



Innocenti Insight

CHILDREN IN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES IN EIGHT AFFLUENT COUNTRIES

THEIR FAMILY, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

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The UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre

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Design and layout: Bernard & Co., Siena, Italy
Printing: ABCTipografia srl, Florence, Italy
Cover photo: AFP/2003

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August 2009
ISBN: 978-88-89129-93-7

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report was authored by Donald J. Hernandez, Suzanne Macartney and Victoria L. Blanchard, all of the University at Albany, State University of New York at the time it was prepared. Mr. Hernandez is currently a Professor at the Department of Sociology of Hunter College and the Graduate Center, City University of New York, and Ms. Macartney is currently a Poverty Analyst at the US Census Bureau.

Earlier research by the authors provided an important base for the work presented in this report. Acknowledgement is given for the support provided by the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, the Foundation for Child Development, the Annie E. Casey Foundation, the William T. Grant Foundation, the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (United States) and the Center for Social and Demographic Analysis at the University at Albany, State University of New York.

Appreciation is given for the contributions of the country experts who developed the results that are discussed in this report: Ilan Katz and Gerry Redmond (Australia); Thomas Kirszbaum, Yaël Brinbaum and Patrick Simon (France); Susanne Clauss and Bernhard Nauck (Germany); Letizia Mencarini, Emiliana Baldoni and Gianpiero Dalla Zuanna (Italy); Helga A. G. de Valk, Kris R. Noam, Alinda M. Bosch and Gijs C. N. Beets (the Netherlands); Rosita Fibbi and Philippe Wanner (Switzerland) and Heaven Crawley (the United Kingdom). In a spirit of collaboration, these experts came together to develop internationally comparable specifications for the indicators reported here, and they undertook the substantial work required to generate the results for their own countries, contained in the series of *Innocenti Working Papers* accompanying this publication.

Key steps in the development of the study included two expert consultations held at the UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre (IRC) involving many of the researchers and authors identified above, and feedback on initial presentations of the findings by Mr. Hernandez.

The study was coordinated through January 2009 by Eva Jespersen of the IRC Social and Economic Policies Unit, under the overall guidance of the Director, Marta Santos Pais. Cinzia Iusco Bruschi provided administrative and secretarial support. The report was edited by Robert Zimmerman. Additional editorial inputs and review were provided by Allyson Alert-Atterbury, Leonardo Menchini, David Parker and Otoo Yoda. Copy-editing was carried out by Emily Goodman and proofreading by Ann Bone. The IRC Communication and Partnerships Unit helped manage production of the publication.

ABBREVIATIONS

EU	European Union
EU-15	Member states of the European Union before May 2004: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom
EU-25	Member states of the European Union between May 2004 and January 2007: the EU-15, plus Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
CILS	Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study
HIC	high-income country
ICSEY	International Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth
ILO	International Labour Organization
LMIC	low- and middle-income country
NER	not elsewhere reported
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment (OECD)
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

FOREWORD

During recent decades, most affluent countries have experienced large increases in the number and diversity of immigrants. Immigrants are often in a family-building stage of life. They sometimes bring one or more children along, and also often bear children once they settle in their adopted homelands. As a result, the child immigrant population frequently exceeds the share of the adult population. The circumstances and future prospects of children in immigrant families are important not only to the children themselves and to their parents, but also to the nations in which the families have settled, and where the children will live for years and decades to come.

The present *Innocenti Insight* draws on research conducted in eight advanced industrialized countries – Australia, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States. These are countries that, together, include almost 40 per cent of all persons in the world who are not living in their countries of birth. The general profile of this significant share of the world's immigrant population is relatively well understood, in part because of the growing political and policy interest in migration questions. The same, however, cannot be said about the segment of this population represented by children. Indeed, children's situation and experience has been largely

missing from the migration debate and from related efforts in data collection and analysis.

This *Innocenti Insight* was developed in close collaboration with national expert teams to fill this knowledge gap and to give visibility to the face of child migration. The study is based on analysis of census data, population surveys and population registers in the eight countries reviewed, and is supported by detailed country-specific literature reviews, which have been issued by the Centre as *Innocenti Working Papers*.

The *Innocenti Insight* presents, for the first time, internationally comparable data addressing the number, share and family circumstances of immigrant children in these eight affluent nations. It contributes statistical evidence and enables a deeper understanding of the magnitude and diversity of national and social backgrounds, as well as living conditions and opportunities for migrant children in destination countries. And it provides a sound foundation to inform social policies that can address factors leading to deprivation and marginalization of immigrant children and to more effectively promote their social inclusion and harmonious development.

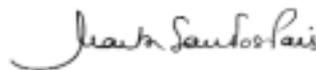
The issues addressed by the *Innocenti Insight* are gaining momentum. In his most recent report to the United Nations Human Rights

Council, the Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Migrants focused on the protection of children in the context of migration. Considering the situation of children left behind by migrating family members, as well as migrant children moving across borders and migrant children in countries of settlement, the Special Rapporteur expresses concern at the lack of accurate statistical information on children in the international migration process. As he indicated, "Age is not a common variable of disaggregated statistical data on international migration, which remains as the most difficult component of population change to measure."¹

With this in mind, the Special Rapporteur encouraged States to consider the impact of migration on children in the elaboration and implementation of national development frameworks, poverty reduction strategies, human rights plans of action, programmes and strategies for human rights education and the advancement of the rights of the child. And he recommended that States share information about key indicators on the impact of migration on children and about common challenges and best practices to address protection-related gaps at all levels.

The *Human Development Report 2009* 'Overcoming Barriers: Human mobility and development', devoted to migration, also highlights the central and yet distinct ways in which children are affected by the process of migration, and suggests avenues to develop effective national policies and cross-border cooperation.

The synergy of these significant efforts will no doubt help to bring into focus the child's face of migration and galvanize attention to children's unique experiences. We are confident that this *Innocenti Insight* and the related *Innocenti Working Papers* on children in immigrant families in affluent societies will be a critical contribution to this process, very especially to the development of further child-sensitive research and to the promotion of evidence-based advocacy and policy action to safeguard the rights of children affected by migration.



Marta Santos Pais
Director
UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre

KEY FINDINGS

This report presents data and analysis on children in eight affluent countries who are living in immigrant families with at least one foreign-born parent. Children in the families of refugees, asylum-seekers and immigrants with irregular status may or may not be included, depending on the data sources consulted. Main thematic findings of the report include the following:

Demographic features

- Children in immigrant families account for a large share of the overall child population in the eight affluent countries: Italy (10 per cent), United Kingdom (16 per cent), France (17 per cent), the Netherlands and the United States (22 per cent each), Germany (26 per cent), Australia (33 per cent) and Switzerland (39 per cent);
- Children in immigrant families from low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) account for a substantial share of all children in the destination countries reported in this study. In Italy, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States, they represent more than half of the children in immigrant families;
- In six of the countries studied for which information is available, the vast majority of children in immigrant families with origins in LMICs (63–87 per cent) are second-generation immigrants, that is, they were born in the country of settlement;

- Children in immigrant families with origins in LMICs will play an increasingly prominent role during adulthood in the economic and social life of countries, partly because of the growth in their numbers, and partly because of low rates of natural demographic increase in the respective non-immigrant populations, which is leading to ageing populations in these countries.

Country of origin and language

- The countries studied show high concentrations of particular national immigrant groups, but each country is also home to immigrants from numerous countries of origin;
- The share of children in immigrant families from LMICs who speak a language at home other than the language of the country of settlement ranges from 56 per cent in Australia to 73 to 77 per cent in France and the United States. At the same time, few children speak the heritage language of their parents at home exclusively with their parents; most also speak the language of the country of settlement with their parents;
- Children in immigrant families with origins in LMICs often differ from the native population in cultural, religious, linguistic and ethnic backgrounds, thereby posing important challenges and opportunities for civil integration and social inclusion.

Family composition

- Children in immigrant families from LMICs are as likely as or more likely than children in native-born families to live with two parents (except in the Netherlands), and they are more likely than children in native-born families to live in households with two or more siblings (except in Australia);
- In the five countries for which information is available, at least 1 child in 10 and often 1 child or more in every 4 in immigrant families from specific LMICs live with at least one parent who is a citizen of the country of settlement. Thus they enjoy the civic and political rights associated with citizenship.

Parental background

- In Australia and the United Kingdom, and to a small extent in Italy, children in immigrant families with LMIC origins are more likely than children in native-born families to live with university-educated parents; in most of the countries, they are more likely to live with parents with limited educational attainment;
- In about one half of the countries studied, children in immigrant families with LMIC origins are about as likely as children in native-born families to live with fathers who are employed full- or part-time, while in the remaining countries they are much less likely to do so. In Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, from about one third to two fifths of children in families with LMIC origins have a mother who is actively participating in the economy; this share rises to about half or more in Australia, Switzerland and the United States. The share of immigrant children living with mothers who are working full-time is much smaller.

Poverty and housing

- After accounting for social transfers, poverty rates are found to be higher among children in immigrant families than among children in native-born families, by 6–7 per cent in Australia and Germany, and by 12–13 per cent in France, the United Kingdom and the United States. The poverty gaps separating children in families with LMIC origins from children in native-born families are greater than these figures, as children in immigrant families with origins in high-income countries (HICs) are likely to experience comparatively low poverty rates;

- In Italy, overcrowding within the home is quite common among households with children in both immigrant and native-born families. It is also quite common in the other affluent countries among households with children in families with LMIC origins, particularly the households of families seeking refuge or asylum from wars, civil disturbances or persecution. In the various countries studied, homeownership rates range from 25–66 per cent among the households of children in immigrant families with LMIC origins. The purchase of homes suggests that these families are investing in their communities in a tangible way.

Immigrant youth

- Youth in immigrant families vary greatly in their access to educational opportunities and educational outcomes across countries of origin; some immigrant groups are at a considerable disadvantage. Factors contributing to this variation are family socio-economic status, enrolment in separate educational tracks in school, and segregation and discrimination. Also, for youth in immigrant families, the risk of not being enrolled in school and not working varies greatly by their country of origin. The lack of educational and employment opportunities among some groups undermines social cohesion and represents a waste of human capital.

Health and social inclusion

- The findings of this research complement and are reinforced by the outcomes of related research on immigrant families in affluent countries, which have reported the following:
 - There is considerable diversity in health outcomes among children in immigrant families relative to children in native-born families, by country of origin and health indicator;
 - Success in social inclusion is most evident among children in immigrant families who participate in the cultures of both the country of origin and the country of settlement, including by becoming fluent in both languages.

Socio-economic integration and policy

- The study identifies scope for government policies in affluent countries to further foster civil integration and social inclusion in a wide range of arenas. These policies would benefit not only children and parents in immigrant families from LMICs, but also the host societies.

1

INTRODUCTION

Most affluent countries have experienced large increases in the number and diversity of immigrants during recent decades. Low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) have become more prominent in the mix of immigrant origins. Often for the first time, the governments of many affluent countries are therefore seeking to include and integrate large numbers of persons who may differ from the native population in cultural, religious, linguistic and ethnic backgrounds. Reflecting the importance of these trends, the European Union (EU) proposed, in 2005, the creation of an Integration Fund, with an allocation of €1.8 billion for 2007–2013, to support the development of national strategies and action plans in member states aimed at the inclusion and integration of immigrants.² Because immigrants are often older youth or young adults, not only do they sometimes bring along one or more children; they also often bear children after they settle in their adopted homelands. These children of immigrants are the focus of this report.

The goal of the report

The primary goal of this project has been to extract relevant data from eight affluent countries and to calculate new statistical results that are comparable across these countries for children in both immigrant and

native-born families, so as to portray the national and international context of the children of immigrants. Because national censuses, microcensuses, surveys and registration systems have been used on only a limited basis until now to describe the circumstances of children with immigrant parents, this first effort would not have been possible without the dedicated work and insights of experts from these countries.

The focus of the new analyses and of this report is, especially, children in families with origins in low-, lower-middle and upper-middle-income countries; the origins of these children are referred to collectively in this report as LMICs.³ The circumstances and future prospects of children in immigrant families are important to the children themselves and their parents, but also to the countries in which the families have settled. When these children become adults, they will constitute substantial portions of the work force that will provide for the retirement of the elderly, the voters who will contribute to the political discourse of their nations and the parents who will rear the next generation from birth to adulthood. The current well-being of children with immigrant parents will have a profound impact on the prospects of these families and the nations in which the children live for years and decades to come.

The eight countries of immigrant settlement

The results presented here cover eight high-income countries (HICs): Australia, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States. France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom are five of the six most populous countries in the EU15.⁴ Switzerland borders France, Germany and Italy. Five of the eight countries are among the 11 countries worldwide with the largest number of immigrants, as follows: United States (first), Germany (third),

France (fifth), United Kingdom (ninth) and Australia (eleventh), while Italy, Switzerland and the Netherlands are ranked at 16th, 26th and 28th, respectively (see Table 1.1).⁵

Altogether, these eight affluent countries included within their borders as of about 2005 nearly 40 per cent of all persons in the world who were not living in their country of birth, or a total of 76 million international immigrants.⁶ Thus, the total number of immigrants in these eight countries is nearly as large as the total population of Germany (83 million), and larger than the populations of France (62 million), the United Kingdom (61 million) or Italy (59 million).⁷

Box 1.1 Background on the report

This report is based on a study of children in eight affluent countries commissioned by the UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre (IRC). Despite rapid growth in immigrant populations in these countries, there were few national estimates and no internationally comparable estimates of the number and the demographic and socio-economic circumstances of children in immigrant families prior to the publication of these new study results. The overall goal of the IRC project is to provide baseline information to fill this enormous knowledge gap as a sound foundation for discussion of social policies relevant to these children.

The study has been conducted by experts in eight affluent countries who were convened by IRC. Because different approaches to measuring important concepts exist in national statistical systems, these experts collaborated to develop a common set of measures that would provide a valid basis for international comparisons. The results for the study have been calculated from the most recent population censuses carried out in Australia, Italy, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States.^a For France, the data come from the census and a sample survey; for Germany, the data come from a microcensus, and for the Netherlands, the data come from the population registration system, plus surveys.

Because only the data for the United States have previously been used to describe the circumstances of children in immigrant families, it has been necessary to reorganize data sets for each of the other seven countries with children as the unit of analysis by creating an individual record for each child. After these records were created, it was necessary to attach relevant data for parents and families to each child's record and to recode variables to conform to the internationally comparable measures developed by the expert group. These data files were then analysed to develop new statistics specifically for children in immigrant families compared with children in native-born families. To calculate results, experts in each country worked with data from their own country, often in collaboration with the national statistical office.

Detailed country-specific reviews of the literature on children in immigrant families in affluent societies have been published by IRC in a special subseries of the *Innocenti Working Papers*. These papers, along with spreadsheets containing detailed estimates of various indicators by country of immigrant origin, are publicly available at <www.unicef-irc.org>.

It is hoped that this effort will serve as a model for a series of studies developing basic information on children in immigrant families in additional countries. Analyses of additional countries replicating the results of this study would provide a valuable foundation for a better understanding of the situation of children in immigrant families in a wider range of countries and for broader comparative analyses. The replication of these results in future studies also would provide a firm basis for analysing changes occurring over extended periods of time that will be critical to monitoring the lives of children in immigrant families and the successes or limitations of social policies.

^a The results for the United States have been calculated for this report by the authors from the census 2000 data file prepared by Ruggles, Steven, et al., 'Integrated Public Use Microdata Series', version 3.0, Minnesota Population Center, Minneapolis, 2004, <www.ipums.org> and from US Census Bureau, 'Current Population Survey', Journey-To-Work and Migration Statistics Branch, Housing and Household Economic Statistics Division, US Census Bureau, Washington, D.C., March 2005. Additional results calculated for the United States by the authors may be accessed at <www.albany.edu/csda/children>.

Table 1.1 - The 30 countries with the largest immigrant populations, 2005

Rank	Country or territory	Total population (in 1000s)	Immigrant population	
			Number (in 1000s)	Per cent of total
	World	6,464,750	190,634	2.9
1	United States	298,213	38,355	12.9
2	Russian Federation	143,202	12,080	8.4
3	Germany	82,689	10,144	12.3
4	Ukraine	46,481	6,833	14.7
5	France	60,496	6,471	10.7
6	Saudi Arabia	24,573	6,361	25.9
7	Canada	32,268	6,106	18.9
8	India	1,103,371	5,700	0.5
9	United Kingdom	59,668	5,408	9.1
10	Spain	43,064	4,790	11.1
11	Australia	20,155	4,097	20.3
12	Pakistan	157,935	3,254	2.1
13	United Arab Emirates	4,496	3,212	71.4
14	China, Hong Kong SAR ^a	7,041	2,999	42.6
15	Israel	6,725	2,661	39.6
16	Italy	58,093	2,519	4.3
17	Kazakhstan	14,825	2,502	16.9
18	Côte d'Ivoire	18,154	2,371	13.1
19	Jordan	5,703	2,225	39.0
20	Japan	128,085	2,048	1.6
21	Iran (Islamic Republic of)	69,515	1,959	2.8
22	Singapore	4,326	1,843	42.6
23	Occupied Palestinian Territory	3,702	1,680	45.4
24	Ghana	22,113	1,669	7.5
25	Kuwait	2,687	1,669	62.1
26	Switzerland	7,252	1,660	22.9
27	Malaysia	25,347	1,639	6.5
28	Netherlands	16,299	1,638	10.1
29	Argentina	38,747	1,500	3.9
30	Turkey	73,193	1,328	1.8

Source: United Nations, *International Migration 2006*, UN Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, New York, 2006, <www.un.org/esa/population/publications/2006Migration_Chart/2006Immig_chart.htm>.

^a SAR = Special Administrative Region.

parents were born in the country of settlement.⁸ Children in immigrant families may themselves be first-generation immigrants, that is, they may not have been born in the country of settlement, or they may be second-generation children, that is, they may have been born in the country of settlement, but are nonetheless living with at least one parent who was not born in the country of settlement. Children in the third and later immigrant generations are children who were born in the country of settlement and live with parents who were also born in the country of settlement. This includes, for example, children living with parents who were born in the country of settlement to families in which the grandparents or great-grandparents immigrated from another country. Children in immigrant families are additionally classified according to their country of birth if they are foreign born, or the mother's country of birth if they are living with the mother and the mother is foreign born, or, if the mother is not foreign born (or if the child is not living with the mother), then the country of birth of the foreign-born father. Except incidentally, children who are not living in a family group with at least one parent in the household are not considered. In all cases, the parents do not have to be the birth parents. They may, for instance, be adoptive parents. Likewise, one parent may be a birth parent, while the other is the partner of the birth parent.

The children of immigrants

This report considers a range of indicators on the children of immigrants compared with the children of non-immigrants. Children in immigrant families are defined as children who live with at least one immigrant parent, that is, a parent not born in the country of settlement, while children are classified as living in native-born families if they were born in the country of settlement and live in families in which both

Social inclusion among immigrants with LMIC origins

Most immigrants experience at least minor challenges as they build new lives in their adopted homelands, but immigrants across various countries of origin may differ greatly in the barriers they must overcome to become socially included or civically integrated in the

society of settlement. Immigrants moving from one affluent country to another often have high educational qualifications and other resources that allow them to make the transition with comparative ease. However, immigrants arriving in affluent countries from LMICs may be confronted by greater challenges because they differ from the native population in

Box 1.2 Defining immigrants

Following the practice of the international demographic community, immigrants are defined as persons who have moved across international borders from their country of origin and taken up residence in another country.^a Given the nature of the available statistical data, persons are classified as immigrants in this study if they are living in a country of settlement, but were born in some other country. Population census data may include only a portion of immigrants with irregular status.^b In the United States, for example, it is estimated that the census reports data on about 90 per cent of immigrants with irregular status.^c Registration systems are designed to include only persons who are registered residents of a country. The results in this report are drawn from population censuses in the cases of Australia, Italy, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States, from the census and a related population survey in the case of France, from a microcensus in the case of Germany and from a registration system, augmented by surveys and a database, in the case of the Netherlands.

^a Walle, Etienne van de, editor, *Multilingual Demographic Dictionary, English Section*, 2nd ed., Orinda Editions, Liège; Multilingual Demographic Dictionary Committee, International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, Paris; Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, New York, 1982.

^b This report uses the term immigrants with 'immigrant irregular' status. The term 'irregular' refers to persons who are not formally documented through legal immigration processes. The term 'irregular' is used here for consistency with other UN documents instead of other terms sometimes used including 'illegal' or 'undocumented'.

^c Marcelli, Enrico A. and Paul M. Ong, '2000 Census Coverage of Foreign-Born Mexicans in Los Angeles County: Implications for demographic analysis', paper presented at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, Atlanta, 9–11 May 2002; US Department of Homeland Security, 'Estimates of the Unauthorized Immigrant Population Residing in the United States: 1990 to 2000', US Department of Homeland Security, Washington, D.C., 2003, <www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publication/III_Report_1_211.pdf>; Passel, Jeffrey S., Jennifer Van Hook and Frank D. Bean, 'Estimates of the Legal and Unauthorized Foreign-Born Population for the United States and Selected States, Based on Census 2000', Immigration Studies Whitepapers, Sabre Systems, Warminster, PA, 2004, <www.sabresys.com/whitepapers/EMS_Deliverable_1_020305.pdf>.

educational attainment and in cultural, religious, linguistic and ethnic background.

The social inclusion and civic integration of immigrant families with diverse origins are becoming increasingly prominent issues in the eight countries under study and in many other affluent countries. For example, the Council of the European Union urges that "immigration is a permanent feature of European society" and that, with orderly, well-managed immigration, member states may reap many benefits, including "stronger economies, greater social cohesion, an increased feeling of security and cultural diversity." The council goes on to state that "it is vital for Member States to maintain and further develop societies in which newcomers feel welcome" and that "integration takes place simultaneously at the individual, family,

Box 1.3 Key concepts: Inclusion and integration

The report of the World Summit for Social Development held in Copenhagen in 1995 defines the main ingredients of integration as "inclusion, participation, and justice/social justice." The report also urges that "successful social integration processes encourage 'coming together' while respecting differences, and consciously and explicitly putting great value on maintaining diversity ... Social integration represents the attempt not to make people adjust to society, but rather to ensure that society is accepting of all people." ^a

The EU generally uses the term integration. The policy goal of the EU appears to be to make the rights of immigrants comparable to the rights of citizens. Certainly, citizenship carries significant implications for the enjoyment of full civil and political rights, but also for important processes related to the construction of identity.

For reasons of advocacy, UNICEF prefers to make a distinction between social inclusion and civil integration. Efforts to promote social inclusion require different sorts of advocacy than civil integration. The first often calls for awareness-building among social actors, while the second often calls for advocacy before governments. The use of two terms highlights the two sets of issues and makes them more comprehensible in the relevant context.

^a United Nations, *Participatory Dialogue: Toward a stable, safe and just society for all*, Report no. ST-ESA/310, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, UN, New York, 2007, <[www.un.org/esa/socdev/publications/prtcprtry_dlg\(full_version\).pdf](http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/publications/prtcprtry_dlg(full_version).pdf)>, p. 1.

