ethnic minority groups than among Whites (Dale et al. 2006). Women in the Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups are least likely to be employed, while women in the Black Caribbean group are more likely to be employed. Women in the India and White groups show similar economic activity rates (Dustmann et al. 2003, Dale et al. 2006).

Although there is evidence that first-generation immigrants are more disadvantaged than the second generation, the patterns of disadvantage in the second generation are slightly smaller in magnitude, but broadly similar. Thus, native-born ethnic minorities appear to fare about as well as foreign-born ethnic minorities (Carmichael and Woods 2000, Blackaby et al. 2002). The disadvantages experienced by men in the Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean and Pakistani groups with respect to unemployment are long-standing and show no sign of declining. In general, the unemployment rates are high, and the groups tend to be underrepresented in more well paid, non-manual occupations. This suggests that more factors are at play than length of residence in the country, proficiency in English, or familiarity with the vagaries of the local labour market.

This has led many researchers to propose that the labour market assesses an ethnic penalty that effectively limits the access and achievement of ethnic minorities. The penalty

encapsulates the disadvantages associated with a particular ethnic category after the researchers have controlled for educational attainment and other personal characteristics. It therefore encompasses additional, unmeasured factors, including discrimination (Carmichael and Woods 2000; Blackaby et al. 2002; Heath and Cheung 2006; Platt 2007a, 2007b). Observed differences with respect to employment, earnings and occupational attainment among ethnic minority groups are not explained by age, education, or foreign birth. For example, despite their better educational performance, some ethnic minority immigrants and their second-generation children exhibit lower probabilities of employment than their White native-born peers (Heath and Cheung 2006, Dustmann and Theodoropoulos 2006). People in the Black African group are not achieving the employment outcomes that might be expected to accrue to them because of their educational qualifications (Platt 2007a, 2007b). The situation among people in the Pakistani and, especially, the Bangladeshi groups raises concern (Heath and Cheung 2006). Among these groups, large shares of the men are economically inactive (often because of long-term illness or disability), and unemployment rates are well over 10 per cent. Men in the Bangladeshi group who are in employment are disproportionately concentrated in low-skilled or semi-skilled jobs. People in the Chinese and Indians groups tend to compete on more equal terms than the other minorities, but they also experience disadvantage.

Several studies have found that fluency in English is strongly and positively associated with the probability of employment and higher wages. For instance, an econometric analysis undertaken by Shields and Wheatley Price (2001) suggests that the lack of English language proficiency among immigrants reduces average employment probabilities by 20–25 percentage points. Dustmann and Fabbri (2003) have similarly found that high levels of language proficiency have a positive impact on employment probabilities and, conversely, that lack of English proficiency leads to earnings losses. In fact, there is considerable variation in language proficiency across minority immigrant groups. People in the Bangladeshi and Pakistani immigrant groups show the lowest levels of English proficiency (Dustmann et al. 2003).

Dustmann and Theodoropoulos (2006) suggest that the lower labour force participation rates among some ethnic groups, especially women of Bangladeshi and Pakistani origin, appear to arise largely from choice rather than because individuals are unable to find jobs or are facing discrimination. They propose that a key reason for the observed differences may be related to views and attitudes about engagement with the labour market that are shaped during early childhood and affect labour market behaviour and employment outcomes later on. While these findings and conclusions do not relate directly to children in immigrant families, one may infer that there will be an impact on children in the families in these groups. Looking at the employment experiences of young men in the Bangladeshi group in Inner London, Salway (2008) suggests that strong forces favouring the inclusion of these men within the Bangladeshi community interact with forces of exclusion exerted by mainstream society to constrain the aspirations and opportunities of these men.

The above findings from the literature are reflected in the findings of our data analysis. Our research shows that there are large differences in the levels of employment among the parents of children in immigrant families relative to parents in native-born families (Table 20).

Table 20: Children according to Employment among the Parents, United Kingdom, 2001

number and per cent of children

<i>Employment status</i>	<i>In immigrant families</i>		<i>In native-born families</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Fathers</i>				
Not employed	335,459	19.0	885,606	10.7
Employed part time, 1–35 hours	234,313	13.3	614,593	7.5
Employed full time, ≥ 36 hours	1,196,845	67.7	6,731,698	81.8
<i>Mothers</i>				
Not employed	1,036,443	50.9	3,677,972	35.2
Employed part time, 1–35 hours	607,036	29.8	4,785,366	45.8
Employed full time, ≥ 36 hours	393,297	19.3	1,981,251	19.0

Source: 2001 census commissioned table.

The overall levels of employment are higher among the parents of children in native-born families compared with the parents of children in immigrant families. This is particularly the case of full-time employment among fathers. Over four fifths of the children in native-born families live with fathers who are in full-time employment. This compares with only two thirds (67.7 per cent) among the children in immigrant families. The levels of unemployment are nearly twice as high among the fathers of children in immigrant families compared with the fathers of children in native-born families (19.0 and 10.7 per cent, respectively).

Across all families, fathers are much more likely than mothers to be in full-time employment. Although the share of mothers in full-time employment is virtually identical with respect to children in immigrant and native-born families (19.3 and 19.0 per cent, respectively), the mothers of children in native-born families are significantly more likely to be in part-time employment rather than unemployed. Half (50.9 per cent) of all mothers of children in immigrant families are not employed at all.

Although the fathers of children in immigrant families are less likely to be employed than the fathers in native-born families, the share of the fathers employed varies widely depending on region of origin (Table 21). Among children in immigrant families, the largest shares with fathers who are not employed are in families from Asia (25.7 per cent), Latin America and the Caribbean (19.8 per cent) and South Eastern Europe (39.4 per cent).

There are differences according to country of origin. For example, in immigrant families from Somalia, more than two thirds (68.7 per cent) of the children live in households in which the fathers are not employed, and only one child in five (20.2 per cent) lives with a father who is in full-time employment. Half (45.2 per cent) of the children in immigrant families from Bangladesh, a quarter (24.8 per cent) of the children in immigrant families from Jamaica and nearly a third (29.7 per cent) of the children in immigrant families from Pakistan live with fathers who are not employed. In contrast, 11.3 per cent of the children in immigrant families from India live with fathers who are not in employment.

Table 21: Children in Immigrant Families according to Employment Status of Fathers, United Kingdom, 2001

per cent of children

<i>Region of origin</i>	<i>Not employed</i>	<i>Part time, 1–35 hours</i>	<i>Full time ≥ 36 hours</i>
EU-15	11.2	8.4	80.4
EU-12	14.0	9.7	76.3
South Eastern Europe	39.4	10.8	49.8
Africa	16.8	11.8	71.4
Asia	25.7	17.9	56.4
Latin America and Caribbean	19.8	11.2	69.0
North America	8.1	8.2	83.7
Oceania	7.1	8.7	84.2

Source: 2001 census commissioned table.

There are likewise differences in the employment of fathers of children in native-born families by race-ethnic origin. White children are the most likely to be living in families in which the fathers are in full-time employment (83.4 per cent). In contrast, among the children in the Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups, only 43.4 and 56.5 per cent, respectively, live with fathers who work full time. Part-time employment rates are low among the fathers of the children in all ethnic minority groups, but they are higher among the fathers of children in families in the Bangladeshi and Pakistani ethnic groups. The unemployment rates among the fathers of children in native-born families are also higher among these groups. Native-born children of Bangladeshi origin are more than three times as likely as native-born White children to be living with fathers who are not employed.

Although the share of children in immigrant families in which the mothers are in full-time employment is similar to the corresponding share of children in native-born families, there are differences by region of origin. Children in immigrant families from Asia are much less likely to live with mothers who are in full-time employment and are much more likely than children in families from other regions to be living with mothers who are not in full- or part-time employment.

The share of children living in households in which at least one parent works full time and the share of children living in two-parent households in which both parents work full time are similar. However, there are differences according to the region of origin. Children in immigrant families from Asia and South Eastern Europe are less likely to live in households in which at least one parent is working (Table 22).

One child in five in immigrant families from Africa is living in households with two parents who are working full time. This compares with only 12.1 per cent of the children in families from Asia. Children in immigrant families from Bangladesh and Pakistan are far less likely than children in families from India to be living in households in which both parents are in employment.

Table 22: Children in Immigrant Families with One or Both Parents Working, United Kingdom, 2001

per cent of children

<i>Region of origin</i>	<i>At least one parent works full time</i>	<i>Both parents work full time</i>
EU-15	58.4	18.3
EU-12	56.7	17.6
South Eastern Europe	36.8	13.8
Africa	48.5	20.5
Asia	43.1	12.1
Latin America and Caribbean	45.9	21.5
North America	64.2	18.1
Oceania	64.8	17.9

Source: 2001 census commissioned table.

5.2.4 Family socioeconomic status: housing

Living conditions among immigrant families are central to the health and well-being of the children. Access to safe, affordable and appropriate accommodation is one of the prime concerns of all new immigrants and refugees and is a key factor in measuring successful inclusion (Phillips 2006). Housing conditions are important in creating a sense of security and belonging and have a bearing on health care and education outcomes and on opportunities for employment. Housing also situates immigrants in a neighbourhood that provides more or fewer opportunities for economic, social and political inclusion (Spencer 2006). The availability of housing has been a key driver behind the geographical dispersal of asylum seekers by the Government, and housing among immigrant families has significant implications in the public policy debates on the impacts of immigration and the cohesion of the communities in which immigrants and their children live.