Box 1.4 A note about methodology

The data in this report on children in immigrant and native families have not been produced previously by national statistical offices or international organizations. UNICEF IRC commissioned experts in each of the eight countries under study to conduct the research and obtain the data. National statistical offices either provided access to microdata files that the experts used, or the offices conducted the analyses at the request of the experts. Because data sets in national censuses, microcensuses, surveys and registration systems are not organized with children as a unit of analysis, the analyses were technically demanding. It was necessary to link individual children with the data on their parents, other family members and households and identify the immigrant generation of children based on the countries of birth of the children and their parents. The resulting data sets were analysed to derive the new information.^a

Based on the data sources, the experts in each country of settlement developed detailed estimates on immigration to their countries according to the countries of immigrant origin. The following general approach was used in this process.

IRC held meetings among the experts to determine the statistical concepts to be used for the project and to define the table shells incorporating the concepts and delineating the specific countries of immigrant origin. The experts filled these table shells with data for their own country where data were available. Because of small sample sizes, the results for some countries of origin were combined into categories labelled “not elsewhere reported” (NER). Countries of origin were also distinguished as low income, middle income (either lower middle or upper middle), or high income (HIC). The low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) were distinguished by global region (East Asia and the Pacific, Europe and Central Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, Middle East and North Africa, South Asia or sub-Saharan Africa). HICs were distinguished as members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) or as other HICs. Two additional, broader categories were introduced: western Balkans (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, Serbia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) and mainly francophone countries in sub-Saharan Africa (Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, the Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Niger, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles and Togo). In some cases, the countries of origin within a region that were combined in a particular NER category included countries in more than one income group. In these situations, the experts drew on other information to classify the category as mainly low income, lower middle income or upper middle income.

Empirical estimates are reported and discussed here only if the denominator for a particular ratio is based on a sample or population of at least 100 families. Only large differences in the values of indicators across groups are highlighted in this report because small differences may not be substantively important and are not likely to be statistically significant.

As a result of the above, the statistics presented in this report are not necessarily immediately comparable to officially published figures from censuses or related surveys.

^a For an early model and results for the United States, see Hernandez and Charney, cited in note 8; Hernandez, Donald J., and Katherine Darke, ‘Socioeconomic and Demographic Risk Factors and Resources among Children in Immigrant and Native-Born Families: 1910, 1960 and 1990’, pp. 19–125 in Donald J. Hernandez, ed., *Children of Immigrants: Health, adjustment, and public assistance*, National Academy Press, Washington, D.C., 1999; Hernandez, Donald J., Nancy A. Denton and Suzanne Macartney, ‘Indicators of Characteristics and Circumstances of Children Ages 0–17 in Immigrant Families by Country of Origin and in Native-Born Families by Race-Ethnicity Based on Census 2000’, Center for Social and Demographic Analysis, University at Albany, State University of New York, Albany, NY, 2007, <www.albany.edu/csda/children> (the site provides more than 140 indicators for the United States; the 50 states, the District of Columbia and 200 metropolitan areas); Hernandez, Donald J., Nancy A. Denton and Suzanne Macartney, ‘Children in Immigrant Families: Looking to America’s future’, *Social Policy Report*, vol. 22, no. 3, Society for Research in Child Development, Ann Arbor, 2008, <www.srcd.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=232&Itemid=1>.

and general community and State levels, and occurs in all facets of life: in fact, integration can easily span a generation or more.”⁹ For these reasons, this report focuses mainly on indicators reflecting the circumstances of children of immigrants with LMIC origins,

and it uses these indicators as a lens to view the extent to which these children are or are not becoming socially included and the extent to which they benefit from social inclusion or face serious challenges due to social exclusion.

Overview of the report

This report begins with a discussion of historical changes in immigrant origins and policies towards immigration in the eight countries under study. Next, results are presented for indicators pertaining to the demography of children in immigrant families. Attention then turns to indicators reflecting the immigrant circumstances, family composition, language, civic participation, parental education, parental work, family poverty, housing and the transition to adulthood among these children. Comparisons are often drawn with the

corresponding circumstances of children in native-born families.

Most of the results are presented for children ages 0–17, thus including all children who have not yet reached their 18th birthday. However, indicators are also presented of the transition to adulthood among adolescents, youth and young adults in terms of school enrolment and work.

The report interprets and expands upon these empirical results by drawing on the relevant literature in the countries under study, including a brief discussion of health status, adjustment and acculturation.

Box 1.5 A note on the data presented in this report

Locating and accessing suitable data for the statistical portraits of the situation of children living in immigrant families represented a key challenge of this project. International migration is a complex and fluid phenomenon, and the characteristics and living conditions of the migrant population are difficult to capture with most of the statistical tools in place in the countries included in this study.

The aims and design of the research in large part determined the types and sources of data suitable for the analysis. These aims – to have a specific focus on children; to analyse differences among children living in different migrant family situations and to compare this group with children in native born families; and to apply standard definitions and achieve comparability across the eight countries – effectively limited the available data sources to population censuses and surveys with large sample sizes. Census is often the most comprehensive (official) data source that provides detailed information on the foreign population. In some countries, relevant data can also be obtained through microcensuses, thematic or routine sample surveys and, in a few cases, population administrative registers. A major limitation is that most of the suitable data collection is carried out infrequently (the census is conducted once every ten years). Furthermore the results require considerable time to be organized and reviewed and to be made available for public use. This usual time lag unfortunately does not meet the urgent need for timely and up-to-date information to understand the rapidly changing characteristics of migrant populations.

The analysis undertaken for this report had to address these data challenges. The approach followed has been to combine the results derived from applicable data sources from the last ten years.

The main data sources analysed for this study are the following:

Australia: Census (Basic confidential unit record file), 2001

France: Family History Survey Database, INSEE, 1999; and Census 1999

Germany: Microcensus, 2005

Italy: First National Investigation on Second-Generation Immigrants (“Itagen2”), 2006; and Census, 2001

Netherlands: StatLine Database; data combining survey and administrative data provided by Statistics Netherlands

Switzerland: Census, 2000

United Kingdom: Census, 2001

United States: ‘Current Population Survey’ (March 2005), US Census Bureau; and Census, 2000

Where other sources of data are utilized the reference is reported in the text or in a note to the relevant table or figures. The data sources for the first seven countries are described in detail in the accompanying Innocenti Working Papers. The data sources for the United States are described in the text.

2

IMMIGRATION POLICIES AND PROCESSES

To provide a context for the statistical indicators included in this report, this section presents an overview of historical changes in immigration policies and processes prior to World War II and during the decades since war. (See the annex for a more detailed discussion of this topic relative to the countries under study.)

Immigration prior to World War II

It is possible to identify broad trends in immigration policies and processes across the eight countries under study. First, explicit national policies to manage immigration were, for the most part, quite limited or non-existent before the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. Australia stands out as an exception because of the White Australia policy, which remained in place until the early 1970s.

The borders of the United States, long known for its mass immigration, were essentially unregulated until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During this period policies were designed to stabilize the ethnic composition of the population and restrict or ban immigration from Asia, while assuring an inflow of immigrants to provide needed

labour to support the expanding economy. By the mid-1960s, a few years before the Australian Government abandoned its policy that restricted immigration to whites, immigration policy in the United States reopened the doors widely to immigrants, including immigrants from Asia.

Before 1945, the level of immigration to the other six countries studied was generally low or sporadic; in fact, these countries were often mainly countries of emigration, with substantial flows to Australia, Canada, Europe, Latin America, the United States or elsewhere. However, these countries, perhaps most notably the Netherlands and Switzerland, periodically provided safe haven to substantial numbers of refugees fleeing religious or political persecution. In addition, they occasionally met their need for workers by drawing immigrants from other nations. France, for example, had an explicit policy of recruiting workers and settlers as early as the mid-nineteenth century. France has, in fact, been an outlier among the European countries in this study in that it has been a country of immigration since the mid-nineteenth century and has not been, overall, a country of emigration except in the case of its own colonies, mainly Algeria.

Formal categories of immigration since World War II

The post-World War II era brought enormous change. Three major categories of immigration may be distinguished in national and international policies: refugee movements, labour migration and family reunification.

Refugees

International laws, conventions and guidelines to protect refugees were under development beginning in the first half of the twentieth century, under the auspices of the League of Nations. This process culminated after World War II with the establishment of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees on 14 December 1950; the adoption, on 28 July 1951, of the United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees; and, more recently, the adoption on 31 January 1967 of the Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees.¹⁰ Article 1 of the 1951 Refugee Convention defines a refugee as a person who:

“[O]wing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.”¹¹

At the end of 2006, the largest numbers of refugees worldwide originated from Afghanistan (2.1 million), Iraq (1.5 million), the Sudan (0.7 million), Somalia (0.5 million), the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi and Viet Nam (0.4 million each) and the Occupied Palestinian Territory (0.3 million) (see Table 2.1). Refugee settlement countries are found throughout the world, but refugees tend to flee to neighbouring countries in the same region.¹²

Of the estimated 9.9 million refugees worldwide at the end of 2006, 2.1 million (22 per cent) were living in the eight countries under study in this report.¹³ Of the eight countries serving as home to the largest numbers of refugees at the end of 2006, five were LMICs: Pakistan (1,044,462), the Islamic Republic of Iran (968,370), the

Table 2.1 - The 30 largest refugee-sending countries, end 2006

Country or territory of origin	Total number of refugees
Afghanistan	2,107,519
Iraq	1,450,905
Sudan	686,311
Somalia	464,038
Democratic Republic of the Congo	401,914
Burundi	396,541
Viet Nam	374,279
Occupied Palestinian Territory	334,142
Turkey	227,232
Angola	206,501
Myanmar	202,826
Bosnia and Herzegovina	199,946
Eritrea	193,745
Serbia	174,027
Liberia	160,548
Russian Federation	159,381
China	140,598
Azerbaijan	126,068
Sri Lanka	116,966
Bhutan	108,073
Iran (Islamic Republic of)	102,483
Croatia	93,767
Rwanda	92,966
Western Sahara	90,614
Ethiopia	74,026
Colombia	72,796
Central African Republic	71,685
Ukraine	63,723
Sierra Leone	42,863
Chad	36,300

Source: Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, *Statistical Yearbook 2006: Trends in displacement, protection and solutions*, UNHCR, Geneva, December 2007.

Syrian Arab Republic (702,209), Jordan (500,229) and the United Republic of Tanzania (485,295); but the other three were affluent countries: the United States (843,498), Germany (605,406) and the United Kingdom (301,556). The number of refugees and asylum-seekers also exceeded 100,000 in France (145,996) and in the Netherlands (100,574), a country with a much smaller population. The number of refugees and asylum-seekers was smaller but substantial in Australia (68,948), Switzerland (48,523) and Italy (28,875). Approximately half of all refugees are women, and nearly half (44 per cent) are children (ages 0–17), including the 10 per cent who are under age 5.¹⁴

Labour migration

Labour migrants, in contrast to refugees, move across international borders to work in paid employment. Since World War II, immigration policies in affluent countries have typically included provision for the entry of labour migrants, often based on explicit agreements between the countries of settlement and the countries of origin. The Bracero Programme in the United States, for example, was initiated in 1942, during the World War II labour shortage, to admit migrants from Mexico to work in agriculture and railroad construction and maintenance. The programme remained in place until 1965; other features of contemporary immigration law in the United States continue to provide for the immigration of workers.¹⁵

Guest worker programmes in France, Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland following World War II provided much needed labour to fuel the post-war economic booms of these countries, while less industrialized parts of Europe (Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain) provided workers. The labour migrant flows were accompanied or followed by flows of workers from nearby areas to the east, such as Turkey and Yugoslavia, and from developing countries with historical colonial relationships to the affluent countries.¹⁶ When the first oil crisis in 1973 brought an end to the economic boom, the guest worker programmes were reduced or halted. It was the intent of these programmes that workers would return to their home countries after specified periods of time, but this did not always occur. Thus, temporary labour migrants were able to become permanent residents or even citizens.

In the midst of these earlier waves of labour migration phenomena, two pioneering international legal instruments, ILO Convention No. 97 (Migration for Employment) and No. 143 (Migrant Workers, Supplementary Provisions) were respectively established in 1949 and 1975.

More recently, the EU has initiated a policy that ultimately will eliminate barriers to free labour migration within the supranational border for citizens of the EU. In describing these changes, the Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities of the European Commission highlights that the free movement of workers is a fundamental right permitting nationals of one EU member state to work in another member state on an equal footing with

local citizens, and that a migrant worker who has resided continuously for five years in a member state has a right to permanent residence.¹⁷ The provisions are not yet fully in effect; the intention is to create a free labour market within the EU.

Throughout the post-World War II era, there has been substantial labour migration among affluent countries and from less industrialized countries to more industrialized countries. Although the term 'economic refugee' is sometimes used in popular writing to refer to persons who flee poverty in less industrialized countries and seek work in more industrialized countries, such persons do not have the status of refugees under international agreements.¹⁸ However, the United Nations Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, which entered into force on 1 July 2003, focuses international attention on the need to respect the human rights of labour migrants.¹⁹

Family reunification

The third formal category of immigration common in national and international policy since World War II is family reunification, that is, the policy of facilitating the ability of family members to reunite. Recalling provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution on 27 February 1996 reaffirming that "all Governments, particularly those of receiving countries, must recognize the vital importance of family reunification and promote its incorporation into national legislation in order to ensure protection of the unity of families of documented migrants."²⁰

More recently, the Council of the European Union adopted a relevant directive that took effect on 3 October 2003 and applies to all EU member states except Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom.²¹ The directive indicates the conditions for exercising the right to family reunification by lawfully resident immigrants. For refugees, the right to family reunification applies to the spouses of immigrants or the minor unmarried children of immigrants or spouses. The directive also highlights that family reunification is essential to making family life possible and to facilitating the inclusion and integration of immigrants in their countries of settlement. In commenting on the directive, the European Council of Refugees and Exiles expresses concerns on "the narrow concept of the family unit, comprising only

spouses and minor children but not necessarily adult children, elderly parents or other close relatives who may depend on the refugee.”²²

The United States provides for the immigration of married sons and daughters and of siblings of US citizens, including immigrants who have become naturalized citizens, while the Netherlands provides for similar immigration by children. All of the eight countries under study have provisions for family reunification. Thus, it is widely recognized as a humanitarian value that wives, husbands, children and parents have a right to be reunited with nuclear family members who have obtained authorization to reside in a country of settlement, while some immigration policies take an additional step by providing for immigrant reunification also involving extended family members.

Family reunification policies have led to substantial streams of chain immigration to France, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland (particularly from the Balkans), the United Kingdom and elsewhere. Often, these successive flows of immigrants encompass family members who are joining the initial waves of labour migrants. Indeed, at many periods, family reunification has represented the most common formal vehicle for immigration into the countries in this study.

Understanding immigration since World War II

In addition to these three formal categories of immigration, other informal social, political and motivational processes are important in explaining the immigration flows that link specific countries of origin and countries of settlement.

Personal motivations for immigration

Many immigrants are motivated to leave their homelands in the hope of better lives for themselves, their children and their families. This is so despite the substantial difficulties and risks associated with moving to a new country that may differ in language and culture from the home country. Immigrants may leave their country of origin to escape civil conflict, warfare, religious or political persecution or the prospect of death, or to escape joblessness, severe poverty or simply to improve their economic prospects, or to join family members. The specific destinations chosen by

immigrants often involve existing networks of particular country-of-origin groups that have previously migrated and are therefore able to facilitate additional migration.

Immigration from overseas territories or former colonies

Immigration flows often originate from current overseas territories or former colonies of the countries of settlement because of the ease of access (and sometimes citizenship) associated with such historical relationships. Prominent examples include immigration from Algeria to France, immigration from the Antilles, Aruba, Indonesia and Suriname to the Netherlands, immigration from Bangladesh, India and Pakistan to the United Kingdom, and immigration from the Philippines and Puerto Rico to the United States.

Other geopolitical connections

Immigration flows are sometimes associated with other geopolitical connections between industrialized and developing countries, including the involvement of an affluent country in a violent civil or international conflict in a country of origin. Migration from South-East Asia to France and from Afghanistan, Central America, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq and South-East Asia to the United States are prominent examples. The eight affluent countries under study also welcome substantial numbers of refugees on humanitarian grounds.

Immigration and language

Immigrants, including refugees, may be drawn to a specific country because they speak the language of that country. Immigration involving a language affinity may be especially attractive if there are also colonial or other geopolitical ties. Proficiency in the language of the settlement country may ease the admission process among immigrants.

Geographical proximity

Geographic proximity can play an important role in the selection of an immigrant destination because of the ease or low financial cost of migrating to a nearby country. Italy, for example, is more likely to attract immigrants from Albania or Tunisia, while the United States is more likely to attract immigrants from Haiti or Mexico.

Immigrants with irregular status

Some immigrants enter countries by acquiring tourist or temporary work visas and then

staying on after the visas have expired, while others arrive outside the framework of formal immigration procedures. Estimates indicate that undocumented immigration has increased in several countries in recent decades. For example, among the estimated 10.3 million immigrants with irregular status in the United States in 2004, an average of 130,000 had arrived each year during the 1980s, an average of 580,000 per year had arrived during the 1990s, and an average of 700,000 per year had arrived between 2000 and 2004.²³

Complexities in immigration flows over time

Because immigrants may move for a complex mix of personal reasons, because the formal immigrant categories are limited and because the proportions of immigrants with both regular and irregular status may change substantially from time to time, ascertaining the extent to which immigration policies are being realized may not be easy in a particular country. The following estimates for the United States provide an example.²⁴

The US Department of Homeland Security reports that 1.1 million and 1.3 million immigrants were admitted to the United States as authorized permanent residents, or green card holders, in 2005 and 2006, respectively. Calculations for 2002–2006 show that the average annual number of immigrants was 1.0 million by this definition. Of these immigrants, 16 per cent were sponsored for work by employers, 63 per cent were sponsored for family reunification by family members and 21 per cent were in other categories. However, based on previous trends, the average annual number of temporary workers who were admitted and who are likely ultimately to remain in the country permanently was 197,000, and the number of associated dependants at the time of entry was 124,000, for a total of 321,000, which adds 32 per cent to the official number of documented immigrants. Another 500,000 are estimated to have entered the country without authorization.

Altogether, the actual average annual number of immigrants between 2002 and 2006 who may remain permanently was therefore not 1.0 million but around 1.8 million (1.0 million, plus 321,000, plus 500,000). This is 80 per cent more than the official number. In addition, if it is assumed that most immigrants with irregular status are motivated to move because of work, then the share coming to the United States for employment is not 16 per cent, but closer to 47 per cent. Of course, many of these

immigrants may also be motivated by the desire to join other family members and might be classified informally in the family reunification category. Thus, the reality of immigration may be quite different from the policy vision.

The fluidity of immigration

In response to civil or international conflicts, changing economic circumstances and so on, immigration flows may shift greatly in various ways from one year to the next, including in the total number of immigrants and the number within particular groups by origin. The flow of refugees and asylum-seekers is especially likely to fluctuate according to rapidly changing conditions in countries of origin. A constant feature of immigration, however, is the desire of immigrants to seek a better life for themselves and their families, and, in so doing, they must often overcome substantial difficulties in the process of moving and in the longer process of finding inclusion and integration in the adopted homeland.

Children in immigrant families in the early twenty-first century

Although there are many complexities in developing a precise understanding of immigration, immigration policies have clearly shifted and evolved substantially in the countries under study, contributing to the growing diversity in the countries of origin among immigrants since World War II. Increasing numbers and shares of immigrants have been moving to affluent countries from non-western developing countries, often for work, family reunification or both. Each of the countries under study is grappling with the best way to forge social relationships and foster inclusion so as to benefit the immigrants, their children and the nation.

To focus attention on issues related to the inclusion and integration of children and their immigrant families in society, census, registration or survey data collected for the years 1999 and 2000 or later are used. They portray the lives of the children in immigrant families compared with the lives of third-generation and later-generation children along a variety of social and economic dimensions. The data provide a snapshot at the beginning of the twenty-first century of the cumulative implications, especially for children in immigrant families, of international migration to eight affluent countries in recent decades. The aim is to shed light on the circumstances

of children in immigrant families who live in affluent countries. These circumstances are related to the extent to which these affluent countries are experiencing success in including these children in the fabric of organizations, institutions and society.

Because the challenges may be especially daunting for immigrants from LMICs, this

study focuses primarily on children in families with LMIC origins, supplying recent data and the most detailed analysis available regarding the lives of these children, who will soon become part of the adult populations in their countries of settlement.

3

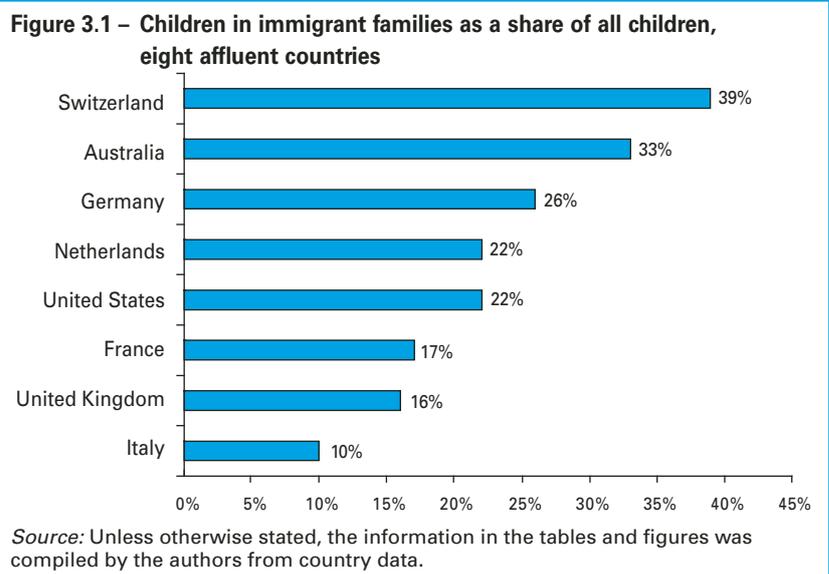
GLOBAL ORIGINS OF CHILDREN IN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES

Children in immigrant families: a large share of all children

Immigrants in affluent countries are often more likely than the native-born population to be in the family-building stage of life, and immigrants from LMICs often have families that are larger than families among the native population. As a result, in the eight affluent countries in this report, the share of all children who have an immigrant parent is often substantially larger than the share of the total population that is born outside the country.

For example, one child in ten in Italy is living with at least one immigrant parent, and this rises to at least one in six in France and the United Kingdom, about one in four in Germany, the Netherlands and the United States, one in three in Australia, and nearly two in five in Switzerland (see Figure 3.1). Thus, as they grow older, children in immigrant families will constitute a large share of the adult populations in the countries examined in this report.

These statistics indicate that, as has long been true of Australia and the United States, the six European countries in this report may be considered major countries of immigration, though year-to-year fluctuations may occur. Indeed, in Germany, deaths exceeded births in the overall population in 2004, but net immigration served to offset 73 per cent of this deficit. The share of population growth accounted for by net immigration was 29 per cent in France, 61 per cent in the United Kingdom and 97 per cent in Italy.



More broadly, net immigration to the EU increased from a range of 0.5 million to 1.0 million per year during most of the 1990s to a range of 1.5 million to 2.0 million since 2002.²⁵ Net immigration accounted for 81 per cent of the population growth experienced by the EU member states in 2004, while natural population increase (the excess of births over deaths) accounted for only 19 per cent of the growth.²⁶

Since national statistical offices seldom calculate the number or share of children in immigrant families, public discourse and policy deliberations do not fully recognize how many of these children live in the countries under study and how many are doing well or not so well.