The challenges experienced by immigrant families in relation to housing may not derive solely from the amount of time that has passed since the arrival of the families in the United Kingdom. Spencer (2006) notes that the challenges may also result from poverty and exclusion or racial discrimination. In other words, the challenges are not limited only to documented or undocumented status or to the immigration experience itself. It follows that strategies to promote the inclusion of immigrants must address the broader challenges, including factors related to socioeconomic class, gender, age and ethnicity.

The data and other research evidence on housing and living conditions among immigrant families are fragmented because these issues are not covered in nationwide surveys or administrative data sources on housing. The only available data derive from limited studies that usually focus on particular groups or localities (Phillips 2006).

In Europe, intercountry immigrants experience greater risk of exclusion in housing markets relative to native-born populations (European Commission 2005). Evidence on the United Kingdom suggests that many immigrants live in poor housing, although there is considerable variation across immigrant groups depending on socioeconomic status, household size, and cultural and social preferences.

Garvie (2001) has collated information from environmental health officers who inspected the private rental properties used to lodge asylum seekers in five local authorities over a three-month period. She found significant overcrowding (86 per cent), which often represents an unacceptable fire hazard, and determined that one property in six was unfit for habitation. There is evidence that hostel accommodation for asylum-seeking children is sometimes unsafe and inappropriate (Rutter 2003a). The housing for unaccompanied minors over 16 years of age has generally been found to be of poor quality (Stanley 2001b, Free 2005). In the early months and, sometimes, in the early years of residence, new immigrants may be obliged to move several times because they are living in accommodations provided on a temporary basis (for example, hostels), have signed short-term rental agreements, are relying on the shifting circumstances of friends or family members, or, in the case of people seeking asylum, experience changes in immigration status and thus the type of support available (Phillips 2006).

The evidence on housing among ethnic minority groups, which include many people in the first and second immigrant generations, is substantial (ODPM 2003). It appears that ethnic minority families are more likely to live in poor neighbourhoods characterized by overcrowding and low-quality housing and that they tend to pay a higher share of their incomes for housing (European Commission 2005). It seems likely that immigrant ethnic minority families and immigrant families with low incomes face additional hardships in these neighbourhoods. Garvie (2004) has found that, since 1997, homelessness has risen two times more rapidly among ethnic minority groups compared with the general population. Homelessness has increased by 77 per cent among Black and ethnic minority groups compared with 34 per cent overall. More than 30,000 Black and ethnic minority families were homeless during 2003/04.

There are differences across ethnic groups (ODPM 2003). The Housing Corporation (2008) has found that householders of Indian origin are more likely than other ethnic groups (including Whites) to be owners of their homes. Homeownership is also common among the Pakistani group, while few Black African and mixed race householders are homeowners. People in the Black African, Chinese and non-native-born White groups are more likely to rent private housing than people in other ethnic groups. The Housing Corporation (2008) suggests that this may be at least partly caused by the large number of recent immigrants in these groups. Only 13 and 10 per cent of the households in the Chinese and Indian groups, respectively, rent in social housing, compared with 19 per cent among all households. The Pakistani and mixed race (White and Asian) groups are underrepresented in social housing; the vast majority of these households are headed by homeowners or tenants in private housing. The Bangladeshi, Black African, Black Caribbean and mixed race groups, meanwhile, are more concentrated in social housing.

Although the Bangladeshi and Pakistani communities are often grouped together in studies on social issues, the Housing Corporation (2008) finds that the experiences of these communities in housing are different. Despite similar socioeconomic status, the share of homeowners among the Pakistani group is greater than the share among the Bangladeshi group. The difference may be at least partly a matter of history. The Pakistanis represent a more well established minority. They began to arrive in large numbers in the mid-1960s. Poor quality accommodation in the private rental sector, as well as widespread discrimination, encouraged

many early immigrants from Asia to purchase homes. The immigration of Bangladeshis did not peak until the 1980s, when it may have been easier for people with low incomes to rent social housing and more difficult for them to climb up the homeownership ladder.

There is also evidence that ethnic minority groups are disproportionately more likely to experience poor housing. These groups are seven times more likely than the White group to live in overcrowded conditions (Garvie 2004). Available data suggest that, relative to White groups, the Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups are disadvantaged (ODPM 2003). People in these ethnic groups are more likely than White people to live in overcrowded conditions (23 and 2 per cent, respectively, live in housing with one or more bedrooms below the standard number) and in poor housing conditions (35 and 14 per cent, respectively) and to experience poor living conditions (30 and 6 per cent, respectively). People of Bangladeshi origin are more likely to suffer from overcrowding; over half of the children in families of Bangladeshi origin live in overcrowded conditions. The disadvantages faced by the Bangladeshi group in housing have also been highlighted by Cameron (2000).

The overcrowding appears to be associated with large families and low household incomes. Large households and one-parent families are more common among some ethnic minority groups than among the native-born White population. Families in the Bangladeshi, Black African and Pakistani groups typically include more children. Overcrowding may also be related to multigenerational living arrangements, the shortage of large homes in social housing and group clustering in neighbourhoods in which overcrowding is more severe, such as in parts of London (ODPM 2003).

Ethnic minority groups are four times more likely than White groups to experience racist harassment in the neighbourhoods where they live. Research suggests that harassment associated with residence is widespread and may influence housing choices. Such problems have been highlighted among the Asian and Black Caribbean communities generally and among Black women and White women with Black children or children of mixed race. Researchers have criticized the lack of good practices among public officials and landlords in social housing in responding to racist harassment (Phillips 2006).

Our findings in relation to housing conditions among children in immigrant families support the general conclusions in the literature (Table 23). The 2001 census included questions about ownership or rental of accommodations among households. For the purposes of our analysis, family homeownership includes outright ownership, ownership with a mortgage or other loan, or part rental and part mortgage.

Data on homeownership among immigrant families closely match the data on homeownership among native-born families by ethnic origin. The shares of children who are in immigrant families and in native-born families that own their homes are 63.7 and 67.8 per cent, respectively. Children in immigrant families from Asia are more likely to live in homes owned by their families than are children in families from Africa (65.4 and 56.1 per cent, respectively). In Africa, the share among children in immigrant families from Somalia that own their homes is low, at only 6 per cent, while the share for Kenya is 82 per cent. These differences seem to reflect differences in the age of the immigration flows associated with these groups. Homeownership is rare among immigrants during the early stages of settlement,

though highly skilled migrant workers are an exception (Phillips 2006). The immigration flows from Somalia are generally more recent than the flows from Kenya. Moreover, most Somali immigrants have arrived as refugees and asylum seekers fleeing conflict. They have had few resources upon arrival and have often been unable to access the local labour market.

Table 23: Children in Immigrant Families according to Family Homeownership and Housing, United Kingdom, 2001

per cent of children

<i>Region of origin</i>	<i>Family-owned home</i>	<i>Overcrowded housing</i>
EU-15	67.9	11.9
EU-12	71.0	14.2
South Eastern Europe	37.9	31.3
Africa	56.1	31.4
Asia	65.4	32.4
Latin America and Caribbean	56.8	24.8
North America	63.8	6.6
Oceania	72.8	7.1

Source: 2001 census commissioned table.

More than four immigrant families in five from India (81.2 per cent) own their homes, compared with 70.2 per cent of the immigrant families from Pakistan and only 35.5 per cent of the families from Bangladesh. It seems likely that the share among families from South Eastern Europe is low because of the small numbers of immigrant children in this category. The highest level of homeownership is associated with immigrant families from Oceania.

According to the 2001 census data, a quarter (24.7 per cent) of all children in immigrant families are living in overcrowded housing. This compares with 10.2 per cent of children in native-born families. Children in immigrant families are therefore more than twice as likely to live in overcrowded housing. As with our other indicators, there are significant differences in levels of overcrowding among children according to region of origin (Table 23).

5.3 Educational attainment among children

It is widely accepted that education is an important mechanism for securing good social and economic outcomes among immigrant children (Spencer 2006). For children in refugee and asylum-seeking families, the structure and routine of school provide a sense of normalcy and are vital in promoting emotional, physical, educational and social development (Dennis 2002; Free 2003; Hek 2002, 2005a; McKenna 2005). The quality of early experiences in school is a key factor in determining how quickly and how well children are included socially (Rutter 2003a). Education is considered important by children and young people themselves (Kidane 2001a, Stanley 2001b, Hek 2005b).

Certain features of the education system frame the experience of immigrants in the United Kingdom (Warren 2006). The immigration status of students is largely absent in education policies, although, in 2006, the Government formed the New Arrivals Excellence Programme, which pledged £400,000 to supply guidance and training to educators on the best ways to include new national and international arrivals in their schools (DCSF 2007b). Students in immigrant families have otherwise been dealt with only as learners of English as

an additional language (EAL) or as ethnic minorities (Warren 2006, Reynolds 2008). This is reflected in a lack of reliable data on students by country of origin, date of entry in the education system, or immigration status in national surveys and administrative sources. Evidence must therefore be drawn from alternative sources, including proxy indicators and estimates by relevant agencies.

The literature on the educational experiences and outcomes among children in immigrant families is therefore focused, as elsewhere, primarily on ethnic minority children, which includes children in immigrant and native-born families. In addition, some research centres specifically on the educational experiences of children in refugee and asylum-seeking families (for example, see Hek 2005a).

5.3.1 Compulsory education

Formal preschool education provided by school-based nurseries is not currently compulsory or universally available. Access to other forms of preschool, while not differentiated by immigration status, is determined by the ability to pay.

Compulsory education (from 5 to 16 years of age) is supposed to be universal; access is not differentiated by immigration status. The duty to provide universal primary and secondary education arises from the Education Act 1996, which obliges local authorities to supply places in school for all children (Dennis 2002; Rutter 2002, 2003a; DCSF 2007a). Guidance by the Department for Children, Schools and Families and the Department of Health in 2000 stated that, within 20 school days of arrival, a child should have a school place (Dennis 2002). Nonetheless, there is some evidence that places in compulsory education are not always available for immigrant children, particularly children in asylum-seeking families. Dennis (2002) finds that slightly less than half of the children she has examined in her research were unable to obtain places in school. Hek (2005b) estimates that around 2,100 children in refugee or asylum-seeking families are not in school in London. School admission mid-cycle remains problematic, and there is evidence that schools are not always willing to admit new arrivals (Audit Commission 2000). Schools often also lack sufficient resources to provide additional support for older children (McKenna 2005).

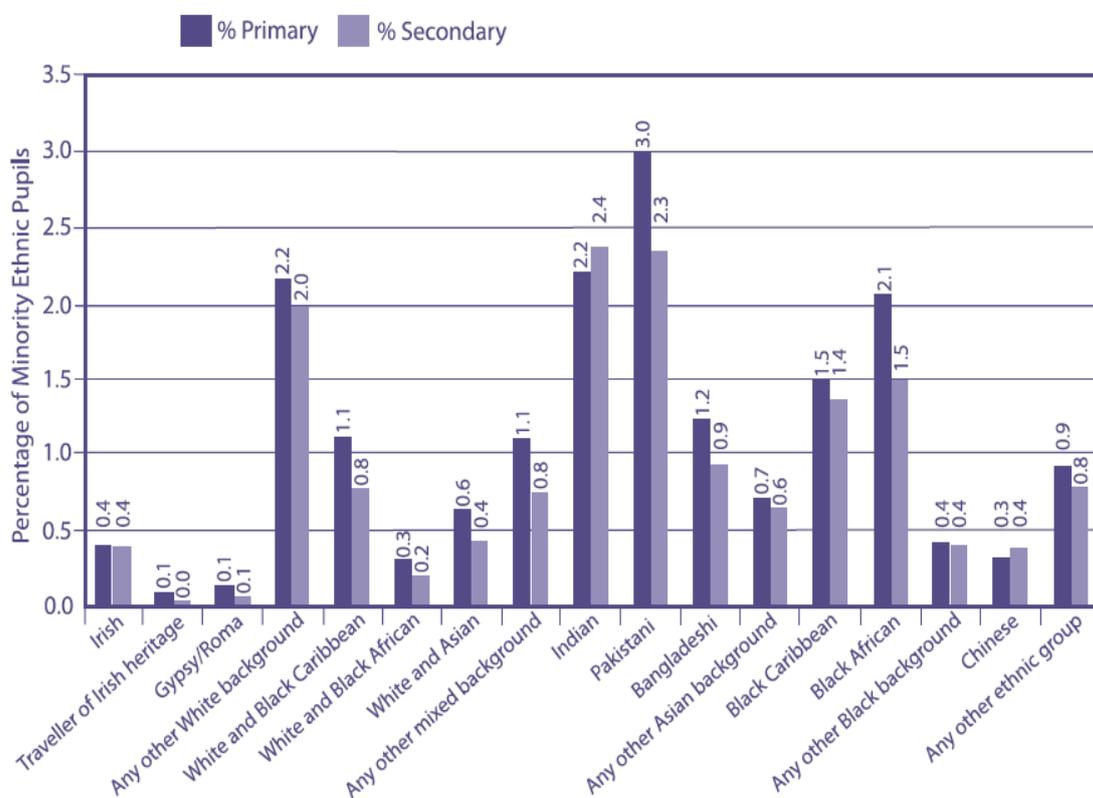
There is a widely held view – also propagated by the media – that children in immigrant families are overwhelming schools. Reynolds (2008) lists several recent newspaper headlines: ‘Scandal of Schools Swamped by Migrants’ (*Express*, 30 September 2006), ‘Schools Are Stretched to Breaking Point by Immigrant Children’ (*Daily Mail*, 31 May 2007), and ‘More Catholic Schools Needed to Cope with East European Influx’ (*Independent*, 22 June 2007). The actual number of such children in primary and secondary schools is unknown. This is because most schools do not record the immigration status of children; they are not required by law to do so.

One proxy measure for the number of children in immigrant families in schools is the number of EAL students, which certainly includes many children in immigrant families. In 2007, there were 789,790 EAL students in primary and secondary schools (DCSF 2007b). This is 12 per cent of the total school population. The number has grown significantly in recent years, and there is considerable variation in the numbers across schools. Most immigrant and

ethnic minority groups cluster in urban areas. Some schools thus have a higher proportion of EAL students than others. In 2007, the largest increases in the number of EAL students occurred in the North West, Yorkshire and the Humber, the East of England and Inner London and Outer London. Over 50 per cent of the students in Inner London are EAL students (DCSF 2007b).

Another proxy measure is the number of children in ethnic minority families. In 2004, 17 per cent of school students in England were considered members of an ethnic minority. The share was larger in primary schools than in secondary schools, 18 versus 15 per cent, respectively (Figure 4). Students in families of Bangladeshi and Indian origin were the largest groups.

Figure 4: Share of Ethnic Minority Students at Maintained Primary and Secondary Schools, England, 2004



Source: DCSF (2005a).

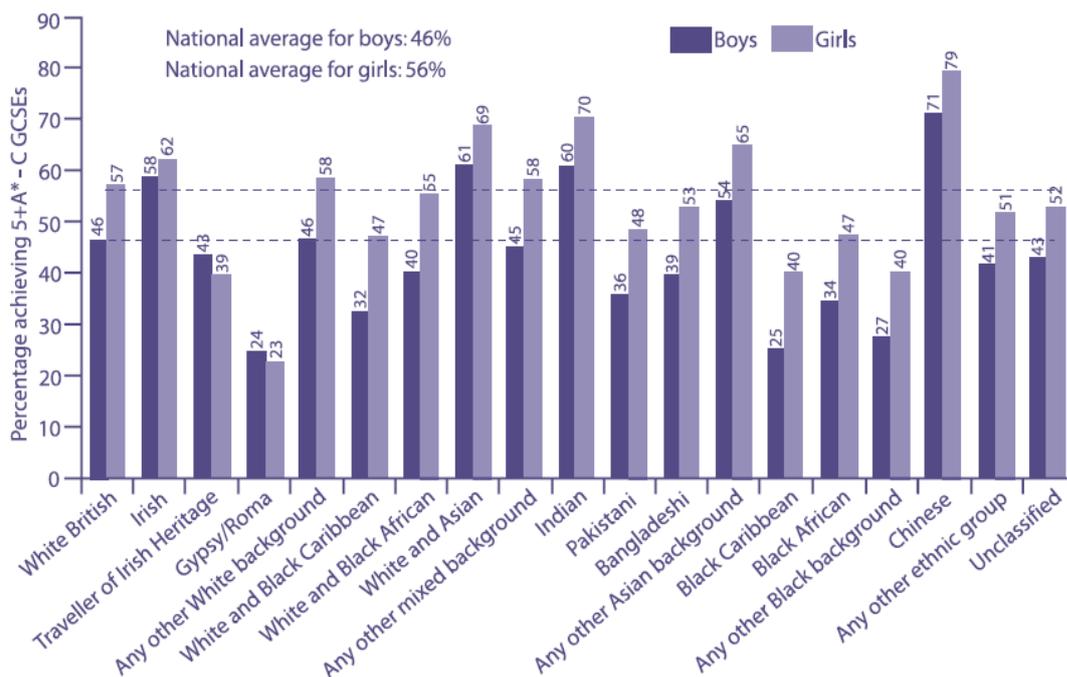
Note: Romany Gypsies and Irish Travellers = defined by law as racial groups and thereby protected by anti-discrimination legislation. These groups continue to be identified as separate ethnic groups in policy and practice, including in relation to the attainment of educational qualifications. Maintained = a maintained school is a school that is funded by a local education authority.

In most schools where there are children in immigrant families, there is a relatively high share of ethnic minority students, but, in many schools across the country, ethnic minority children account for only 4–6 per cent of the school population (Cline et al. 2002). Collicelli (2001) has found that, at some schools in which over 40 per cent of the students are in ethnic minority families, children in immigrant families are only 7.6 per cent of the school population. In around a third of the schools in England, more than 10 per cent of the students have immigrant backgrounds.

The relative lack of school success among children in some ethnic minority groups became a matter of concern during the 1980s and 1990s, reflecting similar concerns in the United States of America (Lindsay and Muijs 2006). Government committees set up to investigate confirmed the differential outcomes across minority groups. More recently, the Government has established a unit in the Department for Children, Schools and Families to monitor school achievement and provide ethnic minority achievement grants, valued at £155 million annually, to local authorities with large populations of minority students (Tomlinson 2005).

Data on educational attainment in 2003 show patterns of higher achievement among students in the Chinese and Indian groups compared with the national average and lower achievement among students in the Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean and Pakistani groups (Figure 5). EAL students had lower levels of educational attainment than students whose first language is English (DCSF 2005a). Recent studies by the Institute for Public Policy Research find that children in the Chinese, Iranian, Philippine and Sri Lankan ethnic groups outperform the national average, while children in the Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Somali and Turkish ethnic groups achieve below-average results (IPPR 2007b).