The population share of children in immigrant families from LMICs

The specific origins of children in immigrant families are usually the same as the countries of origin of their parents. By 2006, the largest non-EU immigrant groups residing in the EU consisted of immigrants from Turkey (2.3 million), Morocco (1.7 million), Albania (0.8 million) and Algeria (0.6 million), all of which are LMICs.²⁷ Among all children in immigrant families, the share of children who live with parents with LMIC origins ranges from 10 to 75 per cent in the eight countries (see Table 3.1 and Figure 3.2).

In the countries under study, the share of children in immigrant families from HICs among all children ranges from 4–6 per cent in France, Italy, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States to 17 per cent in Australia, 19 per cent in Switzerland and 23 per cent in Germany. These children live in families that originated in western countries such as Canada, the United States and countries in Europe. These children therefore possess a western culture similar to the culture of most of the children in native-born families. They are mainly identifiable as white, although they may pose challenges to inclusion in the countries of settlement because of differences in language and subtle differences in culture and customs.

Children in immigrant families with LMIC origins may live in families that not only speak a different language, but also differ more substantially in culture, customs and traditions. These children are often from Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean or Oceania and may also differ in physical appearance from the non-immigrant population, potentially making them subject to racial or ethnic discrimination in school and the labour market.

In the countries under study, the share of children in immigrant families with LMIC origin among all children is only 2–3 per cent in Germany and 5 per cent in Italy, but 8–14 per cent in France, 10 per cent in the United Kingdom, 10–16 per cent in Australia, 15–17 per cent in the Netherlands, 17 per cent in the United States and 19 per cent in Switzerland

Table 3.1 - Per cent of children in immigrant families by income category of country of origin, eight affluent countries

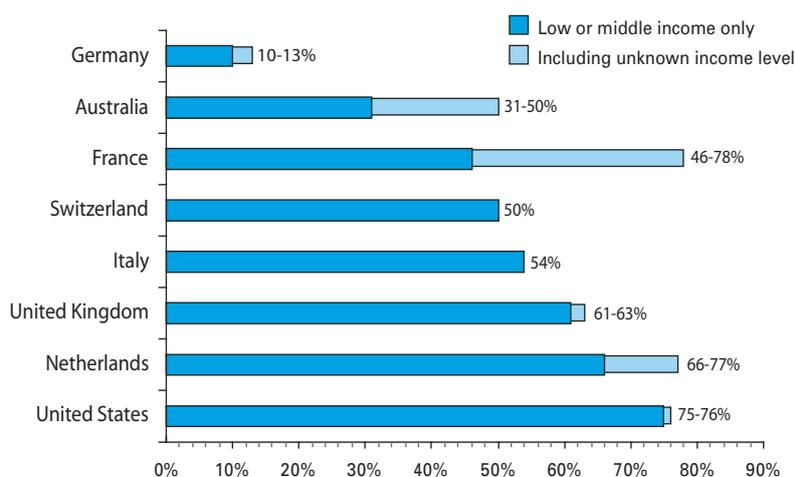
Country	All children			Children in immigrant families			
	In native-born families	In immigrant families	Total	HIC origin	LMIC origin	Country income level not specified	Total
Australia	67.4	32.6	100	50.5	30.8	18.7	100
France	82.7	17.3	100	21.7	45.7	32.6	100
Germany	74.5	25.5	100	87.3	9.6	3.2	100
Italy	90.4	9.6	100	46.5	53.5	0.0	100
Netherlands	77.7	22.3	100	23.0	66.0	11.0	100
Switzerland	61.3	38.7	100	49.9	49.7	0.5	100
United Kingdom	83.7	16.3	100	36.8	60.6	2.6	100
United States	77.9	22.1	100	23.6	75.6	0.8	100

Note: Countries of origin are classified in income categories according the World Bank, *Atlas of Global Development: A visual guide to the world's greatest challenges*, HarperCollins Publishers, New York, 2007.

HIC: High-income country

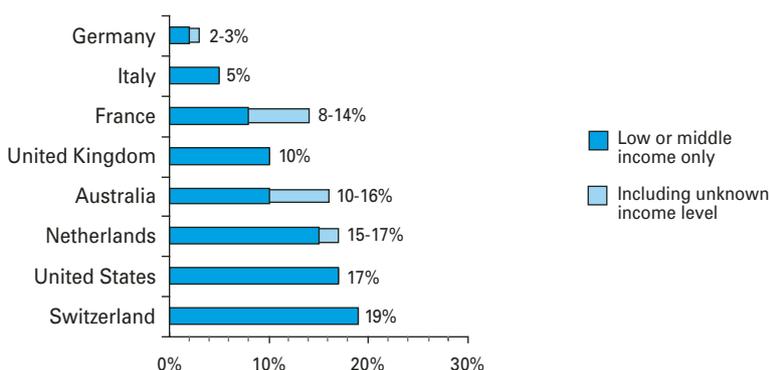
LMIC: Low- and middle-income country

Figure 3.2 – Children in immigrant families from LMICs as a share of all children in immigrant families, eight affluent countries



Note: The figure shows the range of estimates obtained by calculating results excluding (the portion of the bars on the left) and including (the combined bars) children in families for which the origin country income level is not available.

Figure 3.3 – Children in immigrant families from LMICs as a share of all children in the population, eight affluent countries



Note: See the note to Figure 3.2.

(see Figure 3.3).²⁸ Thus, in most of these countries of settlement, children in immigrant families with LMIC origins, often non-western developing countries, account for nearly one child in ten or more.

The distribution of LMIC origins

In specific countries under study, a small number of countries of origin account for large shares of the children who are living in immigrant families with LMIC origins. In the United States, with its 3,170 kilometre border with Mexico, for example, about half (46 per cent) the children in immigrant families from LMICs have origins in Mexico, while no other country of origin accounts for more than 5 per cent of these children. In four of the

other countries under study, only two countries of origin account for more than 40 per cent of the children in immigrant families from LMICs, as follows:

■ **France:** 69 per cent (34 per cent from Algeria, 35 per cent from Morocco)

■ **Germany:** 50 per cent (31 per cent from the Russian Federation, 19 per cent from Turkey)

■ **Netherlands:** 47 per cent (23–24 per cent each from Morocco and Turkey)

■ **Switzerland:** 40 per cent (29 per cent from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia²⁹ [see Table 3.2], 11 per cent from Turkey)

Two countries of origin account for smaller, but still substantial, shares of the children in immigrant families from LMICs in the three remaining countries under study:

■ **United Kingdom:** 35 per cent (15 per cent from India, 20 per cent from Pakistan)

■ **Australia:** 24 per cent (10 per cent from the Philippines, 14 per cent from Viet Nam)

■ **Italy:** 22 per cent (10 per cent from Albania, 12 per cent from Morocco)

Prominent among these countries of origin, Turkey accounts for the largest or second largest share of children in immigrant families with LMIC origins in Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland (11–24 per cent), and it also accounts for the third largest share in France (12 per cent) (see Table 3.2).

Geographical proximity and historical relationships play important roles in the origins of immigrants and, hence, of children in immigrant families. In the United Kingdom, for example, 75 per cent of children in immigrant families with LMIC origins live in households from the former British colonial regions of either South Asia, 46 per cent (Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka), or sub-Saharan Africa, 29 per cent (especially Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Somalia, South Africa and Uganda).

Table 3.2 - Top 10 countries of origin of children in immigrant families, eight affluent countries

	Australia		France		Germany ^g		Italy	
	Origin	Number	Origin	Number	Origin	Number	Origin	Number
1	EU15, EEA and Switzerland ^a	457,240	Morocco	336,570	Germany ^h	3,120,000	Switzerland	119,370
2	New Zealand	153,831	Algeria	326,525	Russian Federation	107,100	Germany	104,714
3	South-East, South-Central Asia ^b	150,779	Other Africa ^e	271,503	Turkey	66,700	France	63,048
4	Other Europe ^c	106,263	Portugal	271,188	Other Asia or Middle East	62,500	Morocco	59,300
5	East Asia	98,137	Other EU15 ^f	123,877	Other EU15 ^f	34,800	Albania	49,956
6	Viet Nam	62,909	Turkey	119,495	Other South-East Europe ⁱ	32,300	United Kingdom	28,682
7	Africa	60,379	Tunisia	106,713	Poland	29,800	Belgium	26,196
8	Philippines	47,311	Spain	96,277	North America	22,400	Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)	25,087
9	Other Oceania ^d	45,769	Italy	92,770	Bosnia and Herzegovina	18,900	Romania	24,897
10	Italy	45,070	Other Europe ^c	73,337	Italy	17,600	Brazil	22,628

Note: There may be slight differences from the country studies data due to rounding or other processing effects.

^{a.} Excludes Italy. EEA = European Economic Area, which here refers to Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway.

^{b.} Excludes the Philippines and Viet Nam.

^{c.} Excludes European countries already listed.

^{d.} Excludes countries in Oceania already listed.

^{e.} Excludes African countries already listed.

^{f.} Excludes EU-15 countries already listed.

In Germany, of children in immigrant families with LMIC origins, 76 per cent have origins in Eastern Europe and Central Asia (mostly from the Russian Federation and Turkey), and 18 per cent have origins in the Middle East and North Africa.

In France, to the west and south-west of Germany, these proportions are essentially reversed. Among children in immigrant families from LMICs, 12 per cent have origins in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, while 79 per cent have origins in the Middle East and North Africa, especially Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. These three North African countries share with France both a Mediterranean coastline and a linked colonial past. A substantial 8 per cent of children in immigrant families from LMICs in France have origins in East Asia and the Pacific, mainly countries that have emerged from the former colony of

French Indochina (Cambodia, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Viet Nam).

To the east and south of France and Germany, Italy, like Germany, shares borders (coastal or land) with countries in Eastern Europe, but, like France, it also has a long Mediterranean coastline. In view of this geography, it is not surprising that the share in Italy of children in immigrant families from LMICs that have origins in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, at 33 per cent, and in the Middle East and North Africa, at 24 per cent, lie between the corresponding shares in France and Germany. In addition, 24 per cent in Italy also have origins in Latin America and the Caribbean, that is, in countries, especially Argentina, Brazil and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, where the Romance languages commonly spoken have an affinity to Italian.

Netherlands		Switzerland		United Kingdom		United States	
Origin	Number	Origin	Number	Origin	Number	Origin	Number
Turkey	124,970	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia ^k	79,417	Pakistan	253,534	Mexico	5,216,718
Morocco	123,335	Italy	71,799	India	183,483	Germany	655,305
Suriname	89,560	Germany	44,757	Ireland	139,567	Puerto Rico (US)	640,239
Antilles and Aruba	40,780	Portugal	43,209	Germany	137,600	Philippines	562,787
Germany	39,320	France	32,890	Bangladesh	115,227	Viet Nam	395,031
Indonesia	30,970	Turkey	31,261	United States	73,592	El Salvador	391,677
Former Yugoslavia ^l	20,520	Bosnia and Herzegovina	21,323	Kenya	68,074	Canada	367,042
Belgium	20,200	Spain	20,773	Nigeria	54,796	United Kingdom	344,072
United Kingdom	19,075	TFYR Macedonia ^l	19,990	Jamaica	48,353	Dominican Republic	334,349
Iraq	15,240	Austria	13,440	South Africa	47,954	India	331,153

^g Figures for Germany are calculated from the 1 per cent population sample provided by Microcensus 2005.

^h Includes repatriates, naturalized citizens and other children in immigrant families.

ⁱ Excludes South-East European countries already listed.

^j Includes present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, Serbia, Slovenia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Kosovo (under UN Security Council Resolution 1244/99).

^k Includes present-day Montenegro, Serbia and Kosovo (under UN Security Council Resolution 1244/99).

^l The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

In Switzerland, which is nestled in the mountains between France, Germany and Italy, children in immigrant families from LMICs are somewhat less likely than such children in Germany to have origins in Eastern Europe and Central Asia (64 versus 76 per cent), while 6–10 per cent have origins in five other world regions.

The sixth European country under study is the Netherlands, with Germany to the east and south and Belgium and then France to the south. The share of children in immigrant families with LMIC origins from Eastern Europe and Central Asia is 30 per cent in the Netherlands, and the share of children in families from the Middle East and North Africa is also 30 per cent, values that lie between the corresponding shares in France and Germany. An additional 20 per cent in the Netherlands are children in families from Latin America and the Caribbean,

and 9 per cent are in families from East Asia and the Pacific. Children in immigrant families in the Netherlands from these regions are mainly in households from the former Dutch colonies of Indonesia and Suriname.

Reflecting the geographical proximity of origins among the children of immigrants across these six European countries, more than half the children (55 per cent) in families from LMICs have origins in Eastern Europe and Central Asia (24 per cent) or the Middle East and North Africa (31 per cent) (*see Table 3.3*). The three most important countries of origin are Algeria, Morocco and Turkey, which together account for 42 per cent of these children in immigrant families. Children in families with origins in Algeria live mainly in France (95 per cent), and those in families with origins in Morocco live mainly in France (61 per cent) or the Netherlands

Table 3.3 - Children in families of immigrant origin from LMICs as a percentage of total children in families of immigrant origin, eight affluent countries

Region of origin	Australia	France	Germany	Italy	Netherlands	Switzerland	United Kingdom	United States
Total from LMICs:	30.8	45.7	9.6	53.5	66.0	49.7	60.6	75.6
East Asia and the Pacific	16.8	3.8	0.9	3.4	5.8	3.3	3.8	11.1
Low income	4.2	3.8	0.2	—	—	1.0	0.9	4.7
Lower-middle income	12.7	—	0.2	3.4	5.8	2.2	1.8	6.3
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	—	—	0.1	1.1	0.1
Europe and Central Asia	—	5.6	7.3	17.5	19.5	31.7	2.7	3.7
Low income	—	—	—	—	—	0.0	0.0	0.0
Lower-middle income	—	—	1.4	10.2	1.6	22.0	0.3	1.4
Upper-middle income	—	5.6	5.9	7.3	18.0	9.8	2.3	2.3
Latin America and Caribbean	—	—	—	12.6	12.9	5.0	4.7	54.0
Low income	—	—	—	—	—	0.1	0.0	1.4
Lower-middle income	—	—	—	6.7	12.8	3.6	3.5	15.5
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	5.9	0.1	1.4	1.2	37.2
Middle East and North Africa	—	36.3	1.7	12.6	19.6	3.2	3.7	2.2
Low income	—	—	—	—	—	0.0	0.3	0.1
Lower-middle income	—	36.3	1.7	11.2	19.6	2.8	2.8	1.7
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	1.3	—	0.4	0.6	0.4
South Asia	10.0	—	0.1	2.7	2.6	2.8	27.9	3.2
Low income	4.3	—	0.1	2.0	2.6	0.9	26.8	3.2
Lower-middle income	5.7	—	—	0.7	—	1.9	1.0	0.0
Sub-Saharan Africa	4.0	—	—	4.7	5.5	3.4	17.1	1.8
Low income	—	—	—	3.6	3.5	2.0	13.8	1.5
Lower-middle income	—	—	—	0.5	1.2	0.8	0.3	0.1
Upper-middle income	4.0	—	—	0.5	0.7	0.6	3.0	0.2

Note: – no cases or too few cases to report, or value less than 0.1%.

(22 per cent), while those with origins in Turkey are spread more widely, with 30 per cent in France and 31 per cent in the Netherlands, followed by 17 per cent in Germany, 8 per cent in Switzerland and 6 per cent in the United Kingdom.

On the opposite side of the globe, in Australia, at the intersection of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, 55 per cent of the children in immigrant families with LMIC origins are from East Asia and the Pacific (especially China, the Philippines and Viet Nam), while 32 per cent are from South Asia.

In the Western Hemisphere, the United States is one of the three countries under study, along with France and Germany, most likely to have immigrants mainly from a single region: 71 per cent of the children in immigrant families with LMIC origins live in households from

Latin America and the Caribbean, while 15 per cent live in households from East Asia and the Pacific. Mexico stands out as a source of immigrants to the United States, but many other Western Hemisphere countries also send large numbers. Reflecting the involvement of the United States in the Viet Nam War, about two fifths of the children with origins in East Asia and the Pacific have origins in Cambodia, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Thailand and Viet Nam.

Despite the high concentration of immigrants with origins in Latin America and the Caribbean, and because of the sheer size of the country as a magnet for immigrants, the United States actually has a larger number of children in immigrant families with LMIC origins than any of the other seven countries under study for three of the six global regions of origin. Among the eight countries under study, the children in

the United States account for 38 per cent of all children in families with origins in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, 77 per cent with origins in East Asia and the Pacific and 96 per cent with origins in Latin America and the Caribbean, while France accounts for 50 per cent from the Middle East and North Africa and the United Kingdom accounts for the largest shares, at 45 per cent each, from sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia.

Although these data demonstrate that the eight countries under study experience high concentrations of immigrants with particular

national and regional origins, it also is the case that these countries are home to immigrants with an enormous array of origins. In the five of the eight countries reporting highly detailed country of origin data based on the most recent national population census or the national registration system, the number of LMICs represented among the children in immigrant families ranges from more than 25 for the Netherlands and 50 for Italy, to more than 90 for Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States. The total number of LMIC origins would turn out to be larger still if more detailed data were available.

4

CHILDREN IN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES: LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

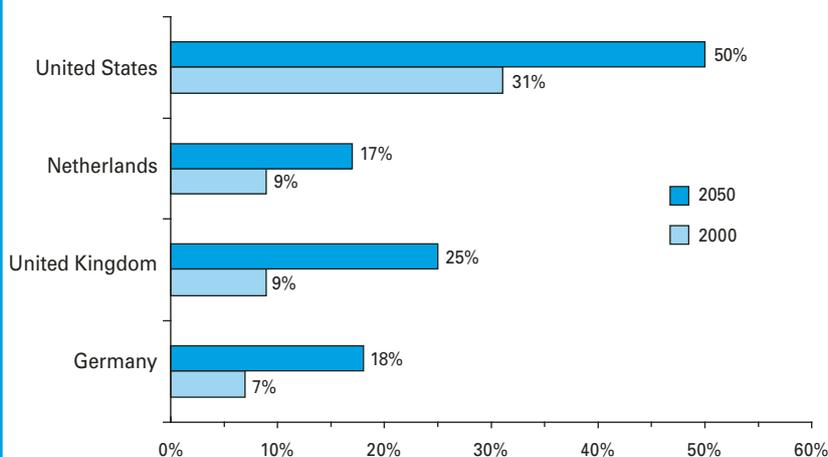
Children in immigrant families, particularly families from LMICs, will play an increasingly prominent role during adulthood in the economic and social life of the eight countries in this report, partly because of the growth in their numbers and partly because the low rates of natural increase among non-immigrants are leading to ageing among the native populations in these countries. As a result,

ageing non-immigrant populations will come to depend more during retirement on the economic productivity of workers who have been reared in immigrant families from LMICs, often with a non-western cultural heritage.

Recent population projections for three of the eight countries under study indicate, for example, that the share of the population that is non-western will roughly double between about 2000 and 2050, from 9 to 25 per cent in the United Kingdom (here only England and Wales), 7 to 18 per cent in Germany and 9 to 17 per cent in the Netherlands (see Figure 4.1). Similarly, the share of the race-ethnic minority population of the United States is projected to grow from 31 to 50 per cent between 2000 and 2050.³⁰

Over the same period, the populations of European nations will also be ageing because of low rates of natural increase, particularly among non-immigrant populations. The elderly dependency ratio expressed as a percentage, that is, persons aged 65 and over calculated as a per cent

Figure 4.1 – Projected growth in non-western population as a share of total population, four affluent countries, 2000–2050



Source: Coleman, David, 'Immigration and Ethnic Change in Low-Fertility Countries: A third demographic transition', *Population and Development Review*, vol. 32, no. 3, 2006, pp. 401–446.

Note: The approximate year ranges are 2001–2051 for the United Kingdom (here including only England and Wales), 2000–2050 for Germany, 2004–2050 for the Netherlands and 2000–2050 for the United States.

of persons in the working ages of 15–64, will roughly double in France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, from 21–29 per cent in 2005 to 39–66 per cent in 2050,³¹ and, in the United States, from 24 per cent in 2000 to 47 per cent in 2050. While 2050 may seem distant, it is important to remember that children aged 0–17 in 2009, as this report is released, will be in the prime working ages of 41–58 in 2050.

In short, the well-being and development of children whose parents are immigrants, especially those from non-western developing countries who may differ from non-immigrants in their appearance, language, religion and

culture, will have important consequences during the next several decades for the eight countries under study. As these children become adults, they will represent an increasing share of the labour force, the political community and the next generation of parents. Thus, the success of immigrants and their children in their adopted homelands is important not only to immigrant families, but also to all residents in the immigrant countries of settlement, and their success will depend on the extent to which they are welcomed, included and integrated into the culture, the schools and the other institutions of the towns, cities and countries where they live.

5

THE SOCIAL INCLUSION AND CIVIL INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANT FAMILIES

The social inclusion of immigrants has been a long-standing issue in countries of mass immigration. At the beginning of the twentieth century in the United States, for example, perceived differences between immigrants and the native born were viewed as enormous, and the scientific community, policymakers and the public shared the view that the new immigrants were likely to dilute the racial and cultural purity of native-born Americans.³² Similarly, in Australia, the White Australia policy, with roots in the middle of the nineteenth century, was formalized in the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 and warmly applauded at the time by most sections of society.³³

In response to increased immigration to the United States at the beginning of this century, when immigrant eligibility for public benefits was being restricted by the government, new studies were initiated to assess the circumstances and policies that affected the inclusion and integration of immigrants and their children.³⁴

The EU is also vigorously pursuing issues of immigrant inclusion and integration through the promulgation of strong, albeit non-binding, principles and practices. The Council of the European Union in 2003 deemed that it is “necessary to elaborate a comprehensive and multidimensional policy on the integration of

legally residing third country nationals who . . . should be granted rights and obligations comparable to those of EU citizens.”³⁵

One year later, the council urged that:

*“[S]tability and cohesion within our societies benefit from the successful integration of legally resident third-country nationals and their descendants. To achieve this objective, it is essential to develop effective policies, and to prevent the isolation of certain groups. A comprehensive approach involving stakeholders at the local, regional, national, and EU level is therefore essential.”*³⁶

In pursuing these aims, the EU has developed the *Handbook on Integration for Policy-Makers and Practitioners*.³⁷ The Council of the European Union and representatives of the governments of the member states have also established common basic principles for immigrant inclusion and integration policy in the EU. These principles include the following (authors’ emphasis added):

- “*Employment* is a key part of the integration process and is central to the participation of immigrants, to the contributions immigrants make to the host society, and to making such contributions visible.”