Figure 5: Share of Students Achieving National Educational Standard by Ethnic Group and Gender, United Kingdom, 2003



Source: DCSF (2005a).

Note: The dashed lines indicate the attainment of the White British group. GCSE = general certificate of secondary education, an academic qualification awarded in individual subjects to students aged 16–17 and available for pass grades A* (A-star) to E. 5+ A*-C = the achievement of five or more GCSEs (including in English and mathematics) with pass grades of A* (A-star) to C by students at the end of compulsory education. This is a key national indicator of the performance of students and schools. See also the note to Figure 4.

The educational underachievement of children in the Black Caribbean group has been well documented over the years (Gillborn and Gipps 1996, Roach and Sondhi 1997, Rhamie and Hallam 2002). This group has been consistently overrepresented in school exclusions, poor examination results, emotional and behavioural difficulties and communications (reports) on special educational need (Mirza 1992).⁵ The situation has changed little in recent years (Warren 2006). It has also become apparent that there are large gender-ethnicity interaction effects. For example, Bhattacharyya et al. (2003) report that relatively more girls than boys in the Black Caribbean group are achieving at a higher level. These figures are reflected in the latest youth cohort study. Black Caribbean students show the lowest levels of attainment of the general certificate of secondary education: 27 per cent of Black Caribbean boys and 44 per cent of Black Caribbean girls achieved five or more A*-C grades (see the note to Figure 5 for an explanation of the terms). Students in the Black African, other Black and mixed White and Black Caribbean groups show the next lowest attainment levels (DCSF 2005a).

Research on the educational achievements of children in immigrant families is limited to a study by Dustmann and Theodoropoulos (2006), who use data from the British labour force surveys in 1979–2005 to investigate the educational attainment and economic behaviour of ethnic minority immigrants and their children. They compare educational outcomes among children in native-born ethnic minority groups with outcomes among their parents and with equivalent groups of native-born Whites. They find that first-generation immigrants in ethnic minority groups and individuals in native-born ethnic minorities show higher average levels of educational attainment than comparable individuals in native-born White groups. In addition, the educational improvement relative to their parents is greater among most native-born ethnic minority groups than among native-born White groups. These findings with respect to ethnic minorities are in line with the evidence provided by Baker and Benjamin (1994) and Aydemir et al. (2006), who show that first-generation immigrants to Canada tend to be more educated than natives, but contrast with findings on the United States of America (Borjas 1993, Card 2005, Card et al. 2000) and on some European countries. Moreover, the results suggest that native-born ethnic minorities are, with the exception of Blacks of Caribbean origin, more likely to obtain higher educational qualifications than are their native-born White peers and that the general educational advantage of the former is substantial.

Overall, the message from the literature is that no simple explanation exists for the differential educational performance among children in ethnic minority and immigrant families (Demie 2001). Ethnic heritage does not presuppose underachievement. Some ethnic minority groups, such as the Chinese and Indian groups, show levels of attainment above the average among native-born Whites. Indeed, the research indicates that there is a wide range of explanatory factors. Thus, social class has been identified as one key determinant (Gillborn and Mirza 2000, McCallum and Demie 2001, Demack et al. 2002). There is evidence that poor educational performance may be linked to the larger share in the lower social classes represented by the parents in poorly performing ethnic minority groups relative to parents in immigrant families and parents in more well performing ethnic minority groups. Entorf and Minoiu (2005) find that, in some countries, including the United Kingdom, the socioeconomic background of immigrants is the key determinant of educational outcomes among children in immigrant families. It may be difficult for immigrant groups living

⁵ Exclusions: students may be excluded from certain school activities, while continuing to participate in others.

predominantly in socially and economically deprived areas to break out of cycles of underperformance (Bhattacharyya et al. 2003). The evidence is not clear, however. According to the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF 2005a), deprivation, as measured by the distribution of free school meals, does not account for all differences in educational attainment across ethnic groups.

Low levels of English language proficiency have also been identified as a potential explanatory factor (Milbourne 2002, McKenna 2005). There is clear evidence that, overall, EAL students reach lower levels of educational attainment than non-EAL students. EAL students often begin school in lower grades relative to non-EAL students, but appear to make greater subsequent progress so that they catch up to their peers. However, the performance of EAL learners still varies across ethnic groups. EAL students in the Chinese and Indian groups show higher levels of attainment than EAL learners in other ethnic groups, while students in the Bangladeshi and Black Caribbean groups do less well regardless of their EAL status.

Several studies have sought to explain the differences in educational attainment according to ethnic group and immigration status with reference to other variables (Warren 2006). Grosvenor (1997) argues that, historically, education has created and perpetuated the view that people in ethnic minorities are both alien and a social problem. To this day, a disproportionate number of young people in ethnic minority groups are excluded from schools (Bourne et al. 1994), and there are many examples of teachers ignoring and even perpetuating racist attitudes in schools (Parker et al. 1996, Hek 2005a). Gibson (1997) suggests that the attitudes of teachers towards students with ethnic minority backgrounds reflect the differences in educational achievement, particularly among Black boys. This conclusion is reinforced by evidence that a large share of students in ethnic minorities, including students in immigrant families with a White ethnic background, experience racism in schools (Cline et al. 2002, Dennis 2002, Hek 2005b).

Windrass and Nunes (2003) have explored the experiences of children from Montserrat, an overseas territory in the Caribbean, who moved to the United Kingdom following the eruption of a previously dormant volcano on the island in 1995. As the children settled into English schools, the pattern of underachievement observed among earlier West Indian immigrants started to repeat itself. Windrass and Nunes find that there were significant differences with respect to the norm in the style and methods of teaching that perhaps accounted for at least some of the underachievement. The authors suggest that schools and teachers require a better understanding of their students and that parents require a better understanding of schools and the education system.

Crozier (2005) has analysed parental accounts of the experiences of children of Black Caribbean and mixed race heritage in primary and secondary schools in two cities in the south of England. She argues that the downward spiral of underachievement does not start with the child, but that it is the pathological perception embedded in educational institutions with regard to Black or, in this case, Black Caribbean children that conspires against the educational success of the children. She proposes that, until institutional racism has been properly addressed, then educational policies to raise standards will have only a limited impact on the school experience of Black children.

Evidence indicates that, among some groups of children in immigrant families, immigration controls are responsible for disruptions in education (Dobson and Stillwell 2000, Hek 2005b). Marriot (2001) finds that access to education is not consistent in the city of Birmingham. Save the Children (2000) and Rutter (2001) find that the performance in school of boys in the groups from the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Somalia and children in the Roma group is especially poor. The detention of children during the implementation of immigration controls also clearly damages the academic and social development of the children (Crawley and Lester 2005).

5.3.2 Education among adolescents and young people

School-based education among adolescents aged 16 to 18 is free. However, access depends on the discretion of the head teacher or the local education authority, although decisions must comply with legislation on race relations (Dunkerley et al. 2006).

Reducing the share of 16- to 18-year-olds not in education, employment, or training is a government priority. Led by the Department for Children, Schools and Families, the target is a reduction by 2 percentage points by the end of 2010.

The results of a youth cohort study in England and Wales in 2004 indicate that 72 per cent of 16-year-olds were in full-time education, while the remainder were in employment (11 per cent), Government-supported training (9 per cent), out of work (6 per cent), or doing something else (3 per cent) (DCSF 2005b).⁶ There are large variations in the shares of young people considered not in education, employment, or training across ethnic groups. Only 2 per cent of 16-year-olds in the Indian group were not in education, training, or employment, compared with 10 per cent of the respondents in the Pakistani group and 14 per cent in the Bangladeshi group. White 16-year-olds are much less likely than 16-year-olds in other ethnic groups to participate in full-time education and more likely to be in employment or Government-supported training.

These findings are confirmed by the most recent youth cohort study, in 2007 (DCSF 2008). The data indicate that over four fifths of young people wished to continue in full-time education. The relevant share dropped below four fifths among only three subgroups: adolescent men, adolescents whose parents were employed in low-level occupations and adolescents whose parents were employed in lower supervisory positions. There were clear differences by ethnic origin (Table 24).

At least nine youth in ten in every ethnic minority group planned to continue in full-time education, compared with only slightly more than four fifths of White youth. The parents of young people in ethnic minority groups also showed a strong preference that their children continue in full-time education. Note that, in virtually every category of youth, the children exhibited a stronger preference in this regard than their parents.

⁶ The youth cohort study is a series of longitudinal surveys based on a sample of an academic-year group or cohort of young people in the spring following completion of compulsory education and usually again a year and two years later. The surveys look at young people's education and labour market experience, their training and qualifications and a range of other issues, including socio-demographic variables.

Table 24: Main Activity among 16-Year-Olds by Ethnic Origin, United Kingdom, 2007*per cent*

<i>Ethnic origin</i>	<i>Full-time education</i>	<i>Government training scheme</i>	<i>Employed with training</i>	<i>Employed without training</i>	<i>Other education, training</i>	<i>NEET^a</i>
White	69	8	6	5	3	8
Mixed	76	6	4	3	3	7
Indian	95	1	1	—	1	2
Pakistani	85	4	1	2	1	7
Bangladeshi	85	6	3	1	2	4
Other Asian	95	—	—	—	—	—
Black African	96	1	1	—	1	1
Black Caribbean	83	4	1	3	2	6
Other	90	2	—	—	—	—

Source: DCSF (2008).

Note: The table is based on a weighted sample. — = cells with fewer than five individuals are not recorded.

a. Not in education, employment, or training.

We have analysed 2001 census data specifically on education and employment among first-generation immigrant youth and young adults in two age groups: 15- to 17-year-olds and 18- to 24-year-olds. Our findings are consistent with the results of the youth cohort study.

Immigrant youth are more likely than their native-born counterparts to be in full-time education. In the 15–17 age group, immigrant youth are more likely than their native-born counterparts to stay in school rather than enter employment. This trend is even more evident among the 18–24 age group. Nearly half (48 per cent) of immigrant youth in the 18–24 age group are in school compared with 28.2 per cent of this age group who are native born (Table 25). The share of youth aged 18–24 in work is smaller among immigrants than it is among the native born: 34.1 and 55.6 per cent, respectively. A similar share of both immigrant and native-born youth in this age group are not in education or employment (17.9 and 16.2 per cent, respectively).

Gender differences are more evident among 18- to 24-year-olds. A slightly smaller share of young women 18 to 24 are in school, and rather more are not in school or work (Table 26).

Table 25: Adolescents and Young Adults 15–24 in School and Work, United Kingdom, 2001*per cent*

<i>Activity</i>	<i>15- to 17-year-olds</i>		<i>18- to 24-year-olds</i>	
	<i>First generation</i>	<i>Native born</i>	<i>First generation</i>	<i>Native born</i>
In school	90.4	85.0	48.0	28.2
Working	4.7	10.1	34.1	55.6
Not in school or working	4.4	4.9	17.9	16.2

Source: 2001 census commissioned table.

Table 26: Young Adults 18–24 in School and Work by Gender, United Kingdom, 2001*per cent*

<i>Activity</i>	<i>Young men</i>		<i>Young women</i>	
	<i>First generation</i>	<i>Native born</i>	<i>First generation</i>	<i>Native born</i>
In school	50.9	26.7	45.5	29.7
Working	36.4	59.4	32.2	51.8
Not in school or working	12.7	13.8	22.3	18.5

Source: 2001 census commissioned table.

5.3.3 Further education and higher education

Access to further or higher education at a college or university is differentiated by immigration status (Warren 2006). Before the law, people who have been granted refugee status are considered in the same way as other students, including for the purpose of the right to mandatory education maintenance grants and loans. Asylum seekers who have been granted exceptional leave to remain in the United Kingdom must fulfil a three-year residency requirement before becoming eligible for higher education grants or loans. They are regarded as overseas students for purposes of fees and awards for further and higher education, although they may be eligible to take part-time further education courses at reduced fees. There is evidence that asylum seekers generally face difficulty securing access to further and higher education, particularly if they live outside London (Stanley 2001b, Hek 2005b).

There has been a considerable increase in the number of home undergraduate students of all ages over the past decade; the overall growth is around 50 per cent (Gorard 2008). Much of this increase has been in courses of study for qualifications below degree level, including vocational foundation degrees, diplomas and professional certificates.

Young people in ethnic minorities are generally well represented in higher education (Gillborn and Gipps 1996). It is well established that ethnic minorities show relatively larger participation rates in higher and further education than the White majority (Rhamie and Hallam 2002, Broecke and Hamed 2008, Chowdry et al. 2008, Wakeling 2009). The share of students with known ethnicity who are non-White has increased slightly over the last decade. This is approximately in line with, but slightly ahead of an overall increase in reported ethnic minorities in the population (Gorard 2008). According to Wakeling (2009), undergraduate education is a qualified success in the inclusion of ethnic minorities. This contrasts with the experience in some countries, where minority populations, whether indigenous or more recently arrived, often face disadvantages in gaining access to higher education.

A range of factors appear to be behind the higher participation rates among ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom. In particular, the aspirations and expectations revolving around the value and benefits of higher qualifications are a more significant positive driver among ethnic minority students, especially in most Asian groups, than among White students. Positive parental and family influence also plays a greater role in encouraging higher education among ethnic minorities than among young White people.

However, ethnic minorities do not participate uniformly or achieve equal success in further and higher education. Thus, Shiner and Modood (2002) have found that the share of adults with a university degree in the Black African and Chinese groups is larger than average, while the share of adults with university degrees in the Black Caribbean group is smaller than average. Meanwhile, in applying to old universities, all ethnic minorities, with the exception of the Chinese group, face an ethnic penalty.⁷ However, young people with an ethnic minority background are also more likely to undertake study at university from home (Christie 2007). In addition, there is evidence that the poorer educational performance among secondary school students in the Bangladeshi group may continue beyond compulsory education. Modood and Shiner (1994) note that, while most ethnic minority groups are overrepresented relative to population size in admissions to university and polytechnic institutions, the Bangladeshi group, especially women, are underrepresented. Certainly, it is possible that students in the Bangladeshi group, particularly girls, show lower educational attainment rates because of distinctive features of their culture, religion and language. Dale et al. (2000) have found that girls in the Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups who wish to continue in education encounter more complex problems than boys; among the girls, there is a special obligation to avoid jeopardizing family honour.

Although the participation rates in higher and further education are greater among ethnic minorities than among White students, recent studies suggest that academic attainment rates among ethnic minority graduates at institutions of higher education are lower than the rates among White graduates (Richardson 2008).

5.4 Youth and the labour market

There is a paucity of research on employment opportunities and specific employment outcomes among children and young people in immigrant families (Card 2005, Dustmann and Theodoropoulos 2006). There is strong evidence, however, that ethnic minority graduates do less well in the labour market, initially at least, than White graduates. It appears that, despite their achievements in higher and further education, ethnic minorities face discrimination in the labour market. Some ethnic minority groups experience unemployment rates that are three times higher than the rates among the White population (Dustmann and Theodoropoulos 2006, ONS 2006a). Thus, educational advantage does not necessarily translate into better long-term economic outcomes.

Youth unemployment is a problem in the United Kingdom, as in some other European countries. In 1997, the youth unemployment rate was twice the rate among adults (Chatrik 1997). Young people in the Black Caribbean group showed the highest rate, followed by young people in the Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups. Apart from young people in the Indian group, young men were more likely than young women to be unemployed. Young Black people were less likely than young White people to be involved in training schemes.

Although government efforts over the past decade to reduce unemployment among young people of all backgrounds appear to have had some effect, there is evidence that

⁷ Old universities are institutions that were universities before 1992, when all former polytechnic institutions became universities.

unemployment rates are higher among 18- to 24-year-olds than among older age groups and that particular issues confront the 16–17 age group, nearly one in four of whom is not in education, employment, or training. Young people account for a growing share of the total unemployed. In the three months to September 2005, 42 per cent of the unemployed were under 25 years old, compared with 31 per cent in 1992 (ONS 2006b). In the three months to September 2005, the unemployment rate among the 16–17 age group was 22.4 per cent, compared with rates of 10.9 per cent among the 18–24 age group, 3.4 per cent among people aged 25–49, and 2.9 per cent among people aged 50 or older.

There is also some research on employment outcomes among refugee children. Nandy (2004) explores the key barriers that young refugees aged 16–25 face when they seek to gain access to and advance in the labour market. She finds that, while many young people are confronted by barriers to employment because of poor qualifications and lack of work experience, young refugees are confronted by even more difficulties, including disruptions in education caused by refugee status, the impact of the asylum system and lack of guidance or support. It seems likely that some of these factors are also relevant in determining employment opportunities and outcomes among children and young people in other immigrant categories.

5.5 Children and health

5.5.1 Physical health

Good health has an impact on the inclusion of immigrants in employment and the community. The evidence on health outcomes among immigrants is limited, however, and relatively little attention has been paid to assessing health among the diverse immigrant groups (Johnson 2006, Sellen and Tedstone 2000). There is no readily accessible data source on the health of new immigrants and refugees, nor is there any direct authoritative perspective on epidemiological, personal, public, or occupational health issues among these groups. Even in specific areas of health, such as people with physical disabilities or impairments or health conditions such as tuberculosis or HIV/AIDS, it is almost impossible to establish reliable estimates of the relative risks among various groups defined in terms of ethnic origin, citizenship status, or length of residence in the country. As a result, “the focus has tended to be on a poorly described and confused overlapping cohort of asylum seekers, refugees and other migrants of similar ethnic or cultural background, without care being taken to establish their precise status or the impact that this may have on their health or health care access” (Johnson 2006: 67).

According to Johnson (2006), in so far as there is any consensus, it is generally agreed that recently arrived asylum seekers and economic migrants at all skill levels show fair to good health compared with the populations in their countries of origin and with the minority populations already resident in the United Kingdom. Evidence on immigrant populations indicates lower levels of tobacco and alcohol consumption and greater reliance on vegetarian diets that are also likely to promote the lower incidence of certain diseases such as cancer. However, it is also clear that the health of immigrants sometimes deteriorates after their arrival in the country, partly because of changes in living conditions, especially eating habits, and partly because of difficulties in access to health care services (Spencer and Cooper 2006).

Research on the health of immigrant or ethnic minority children is sparse (Smaje 1995). However, a number of studies have explored the effects of changes in diet on the health and well-being of children in immigrant families. Parsons et al. (1999) have looked at the diets of first- and second-generation Pakistanis and find that iron deficiency anaemia is common and that, compared with the White population, children in immigrant families from Pakistan are less likely to eat fresh fruit and vegetables. People in the Indian community have been found to be at higher risk of heart disease (Bhatnager et al. 1995). Sharma et al. (1999) have examined the diets of Blacks of Caribbean origin in Manchester according to immigrant status and find that the native born in this group no longer rely so heavily on the traditional Caribbean diet. Energy intake is higher among the native born relative to the first generation, and 13 per cent of the nutrient intake among the native born is saturated fat, compared with only 11 per cent among the Caribbean-born generation. The native born also eat less fruit and green vegetables than the first generation. Jamal (1998) has identified shifts in the food consumption experiences among British-Pakistanis in the city of Bradford. Sheikh and Thomas (1994) conclude that a third culture has evolved based on a combination of UK and Asian customs and that food preparation and food consumption are the most stable elements transmitted from first- to second- and third-generation Asians.