- “Basic knowledge of the host society’s *language*, history, and institutions is indispensable to integration; enabling immigrants to acquire this basic knowledge is essential to successful integration.”
- “Efforts in *education* are critical to preparing immigrants, and particularly their descendants, to be more successful and more active participants in society.”
- “Access for immigrants to institutions, as well as to *public and private* goods and services, on a basis equal to national citizens and in a non-discriminatory way, is a critical foundation for better integration.”
- “The *practice of diverse cultures and religions* is guaranteed under the Charter of Fundamental Rights and must be safeguarded, unless practices conflict with other inviolable European rights or with national law.”
- “The *participation of immigrants in the democratic process* and in the formulation of integration policies and measures, especially at the local level, supports their integration.”³⁸

Going further, the Second Annual Report on Migration and Integration of the European Commission urged that:

- “In order to successfully integrate and participate in all aspects of life, migrants must be provided with basic rights in terms of *access to education, housing, healthcare, and social services*” (authors’ emphasis added).³⁹

It also noted that, “as part of the action programme to combat social exclusion, the Commission has commissioned a study on access to decent housing for migrants and ethnic minorities.”⁴⁰

Returning to this issue in 2007:

“[T]he Council [of the European Union] and the Representatives of the

Governments of the Member States emphasize the need to continue to strengthen the integration policies of Member States with a view to managing diverse societies, counteracting all forms of discrimination and intolerance, maintaining social cohesion and ensuring that immigrants are able to reach their full potential and are able to participate to the fullest extent possible in the social, economic, cultural and civic life of the relevant Member State.”⁴¹

These ideas clearly connect with issues of social inclusion and social exclusion. As defined in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union:

“Social inclusion is a process which insures that those at risk of poverty and social exclusion gain the opportunities and resources necessary to participate fully in economic, social and cultural life and to enjoy a standard of living and well-being that is considered normal in the society in which they live. It ensures that they have greater participation in decision making which affects their lives and access to their fundamental rights.”⁴²

In this context, this report presents a series of statistics on children in immigrant families pertaining to various aspects of immigrant inclusion and integration, including language, civic participation, education, employment, poverty and housing. While these data do not directly measure inclusion and integration, they do portray the lives of children in immigrant families, compared with the lives of children in native-born families, in social, economic and civic dimensions that help in assessing inclusion and integration. This report augments these statistics by drawing on additional scientific studies to shed light on the extent to which children in immigrant families in the eight affluent countries covered in this study have access to the resources necessary to participate fully in the societies of their adopted homelands.

6

FAMILY COMPOSITION

One- and two-parent families

Research on families in the United Kingdom and the United States indicates that children living with two parents tend, on average, to be advantaged in their educational success compared with children in one-parent families.⁴³ Overall, in each country under study, children in immigrant families are about as likely as or are more likely than children in native-born families to live with two parents, with the notable exception of the Netherlands (see Figure 6.1 and Table 6.1).

In the Netherlands, the difference is accounted for mainly by children with origins in Angola, the Antilles and Aruba, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Dominican Republic, Ethiopia, Ghana, Somalia and Suriname. Most of these countries are either Caribbean countries with long traditions of one-parent families, or African countries where single parents, often the mothers, are fleeing with their children as refugees to escape severe economic disturbances or civil wars. Among the two countries of origin accounting for 30 per cent

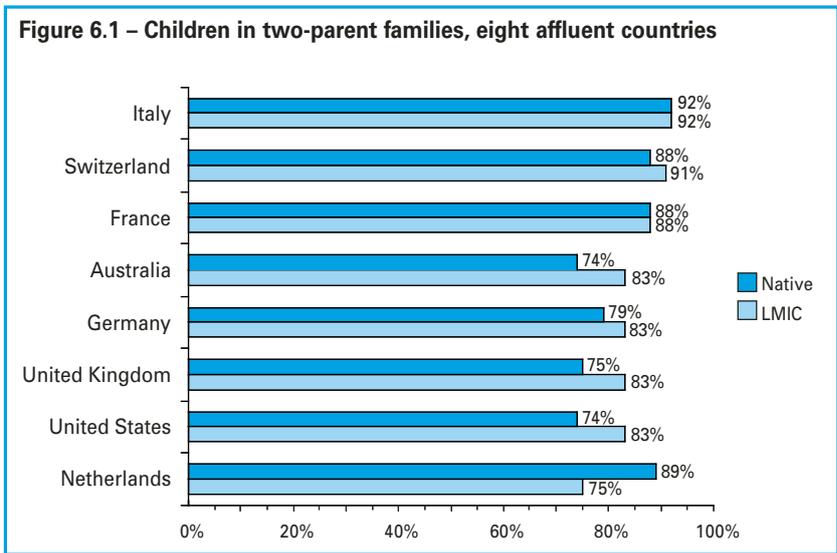


Table 6.1 - Per cent of children in two-parent families, eight affluent countries

Family origin	Australia	France	Germany	Italy	Netherlands	Switzerland	United Kingdom	United States
All children	76.8	87.8	80.5	92.0	86.2	89.1	76.6	76.4
In native-born families	73.5	87.7	78.6	92.0	89.4	87.5	75.3	74.4
In immigrant families	83.4	89.2	86.9	92.1	75.0	91.4	83.6	83.4
<i>Children in immigrant families by income category of the country of origin:</i>								
a- All low, lower-middle and upper-middle income:	83.3	88.2	82.5	91.7	75.0	91.3	83.1	83.2
East Asia and the Pacific	81.9	92.2	—	91.2	80.9	89.1	83.8	86.3
Low income	79.2	92.2	—	—	—	89.4	74.1	85.0
Lower-middle income	82.8	—	—	91.2	80.9	89.0	85.9	87.2
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	—	—	90.4	88.7	90.8
Europe and Central Asia	—	92.1	82.7	91.5	81.0	93.5	85.0	89.2
Low income	—	—	—	—	—	—	80.1	80.0
Lower-middle income	—	—	85.8	92.5	73.8	94.4	85.4	89.7
Upper-middle income	—	92.1	82.0	90.1	81.7	91.3	85.0	89.0
Latin America and the Caribbean	—	—	—	89.5	57.8	85.5	71.7	81.2
Low income	—	—	—	—	—	69.6	—	68.8
Lower-middle income	—	—	—	86.3	57.5	85.1	68.6	75.4
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	93.2	87.2	87.6	81.0	84.2
Middle East and North Africa	—	87.2	82.5	94.7	83.8	88.9	87.8	91.5
Low income	—	—	—	—	—	—	85.8	88.0
Lower-middle income	—	87.2	82.5	94.8	83.8	88.4	87.7	91.4
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	93.7	—	92.4	89.2	92.4
South Asia	85.6	—	—	95.9	82.6	93.7	88.2	93.4
Low income	91.1	—	—	96.5	82.6	91.1	88.1	93.4
Lower-middle income	81.4	—	—	94.0	—	94.9	90.9	94.3
Sub-Saharan Africa	83.5	—	—	88.4	53.0	82.4	76.5	78.6
Low income	—	—	—	88.3	48.3	81.1	74.9	77.5
Lower-middle income	—	—	—	84.4	47.7	82.1	62.3	74.5
Upper-middle income	83.5	—	—	92.7	85.1	87.8	85.5	89.9
b- All high income	82.9	92.9	87.4	92.6	73.8	91.6	85.2	84.2

Note: — no cases or too few cases to report, or value less than 0.1%.

of children in the Netherlands in immigrant families from LMICs (Morocco and Turkey), more than 80 per cent live in two-parent households.

Overall, the overwhelming majority of children in immigrant families with LMIC origins have two parents in the home, and they are generally more likely than children in native-born families to live in strong two-parent families.

Siblings in the home

Brothers and sisters can be a liability and an asset. In so far as parental time and finances are limited, these resources must be spread more thinly in families with more siblings than in families with fewer siblings. Research in China, France and the United States indicates that children in larger families tend, all else being

Table 6.2 - Per cent of children in homes with two or more siblings, seven affluent countries

Family origin	Australia	France	Germany	Italy	Switzerland	United Kingdom	United States
All children	37.0	33.3	22.7	16.4	30.6	33.5	36.9
In native-born families	38.4	31.6	18.5	15.4	31.8	31.9	35.5
In immigrant families	34.2	49.3	33.5	19.9	28.9	41.3	41.9
<i>Children in immigrant families by income category of the country of origin:</i>							
a- All low, lower-middle and upper-middle income:	30.3	58.5	46.8	22.1	35.3	46.7	44.4
East Asia and the Pacific	28.2	55.1	—	19.4	20.8	30.4	37.3
Low income	35.4	55.1	—	—	26.9	40.6	45.8
Lower-middle income	25.9	—	—	19.4	18.3	23.1	31.2
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	—	22.0	33.7	25.6
Europe and Central Asia	—	60.1	36.6	18.2	40.0	26.1	29.2
Low income	—	—	—	—	—	19.0	31.3
Lower-middle income	—	—	49.2	23.7	45.4	18.0	32.2
Upper-middle income	—	60.1	29.5	10.6	27.7	27.3	27.3
Latin America and the Caribbean	—	—	—	15.6	21.3	31.8	48.0
Low income	—	—	—	—	16.8	—	47.9
Lower-middle income	—	—	—	14.0	20.6	31.1	36.2
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	17.6	23.6	34.1	53.0
Middle East and North Africa	—	58.6	45.7	32.3	31.0	42.0	41.2
Low income	—	—	—	—	—	58.1	67.8
Lower-middle income	—	58.6	45.7	34.3	30.1	39.0	38.8
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	15.4	38.4	48.5	47.9
South Asia	33.2	—	—	27.8	29.5	57.9	28.2
Low income	30.7	—	—	33.7	31.7	59.0	28.3
Lower-middle income	35.0	—	—	9.8	28.5	27.5	20.4
Sub-Saharan Africa	32.0	—	—	25.3	36.0	40.3	46.5
Low income	—	—	—	26.4	39.0	42.9	48.6
Lower-middle income	—	—	—	29.0	35.8	47.5	44.2
Upper-middle income	32.0	—	—	13.3	25.1	27.5	32.1
b- All high income	35.3	30.9	31.9	17.4	22.5	33.2	34.1

Note: — no cases or too few cases to report, or value less than 0.1%.

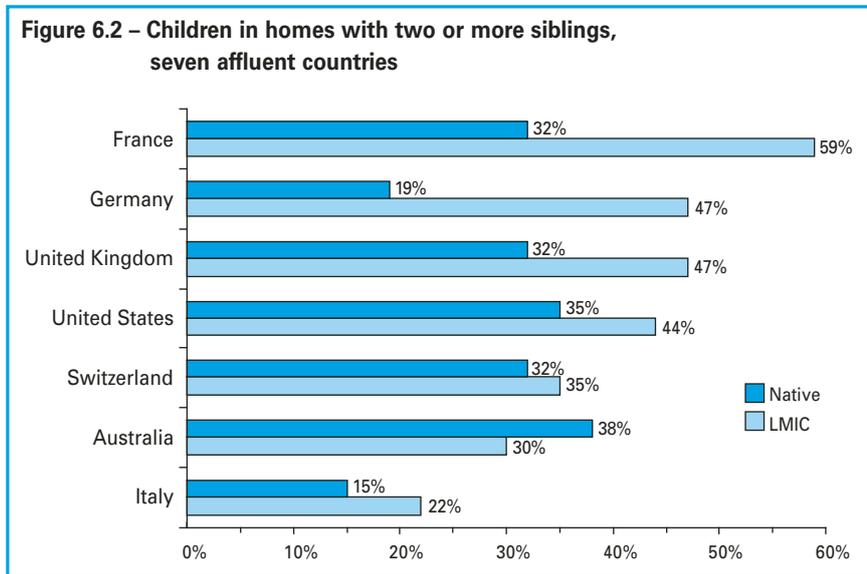
equal, to experience less educational success and to complete fewer years of schooling than children with fewer siblings.⁴⁴

The countries studied here differ greatly in the number of siblings in native-born families (see Table 6.2 and Figure 6.2). The share of these children with two or more siblings 0–17 years of age in the home ranges from

15 per cent in Italy and 19 per cent in Germany to 32 per cent in France and Switzerland, 36 per cent in the United States and 38 per cent in Australia. Children in immigrant families from LMICs are more likely than children in native-born families to live in households with two or more siblings except in Australia, where the difference is 30 versus 38 per cent, respectively. In three of the other seven

countries under study, the differences are in the range of 4–15 per cent, but this rises to a 27 per cent difference in France (59 versus 32 per cent) and a 28 per cent difference in Germany (47 versus 19 per cent). In Germany, much of the difference is accounted for by children in families with origins in Turkey or in lower- middle-income countries of

Eastern Europe, among whom the shares living with two or more siblings are, respectively, 54 and 49 per cent. In France, the shares are quite high for children in families from Algeria, Cambodia, the Lao People’s Democratic Republic, Morocco, Tunisia, Turkey and Viet Nam (44–63 per cent).



7

LANGUAGE

The language or languages spoken by children and their families are especially relevant to two of the principles of immigrant inclusion and integration established by the Council of the European Union and the representatives of the governments of the member states (authors' emphasis added):

- “Basic knowledge of the host society’s *language*, history, and institutions is indispensable to integration; enabling immigrants to acquire this basic knowledge is essential to successful integration. . . .”
- “The *practice of diverse cultures and religions* is guaranteed under the Charter of Fundamental Rights and must be safeguarded, unless practices conflict with other inviolable European rights or with national law.”⁴⁵

Thus, speaking the language of the society of settlement is important because this language is necessary for children enrolled in schools that teach in this language and for parents in the labour market, in civic participation and in other institutional settings. At the same time, speaking the language of the country of origin may be critical to maintaining the elements of cultural or religious heritage embedded in this language.⁴⁶

Most children in immigrant families learn the language of the country of settlement as they make friends, attend school and engage in

other aspects of life, and in France and the United States, for example, most prefer to speak the local language rather than the language of their immigrant heritage.⁴⁷ Still, if, as is often the case, children learn the language of the society of settlement more quickly than their parents do, the children may be called upon to serve as linguistic intermediaries between parents and various institutions, such as schools, medical care providers, social service agencies, the police and the courts.

This role may be essential in helping immigrant families negotiate and become included in the unfamiliar terrain of the society of settlement, but it can also lead to conflicts by undermining traditional parent-child roles and parental authority.⁴⁸ These difficulties may be exacerbated by other sources of parent-child conflict, such as disagreements about going out with friends and, for girls, wearing make-up and jewellery, if the parent’s culture of origin has strict rules about these behaviours.⁴⁹ While some parent-child conflicts are inevitable as children seek to straddle two cultures, the failure to develop fluency in the heritage language among children may exacerbate such conflicts by undermining family solidarity and the transmission of core cultural values from parents to children.

Research in Italy has addressed the importance parents place on children maintaining the

heritage language.⁵⁰ Parents in immigrant families from Egypt, Ghana, Morocco and Senegal, for example, both encourage their children to speak the language of origin during family interactions and encourage the mastery of one or more additional languages. Passing on elements of the culture of origin to their children is seen by immigrant parents as reinforcing the children's identity in a fashion that fosters transmission of the value of education and allows the children to discover themselves more fully when they become adults. Similarly, research in the Netherlands finds that speaking the heritage language is important for the general well-being of immigrant children and enables immigrant parents to help their children in cognitive development and schoolwork.⁵¹

In Australia, the importance of language is reflected in the fact that immigrants are frequently referred to (though not officially) as persons with non-English-speaking backgrounds, that is, persons from non-English-speaking countries.⁵² More recently, a related term that has come into common usage (again, not officially) is 'culturally and linguistically diverse', which refers to persons who are not Anglo-Australian or Indigenous, particularly ethnic or linguistic groups that are disadvantaged in some way. Research in Australia also finds that English proficiency is important for education and skills development, but that speaking the heritage language at home can have a protective effect by facilitating mutual support across families within the ethnic-language group.⁵³ One study finds that familiarity with English does not necessarily lead to positive adjustment in Australia, as children in immigrant families from Malta have higher levels of English proficiency, but also exhibit higher levels of stress, than do children in families from South America.⁵⁴

Language spoken at home

Statistics for the three countries under study for which data are available show that the share of children in immigrant families from LMICs who speak a language at home other than the language of the country of settlement ranges from 56 per cent in Australia to 73–77 per cent in France and the United States (see Table 7.1 and Figure 7.1). In Australia, this includes nearly all children in families with origins in China and Viet Nam (92–95 per cent). In France, the shares are especially high for

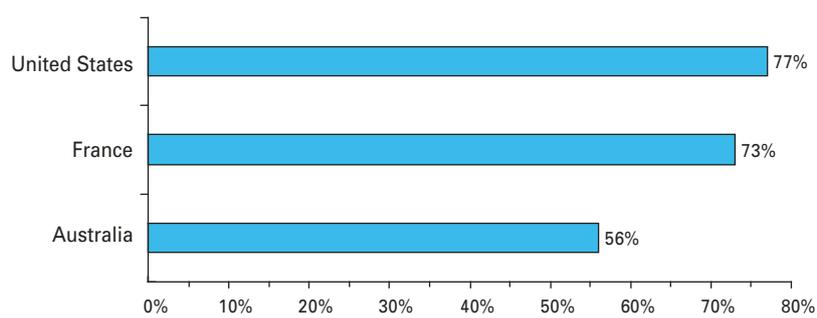
Table 7.1 - Per cent of children speaking a non-local language at home, three affluent countries

Family origin	Australia	France	United States
All children	12.7	11.4	18.2
In native-born families	2.6	6.1	4.8
In immigrant families	33.8	61.5	66.3
<i>Children in immigrant families by income category of the country of origin:</i>			
a- All low, lower-middle and upper-middle income:	56.1	72.8	76.8
East Asia and the Pacific	69.0	78.5	62.9
Low income	95.3	78.5	79.7
Lower-middle income	60.2	—	50.5
Upper-middle income	—	—	54.5
Europe and Central Asia	—	90.2	73.7
Low income	—	—	93.8
Lower-middle income	—	—	84.3
Upper-middle income	—	90.2	66.5
Latin America and the Caribbean	—	—	82.0
Low income	—	—	70.8
Lower-middle income	—	—	70.2
Upper-middle income	—	—	87.6
Middle East and North Africa	—	69.8	64.0
Low income	—	—	85.5
Lower-middle income	—	69.8	63.5
Upper-middle income	—	—	62.3
South Asia	51.5	—	72.4
Low income	51.9	—	73.0
Lower-middle income	51.2	—	36.0
Sub-Saharan Africa	13.3	—	39.2
Low income	—	—	40.0
Lower-middle income	—	—	67.2
Upper-middle income	13.3	—	14.6
b- All high income	15.7	41.3	35.8

Note: — no cases or too few cases to report, or value less than 0.1%.

children in families with origins in Cambodia and the Lao People's Democratic Republic (82–83 per cent) and in Turkey (90 per cent). In the United States, the shares are especially high among children in families from Eastern Europe and Central Asia, particularly countries emerging from the former Soviet Union, which are often in the range of 86–93 per cent, though

Figure 7.1 – Children in families from LMICs speaking a non-local language at home, three affluent countries



Early education and bilingual fluency

Research in the United States indicates that children who learn English after they have established a facility with the language of their families' country of origin, typically around age 3, are able to add English during the preschool and early elementary school years, and that this bilingual skill leads to long-term cognitive, cultural and

not Turkey, at only 46 per cent, and for children in families from various Central American countries (82–91 per cent), Colombia (81 per cent) and Mexico (90 per cent).

Although many children in immigrant families speak the heritage language of their parents at home, few speak this language exclusively with the parents. In France in 1992, for example, only 20 per cent of the parents in immigrant families used their language of origin exclusively in speaking with their children, although the share was 26 per cent among immigrant families from Morocco and 56 per cent among immigrant families from Turkey.⁵⁵ Meanwhile, the share speaking exclusively French to their children was substantial, at 35–37 per cent in immigrant families from Algeria and Spain. Similarly, in the Netherlands, the share always speaking Dutch to their children is 29 per cent among immigrant families from Morocco and 20 per cent among immigrant families from Turkey, while the shares never speaking Dutch to their children among these two groups are 25 and 30 per cent, respectively.⁵⁶

The results for France and the Netherlands indicate considerable diversity in the use of the languages of the countries of origin and settlement by parents with their children, but they also suggest that, in important immigrant groups, about half the parents speak both languages with their children. The statistics do not, however, indicate the fluency with which either the children or the parents speak these languages. Additional results for the United States indicate that nearly half of all children in immigrant families (46 per cent) are fluent in English and also speak another language at home.⁵⁷

economic advantages. A dual-language approach to teaching has been found to be effective for English language learners, with no negative consequences for other students. In fact, dual-language programmes are effective in improving the academic achievements of students learning English, but also provide benefits to children in native-born families, as reflected in standardized test scores and reports by parents, teachers and school administrators.⁵⁸

Studies in Germany have also found that young children enrolled in care facilities outside the home benefit in cognitive, social, emotional, physical and linguistic development, and that preschool contributes to the educational accomplishments of children in immigrant families.⁵⁹

In practice, many children lose or do not fully develop fluency in the heritage language, and this poor outcome is often not accompanied by offsetting gains in the mastery of the language of the society of settlement.⁶⁰ Without comparable fluency gains in the language of the country of settlement, negative consequences follow, including low self-esteem and school failure.

Research in the Netherlands finds that a majority of first-generation immigrant children begin primary school with deficiencies in language and mathematics, and this is often true of the second generation as well. The greatest difficulties are experienced by the four largest non-western immigrant groups in the Netherlands, that is, the groups from the Antilles and Aruba, Morocco, Suriname and Turkey, but also among the newer immigrant flows from the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq and Eastern Europe.⁶¹

Studies in Germany and the Netherlands highlight the importance of beginning

instruction in the local language early, in preschool or kindergarten.⁶² Not surprisingly, however, as research in Australia suggests, childcare and preschool providers experience challenges in communicating with parents from culturally diverse backgrounds.⁶³

Nonetheless, other research indicates that it is not essential for teachers to be fluent in the language of the country of origin of the children's families. For example, even when teachers in preschool through third grade in the United States have no experience with a child's first language, they are able to introduce young learners to English and also adopt teaching practices that support the development of the language of origin. Teachers who encourage the families of children to talk, read and sing with the children in the language of origin and to use this language in everyday activities succeed in fostering the development of this language even as the children learn English.⁶⁴

Although it is a subject of debate who should be responsible for instruction in the heritage language, it seems important for preschools and schools to foster proficiency in the language of the settlement society, while facilitating the proficiency in the heritage language that will enable parents and children to communicate effectively and share in the cultural heritage of the parents.⁶⁵

Through dual-language instruction, children in immigrant families become positioned as an important human resource for the economies

of the societies of settlement. They will be well qualified to serve as linguistic bridges between these societies and the countries of origin of their immigrant parents which could become an important advantage for societies in the increasingly globalized marketplace.

Unfortunately, children in immigrant families are often less likely than children in native-born families to be enrolled in early care and education programmes. In Germany, for example, a study in 2006 found an enrolment rate of 72 per cent among the foreign born compared with 84 per cent among native German children.⁶⁶ Research in the Netherlands finds that children in immigrant families often show lower enrolment rates in preschool than children in native-born families.⁶⁷ The financial costs for the parents in immigrant families and their preference for other forms of childcare are likely to be important factors explaining this difference.

In the United States, census data show that children in immigrant families from Central America, Mexico and South-East Asia are less likely than white children in native families to be enrolled at ages 3 or 4 in nursery schools or preschool (pre-kindergarten). Recent research also finds that this difference results partly or entirely from socio-economic or structural barriers, such as the lack of resources to pay for school, rather than family cultural values that might lead parents to prefer that their children receive home care instead of education by non-relatives in formal settings.⁶⁸

8

CIVIC PARTICIPATION

The importance of civic participation is reflected in the following principle established by the Council of the European Union and the representatives of the governments of the EU member states (emphasis added):

- “The participation of immigrants in the democratic process and in the formulation of integration policies and measures, especially at the local level, supports their integration.”⁶⁹

The Council of the European Union and the representatives of the governments of the member states returned to this issue in 2007, highlighting “the need to continue to strengthen the integration policies of Member States with a view to . . . ensuring that

immigrants are able to . . . participate to the fullest extent possible in the social, economic, cultural and civic life of the relevant Member State” (emphasis added).⁷⁰

Among the statistical indicators on children in immigrant families developed for this report, four are relevant to civic participation: the extent to which the arrival of the parents in the country of settlement is recent, the citizenship status of the parents, the immigrant generation of the children and the citizenship status of the children.