Immigration is known to be associated with poor health outcomes among certain immigrant groups (Warfa et al. 2006). Negative outcomes in the physical and psychological health of first- and second-generation Irish immigrants are well documented (Foster 2003). Some studies illustrate the complex mix of social and cultural factors that influence health outcomes among immigrant populations. For example, Scanlon et al. (2006) suggest that the historical, cultural, social and economic conditions among Irish immigrants before they left Ireland and after they arrived in the United Kingdom have had an impact on the ways in which this group deals with cancer and the threat of cancer. In particular, recollections of negative family experiences with cancer, linked to the stigma and secrecy associated with disease and the poor outcomes and medical practices in rural Ireland, especially among the older Irish, have influenced the understanding among the Irish of cancer and of help-seeking behaviours. The second generation seems often to have retained some of the beliefs that were common among first-generation immigrants.

A body of literature exists on the health and well-being of refugee and asylum-seeking children. According to this literature, the health needs of children are complex and are generally similar to the health needs of adult refugees. Among the factors affecting the health of refugee children and young people are poverty (including poor housing), lack of access to health care before leaving the country of origin, difficulty in gaining access to health services in the United Kingdom, lack of interpreters, bullying, racism, and a lack of understanding or recognition among caregivers of the needs of refugees with disabilities. A strong link has been found between physical and emotional health (Burnett and Peel 2001, Gosling 2000).

Although refugees and asylum seekers have full access to most health care services, studies find that they sometimes have more health needs than native-born individuals (Dennis 2002, Rutter 2003a, ILPA 1998). Certain health care problems are more commonly associated with refugees, including communicable diseases, female genital mutilation, psychosocial issues and nutritional deficiencies (Rutter 2003a). Conway (2006) has explored cases of children with insecure immigration status who are dealing with HIV. She finds that HIV complicates

an already difficult situation among the families. Communication among the agencies that are in contact with HIV-affected immigrants is poor. A main worry among the families and the children is the risk they might be obliged to return to their country of origin to die or watch their children die. Asylum seekers held in detention centres have additional health needs. McLeish et al. (2002) find that babies held with their mothers in immigration detention centres are often not provided with appropriate health care, including immunizations and regular health monitoring. There have also been recent government efforts to prevent access to primary health care among people whose immigrant status is irregular or undocumented.

Children who arrive as separated asylum seekers are especially vulnerable. Among such young people whom Dennis (2002) surveyed, many were not registered with a general practitioner. Rutter (2003a) finds that many refugee families and unaccompanied minors face difficulties in gaining access to health services; the reasons include a lack of English fluency and a lack of knowledge about the system and the range of services provided.

Much of the research on the health needs of refugee and asylum-seeking children is critical of policy and practice. Sellen and Tedstone (2000) find that the Government's immigration policies work against the satisfaction of the special health needs of refugee children. They note that, while the Government has tried to cut costs and reduce the burden on local authorities by excluding and deterring immigrants, health practitioners have been struggling to address the particular needs of refugee children arising from the poverty, stress, deprivation and limited health care access they face. Mather and Kerac (2002) propose that social workers, doctors, teachers and other professionals should be more sensitive to the requirements of children in immigrant groups to ensure that their needs are identified.

5.5.2 Mental health and well-being

A large body of literature explores mental health and well-being among immigrant and ethnic minority communities (Claassen et al. 2005). Much of this research does not distinguish populations on the basis of immigration status or length of residence in the United Kingdom, and the terms 'ethnic minority' and 'immigrant' are sometimes used interchangeably.

Although the findings are often contradictory because of the variations in outcomes among ethnic groups, general population community studies indicate that adults with Black Caribbean backgrounds report a rate of psychotic symptoms that is twice the rate among White adults (Atzaba-Poria et al. 2004, Harrison et al. 1996, King et al. 2005). The largest study to date has found that Blacks of Caribbean origin experience a risk of schizophrenia that is nine times the risk among Whites (Pinto et al. 2008). This rate also appears to be higher than the rate among first-generation immigrants from the Caribbean (Harrison et al. 1988, Arai and Harding 2004). This and other health problems are reflected in a higher rate of hospital admissions among individuals with Black African and Black Caribbean backgrounds (Chowdhury et al. 2005, Claassen et al. 2005).

The causes of the higher rates of schizophrenia among Blacks of Caribbean origin are the subject of debate. Pinto et al. (2008) notes that, when first reported, these findings were assumed to be a first-generation immigrant effect or merely the result of methodological artefacts associated with inconsistencies in the diagnosis of schizophrenia among Blacks of

Caribbean origin and doubts about population denominators. Recent research suggests that severe socioeconomic deprivation, especially higher unemployment, among the Black Caribbean population in London relative to their counterparts in the Caribbean is an explanatory factor. Most researchers agree that features of the lives of these individuals in the United Kingdom may trigger psychotic disorders. The poor educational attainment among children in the Black Caribbean group, family disruptions, persistent disadvantage, downward social mobility over the life course, residence in deprived neighbourhoods and racism are some of the underlying factors that might affect an individual's ability to withstand stress-related morbidity and mental illness (Gillborn and Mirza 2000, Harding 2003). Studies on the impact of immigration on identity, the sense of belonging, family life and the disparity between expectations and achievements reveal an intriguing web of connections and discontinuities between native-born Blacks of Caribbean origin and their immigrant mothers and fathers (Byron 1999). It is likely that these factors play a role in shaping processes that may influence generational shifts in health behaviours and health status among people in the Black Caribbean group.

Studies on mental health in immigrant communities have found gaps in health service quality and access among adults in ethnic minority groups (Cole et al. 1995, Bhui 1997, Bhui and Olajide 1999, Fernando 2002). Walker (2002) finds that the religious and spiritual aspects of culture tend to be ignored in European models of mental health and that institutional racism, the failure of welfare services to listen and respond, belief in stereotypes about Black families and barriers to access all inhibit the equal opportunity for care among ethnic minority children with mental health problems. Steps to improve responses to the mental health needs of children in immigrant families that have been proposed include more collaboration among schools, health services and community child mental health teams and greater integration and better planning among mental health services, social services and education authorities (Fazel and Stein 2003, Leavey et al. 2004). Atzaba-Poria et al. (2004) highlight the importance of parenting and social support in helping ethnic minority children to adjust.

Few studies examine mental health among children in immigrant and ethnic minority families (Pawliuk et al. 1996, Fuligni 1998, Atzaba-Poria et al. 2004). The available research focuses primarily on issues of stress among the children and their parents. Stansfield et al. (2004) find that the levels of depression among ethnic minorities are similar to the levels in data across the population, though there is some variation among ethnic groups. Thus, young people in the Bangladeshi group, although socially disadvantaged, are at lower risk of experiencing psychological distress, while non-native-born White girls show a higher incidence of symptoms of depression than White girls in native-born families. The Evelyn Oldfield Unit (2001) highlights intergenerational conflict as a source of stress and suggests that it may be more common among refugee and immigrant families than among native-born White families because of the cultural factors implicit in westernization. Language also seems to be a key variable associated with levels of mental well-being (Leavey et al. 2004).

The exception to the dearth of research occurs in relation to refugees and asylum seekers. A steady finding of the studies in this area is the regular incidence of depression. For example, two thirds of the refugees covered in a survey by the Health Education Authority's Expert Working Group on Refugee Health had experienced depression or anxiety (ILPA 1998).

There are at least 50,000 refugee children and adolescents in the United Kingdom. They live mainly in London. Evidence indicates that these people are exposed to significant disruption and violence (Hodes 2000, Hodes and Howard 2000). Although there is limited knowledge about the long-term mental health of these young people and few comparisons among outcomes across groups, the average level of mental health problems among refugee and asylum-seeking children is generally thought to be high (Johnson 2006, Walker 1993, Hodes 2000, Hodes and Howard 2000, Fazel and Stein 2003, Save the Children 2003, Leavey et al. 2004, Hodes and Tolmac 2005). Common problems include depression, post-traumatic stress disorder and anxiety. Hodes (2000) finds that up to 40 per cent of refugee children may have psychiatric disorders. Hodes and Tolmac (2005) indicate that refugee children experience significant social impairment and are psychiatrically heterogeneous with respect to the causes of problems, including high levels of exposure to violence, personal loss and isolation.

There is some evidence that the mental health of refugee and asylum-seeking children is also weakened by the living conditions of these children in the United Kingdom. Dennis (2002) has found that unhappiness and distress among young asylum seekers are caused by the lack of access to money for leisure activities and transportation (most provisions are obtained using vouchers), leading to exclusion from contact with peers. Another common cause of distress is the lack of English language skills (Free 2005, McKenna 2005). Around a third of the children surveyed by Dennis (2002) were worried about being returned home when they reached the age of 18. Other concerns included changes in support services, dispersal to other locations and difficulties in proving age. Unaccompanied asylum seekers over the age of 16 experience particular difficulties because they are often ineligible for the services and support normally available to children leaving care (Stanley 2001b). When they reach 18, many separated young people experience difficulties because they are transferred to support services for adults at this age (Stanley 2001b, Free 2003).