Timeframe of parental arrival

A necessary condition for civic participation is residence in the country of settlement, and

immigrants who have been in an adopted homeland for longer periods will have had a greater opportunity to participate in civic life. Moreover, longer periods of residence are also likely to reflect a greater commitment to the society of the country of settlement. The vast majority of children in immigrant families with origins in LMICs are living with at least one parent who has resided in the country of settlement for five years or more. The shares of such

Figure 8.1 – Share of children in families from LMICs with at least one parent in the country of settlement five years or more, five affluent countries

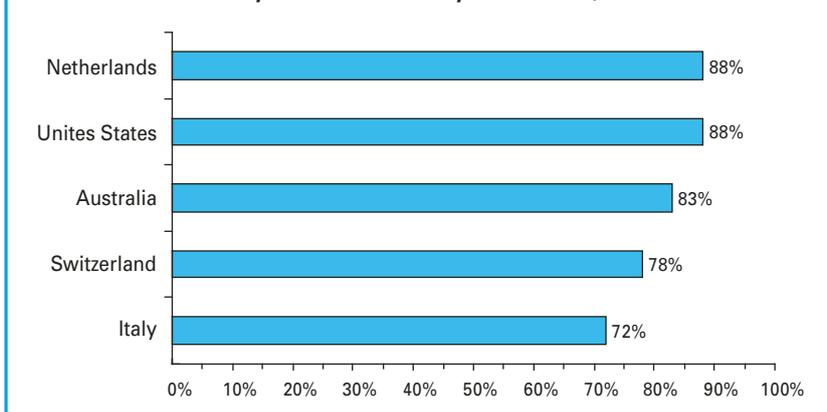


Table 8.1 - Per cent of children with at least one parent in the country of settlement less than five years, five affluent countries

Origin	Australia	Italy	Netherlands	Switzerland	United States
All children	4.9	1.6	3.3	6.6	2.5
In native-born families	1.3	—	0.7	0.6	0.0
In immigrant families	12.2	16.3	12.3	17.1	11.3
<i>Children in immigrant families by income category of the country of origin:</i>					
a- All low, lower-middle and upper-middle income:	17.4	27.6	11.6	22.0	11.8
East Asia and the Pacific	15.1	21.7	9.7	19.7	8.6
Low income	3.8	—	—	11.2	7.1
Lower-middle income	18.8	21.7	9.7	24.7	9.7
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	14.5	11.1
Europe and Central Asia	—	38.9	13.2	20.4	22.7
Low income	—	—	—	—	34.7
Lower-middle income	—	48.6	37.1	23.3	35.5
Upper-middle income	—	25.3	11.1	14.3	14.6
Latin America and the Caribbean	—	11.7	7.1	29.6	10.8
Low income	—	—	—	12.5	9.3
Lower-middle income	—	17.3	7.0	35.4	9.6
Upper-middle income	—	5.3	23.5	18.2	11.4
Middle East and North Africa	—	29.1	10.3	25.5	12.5
Low income	—	—	—	—	19.8
Lower-middle income	—	32.2	10.3	25.5	13.0
Upper-middle income	—	3.0	—	26.1	8.9
South Asia	18.3	45.6	27.4	23.4	20.5
Low income	22.4	50.1	27.4	25.8	20.6
Lower-middle income	15.2	31.7	—	22.5	14.3
Sub-Saharan Africa	25.0	18.5	15.9	24.5	20.9
Low income	—	20.6	16.9	27.0	21.2
Lower-middle income	—	14.9	16.0	24.3	15.7
Upper-middle income	25.0	6.9	11.0	18.3	22.2
b- All high income	9.8	3.3	11.7	12.8	9.8

Note: — no cases or too few cases to report, or value less than 0.1%.

children among all children in immigrant families range from 72 to 88 per cent among the five countries of settlement for which data are available (see Table 8.1 and Figure 8.1).

The share is reportedly below 60 per cent for only a few countries of origin, including mainly countries in Eastern Europe and Central Asia,

and Somalia. Such comparatively low shares generally reflect major new immigration flows during the late 1990s or early 2000s, often involving persons seeking to escape political instability or local or international conflict. But overall, and in most countries of origin, children in immigrant families are living with at least one parent who has resided in the country of settlement for five years or more, which, depending on local circumstances, can lead to corresponding opportunities to participate in civic life in their adopted homelands.

Parental citizenship

Parents who are citizens of a country of settlement are full members of the political community, that is, they have the legal right to participate fully in all aspects of civic life, including voting in elections. Partly because of family reunification provisions of immigration laws that provide for the immigration of spouses, substantial shares of the children in immigrant families live with one parent who is not a citizen of the country of

settlement and a second parent who is. Among the five countries under study on which data are available, this share is lowest among children in immigrant families from LMICs in Australia, at 14 per cent (see Table 8.2 and Figure 8.2). However, the share rises to nearly one child in five (18 per cent) in Italy, to more than one child in four in the Netherlands

(26 per cent) and the United States (29 per cent) and to a high of 55 per cent in Switzerland.

Many children in immigrant families with origins in LMICs are living with a parent who is fully qualified to vote and participate in other aspects of the civic life of one of these five countries of settlement, but the shares of these children are notably lower among families from some regions of origin. In Italy, for instance, the share of such children falls from 18 per cent overall to 13–16 per cent among children in families with origins in East Asia and the Pacific, the Middle East and North Africa, and sub-Saharan Africa and to 4 per cent among

children in families with origins in South Asia. In the Netherlands, the share falls from 26 per cent overall to lower levels among children in families with origins in Turkey (17 per cent), Morocco and the Syrian Arab Republic (11 per cent each) and South Asia (5 per cent). In the United States, the share falls from 29 per cent overall to 5–25 per cent among children in families from Myanmar and from many Eastern European countries and countries of the former Soviet Union that are sources of refugees. Finally, in Switzerland, the overall share of 55 per cent falls to less than 40 per cent among children in families from Armenia, countries in the western Balkans,

Haiti, a few countries in the Middle East and North Africa, Sri Lanka and sub-Saharan Africa.

Nonetheless, in these countries, at least one child in ten and, often, at least one child in four in families from LMICs are each living with a citizen parent who enjoys the associated civic and political rights. In so far as civic participation by immigrants is a principle established by the Council of the European Union and the representatives of the governments of the member states, children in families with origins in selected countries in Eastern Europe, the Middle East and North Africa, and sub-Saharan Africa

Table 8.2 - Per cent of children living in families with parents of mixed citizenship, five affluent countries

Family origin	Australia	Italy	Netherlands	Switzerland	United States
All children	8.1	1.7	8.5	39.5	6.6
In native-born families	1.0	0.0	—	12.5	0.0
In immigrant families	21.0	17.2	38.0	64.6	27.2
<i>Children in immigrant families by income category of the country of origin:</i>					
a- All low, lower-middle and upper-middle income:	13.6	18.0	26.4	54.9	28.7
East Asia and the Pacific	13.1	13.9	63.8	66.4	23.2
Low income	6.8	—	—	57.1	21.8
Lower-middle income	15.1	13.9	63.8	68.9	24.0
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	74.0	34.7
Europe and Central Asia	—	19.4	23.9	46.0	17.3
Low income	—	—	—	—	15.6
Lower-middle income	—	10.9	26.5	38.9	14.2
Upper-middle income	—	31.5	23.7	54.2	19.2
Latin America and the Caribbean	—	26.7	37.1	64.9	31.3
Low income	—	—	—	33.3	32.5
Lower-middle income	—	33.0	36.6	66.6	30.8
Upper-middle income	—	20.0	84.7	62.2	31.5
Middle East and North Africa	—	13.0	12.9	63.7	21.6
Low income	—	—	—	—	53.4
Lower-middle income	—	13.5	12.9	62.8	20.8
Upper-middle income	—	8.7	—	70.8	19.6
South Asia	16.0	3.9	5.3	46.4	25.4
Low income	14.3	3.7	5.3	58.7	25.4
Lower-middle income	17.5	4.3	—	30.1	29.2
Sub-Saharan Africa	9.5	15.6	29.2	49.5	29.8
Low income	—	13.7	22.4	49.1	30.0
Lower-middle income	—	26.9	19.4	48.9	32.9
Upper-middle income	9.5	18.1	78.6	55.8	26.6
b- All high income	28.1	16.2	69.3	71.2	22.8

Note: The table shows the share of children each living with one parent who is a citizen of the country of settlement and one parent who is a foreign citizen.

— no cases or too few cases to report, or value less than 0.1%.

are sometimes less likely to be living with parents who have become integrated in civic life through citizenship in the country of settlement.

Immigrant generations

Children in immigrant families who were born in the country of settlement may be especially likely to participate in the civic life of the country of settlement because most will spend their entire lives in this country. Data on the countries under study indicate that the vast majority of children in immigrant families with origins in LMICs are in the second immigrant generation, that is, born in the country of settlement to parents, at least one of whom in each family has been born elsewhere (see Table 8.3 and Figure 8.3). With the exception of Germany (which is a special case given the significant share of repatriates), only in Australia is the share as low as 22 per cent. More than three children in five in immigrant families in Italy (63 per cent) are in the second

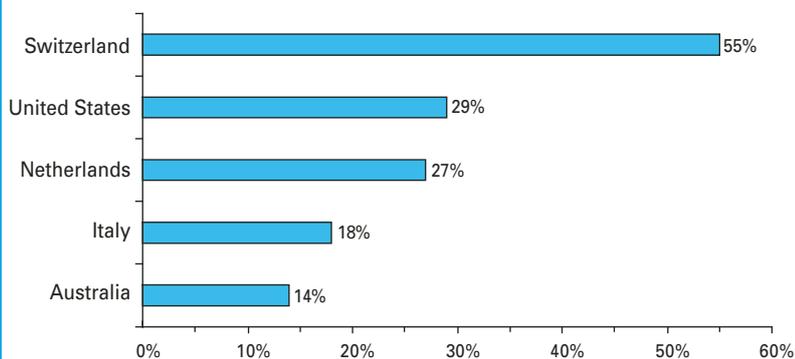
generation, and this share rises to 67 per cent in Switzerland, 77 per cent in the United States, 83 per cent in the United Kingdom and 87 per cent in France and the Netherlands. These high shares reflect the fact that many immigrants arrive in their twenties and bear most of their children in the country of settlement.

In Italy, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States, the shares often fall to about half or somewhat less mainly in the case of refugee-sending countries and regions such as Afghanistan, the western Balkans, Somalia, the former Soviet Union and the Sudan. Because immigrant and refugee parents remain in the countries of settlement for longer period, they are likely to bear additional children. Combined with a slower pace in the immigration flows from these refugee-sending countries and regions, the share of children in families with these immigrant origins who are second generation is likely to rise quickly, surpassing 50 per cent within a few years.

Second-generation children are likely to have a strong commitment to the country of settlement of their parents not only because they were born in this country, but also because they will likely spend most or all of their lives there, attending school and learning the local language and customs. In some countries (the United States and, under certain conditions, France, Germany and Italy), they are citizens of the countries of settlement by virtue of their birth in these countries.

That the parents chose to immigrate, that the country of origin, particularly among refugees, may not welcome some returnees, and that most of the children are born in the countries of settlement suggest that many parents will have a strong motivation to remain in and commit to their adopted homelands. Most children in immigrant families who were born in the countries of settlement will have little or no personal experience in the countries of birth of their parents.

Figure 8.2 – Share of children living in families with parents of mixed citizenship, five affluent countries



Note: See the note to Table 8.2.

Figure 8.3 – Share of children born in the countries of settlement in immigrant families, seven affluent countries

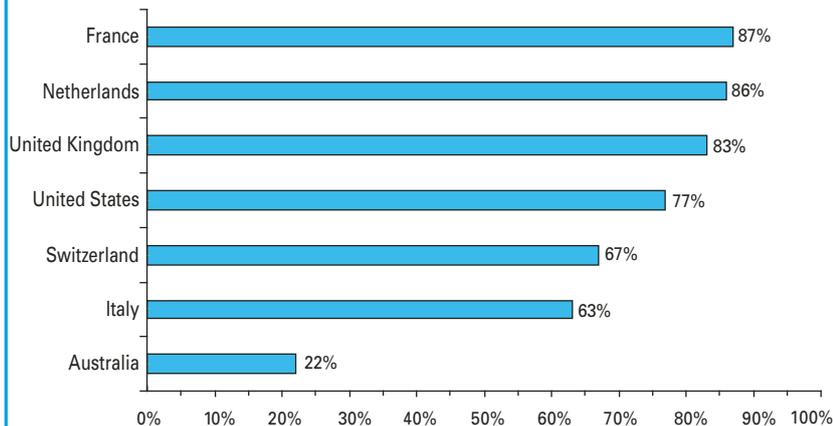


Table 8.3 - Per cent of children in immigrant families born in the country of settlement (second-generation children), eight affluent countries

Family origin	Australia	France	Germany	Italy	Netherlands	Switzerland	United Kingdom	United States
All children	25.4	8.1	19.4	6.8	18.8	29.0	12.9	16.9
In native-born families	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
In immigrant families	40.0	86.0	85.8	71.2	84.3	75.1	79.3	76.3
<i>Children in immigrant families by income category of the country of origin:</i>								
a- All low, lower-middle and upper-middle income:	21.7	87.4	1.0	63.1	86.7	66.7	83.0	76.7
East Asia and the Pacific	18.3	91.4	—	70.0	89.9	79.6	80.0	76.7
Low income	4.7	91.4	—	—	—	87.8	80.1	80.1
Lower-middle income	22.8	—	—	70.0	89.9	75.4	75.4	74.2
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	—	—	83.1	87.8	73.0
Europe and Central Asia	—	86.6	0.5	50.1	88.8	61.2	64.8	53.3
Low income	—	—	—	—	—	—	44.7	29.8
Lower-middle income	—	—	0.5	44.4	53.4	53.6	50.1	43.0
Upper-middle income	—	86.6	0.5	58.0	91.8	78.2	67.1	60.1
Latin America and the Caribbean	—	—	—	67.6	90.0	74.3	85.2	78.6
Low income	—	—	—	—	—	75.3	—	81.1
Lower-middle income	—	—	—	53.6	90.1	71.8	85.1	79.2
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	83.5	80.1	80.5	85.4	78.2
Middle East and North Africa	—	87.2	3.0	73.3	87.8	83.2	78.1	83.1
Low income	—	—	—	—	—	—	72.2	64.3
Lower-middle income	—	87.2	3.0	70.6	87.8	83.5	79.7	82.4
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	96.1	—	80.1	73.2	90.3
South Asia	21.3	—	—	45.7	50.9	73.1	88.8	71.2
Low income	18.2	—	—	38.9	50.9	71.4	89.3	71.1
Lower-middle income	23.7	—	—	66.9	—	73.8	76.3	81.5
Sub-Saharan Africa	36.8	—	—	77.5	80.7	73.9	77.3	71.7
Low income	—	—	—	76.3	82.1	73.0	80.9	72.0
Lower-middle income	—	—	—	79.8	77.0	71.5	59.1	76.1
Upper-middle income	36.8	—	—	83.7	80.3	81.1	62.3	66.8
b- All high income	50.7	93.1	94.8	80.5	79.9	83.2	73.8	75.1

Note: — no cases or too few cases to report, or value less than 0.1%.

Children in immigrant families who are citizens of the country of settlement

Many children in immigrant families are citizens of the countries to which their families immigrated, particularly if the countries provide some form of birthright citizenship. Citizenship is a birthright in the United States

and, under certain conditions, in France, Germany and Italy. The share of children in immigrant families with LMIC origins who are citizens of the adopted homelands of their families is about one third in Switzerland (32 per cent), one half in Italy (49 per cent) and four fifths in the United States (82 per cent) and Australia (85 per cent) (see Table 8.4 and Figure 8.4). The shares of such children who are citizens are somewhat lower mainly among

Table 8.4 - Per cent of children who are citizens of the country of settlement, five affluent countries

Family origin	Australia	Germany	Italy	Switzerland	United States
All children	96.4	90.1	97.2	77.5	96.6
In native-born families	99.9	99.1	100.0	98.2	100.0
In immigrant families	89.4	59.0	71.2	44.2	84.5
<i>Children in immigrant families by income category of the country of origin:</i>					
a-All low, lower-middle and upper-middle income:	84.8	16.7	48.7	32.4	82.1
East Asia and the Pacific	86.9	—	26.8	73.7	85.4
Low income	95.9	—	—	69.1	88.1
Lower-middle income	84.0	—	26.8	75.3	83.4
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	77.0	82.5
Europe and Central Asia	—	18.6	40.4	16.1	66.2
Low income	—	—	—	—	41.5
Lower-middle income	—	3.6	20.2	8.8	54.4
Upper-middle income	—	21.6	68.6	32.8	73.9
Latin America and the Caribbean	—	—	84.4	74.5	82.6
Low income	—	—	—	75.3	86.2
Lower-middle income	—	—	74.6	73.3	84.4
Upper-middle income	—	—	95.6	77.4	81.7
Middle East and North Africa	—	11.2	36.4	69.2	89.1
Low income	—	—	—	—	89.9
Lower-middle income	—	11.2	29.5	69.1	87.8
Upper-middle income	—	—	93.5	70.7	95.1
South Asia	82.2	—	21.0	20.3	78.4
Low income	83.5	—	23.0	47.9	78.3
Lower-middle income	81.2	—	14.9	8.2	88.5
Sub-Saharan Africa	82.2	—	48.3	55.2	78.2
Low income	—	—	45.0	54.7	78.2
Lower-middle income	—	—	56.6	37.3	80.8
Upper-middle income	82.2	—	63.9	84.8	75.9
b- All high income	90.1	63.5	97.0	56.2	92.3

Note: — no cases or too few cases to report, or value less than 0.1%.

families from countries or regions of origin with smaller shares of people who are second-generation immigrants, that is, mainly those countries or regions sending recent immigrant or refugee flows.

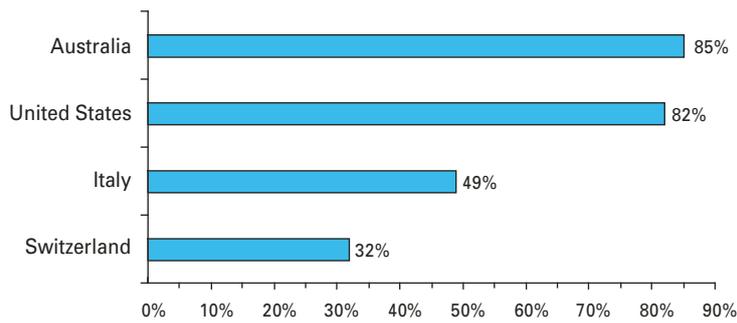
In short, many children in immigrant families with LMIC origins are citizens of the countries under study, and the vast majority of these children were born in these countries. For some countries of origin in Africa, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union that are sources of recent immigrant and refugee flows, children in immigrant families with LMIC

origins are less likely to be citizens or in the second immigrant generation in the countries of settlement.

Civic participation: deep roots in countries of settlement

In the countries under study providing relevant data, not only are most children in immigrant families with LMIC origins living with at least one parent who has resided in the country for five years or more, many are also living with at

Figure 8.4 – Share of children in families from LMICs who are citizens of the country of settlement, four affluent countries



least one parent who is a citizen of the country, and the vast majority of the children are in the second generation and are citizens in the adopted homelands of the immigrant family. These children are attending the schools and learning the languages and traditions of the

economy. Strong education programmes teaching reading and writing, as well as fluency in both languages, from the earliest years of schooling will have benefits for the children and for the countries their parents have chosen.

countries of settlement. Many are potentially bilingual, because they speak another language at home, including 56 per cent of the children in immigrant families in Australia and 73–77 per cent in France and the United States. Children who are bilingual represent an important economic and cultural resource for their homelands because they can serve as language ambassadors in the increasingly globalized

9

PARENTAL EDUCATION

The principles of inclusion and integration established by the Council of the European Union and the representatives of the governments of the EU member states include the following:

- “Efforts in *education* are critical in preparing immigrants, and particularly their descendants, to be more successful and more active participants in society” (emphasis added).⁷¹

Any effort to foster greater educational attainment among immigrants must begin with an assessment of their current educational accomplishments. In addition, research in the United States has long shown that children whose parents have completed fewer years of school tend, on average, also to complete fewer years of school and to obtain jobs at lower pay when they reach adulthood.⁷²

Parents in immigrant families often have high educational aspirations for their children, but may know little about the educational system of their adopted homelands, particularly if they have completed comparatively few years of school.⁷³ Parents with little schooling may, as a consequence, be less comfortable with the education system, less able to help their children with schoolwork and less able to negotiate effectively with teachers and school administrators. Thus, to assess not only the

educational needs of parents, but also the educational needs of children, one must measure the educational attainment of the parents of the children.

The share of children in native-born families living with fathers who have completed the first stage of tertiary education or higher ranges from a low of 10 per cent in Italy to 16 per cent in Australia, 23 per cent in France, 28–29 per cent in the United Kingdom and the United States and 36–37 per cent in Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland (see Table 9.1 and Figure 9.1 next page). The share of children in immigrant families from LMICs living with fathers who have completed this level of schooling is larger than the corresponding share among children in native-born families in Australia (31 versus 16 per cent) and the United Kingdom (40 versus 29 per cent), about the same in Italy (12 versus 10 per cent), but substantially lower in France (12 versus 23 per cent), Germany (16 versus 37 per cent), the Netherlands (17 versus 36 per cent), Switzerland (22 versus 37 per cent) and the United States (20 versus 28 per cent).

Children in immigrant families with LMIC origins are about as likely as or are less likely than children in native-born families to be living with a father who has completed less than upper secondary school in the case of Australia (20 per cent in immigrant families versus 26 per cent in native-born families) and Italy

(54 versus 58 per cent) (see Figure 9.2). In the remaining six countries under study, the immigrant group is much more likely to be living with a father with this lower level of educational attainment, at 60 versus 27 per cent in France, 44 versus 7 per cent in Germany, 44 versus 8 per cent in Switzerland, 31 versus 19 per cent in the United Kingdom and 45 versus 12 per cent in the United States, with a smaller difference of 28 versus 21 per cent in the Netherlands. Perhaps surprisingly, children in immigrant families with LMIC origins, children in immigrant families with HIC origins and children in native-born families are fairly similar in Australia, Italy and the Netherlands in the share living with a father with lower educational attainment; the differences are no more than 8 per cent. Perhaps equally surprisingly, children in immigrant families with HIC origins are more similar to children in native-born families than to children in families with LMIC origins in the share living with a father with lower educational attainment.

Children in immigrant families with LMIC origins are, except in the case of Australia, broadly similar in terms of the educational attainment of their fathers, which is heavily weighted towards the bottom of the educational distribution compared to the fathers of children in native-born families in these countries. Nonetheless, the educational attainment of the fathers according to country or region of origin is quite different across the affluent countries under study. For example, the shares living with fathers who completed less than upper secondary education among children in immigrant families

Figure 9.1 – Share of children with fathers who have completed the first stage of tertiary education or more, eight affluent countries

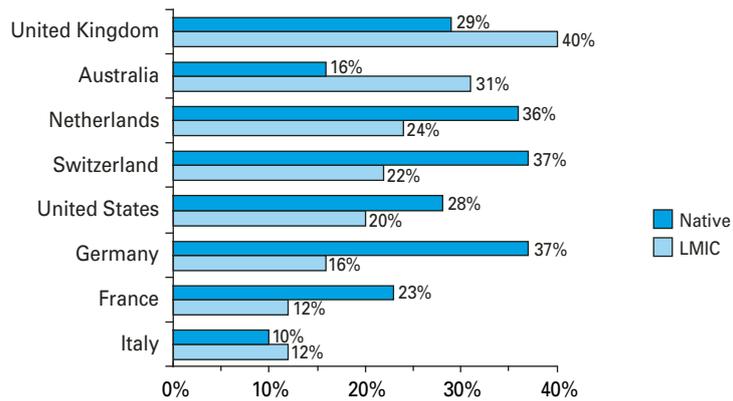
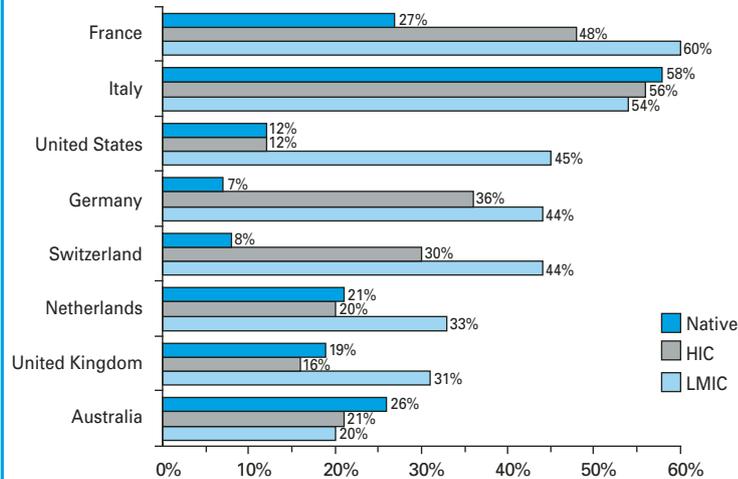


Figure 9.2 – Share of children with fathers completing less than upper secondary school, eight affluent countries



with LMIC origins in the Middle East and North Africa are 60–62 per cent in France and Italy and 39–46 per cent in Germany and the Netherlands compared with 25 per cent in Switzerland and 14–16 per cent in the United Kingdom and the United States. Similarly, the results for families in the sub-Saharan African group are 48 per cent in Italy, 28 per cent in Switzerland, 11 per cent in the United Kingdom and 7–8 per cent in Australia and the United States. Among children in families with origins in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, the shares are 76 per cent in France and 46–53 per cent in Germany, Italy and Switzerland compared with 31–32 per cent in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom and 14 per cent in the United States. The results are also fairly similar for East Asia and the Pacific and for South Asia. However, for Latin America and the Caribbean, the direction of the shares is reversed, with the highest share, of 58 per cent, in the United States compared with 45 per cent in Italy, 33 per cent in the Netherlands, 22 per cent in the United Kingdom and 17 per cent in Switzerland.

In the United States, children in immigrant families with LMIC origins across most global regions are often more likely to be living with fathers who have completed the first stage of tertiary education or more than are the corresponding children in the European countries under study, but they are less likely to be living with fathers with this high level of education if the families have origins in Latin America and the Caribbean.

This pattern of differences across the affluent countries under study suggests that formal and informal labour immigration from LMICs, as well as other types of immigration, by persons with limited education, is more likely to occur from nearby continental regions in the case of affluent European countries and the United States. On the other hand, immigrants from LMICs who have the highest levels of educational attainment are more likely to have the resources required to immigrate over longer distances to improve their economic circumstances.

The primary partial exceptions are Switzerland and the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom attracts many highly skilled immigrants from most global regions, partly because of the breadth of the Commonwealth, but also perhaps because English language skills are spread widely around the world. Switzerland, meanwhile, attracts less skilled immigrants

from only a few nearby countries and refugee-sending countries. The comparatively small shares of children living with fathers with low educational attainment in families with LMIC origins in Switzerland may be accounted for by immigration laws in Switzerland that favour more highly qualified immigrants.

The results on educational attainment among mothers living with children are broadly similar to those among fathers in both native-born families and immigrant families, although the overall educational attainment among mothers is somewhat lower (see Table 9.2 and Figure 9.3). Among children in immigrant families with LMIC origins, the differences in educational attainment at a specific educational level between mothers and fathers are no more than 14 percentage points. This difference is similar to the respective difference among children in families with origins in HICs.

Overall, there is considerable consistency across the affluent countries under study in the shares of children in immigrant families with LMIC and HIC origins who are living with parents with similar specific levels of educational attainment. The largest shares of children in immigrant families are living with parents who have completed less than upper secondary schooling. (The primary exception is children in immigrant families with LMIC origins in Australia and with HIC origins in

Table 9.1 - Fathers' educational attainment, eight affluent countries

Family origin	Australia	France	Germany	Italy	Netherlands	Switzerland	United Kingdom	United States
<i>% of all children</i>								
First stage of tertiary or higher	18	22	33	10	34	34	31	27
Upper secondary ^a	58	49	53	33	43	47	49	55
Less than upper secondary	24	29	14	57	23	19	20	18
<i>% in native-born families</i>								
First stage of tertiary or higher	16	23	37	10	36	37	29	28
Upper secondary ^a	59	51	56	33	43	54	52	60
Less than upper secondary	26	27	7	58	21	8	19	12
<i>% in families from LMICs</i>								
First stage of tertiary or higher	31	12	16	12	17	22	40	20
Upper secondary ^a	49	28	40	34	34	34	29	35
Less than upper secondary	20	60	44	54	28	44	31	45
<i>% in families from HICs</i>								
First stage of tertiary or higher	19	10	20	10	44	35	45	39
Upper secondary ^a	60	42	44	33	36	35	39	48
Less than upper secondary	21	48	36	56	20	30	16	12

^a Post-secondary, non-tertiary education is included here.

Table 9.2 - Mothers' educational attainment, eight affluent countries

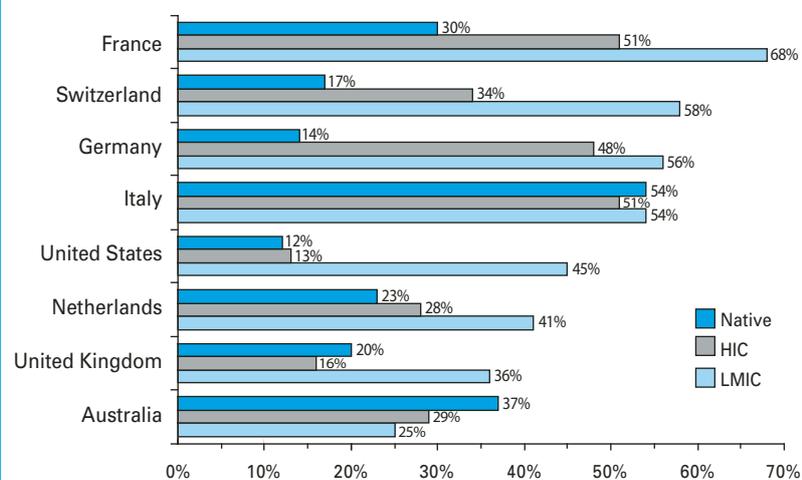
Family origin	Australia	France	Germany	Italy	Netherlands	Switzerland	United Kingdom	United States
<i>% of all children</i>								
First stage of tertiary or higher	16	23	20	10	27	14	23	23
Upper secondary ^a	49	44	58	36	47	59	55	60
Less than upper secondary	34	33	22	54	27	28	22	18
<i>% in native-born families</i>								
First stage of tertiary or higher	15	24	22	10	29	11	21	23
Upper secondary ^a	48	45	64	36	48	71	59	65
Less than upper secondary	37	30	14	54	23	17	20	12
<i>% in families from LMICs</i>								
First stage of tertiary or higher	25	9	12	12	13	14	29	16
Upper secondary ^a	50	23	32	35	32	28	35	39
Less than upper secondary	25	68	56	54	34	58	36	45
<i>% in families from HICs</i>								
First stage of tertiary or higher	16	11	14	11	24	22	37	31
Upper secondary ^a	55	38	39	38	48	44	47	56
Less than upper secondary	29	51	47	51	28	34	16	13

^a. Post-secondary, non-tertiary education is included here.

the United States.) This suggests that immigration to these affluent countries is often undertaken by persons with limited education who are seeking to improve their economic opportunities through immigration to an affluent country. In so far as the Council of the European Union and the governments of the member states have established the principle that “efforts in education are critical in preparing immigrants . . . to be more successful and more active participants in society,” these results suggest that many children in immigrant families are living with parents who would benefit from such efforts in affluent countries.⁷⁴

In addition, it seems likely that parents who have had access to education in their adopted homelands would be in a better position to help their children with the children’s schoolwork. This may be especially the case

Figure 9.3 – Share of children with mothers completing less than upper secondary school, eight affluent countries



among children in families with parents from LMICs who have limited education. It is in the interest not only of these children and their families, but also of the broader populations in the affluent countries that opportunities and resources be made accessible so the children are able to succeed in school and, later, when they reach adulthood, in the labour force.

10

PARENTAL PAID EMPLOYMENT

The principles of immigrant inclusion and integration established by the Council of the European Union and the representatives of the governments of the member states include the following:

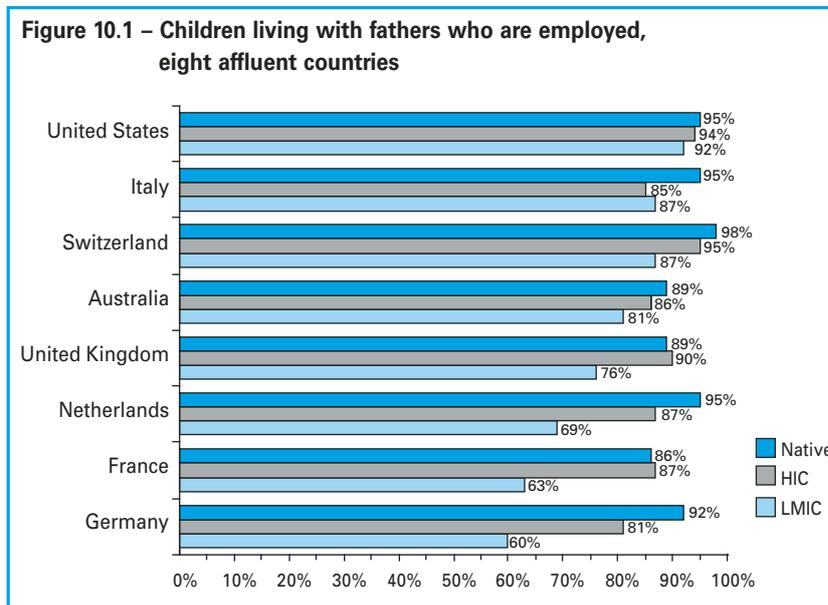
- “Employment is a key part of the integration process and is central to the participation of immigrants, to the contributions immigrants make to the host society, and to making such contributions visible” (authors’ emphasis added).⁷⁵

Employment among the parents of the children in immigrant families is also important because it is the primary source of economic support for children and their families and is therefore critical to ensuring social inclusion among the children.

Employment among fathers

The vast majority of children in native-born families in the eight countries reported here are living with fathers who are working to support their families

(see Table 10.1 and Figure 10.1). The shares of these children with employed fathers range from 85–86 per cent in France and Italy to 88–92 per cent in Australia, Germany and the United Kingdom and to 95–98 per cent in the Netherlands, Switzerland and the United States. Children in immigrant families with HIC origins are about equally likely to be living with employed fathers in Australia, France, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the United States (86–95 per cent), but the



rates are somewhat lower in Germany (81 per cent) and Italy (85 per cent). Relative to children in families from LMICs, the shares of children in families with origins in HICs who are living with employed fathers are about the same in the United States (92–94 per cent) and Italy (85–87 per cent). However, children in families with LMIC origins are somewhat less likely to be living with fathers who are employed than are those in families with HIC origins in Australia (81 versus 86 per cent) and

Switzerland (87 versus 95 per cent), but especially in France (63 versus 87 per cent), Germany (60 versus 81 per cent), the Netherlands (69 versus 87 per cent) and the United Kingdom (76 versus 90 per cent).

In Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, the lower rates of employment among fathers in families with LMIC origins are spread widely across global regions; that is, the rates are comparatively

Table 10.1 - Per cent of children living with fathers who are employed, eight affluent countries

Family origin	Australia	France	Germany	Italy	Netherlands	Switzerland	United Kingdom	United States
All children	84.5	84.8	89.2	85.0	92.2	95.2	87.8	94.5
In native-born families	85.7	86.2	92.3	84.9	94.9	97.8	89.2	95.1
In immigrant families	82.2	71.6	79.5	86.1	80.5	91.1	81.0	92.7
<i>Children in immigrant families by income category of the country of origin:</i>								
a- All low, lower-middle and upper-middle income:	80.7	62.7	60.4	87.1	69.2	87.3	76.1	92.2
East Asia and the Pacific	77.2	79.5	—	87.9	99.0	92.7	83.0	90.3
Low income	70.8	79.5	—	—	—	90.7	70.5	87.4
Lower-middle income	79.3	—	—	87.9	99.0	93.3	85.1	92.3
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	—	—	96.4	88.9	93.5
Europe and Central Asia	—	67.4	61.0	85.6	79.7	86.1	69.6	92.1
Low income	—	—	—	—	—	—	79.8	78.6
Lower-middle income	—	—	58.6	85.3	—	85.6	70.1	88.8
Upper-middle income	—	67.4	61.5	86.1	78.4	87.2	69.4	94.4
Latin America and the Caribbean	—	—	—	87.1	91.1	93.3	80.5	92.3
Low income	—	—	—	—	—	92.5	—	88.9
Lower-middle income	—	—	—	86.5	91.2	92.7	79.1	92.3
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	87.8	6.8	94.5	84.0	92.5
Middle East and North Africa	—	60.1	60.6	87.1	61.2	81.4	73.8	92.5
Low income	—	—	—	—	—	—	61.2	81.4
Lower-middle income	—	60.1	60.6	86.9	61.2	81.5	75.2	92.5
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	88.9	—	80.8	73.1	94.2
South Asia	84.1	—	—	93.0	50.3	92.1	71.2	95.4
Low income	86.7	—	—	93.2	50.3	86.9	70.7	95.4
Lower-middle income	81.9	—	—	92.3	—	94.3	84.5	97.2
Sub-Saharan Africa	86.5	—	—	88.4	62.9	86.5	84.1	94.0
Low income	—	—	—	89.2	52.9	83.3	83.1	93.7
Lower-middle income	—	—	—	82.8	—	89.4	56.2	92.5
Upper-middle income	86.5	—	—	88.3	—	93.0	90.4	96.7
b- All high income	86.2	86.7	81.3	85.0	94.5	94.6	89.5	94.2

Note: — no cases or too few cases to report, or value less than 0.1%.

low in these three countries compared with the rates in the other countries (for which comparable data are available) among fathers in families with origins in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, the Middle East and North Africa, South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. This suggests that the labour markets in these three countries show features that have broadly similar consequences for many immigrant groups. Nonetheless, in most cases, a large majority of the fathers in

immigrant families from most origins are actively contributing to the economies of the countries of settlement under study here.

Fathers employed full-time

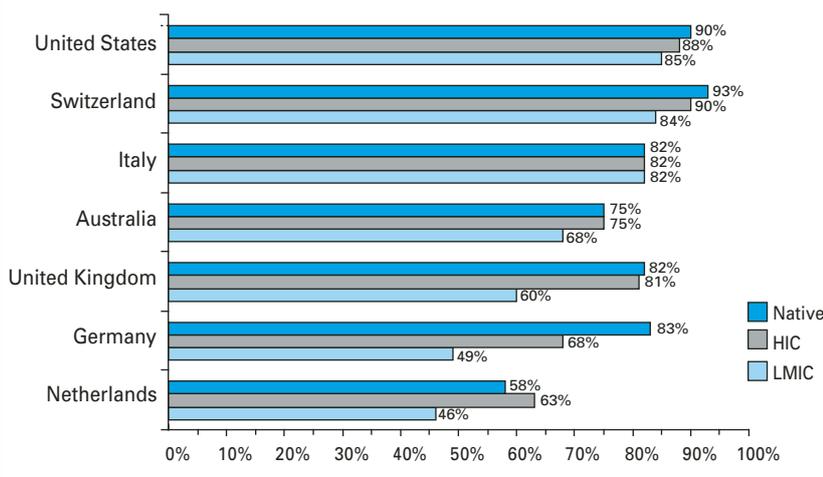
It is possible to compare the incidence of full-time employment among fathers, defined as 36 hours of work per week or more, across five affluent countries in this report that have

Table 10.2 - Per cent of children living with fathers who are employed full-time, seven affluent countries

Family origin	Australia	Germany	Italy	Netherlands	Switzerland	United Kingdom	United States
All children	73.0	79.2	82.0	56.6	90.6	79.3	89.0
In native-born families	74.7	83.4	82.0	58.3	92.7	81.8	90.1
In immigrant families	69.8	66.1	82.0	49.3	87.2	67.7	85.5
<i>Children in immigrant families by income category of the country of origin:</i>							
a- All low, lower-middle and upper-middle income:	68.0	49.1	82.4	41.5	83.8	59.9	84.7
East Asia and the Pacific	64.5	—	74.2	52.8	88.7	71.3	82.8
Low income	57.0	—	—	—	87.0	54.0	79.0
Lower-middle income	66.9	—	74.2	52.8	89.0	74.4	85.5
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	—	92.6	79.2	86.3
Europe and Central Asia	—	49.6	81.9	49.9	83.5	56.0	83.8
Low income	—	—	—	—	—	62.3	69.2
Lower-middle income	—	46.0	81.5	—	83.3	58.4	78.5
Upper-middle income	—	50.4	82.5	49.2	83.9	55.7	87.3
Latin America and the Caribbean	—	—	83.2	54.6	87.8	69.6	85.0
Low income	—	—	—	—	85.8	—	78.6
Lower-middle income	—	—	81.8	54.7	87.2	68.2	84.1
Upper-middle income	—	—	84.7	—	88.9	73.0	85.5
Middle East and North Africa	—	49.6	83.0	36.6	75.6	60.4	83.7
Low income	—	—	—	—	—	52.6	68.8
Lower-middle income	—	49.6	82.6	36.6	75.8	61.3	83.8
Upper-middle income	—	—	86.4	—	74.3	59.7	86.0
South Asia	71.3	—	85.8	24.3	88.4	50.6	88.7
Low income	76.2	—	89.5	24.3	80.8	49.9	88.6
Lower-middle income	67.2	—	73.9	—	91.7	69.8	93.8
Sub-Saharan Africa	73.8	—	84.5	43.7	79.7	72.4	84.8
Low income	—	—	86.3	35.5	75.1	70.8	83.6
Lower-middle income	—	—	78.2	—	84.3	45.5	86.1
Upper-middle income	73.8	—	77.8	71.7	87.3	81.3	92.5
b- All high income	74.5	67.8	81.7	59.3	90.3	80.8	87.9

Note: — no cases or too few cases to report, or value less than 0.1%.

Figure 10.2 – Children living with fathers who are employed full-time, seven affluent countries



broadly similar norms on the labour force and collect generally comparable data (see Table 10.2 and Figure 10.2). Among children in native-born families, the shares living in families with working fathers where the fathers are employed full-time are 82–83 per cent in Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom, 90 per cent in the United States and 93 per cent in Switzerland.

In four of these countries, the share of children in immigrant families from HICs living with fathers who are working full-time are within a few percentage points of the corresponding rates in native-born families, namely, Italy (82 and 82 per cent), Switzerland (90 versus 93 per cent), the United Kingdom (81 versus 82 per cent) and the United States (88 versus 90 per cent). In Germany, the difference is substantially larger (68 versus 83 per cent). The gaps in full-time employment are about the same or slightly larger among the fathers in immigrant families with

among fathers in native-born families in the United Kingdom and especially in France, Germany and the Netherlands. Corresponding differences occur in full-time employment across the countries reporting relevant results.

Employment among mothers

In the affluent countries under study, the shares of children in native-born families who are living with employed mothers vary enormously, from 47 per cent in Italy to 56–61 per cent in Australia and Switzerland, 65–68 per cent in Germany and the United Kingdom and 72–76 per cent in France, the Netherlands and the United States (see Table 10.3 and Figure 10.3). In five of these affluent countries, children in immigrant families with HIC origins are only 1–5 per cent less likely than children in native-born families to be living with employed mothers. The gap rises to 9–17 per cent in the Netherlands and the United States and 22 per cent in Germany.

In Australia, Italy and Switzerland, children in immigrant families with LMIC origins are 7–9 per cent less likely than children in native-born families to be living with employed mothers; this gap expands somewhat, to 15 per cent, in the United States. The gap widens to 23 per cent in the United Kingdom and 35–37 per cent in France, Germany and the Netherlands.

Figure 10.3 – Children living with mothers who are employed, eight affluent countries

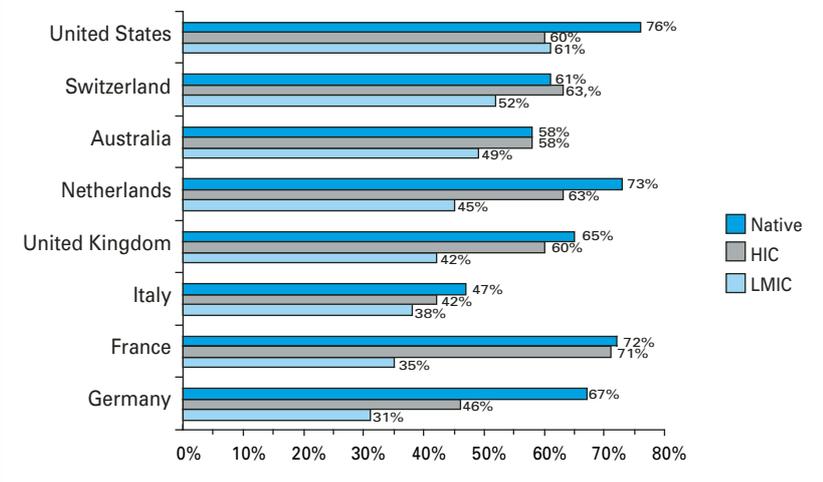


Table 10.3 - Per cent of children living with mothers who are employed, eight affluent countries

Family origin	Australia	France	Germany	Italy	Netherlands	Switzerland	United Kingdom	United States
All children	55.0	70.0	62.4	46.2	67.6	60.0	62.2	72.4
In native-born families	56.2	72.1	67.7	46.9	73.1	61.4	64.8	75.8
In immigrant families	52.6	49.8	44.6	39.5	47.8	57.7	49.1	60.6
<i>Children in immigrant families by income category of the country of origin:</i>								
a- All low, lower-middle and upper-middle income:	49.3	34.8	30.6	37.8	37.9	52.1	42.3	61.0
East Asia and the Pacific	47.9	61.1	—	56.4	69.7	51.4	54.2	71.7
Low income	36.4	61.1	—	—	—	52.1	32.0	64.8
Lower-middle income	51.7	—	—	56.4	69.7	50.3	58.2	77.1
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	—	—	61.0	66.8	57.0
Europe and Central Asia	—	23.3	33.0	34.3	37.8	52.1	39.3	56.8
Low income	—	—	—	—	—	—	31.0	49.1
Lower-middle income	—	—	34.9	29.0	—	49.6	42.2	56.3
Upper-middle income	—	23.3	32.6	41.6	37.5	57.5	38.9	57.2
Latin America and the Caribbean	—	—	—	47.4	65.1	52.4	63.4	60.1
Low income	—	—	—	—	—	69.9	—	91.5
Lower-middle income	—	—	—	48.0	65.4	49.6	63.2	71.8
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	46.6	2.6	58.3	63.9	54.1
Middle East and North Africa	—	33.7	18.9	26.7	26.0	51.0	42.4	41.2
Low income	—	—	—	—	—	—	30.6	20.7
Lower-middle income	—	33.7	18.9	23.0	26.0	51.4	44.1	42.8
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	57.5	—	48.0	39.6	36.9
South Asia	50.3	—	—	24.2	9.7	48.9	27.7	47.9
Low income	53.9	—	—	21.4	9.7	52.0	26.6	47.7
Lower-middle income	47.6	—	—	32.9	—	47.5	54.0	57.1
Sub-Saharan Africa	52.5	—	—	48.3	34.8	56.0	58.1	76.0
Low income	—	—	—	48.8	18.7	54.6	57.2	78.5
Lower-middle income	—	—	—	46.8	39.8	63.0	33.9	88.4
Upper-middle income	52.5	—	—	46.3	69.3	53.2	65.1	49.4
b- All high income	57.8	70.7	46.1	41.5	63.9	63.2	60.2	59.1

Note: — no cases or too few cases to report, or value less than 0.1%.