Ajdukovic and Ajdukovic (1993) found that the psychological well-being of refugee children is strongly influenced by the well-being of the mothers. Their interviews with 183 mothers in refugee families indicated that there is a considerable range of stress-related reactions among displaced children, including sleeping and eating disorders, fears of separation, and withdrawal or aggression. The children exhibited a significantly higher incidence of stress reactions if their mothers had difficulty coping with the stresses of immigration.

The substantial mental health needs of refugee and asylum-seeking children affect the provision of mental health services. Severe social impairment among refugees is often internalized and may thus be overlooked by social workers (Hodes and Tolmac 2005). There is evidence that these children have access to only limited clinical services (Evelyn Oldfield Unit 2001, Fazel and Stein 2003). Save the Children (2003) highlights the disadvantages among 16- and 17-year-old separated refugees in gaining access to support and services.

5.6 Children and poverty

Between 1979 and 1997, the incidence of child poverty rose threefold in the United Kingdom. One child in three now grows up in poverty, the highest rate in Europe (Phung 2008). There is evidence that child poverty is more common among children in immigrant families than among children in native-born families. According to Heath and Cheung

(2006), higher unemployment rates and lower employment rates and wage levels among ethnic minority populations, as well as the ethnic penalty, underpin much of the difference in child poverty among ethnic groups relative to Whites. Government figures show that children with ethnic minority backgrounds are more likely to live in low-income households than are White children; the respective shares are 38 and 18 per cent (DCSF 2005a).

There are variations in child poverty by ethnic group. Poverty rates are especially high among children in the Bangladeshi group (72 per cent), the Black African group (56 per cent) and the Pakistani group (60 per cent), compared with the rate among White children (25 per cent). A government report on ethnic minorities in the labour market shows that the Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean and Pakistani groups experience significantly higher average unemployment rates and lower earnings than Whites. The same disadvantage exists in household incomes. While a quarter of White households have incomes at or below the national average, the corresponding share among the Bangladeshi group is four fifths (Cabinet Office 2003). The links between disadvantage and immigration are clear in London, where 51 per cent of workless households with children are headed by first-generation immigrants (Spence 2005).

There is an association between ethnicity and a range of factors known to contribute to poverty among children, including large household size, the ethnic penalty linked with the labour market and other forms of discrimination. Indeed, Platt (2007a, 2007b) suggests that it is important to consider employment and income at the household level, but also other household characteristics the incidence of which may vary by ethnic group, including, for example, the number of dependants and the number of sick and disabled in households with children and the extent to which older children remain in post-compulsory education. Farrant and Sriskandarajah (2006) point out that households in the Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani groups tend to have higher fertility rates and thus larger families. This means that nearly a third of the families in the Bangladeshi group have three or more children, compared with only about a fifth (18 per cent) of White families. In 2002, a third of all children in the United Kingdom were living in families with three or more children, but half of all children in poverty were in these larger families. Farrant and Sriskandarajah (2006) hold that an important issue may be an apparent bias in the child support system towards the first child in a family and towards smaller families.

There is evidence that poverty is being used as a tool of immigration control, especially in relation to asylum-seeking children and their families. The National Audit Office estimates that at least 283,5000 refused asylum seekers are not allowed to work or claim benefits (NAO 2005). It seems reasonable to assume that a large share of these people have children. Clarke and Nandy (2008) find that asylum-seeking families sometimes become destitute – defined as a lack of regular access to food, medicine and a place to live – and that the children in these families experience homelessness, overcrowded housing and hunger. Other research has identified problems in food security among recently arrived asylum-seeking families. Sellen et al. (2002) conducted research using questionnaires among 30 households in East London that had been in the country for less than two years and had under-5-year-olds. They found that all the households were food insecure and that 60 per cent of the children were experiencing hunger. The rate of child hunger was significantly associated with recent arrival and marginally associated with the receipt of fewer benefits and the younger age of parents.

5.7 Social inclusion and cultural adaptation

5.7.1 Multiculturalism and other approaches to social inclusion

In the summer of 2001, there were urban disturbances in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham, three towns in the north of England with a long history of immigration and ethnic diversity. The disturbances involved large numbers of people with different cultural backgrounds and resulted in the destruction of property and attacks on the police. They served to focus political and policy attention on the social and spatial segregation of ethnic minorities. A report into the causes of the disturbances concluded that people in various segments of the population were not mixing and were leading parallel lives (Home Office 2002). The disturbances were portrayed as inevitable and as symptomatic of deeper problems across the towns and cities of the United Kingdom. Expanding on this theme in September 2005, Trevor Phillips, then chair of the Commission for Racial Equality, suggested that the United Kingdom was sleepwalking towards segregation. He claimed that society was becoming more segregated along lines evident in the United States of America and linked this tendency directly with the terrorist attacks that had occurred in London earlier that year. These debates represent a discursive shift towards the social cohesion and integration of immigrants (Rutter, Cooley et al. 2008).

The evidence on social inclusion and the experiences of the children in immigrant families is limited primarily to the areas of language and the difficulties faced by particular groups, most notably, children in refugee and asylum-seeking families. There is also some interest in the relationship between the values and aspirations of these children and those of their families, especially the parents.

In the United Kingdom, as elsewhere, language plays a key role in the process of social inclusion, enabling people to communicate and adapt to the society in which they have settled. Communication skills in English can enable children in immigrant families to take part in school, make new friends and understand the society in which they are living. Conversely, language and cultural differences may leave many parents feeling unable to communicate with teachers and other authorities concerning their children (Milbourne 2002).

The difficulties that refugees and asylum seekers experience raise concerns about the way immigration policies may undermine the long-term social and economic inclusion of individuals and communities and, indeed, may lead to stigma and social ostracism. For example, a recent report published by Barnardo's suggests that children in refugee and asylum-seeking families are extremely marginalized partially because, while the refugee and asylum claims of their parents are being addressed, many of the needs of the children are ignored (Reacroft 2008). The marginalization is especially associated with unaccompanied asylum-seeking children between the ages of 16 and 19 (Hewett et al. 2005, Dunkerley et al. 2006). These young people are not guaranteed a place in education and are not allowed to work. Many find social interaction difficult in the absence of school or work.

For children in immigrant families who are living with their parents or other relatives, the role of the family is significant in the process of social inclusion and cultural adaptation. The family is an important source of continuity. Zontini (2007) explores the transmission and transformation of values and norms across generations in immigrant families from Italy. She

concludes that reciprocal intergenerational bonds are strong and that children provide care for their ageing parents, while also benefiting from the support of the parents. Khanum (2001) suggests that many immigrant families from Bangladesh maintain links with that country partly because of racism in the United Kingdom. Much of the relevant literature suggests that there are benefits for refugee children and young people who maintain links with their own communities in terms of building a sense of identity, self-esteem and confidence and combating feelings of isolation (Kidane 2001b, Stanley 2001a).

The ways in which children in immigrant families deal with the multiple elements of identity is a theme in the literature. Rassool (1999) carried out a survey of young people in the first or second generation of immigrant families in secondary schools in England. All the participants expressed positive feelings about their cultures of origin and had drawn on these cultures and their communities and families for support. Despite their fears, they were focused on becoming members in good standing of the society of settlement. They felt they belonged in the United Kingdom and wanted to participate as citizens. Children with Indian backgrounds appear to be well adjusted to life in the United Kingdom, although they show a greater tendency to internalize problems relative to the White population (Atzaba-Poria et al. 2004, Atzaba-Poria and Pike 2005). Sporton and Valentine (2007) have found that young people in the Somali community are often wary of being considered British. They link the term to the White population and believe it is symbolic of their loss of attachment with their country of origin. For these young people, Muslim is the most important element of their identities. Despite this sort of evidence, many young people in immigrant families have little direct recollection of their country of origin; they obtain the information from their families and communities.

Intrafamily, gender and intergenerational differences sometimes lead to conflict between parents and their children (Eldering and Knorth 1998, Rassool 1999, Hek 2002, Atzaba-Poria et al. 2004, Sporton and Valentine 2007). Going out with friends, dating and wearing makeup and jewellery lead to conflict, particularly if the traditions in the culture of origin are strict about contact between the sexes. Leisure activities may therefore be a source of conflict with parents for boys and girls.

Griffiths et al. (2008) present data on the sexual health perspectives of young people and their mothers in native-born Bangladeshi families. The mothers expressed concern about pre-marital sex among the children, but felt they were unable to control the behaviour of their children outside the home. Feelings of isolation, lack of control and difficulties in communication were key issues for them. The young people had varied perspectives on pre-marital sex. Some experienced emotional conflict over the expectations of their parents and families in terms of their faith and their engagement in outside relationships.

Some refugee children may experience their parents quite differently upon arrival in the United Kingdom, and the adjustment to the new roles affects family relationships. Parents in refugee families may be depressed or frustrated because of the experience of immigration, the lack of work, their diminished status and the loss of social networks. Parents and other carers in immigrant families more generally may suffer anxiety because of the difficulties of their lives in the new country (Hek 2002).

5.7.2 Racism and attitudes to immigration

The Race Relations Amendment Act 2000 places a duty on local authorities to promote race equality. However, there is evidence of increasingly negative public attitudes towards asylum and immigration issues (Crawley 2005). This evidence includes ad hoc opinion polls such as the British social attitudes survey, European surveys such as the Eurobarometer and the European social survey, and international surveys such as the International Social Survey Programme. Saggat and Drean (2001) summarize opinion polls on asylum, immigration and race issues undertaken during the late 1990s and conclude that a significant share of the population show intolerant attitudes towards immigrants and ethnic minorities.