Even in the affluent countries with the lowest employment rates among mothers, between about one third and two fifths of children in families with LMIC origins are living with mothers who are actively participating in the economy; this share rises to about one half or more in Australia (49 per cent), Switzerland (52 per cent) and the United States (61 per cent).

Mothers employed full-time

In none of the seven affluent countries for which new data are reported here are more than one half of the children in native-born or immigrant families living with mothers who are employed full-time (see Table 10.4 and Figure 10.4). The share among children in native-born families is 49 per cent in the United States, but only 34 per cent in Italy,

Table 10.4 - Per cent of children living with mothers who are employed full-time, seven affluent countries

Family origin	Australia	Germany	Italy	Netherlands	Switzerland	United Kingdom	United States
All children	20.5	17.4	33.2	5.2	15.5	19.0	48.2
In native-born families	19.3	18.8	33.9	4.7	11.1	19.0	49.4
In immigrant families	23.0	12.4	26.6	6.7	22.6	19.3	44.0
<i>Children in immigrant families by income category of the country of origin:</i>							
a- All low, lower-middle and upper-middle income:	26.4	9.7	25.3	5.5	25.0	18.1	44.2
East Asia and the Pacific	28.5	—	35.7	7.9	22.0	23.7	55.0
Low income	22.6	—	—	—	23.8	14.1	48.5
Lower-middle income	30.5	—	35.7	7.9	21.1	27.8	59.9
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	—	18.1	25.3	43.2
Europe and Central Asia	—	10.8	22.9	6.4	28.2	16.4	42.1
Low income	—	—	—	—	—	11.0	28.6
Lower-middle income	—	8.9	19.1	—	28.5	20.0	40.9
Upper-middle income	—	11.2	28.0	6.4	27.6	15.8	43.1
Latin America and the Caribbean	—	—	31.5	10.8	17.2	28.2	42.7
Low income	—	—	—	—	36.0	—	58.25
Lower-middle income	—	—	30.0	10.9	16.5	28.5	48.3
Upper-middle income	—	—	33.1	—	17.9	27.4	39.8
Middle East and North Africa	—	4.9	18.8	2.7	18.2	15.7	30.5
Low income	—	—	—	—	—	10.5	11.3
Lower-middle income	—	4.9	15.9	2.7	18.8	16.6	31.8
Upper-middle income	—	—	43.3	—	13.7	14.4	27.7
South Asia	25.6	—	15.8	0.8	19.7	11.9	39.3
Low income	30.1	—	15.2	0.8	19.5	11.5	39.1
Lower-middle income	22.0	—	17.4	—	19.8	23.3	49.6
Sub-Saharan Africa	20.3	—	32.9	5.5	22.8	24.9	53.7
Low income	—	—	34.3	3.8	21.6	24.6	55.2
Lower-middle income	—	—	29.3	7.4	30.9	14.6	61.5
Upper-middle income	20.3	—	26.6	5.9	15.3	27.2	37.3
b- All high income	22.1	12.8	28.1	8.3	20.3	21.3	42.9

Note: — no cases or too few cases to report, or value less than 0.1%.

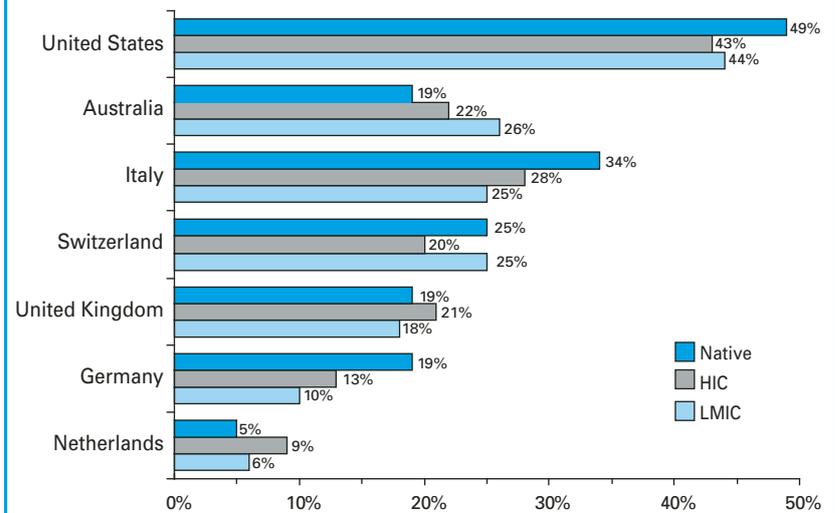
19 per cent in Australia, Germany and the United Kingdom and 5–11 per cent in the Netherlands and Switzerland. The shares are smaller among children in immigrant families with LMIC origins than among children in native-born families in the United States (44 versus 49 per cent) and Germany (10 versus 19 per cent), but larger among children in families with LMIC origins in Australia (26 versus 19 per cent) and Switzerland (25 versus 11 per cent). The results

in these countries for children in immigrant families from HICs are within 5 per cent of the rates among children in immigrant families with LMIC origins.

Despite the high labour force participation reported here with respect to the mothers of children in both native-born and immigrant families, fewer than half the children in the United States are living with mothers who are working full-time; this share falls to about one

fourth or less in the other countries under study on which data are available. While many mothers in all groups work for income to support their families, many work less than full-time, perhaps because of their day-to-day responsibilities in caring for their children. This is particularly noteworthy in the case of affluent European countries in which governments fund early childhood education and care arrangements and, if children are infants or toddlers, there is government-guaranteed, job-protected, paid maternal or paternal leave.⁷⁶

Figure 10.4 – Children living with mothers who are employed full-time, seven affluent countries



11

POVERTY AND SOCIAL TRANSFER SUPPORT

The importance of money income is reflected in the following principle established by the Council of the European Union:

- “Access for immigrants to institutions, as well as to *public and private goods and services*, on a basis equal to national citizens and in a non-discriminatory way is a critical foundation for better integration” (authors’ emphasis added).⁷⁷

Access to many public and private goods and services depends both on the money income available to families and their children from paid work and on social transfers from national governments to families. Despite the high employment rates among parents and the high rates of full-time employment among fathers, the incomes of some families are too modest to lift them out of poverty partly because their jobs receive lower hourly wages. Social transfer programmes act to reduce poverty, but the programmes vary across countries in their effectiveness in reducing child poverty in native-born and immigrant families. The data of the Luxembourg Income Study focus on immigrants (or “minorities”), who are defined in different ways in the study depending on the country.⁷⁸ In Italy and the United States, an immigrant is a person “born outside the survey country”. In France, an immigrant is “born as a foreigner outside France.” In Australia and Germany, an immigrant is a “non-national,”

that is, anyone who is not a citizen of Australia or Germany, respectively. The definition used in the United Kingdom distinguishes the “non-White or minority” population and leads to results that are the least comparable to other results in this report. These data do not distinguish, as do the other new results in this report, between children in immigrant families from LMICs and children in immigrant families from HICs.

Research using data from the Luxembourg Income Study collected in 1999–2000 defines poverty as a relative concept, setting the poverty threshold at 50 per cent of the national median household income.⁷⁹ The research calculates child poverty based on market income as well as on total disposable income, which includes market income and social transfers. The difference between the two calculations for a specific group represents a measure of the extent to which social transfers act to reduce poverty in that group.⁸⁰ The results indicate that children in immigrant families experience greater market income poverty rates than children in native-born families in each of the countries reported here. The differences between the two groups range from around 7 per cent in Australia and Germany to about 12 per cent in the United States and 26–28 per cent in France and the United Kingdom (see Table 11.1 and

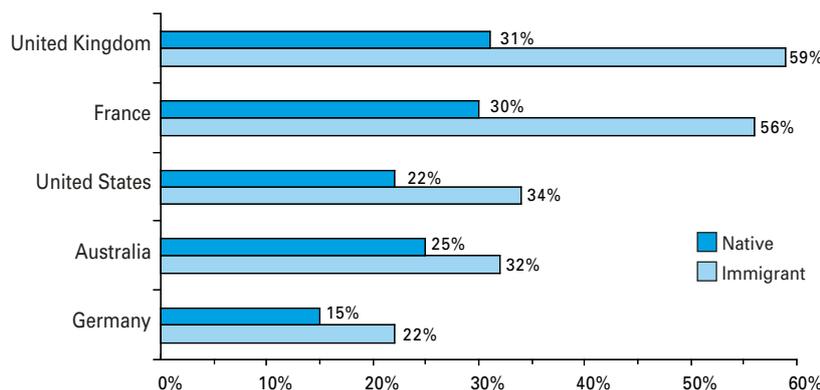
Table 11.1 - Per cent of children in poverty, five affluent countries

Poverty measure	Australia	France	Germany	United Kingdom	United States
Market income poverty					
In immigrant families	32.1	56.1	21.9	58.6	33.7
In native-born families	24.9	29.9	14.7	30.5	21.9
Difference	- 7.2	- 26.2	- 7.2	- 28.1	- 11.8
Market income poverty plus social transfer poverty					
In immigrant families	19.7	18.5	14.5	28.8	33.0
In native-born families	13.3	6.1	8.0	15.6	19.8
Difference	- 6.4	- 12.4	- 6.5	- 13.2	- 13.2
Poverty effect of social transfers					
On children in immigrant families	- 12.4	- 37.6	- 7.4	- 29.8	- 0.7
On children in native-born families	- 11.6	- 23.8	- 6.7	- 14.9	- 2.1

Source: Smeeding, Timothy M., Coady Wing and Karen Robson, 'Differences in Social Transfer Support and Poverty for Immigrant Families with Children: Lessons from the LIS', in *Immigration, Diversity, and Education*, edited by Elena L. Grigorenko and Ruby Takanish, Routledge, London, 2009, pp. 26-47.

although the size of the effect varies widely across the countries. Social transfers act to reduce poverty rates by the smallest amount in the United States (1-2 per cent) (see Figure 11.2). The effect is several times larger in Germany, at 7 per cent among both groups, and larger still in Australia, at around 12 per cent among both groups. The largest effects of social transfers occur in the places with the highest market income poverty rates, France and the United Kingdom, which are also the two places in which the effects of social transfers are much larger in the immigrant group. In the United Kingdom, social transfers act to reduce poverty by 15 per cent among the native-born group and 30 per cent among the immigrant (or minority) group, and, in France, the reductions are 24 per cent among the native-born group and 38 per cent among the immigrant group.

Figure 11.1 - Child poverty rates based on market income, five affluent countries



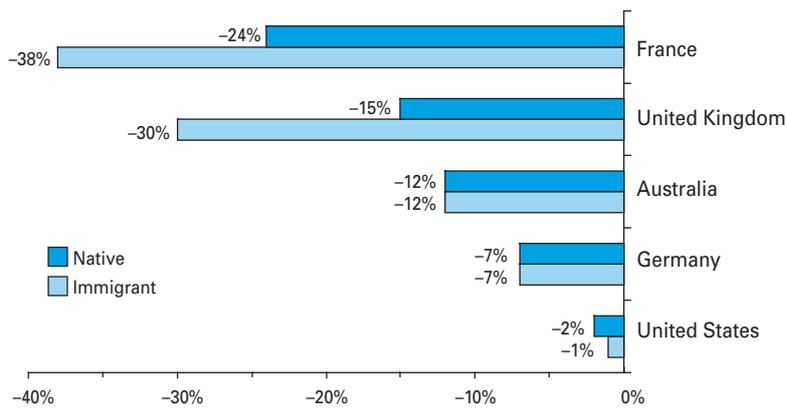
Source: Smeeding, Timothy M., Coady Wing and Karen Robson, 'Differences in Social Transfer Support and Poverty for Immigrant Families with Children: Lessons from the LIS', in *Immigration, Diversity, and Education*, edited by Elena L. Grigorenko and Ruby Takanishi, Routledge, London, 2009, pp. 26-47.

Figure 11.1). Taking into account social transfers, the differences between the two groups of children change little in Australia and Germany (around 6-7 per cent) and in the United States (about 12-13 per cent). In France and the United Kingdom, however, social transfers reduce the poverty gaps separating children in immigrant families and children in native-born families by about half, from 26-28 to 12-13 per cent.

Thus, social transfers have broadly similar effects on poverty among children in immigrant families and children in native-born families within three of the countries reported here (Australia, Germany and the United States),

occur in France and Germany (6-8 per cent), followed by Australia (13 per cent), the United Kingdom (16 per cent) and the United States (20 per cent) (see Figure 11.3). Among children in immigrant families, the lowest post-transfer poverty rates occur in Germany (15 per cent) and Australia and France (19-20 per cent), followed by the United Kingdom (29 per cent) and the United States (33 per cent). Thus, there are large differences across these affluent countries in the extent to which market incomes from paid work, combined with social transfers, act to assure access to public and private goods and services.

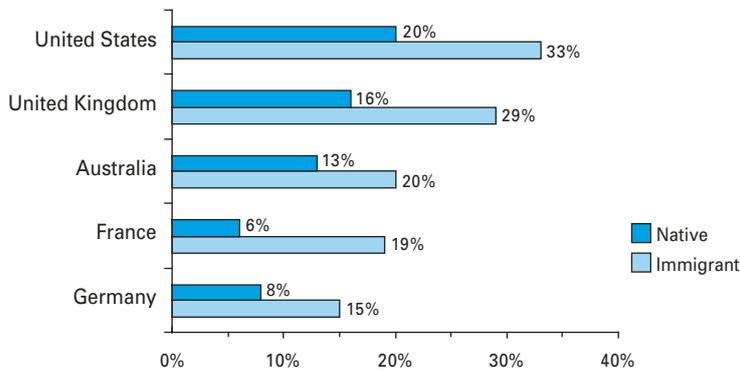
Figure 11.2 - Reduction in child poverty deriving from social transfers, five affluent countries



Source: Smeeding, Timothy M., Coady Wing and Karen Robson, 'Differences in Social Transfer Support and Poverty for Immigrant Families with Children: Lessons from the LIS', in *Immigration, Diversity, and Education*, edited by Elena L. Grigorenko and Ruby Takanishi, Routledge, London, 2009, pp. 26-47.

Since these measures pertain to children in immigrant families with LMIC and HIC origins taken together, and in so far as children in immigrant families with origins in HICs probably experience comparatively low poverty rates, the poverty rates among children in immigrant families with LMIC origins are probably greater than the overall rates reported here. Finally, even after accounting for social transfers, one finds that the overall poverty rates are higher among children in immigrant families than among children in native-born families by 6-7 per cent in Australia and Germany and by 12-13 per cent in France, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Figure 11.3 - Child poverty rate based on market income and including the effect of social transfers, five affluent countries



12

HOUSING

The importance of housing in the context of immigration is illustrated by the ‘Second Annual Report on Migration and Integration’ of the European Commission, which urged that:

- “In order to successfully integrate and participate in all aspects of life, migrants must be provided with basic rights in terms of access to education, *housing*, health care and social services” (authors’ emphasis added).⁸¹

The report also notes that:

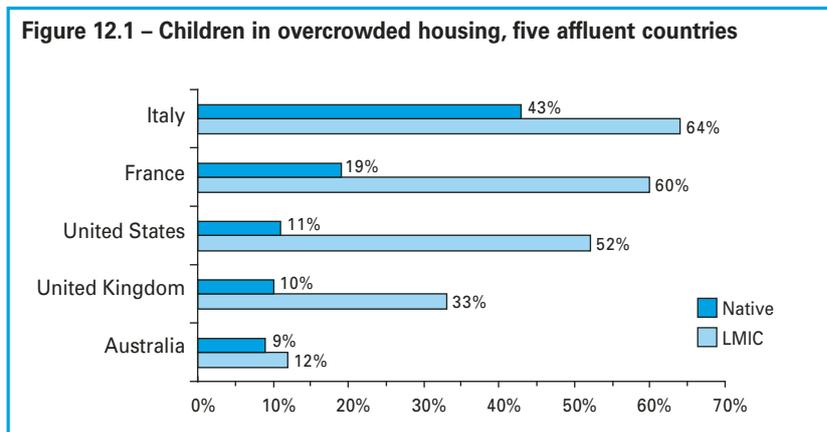
- “As part of the action programme to combat social exclusion, the Commission has commissioned a study on *access to decent housing for migrants and ethnic minorities*” (emphasis added).⁸²

Overcrowded housing

A measure of access to decent housing is the extent to which children live in overcrowded housing. Children living in overcrowded housing may have additional difficulty finding a place to do homework and may also encounter negative consequences in behavioural adjustment and

psychological health.⁸³ Children are considered to be living in overcrowded housing if they live in a home in which the ratio of the number of persons to the number of rooms is higher than 1.0.⁸⁴ Overcrowding by this definition among children in native-born families varies enormously across the five affluent countries under study for which data are available, from 9–11 per cent in Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States to 19 per cent in France and 43 per cent in Italy (see Table 12.1 and Figure 12.1).

In Australia, children in immigrant families with LMIC origins are 3 percentage points more likely than children in native-born families to live in overcrowded housing (12 versus 9 per cent). The gap increases seven-fold, to 21–23 per cent,



in Italy (64 versus 43 per cent) and the United Kingdom (33 versus 10 per cent), and it increases 14-fold, to 41–42 per cent, in France (60 versus 19 per cent) and the United States (52 versus 11 per cent).

In Australia, the available data indicate that among children in immigrant families with LMIC origins, the share of children living in overcrowded housing is highest among children in families from Viet Nam (19 per cent). In France, the overcrowding rates among children in families with origins in Italy and Spain (23–24 per cent) are similar to the rates among children in the native-born population (19 per cent), but are two to three times greater among children in families with origins in Algeria (55 per cent), Cambodia (58 per cent), the Lao People's Democratic Republic (50 per cent), Morocco (63 per cent), Portugal and Viet Nam (37 per cent each), Tunisia (64 per cent) and Turkey (67 per cent). In Italy, the shares are in this same broad range (31–90 per cent) for all the specific origins reported.

In the United Kingdom, the highest rates of overcrowding (51–58 per cent) are experienced by children in families with origins in Afghanistan, Angola, Bangladesh, the Congo, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Eritrea and Sierra Leone. The rate rises to 65 per cent in the case of Somalia. For children in families with HIC origins, meanwhile, the rates of overcrowding are 7–15 per cent.

The differences for children in families in specific immigrant groups in the United States

are larger. At one extreme, the overcrowding rates are 4–13 per cent among children in immigrant families with origins in most of the HICs that are members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. The rates of overcrowding jump to at least 30 per cent among children in families in most other immigrant groups and to 50 per cent or more among children in families with origins in

Table 12.1 - Per cent of children living in overcrowded households, five affluent countries

Family origin	Australia	France	Italy	United Kingdom	United States
All children	9.4	21.5	44.7	12.6	18.3
In native-born families	8.8	18.6	43.4	10.2	11.2
In immigrant families	10.6	48.6	56.8	24.7	43.5
<i>Children in immigrant families by income category of the country of origin:</i>					
a- All low, lower-middle and upper-middle income:	12.4	59.9	64.0	32.8	52.2
East Asia and the Pacific	14.4	48.1	67.4	23.6	42.6
Low income	18.9	48.1	—	36.3	50.2
Lower-middle income	12.9	—	67.4	22.8	37.2
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	13.9	25.9
Europe and Central Asia	—	67.2	61.4	30.5	29.2
Low income	—	—	—	30.1	66.2
Lower-middle income	—	—	71.4	30.0	42.2
Upper-middle income	—	67.2	47.6	30.6	20.5
Latin America and the Caribbean	—	—	50.9	24.9	58.4
Low income	—	—	—	—	44.6
Lower-middle income	—	—	50.8	25.4	44.8
Upper-middle income	—	—	51.0	23.6	64.6
Middle East and North Africa	—	60.0	77.2	28.9	27.3
Low income	—	—	—	35.9	64.2
Lower-middle income	—	60.0	80.3	28.6	27.5
Upper-middle income	—	—	51.1	26.8	19.5
South Asia	11.4	—	71.8	36.7	35.4
Low income	15.8	—	70.7	36.5	35.6
Lower-middle income	8.0	—	75.2	41.0	24.1
Sub-Saharan Africa	6.7	—	66.3	31.6	36.7
Low income	—	—	67.2	35.4	41.4
Lower-middle income	—	—	67.0	48.1	23.5
Upper-middle income	6.7	—	59.2	12.2	8.3
b- All high income	6.5	31.2	48.6	11.2	16.3

Note: — no cases or too few cases to report, or value less than 0.1%.

Table 12.2 - Per cent of children living in family-owned homes, five affluent countries

Family origin	Australia	France	Italy	United Kingdom	United States
All children	69.0	55.7	65.0	67.2	67.3
In native-born families	69.0	57.8	66.7	67.8	70.6
In immigrant families	69.1	36.0	48.8	63.7	55.4
<i>Children in immigrant families by income category of the country of origin:</i>					
a- All low, lower-middle and upper-middle income:	66.2	25.4	36.8	61.3	52.2
East Asia and the Pacific	64.9	51.9	30.8	64.7	63.5
Low income	67.5	51.9	—	39.7	57.9
Lower-middle income	64.0	—	30.8	69.4	67.5
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	78.6	69.8
Europe and Central Asia	—	21.7	31.3	46.6	58.4
Low income	—	—	—	38.9	26.1
Lower-middle income	—	.	19.2	42.7	44.5
Upper-middle income	—	21.7	48.3	47.3	67.6
Latin America and the Caribbean	—	—	56.3	60.3	48.4
Low income	—	—	—	—	49.2
Lower-middle income	—	—	51.9	57.4	47.0
Upper-middle income	—	—	61.2	69.1	49.0
Middle East and North Africa	—	23.2	29.0	55.4	66.8
Low income	—	—	—	53.8	47.0
Lower-middle income	—	23.2	24.5	56.3	65.5
Upper-middle income	—	—	66.6	52.3	76.8
South Asia	69.2	—	30.1	66.4	58.6
Low income	66.1	—	34.2	66.3	58.5
Lower-middle income	71.5	—	17.4	68.6	67.8
Sub-Saharan Africa	63.9	—	33.8	56.2	50.5
Low income	—	—	32.6	54.3	47.7
Lower-middle income	—	—	34.4	26.6	53.7
Upper-middle income	63.9	—	42.1	68.2	70.7
b- All high income	73.6	56.0	62.5	68.7	66.0

Note: — no cases or too few cases to report, or value less than 0.1%.