Young people also often hold intolerant attitudes towards ethnic minorities and immigrants. A study on tolerance found that a large share of young people disliked members of other ethnic groups (Lemos 2005). Young native-born Whites said they considered Afghans, Asians, Iraqis, Muslims, refugees and asylum seekers as potential terrorists. Others thought young native-born Whites received preferential treatment. Some young people felt that Black and other ethnic minority communities had no right to stay even if these people had been born in the United Kingdom. Black Caribbean young people are still associated with crime. Tomlinson (2005) argues that, in a multi-ethnic society, one of the most serious omissions of government is the failure to encourage curriculum policies to combat cultural ignorance, ethnocentric attitudes and racism.

There has been a rise in racist incidents reported to the police (Home Office 2006b). Most incidents are not reported, however. Estimates place the number of racially motivated incidents in 2002/03 at 206,000 (Salisbury and Upson 2004) although this number fell to 179,000 in 2004/05 (Jansson 2006). Studies have found that a third or more of young people in asylum-seeking families have experienced some form of racism or harassment (Parker et al. 1996, Stanley 2001a, Hewett et al. 2005, Lemos 2005, Dunkerley et al. 2006). Racist incidents occur mainly outside London, and the incidents range from name calling to attacks on homes and people (Dennis 2002). Children in immigrant families feel that harassment is fuelled by the media (Walker 1993, Hewett et al. 2005).

Associated with changing patterns in immigration since the early 1990s and the Government's policy of managed migration, new forms of inequality, prejudice and racism are emerging, including (1) racism among native-born individuals targeted against newcomers, such as Eastern Europeans, Kosovars, Roma, Somalis and so on, some of whom may be referred to using constructed categories of otherness, such as 'Gypsies' or 'bogus asylum seekers'; (2) racism among long-standing ethnic minorities against newcomers either broadly or in specific groups; and (3) racism among newcomers directed against native-born ethnic minorities. According to Vertovec (2006), the new patterns in immigration and the emergence of super diversity have also stimulated new definitions of whiteness that include some groups of newcomers.

5.8 Youth and deviant behaviour

In the United Kingdom, information documenting criminal behaviour and the justice system is collected and analysed according to ethnicity, not immigration status. Making specific

affirmations about the involvement of immigrants or children in immigrant families in criminal activity is therefore difficult, although inferences may be drawn on the basis of ethnicity. Similarly, the status of crime victims is recorded by ethnicity rather than immigration status.

A study by the Home Office in the late 1990s found that Black people were six times more likely than White people to be stopped and searched by law enforcement authorities and that Black people were more likely to be arrested than White people or people in other ethnic groups (Home Office 1999). The study also found that 18 per cent of the men who were incarcerated had ethnic minority backgrounds – such men accounted for only 6 per cent of the overall population of the country – and that people in ethnic minority groups were more likely to have charges brought by the police terminated early, that is, dropped or withdrawn, presumably because of a lack of evidence. Ethnic minorities were, moreover, underrepresented in the police force and other branches of the criminal justice system.

A more recent study by the Home Office finds that Black people are six times more likely to be stopped and searched, while people of Asian origin are two times more likely to be stopped than White people (Home Office 2006b). Black people continue to be overrepresented in the prison population, reflecting in part the longer average sentences imposed upon these people.

The British crime survey is a large household survey in England and Wales on people's contact with crime and criminal behaviour over the previous 12 months and their attitudes to issues related to crime. In 2001/02 and 2002/03, as during some previous sweeps of the survey, an extra sample of people with Black or other ethnic minority backgrounds were interviewed (Salisbury and Upson 2004). The survey found that people with Black or other ethnic minority backgrounds were at greater risk than the White majority of experiencing crime. People of mixed race were at greater risk than all other groups. Almost half (46 per cent) of adults of mixed race in the sample had been crime victims during the previous 12 months. This compared with 30 per cent among people of Asian origin. The findings of the survey sweep in 2004/05 were similar (Jansson 2006).

Research on the nature and extent of drug use is focused on people in the South Asian group rather than Blacks or other ethnic minority groups (Fountain et al. 2003). This is most likely a reflection of the larger population of immigrant families from Asia in the United Kingdom. The information on drug and alcohol use and abuse among children and young people in immigrant families is limited. The evidence suggests that young people in ethnic minority communities use drugs for the same reasons as White youth: curiosity, boredom, peer influence and recreation. In some cases, the desire to fit in with the native-born White community may be an additional explanatory factor (Patel et al. 2004).

Patel et al. (2004) have found that a similar range of substances are used among immigrant groups and native-born Whites. The use of *bhang* (a preparation of cannabis), *khat* (a flowering plant) and *pann* (a mushroom) is generally limited to certain ethnic communities, the last especially among older people. Gosling (2000) interviewed young people and professionals about drug and alcohol use. The young people in the study felt that these substances were unhealthy, and no one admitted to drug or alcohol use. However, the

interviews with the professionals highlighted that people in the Somali group chewed khat leaves (the effect is similar to that of amphetamines). Injecting drugs are used less frequently among immigrant groups relative to the White population (Patel et al. 2004).

Alcohol abuse is associated with particular immigrant communities. Foster (2003) finds that the use of alcohol among older people in the Irish community often becomes more abusive as a result of the immigration experience; this phenomenon is not restricted to the United Kingdom. Rao (2006) notes that, in the United Kingdom, several ethnic minorities show especially excessive levels of alcohol consumption and a greater incidence of the related health problems. For example, 34 per cent of Irish men drink more than the recommended weekly allowance of 21 units, compared with 29 per cent in the general Irish population and 27 per cent in the general UK population. A similar outcome occurs among men in immigrant families from South Asia, especially Sikhs, among whom problem drinking is more prevalent than it is in the Sikh population in South Asia, though similar to the incidence among the general UK population (Cochrane and Bal 1990). The Irish and Sikh groups also show higher rates of morbidity and mortality than the general population. Kirby (1999) highlights the incidence of problem drinking in the Vietnamese community.

Minority ethnicity and alcohol abuse are both associated with social disadvantage. Rao (2006) suggests that the clustering of first-generation Irish immigrants in socioeconomically deprived areas may help explain the higher prevalence of alcohol abuse among this group. Despite the correlation of social exclusion and deprivation with the risk of drug abuse, the incidence of drug abuse is lower among ethnic minority groups than among native-born Whites; this is so particularly among the Asian group (Bangladesh, India and Pakistan) and among the Black African group, although the incidence of drug abuse is similar among the Black Caribbean group and the native-born White population (Sangster et al. 2002). Nonetheless, drug abuse appears to be increasing among ethnic minority communities, and the statistics support this view. Higher levels of drug abuse are associated with socially excluded young people in the Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean and Pakistani communities (Patel et al. 2004). Recently settled refugee men have been found, in small-scale surveys, to have soft drug problems (Sangster et al. 2002).

Considerable stigma attaches to alcohol and drug abuse in ethnic minority groups (Rao 2006). This is especially the case among the Asian group; older people in this group are often unwilling to recognize the existence of problems with alcohol or drugs within their communities. The second generation may share this view and perceive alcohol and drug abuse as an embarrassment that reflects on the community and the family. People with drinking problems may therefore try to cope on their own rather than seek out local drug and alcohol services. There is also evidence that some families oblige young people to undergo detoxification within the family setting or in the country of origin. However, because of the low cost and widespread availability of drugs in some countries of origin, the young people often return even more dependent (Fountain et al. 2003).

6. CONCLUSIONS

The existing literature in the United Kingdom is dominated by research on ethnic minority groups, as well as the experiences of children in refugee and asylum-seeking families. There is almost no comprehensive information on immigrant families, especially the children in these families. This report therefore represents the first systematic overview of the number and living conditions of children in immigrant families in the United Kingdom.

Our findings suggest key areas in which more research would be beneficial. The first and most obvious is the need for more concrete data on immigrant families and their children. This need is striking given that one child in six in the United Kingdom is in the first or second immigrant generation. There are significant gaps even in the case of children in refugee and asylum-seeking families, the only category of immigrant family that is more consistently present in the available data.

Second, because of the fairly systematic focus of the available research, we have been able to tease out insights on immigrant families and their children based on data according to ethnicity. Thus, it appears that particular immigrant groups, such as families of Bangladeshi, Black African, Jamaican and Pakistani ethnic origin, are relatively disadvantaged. This evidence seems to suggest the existence of ethnic penalties attached to some groups. Comprehensive research is needed to measure and account for differential immigration experiences across regions and countries of origin and different treatment among immigrant groups in the United Kingdom so as to facilitate analysis of these ethnic penalties.

Third, it is clear that immigrant children arriving under certain circumstances or from particular countries face problems and barriers associated with immigration controls that, themselves, may have a negative impact on outcomes. This seems to be especially the case of refugee and asylum-seeking families and their children, but also of low-skilled immigrants and their families, among whom the opportunities for settlement are more limited. The situation among children in undocumented immigrant families is completely unknown, but seems likely to be worse still.

Finally, there is evidence that negative attitudes and hostility towards immigrant families, including children, represents a serious barrier to the success of the immigration experience and the integration and social inclusion of immigrant groups. Discrimination and racism also undermine ethnic relations and social cohesion more generally. Leadership in confronting these issues at the local and national levels is a political imperative.

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