Armenia (58 per cent), Bangladesh (60 per cent), Cambodia (61 per cent), El Salvador (66 per cent), Guatemala (63 per cent), Honduras (56 per cent), the Lao People's Democratic Republic (69 per cent), Mexico (67 per cent), Serbia and Montenegro (58 per cent), Nicaragua (58 per cent), the Republic of Moldova (52 per cent), Samoa (61 per cent), Somalia (64 per cent), the Sudan (54 per cent),

Thailand (51 per cent), Tonga (63 per cent), Uzbekistan (66 per cent) and Yemen (64 per cent). Of course, the shares of children living in overcrowded housing may be even higher in the LMICs that these families left.

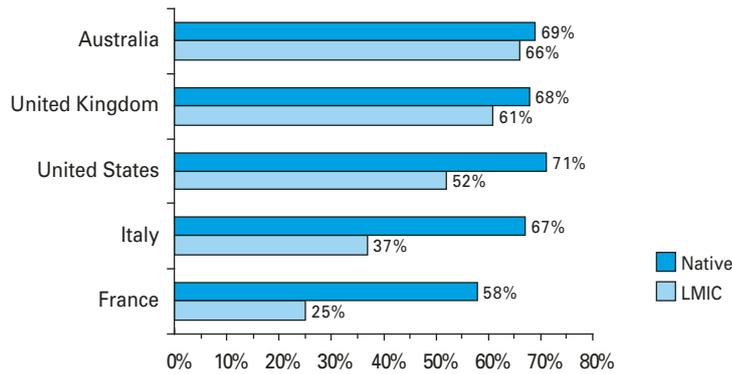
Thus, overcrowding is quite common in Italy among children in both immigrant and native-born families. Among children in the other affluent countries, it is common among children in families with LMIC origins and, frequently, in families that have sought refuge or asylum from civil disturbances, wars, or persecution.

Homeownership

The results on homeownership do not necessarily reflect the quality of housing, but they do reflect access to housing; they also reflect investment in and commitment to neighbourhoods and communities by families. In each of the five affluent countries reporting new results on rates of homeownership, a substantial majority of children in native-born families live in homes owned by their families, ranging from 58 per cent in France to 67–71 per cent in

Australia, Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States (*see Table 12.2 and Figure 12.2*). The largest gaps in homeownership separating children in immigrant families with LMIC origins and children in native-born families – 30–33 percentage points – occur in France (25 versus 58 per cent) and Italy (37 versus 67 per cent). In the United States, the difference is somewhat smaller, at 19 percentage points,

Figure 12.2 – Children in family-owned homes, five affluent countries



and the majority in both the immigrant and native-born groups live in family-owned homes (52 versus 71 per cent). Children in immigrant families with LMIC origins are nearly as likely as children in native-born families to live in a family-owned home in Australia (66 versus 69 per cent) and the United Kingdom (61 versus 68 per cent).

In Australia, the homeownership rate linked to children in each reported immigrant group is at least 55 per cent, and the rate rises to over 77 per cent among groups of European origin.

In France, the homeownership rates range from 20 to 35 per cent for many groups, but rise to more than 50 per cent in the case of the immigrant groups from Cambodia (53 per cent), Europe (56 per cent) and Viet Nam (63 per cent).

In Italy, the rates are below 20 per cent for the immigrant groups from Albania (14 per cent), Bosnia and Herzegovina (17 per cent), Ghana (11 per cent), Morocco (18 per cent), Senegal (18 per cent), Sri Lanka (17 per cent) and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (11 per cent). The rates rise to 50 per cent or more with respect to children in households from Eritrea (50 per cent), Ethiopia (60 per cent), the Islamic Republic of Iran (52 per cent), Israel (57 per cent), the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (70 per cent), the Syrian Arab Republic (52 per cent),

Thailand (60 per cent) and most other immigrant groups from the Americas, Europe and Oceania.

In the United Kingdom, most immigrant groups experience homeownership rates of 50–80 per cent, but the rates fall under 20 per cent with respect to children in families from Afghanistan (15 per cent), Albania (18 per cent), Angola (14 per cent), Burundi (12 per cent), the Congo (18 per cent),

the Democratic Republic of the Congo (14 per cent), Djibouti (16 per cent), Eritrea (15 per cent), Guinea-Bissau (14 per cent), Rwanda (12 per cent) and Somalia (6 per cent).

In the United States, too, the homeownership rates are 50–80 per cent among most immigrant groups. They fall below 40 per cent only for Somalia (14 per cent) and the Sudan (22 per cent) and are in the range of 25–39 per cent for Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dominica, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Samoa, Senegal, Serbia and Montenegro, and Uzbekistan.

The percentages of children living in immigrant families with homeownership in the five affluent countries reported here are often 50 per cent or more. They are almost always at least 30 per cent or more; in France, the overall rates are somewhat lower than in the other countries, but are still at least 20 per cent among most immigrant groups. Although substantial shares of children in many immigrant groups are living with at least one parent who has been in the country of settlement for less than five years, these data suggest that many immigrants are tangibly investing in their communities by purchasing homes and showing a strong commitment to the local neighbourhoods, towns and cities in their adopted homelands.

13

EDUCATION AMONG CHILDREN IN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES

Regarding formal education, the Council of the European Union and the representatives of the governments of the member states have established the following principle:

- “Efforts in *education* are critical to preparing immigrants, and particularly their descendants, to be more successful and more active participants in society” (authors’ emphasis added).⁸⁵

Because many immigrants seek a better life for themselves and their children in their settlement societies, it is not surprising that research in the United States, for example, indicates that parents in immigrant families often have high educational aspirations for their children.⁸⁶ Similarly, research in Germany finds that the educational aspirations of students in schools with high concentrations of immigrants are higher than those of students in schools without high concentrations of immigrants.⁸⁷ In France, too, research shows that parents in immigrant families and their children have higher aspirations than the native French population at the same socio-economic level.⁸⁸

Educational progress and achievement

In Australia, most large-scale studies of school outcomes show little difference between

children in immigrant families and children in native-born families, including studies of reading and mathematics skills at ages 8–9, of reading comprehension at age 14 and of school dropout rates at ages 16–17.⁸⁹ Similar results have been found in an analysis of the Australian data from the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) of the OECD, which found that educational outcomes at age 15 were not statistically different among children in immigrant families and children in native-born families, both before and after controlling for socio-economic status.

Meanwhile, the PISA found that children in immigrant families in Germany generally performed less well than children in native-born families.⁹⁰ These findings are consistent with other studies done in Germany. It was found 20 years ago that children in immigrant families were disadvantaged in the German school system. More recent studies show that children in immigrant families are delayed in starting school and are more likely to repeat classes than children in native-born families. In fact, the PISA German national study indicates that children in immigrant families who are in grades 1–3 are four times more likely than native-born German children to repeat a grade. In at least one region of Germany, children in immigrant families have worse grades than children in native-born families, and the gap in grades increases over time.

Research in France also finds that nearly half the children in immigrant families repeat one or more grades in elementary school, which is twice the corresponding share of children in native-born families, and, in the first year of middle school, children in immigrant families had much lower success rates on national tests than students in native French families.⁹¹

Recent research by the Ministry of Education, Universities and Research in Italy finds similar results.⁹² Students in immigrant families experience less success in school than students in native Italian families, and the gap in promotion from one grade to the next steadily expands from elementary school to secondary school.

Children in immigrant families in the Netherlands also lag behind students in native-born families.⁹³ The lowest test scores are found among children in families with origins in Turkey, followed by those in immigrant groups from Morocco and Suriname. Children in some refugee groups, however, show more success in school than children in other immigrant groups, particularly in the second generation, including children in refugee families from Eastern Europe and from Afghanistan, the Islamic Republic of Iran and Iraq.

In Switzerland, the PISA finds that students who grow up speaking a non-local language show lower (that is, poorer) test scores in reading and mathematics than do children with Swiss origins.⁹⁴ The results of the programme assessment also indicate that first-generation immigrant children have lower test scores than do second-generation children, who have lower scores than do the third and later generations. Overall, a study published in Switzerland using the data of the assessment found that the test score gap separating children in immigrant families and children in non-immigrant families is smaller in Australia and Canada than in Switzerland, but wider in France, Germany and the Netherlands.

In the United Kingdom, a recent study indicates that children in families with origins in China, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran and Sri Lanka perform better in school than the typical student, while school performance is substantially worse than average among children in families with origins in Bangladesh, Jamaica and Pakistan, but especially Portugal, Somalia and Turkey.⁹⁵

A recent study in the United States also finds differences across immigrant groups.⁹⁶ For example, mathematics test scores among

children in the first and second generation in families with origins in China were higher than those among whites in native-born families, and reading test scores were higher among the second generation. On the other end, among first- and second-generation children in families with origins in Mexico, mathematics and reading test scores were lower than the test scores among whites in native-born families.

Socio-economic status and school success

Children with parents who are more highly educated or in families with higher incomes are more likely to be successful in school for various reasons, including because the parents are better prepared to help children with schoolwork, more knowledgeable about the education system, more able to negotiate with schoolteachers and administrators on behalf of their children, and better positioned to pay for goods and services that foster their children's cognitive development, such as additional educational materials, lessons, visits to museums and other cultural events and participation in other activities tending to expand comprehension. Because children in immigrant families from economically advanced countries tend to live with highly educated parents who earn higher incomes, while children in families from poor countries tend to live with parents who have completed fewer years of schooling and earn less, socio-economic differences may account for a substantial portion of the differences in educational outcomes relative to children in native-born families.

Several studies in France have assessed the extent to which less favourable school outcomes among students in immigrant families may be accounted for by lower parental socio-economic status.⁹⁷ The research suggests that differences in school outcomes in the earlier years of education may be accounted for by differences in family socio-economic status, but this is no longer the case by the end of the educational process when children leave the school system.

In Italy, a study carried out in nine cities found that overall scholastic achievement was influenced by social class among students in native-born families and students in immigrant families, and that social class explains part of the differences in educational outcomes between the two groups.⁹⁸ Other studies also

indicate that differences in social class in Italy are important in accounting for the under-representation of students in immigrant families in the academic track in secondary education (which, in general, prepares students for university) compared with the technical and vocational tracks.

Research in the United States among children in the 8th and 10th grades indicates that parental socio-economic status accounts for little of the Asian immigrant advantage in grade point averages and mathematics test scores, and little of the disadvantage in reading test scores relative to whites in native-born families.⁹⁹ However, among second-generation Asians, parental educational attainment and family income account for 36 per cent of the advantage in grade point average, 46 per cent of the advantage in mathematics test scores and 62 per cent of the advantage in reading test scores. Among both first- and second-generation Hispanics, family socio-economic status accounts for at least 90 per cent of the disadvantage in grade point average, 53–62 per cent of the disadvantage in mathematics test scores and about 50 per cent of the disadvantage in reading test scores. A study among children in southern Florida and southern California also found that socio-economic status has a strong influence on school achievement among second-generation children.¹⁰⁰

More broadly, a recent review of literature pertaining to European countries concludes that socio-economic background may explain at least half, and in some cases all, the educational gaps between various immigrant and native groups, including immigrant groups with origins in Morocco, Pakistan and Turkey that live in France, Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.¹⁰¹

School tracking, segregation and discrimination

The causes of the differences in educational outcomes among various immigrant and native groups are diverse and complex. Because the European Commission urges that the basic rights of immigrants for access to education be recognized and because the nature and quality of education differ across types of schools and across locations in various countries, it is useful to summarize studies on school tracking and segregation by location and among schools and on discrimination

within education systems against children in immigrant families.

School tracking

In France, guidance on assigning students to educational tracks focuses on proficiency in French rather than educational achievement.¹⁰² If special schooling is deemed necessary, the student is enrolled in two classes, a special class of reduced size and a standard class, and the student transfers between them as and when language proficiency improves. But the transition from a special class to a standard class is problematic. Though some of the available data are incomplete, it seems that the time that elapses before transfer to a standard class is excessive. Thus, although perceptions may not always be accurate, 17 per cent of children in immigrant families of Portuguese origin believe themselves to have been unfairly tracked. The corresponding share rises to 25 per cent among children in families of North African origin; it reaches 42 per cent if the children were steered to a vocational track.

A study in Mannheim, Germany, found that children in foreign-born families tend to obtain lower grades in German and mathematics than other children, leading to more frequent guidance towards the *Hauptschule*, the least intensive secondary-school track, and less frequent guidance towards the more intensive *Gymnasium and Realschule*.¹⁰³ Another study in Germany found that, in 2004, youth in immigrant families were less likely to have the opportunity for vocational training and apprenticeships.

In the Netherlands, too, children in immigrant families have apparently been guided to different educational tracks than other children, although the differences have at times led to placement above the students' academic potential and sometimes to placement below this potential.¹⁰⁴ Early research suggests that students currently may more often, on average, be tracked to a level below their potential, but additional research is required to draw definitive conclusions.

Research in Switzerland finds that the share of students in immigrant families tracked to the basic curriculum in lower secondary school rather than to the advanced curriculum increased from 45 to 49 per cent between 1980 and 2005, while the corresponding share in native-born families declined from 35 to 25 per cent. Related research finds that students in immigrant families who show average school

performance are much less likely than corresponding students in native-born families to be guided to the advanced curriculum; in fact, the merit principle was ignored in two thirds of the tracking assignments.¹⁰⁵

Geographical and school segregation

Because specific schools differ in the quality of the education provided, as has been found in France, for example, the concentration of children in immigrant families in selected schools may have deleterious (or salutary) consequences, regardless of whether this segregation is unintended or the result of explicit discrimination.¹⁰⁶ In France, a government study found that, in 1998–1999, children in immigrant families accounted for 22 per cent of the students in schools in areas with multiple problems that had therefore been classified as priority education areas (*zones d'éducation prioritaires*), but students in foreign-born families accounted for only 5 per cent of the students in schools not included in this classification. Another study found much higher levels of segregation among students with North African, sub-Saharan African and Turkish family backgrounds. Although the positive discrimination associated with providing additional resources to schools in priority education areas was intended to reduce inequality in educational outcomes across schools, the effectiveness of this strategy remains uncertain.

School segregation is common in both the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. In the Netherlands, school segregation is associated with both urban concentration and the right to choose the school a student will attend.¹⁰⁷ Across the Netherlands, but concentrated mainly in the four largest cities, 6 per cent of primary schools have enrolments of students in immigrant families at 50 per cent or more, and 73 per cent of the classmates of students in immigrant families are other students in immigrant families, whereas, on average, native-born children attend schools in which children of immigrant origin account for only 27 per cent of the student body.

In the United Kingdom, as a consequence of the concentration of immigrant families in urban areas, students in immigrant families represent 40 per cent or more of the students in schools that account for only 8 per cent of the total student population.¹⁰⁸

Research in the United States finds that children with limited proficiency in English (which may

be taken as a proxy for immigrant status) are highly concentrated in a small number of schools.¹⁰⁹ Nearly 70 per cent of such students are enrolled in 10 per cent of schools. Schools with high concentrations of these students are often located in urban areas, and the students in these schools are often economically disadvantaged. Research indicates that teachers in schools with high concentrations of limited English proficient students are more likely than teachers in others schools to have provisional, emergency, or temporary certification, and new teachers are substantially more likely to be uncertified. On the other hand, these schools are more likely to have in-service training among teachers for limited English proficient students and to offer important services, including support and enrichment programmes. School segregation in the United States flows from the residential concentration of immigrants in particular localities and neighborhoods. A study in southern Florida and southern California found that children in immigrant families perform consistently worse on mathematics and reading tests if they attend minority inner-city schools.¹¹⁰

Stereotyping and discrimination

Stereotyping and discrimination may have negative consequences in educational outcomes among specific immigrant groups in a range of countries. For example, although nationwide studies in Australia find rather small differences between children in immigrant families and children in native-born families in reading and mathematics test scores, smaller scale studies find that children in families in some immigrant groups suffer from racism practised by teachers and other students, suggesting the need for new studies of school achievement that focus on specific immigrant origins.¹¹¹

Research in Switzerland suggests that the stereotypes teachers have regarding students in immigrant families may contribute to the overrepresentation of these students in special classes for children with learning difficulties, and physical or mental disabilities.¹¹² Youth in the immigrant community are four times more likely than native-born Swiss youth to have no education beyond compulsory schooling. In addition, youth with Swiss-born parents are twice as likely as youth with immigrant origins and identical educational qualifications to obtain apprenticeships after completing school. The research found that employers tend to select candidates based on stereotypes that are detrimental to youth in immigrant families. Using the practice testing methodology of

the International Labour Organization, another study found that applications for employment are treated in a discriminatory fashion in 30 per cent of the cases if the applications

describe young men in families with origins in Turkey and 39 per cent of the cases if the applications describe Albanian-speaking immigrants from the former Yugoslavia.¹¹³

14

SCHOOL AND WORK AMONG ADOLESCENTS AND YOUNG ADULTS

In addition to the earlier cited provision concerning education, regarding employment, the Council of the European Union has established the principle that:

- “*Employment* is a key part of the integration process and is central to the participation of immigrants, to the contributions immigrants make to the host society, and to making such contributions visible” (authors’ emphasis added).¹¹⁴

This section presents new results on the current school enrolment and work status of adolescents in the 15–17 age group and youth and young adults in the 18–24 age group. In contrast to the general usage throughout this report, results are not presented here in terms of children in immigrant families and children in native-born families. Instead, the distinction is highlighted between adolescents in the 15–17 age group who were not born in the country of settlement and adolescents in the same age group who were born in the country of settlement. Thus, the distinction now drawn is based on birth – or not – in the country of settlement. One set of adolescents examined was not born in the country of settlement; they are first-generation immigrants. The other set of adolescents examined was born in the country of settlement; they may be in the second immigrant generation, or they may be in native-born families.

Similarly, in this section, a distinction is made between youth and young adults aged 18–24 who were not born in the country of settlement and youth and young adults in the same age group who were born in the country of settlement. Thus, results are presented on one set of youth and young adults who are first-generation immigrants. The other set of youth and young adults discussed may be in the second immigrant generation, or they may be in native-born families.

In so far as the adolescents and young adults in the first-generation, foreign-born group are at or beyond the threshold of adulthood, they soon will become or already are parents of the next generation of children in immigrant families. Their final years of school and their early work experiences will have lasting consequences not only for them throughout their lives, but also for the well-being and development of their children.

These results offer important insights regarding the extent to which adolescents and young adults who are first-generation immigrants are experiencing social inclusion or social exclusion. It should be noted, however, that many of these immigrants may have come to the countries of settlement recently, perhaps specifically to receive advanced education, and they may therefore return to their countries of origin when they have completed their

Adolescents in school

Table 14.1 - Per cent of 15- to 17-year-olds enrolled in school, five affluent countries

Family origin	Australia	Italy	Switzerland	United Kingdom	United States
All adolescents 15–17	86.3	85.2	88.6	85.3	96.3
Born in the settlement country	84.5	85.6	91.1	85.0	96.6
Not born in the settlement country	89.2	74.6	84.2	90.9	93.6
<i>15- to 17-year-olds in immigrant families by income category of the country of origin:</i>					
a- All low, lower-middle and upper-middle income:	94.8	71.6	79.6	91.7	92.8
East Asia and the Pacific	94.7	75.0	85.7	95.9	96.9
Low income	—	—	86.6	96.9	97.0
Lower-middle income	93.8	75.0	85.2	95.6	96.7
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	95.7	—
Europe and Central Asia	—	64.6	76.9	89.6	96.5
Low income	—	—	—	—	—
Lower-middle income	—	57.4	74.5	93.1	95.8
Upper-middle income	—	81.6	81.8	88.7	97.1
Latin America and the Caribbean	—	88.0	86.9	90.9	90.5
Low income	—	—	86.8	—	94.6
Lower-middle income	—	88.4	85.2	90.9	94.1
Upper-middle income	—	86.9	90.3	90.9	88.5
Middle East and North Africa	—	63.0	87.5	93.3	96.3
Low income	—	—	—	87.4	—
Lower-middle income	—	62.6	87.0	93.5	96.3
Upper-middle income	—	88.7	91.1	96.2	—
South Asia	95.9	68.2	82.0	88.8	98.2
Low income	97.0	68.1	87.3	88.4	98.2
Lower-middle income	95.1	68.7	77.2	93.9	—
Sub-Saharan Africa	93.0	74.4	84.1	93.4	96.9
Low income	—	70.9	83.1	95.2	96.6
Lower-middle income	—	86.0	80.6	92.6	—
Upper-middle income	93.0	91.2	90.7	88.8	—
b- All high income	87.8	81.4	88.3	90.1	96.5

Note: — no cases or too few cases to report, or value less than 0.1%.

The vast majority of adolescents 15–17 born in the country of settlement are in school in Australia, Italy and the United Kingdom (85–86 per cent), Switzerland (91 per cent) and the United States (97 per cent). Immigrant adolescents with LMIC origins are less likely to be enrolled than these settlement-country-born adolescents by 14 per cent in Italy, 12 per cent in Switzerland and 4 per cent in the United States, but more likely to be enrolled by 10 per cent in Australia and 7 per cent in the United Kingdom (see Table 14.1).

By global region of origin, the shares of immigrant adolescents 15–17 from LMICs who are enrolled are generally within a few percentage points of the corresponding shares among the overall population with LMIC origins that are enrolled. Among adolescents born in the countries of settlement and immigrant adolescents from LMICs, there is little gender difference within countries and within LMIC global origins, with one exception. In Italy, adolescent immigrant girls are more likely than

adolescent immigrant boys to be enrolled if they are from Europe and Central Asia (71 versus 59 per cent), especially Albania (67 versus 48 per cent); South Asia (73 versus 64 per cent), especially India (80 versus 64 per cent); and sub-Saharan Africa (78 versus 71 per cent).

education. The results for specific topics reflect the availability of data on the various affluent countries in this study. As in other sections of this report, the results are presented according to the income level of the countries and regions of origin.

Adolescents enrolled in the academic or vocational track

Two countries report the share of adolescents aged 15–17 enrolled in the academic and vocational tracks. The results for Germany are reported as a share of adolescents in the age group who are enrolled in school, while the results for Switzerland are reported as a share

of all adolescents in the same age group. Among immigrant adolescents from LMICs, the share enrolled in the academic track is 84 per cent in Germany, but much lower, 59 per cent, in Switzerland (see Table 14.2). The shares enrolled in the academic track among adolescents born in the country of settlement are similar to the shares among immigrant adolescents in both Germany (82 versus 85 per cent) and Switzerland (58 versus

62 per cent). In both cases, this should not seem surprising. In Germany, the latter adolescents are mainly in *Spätaussiedler* (repatriate ethnic German) families from Central Asia and the Russian Federation (*Volga Germans*) or in the well-established immigration flow from Turkey. In Switzerland, they are frequently the offspring in families of recent immigrants privileged because of their labour qualifications.

The shares of adolescents enrolled in the academic track vary enormously across immigrant LMIC origins in Switzerland, from 66–75 per cent for most global regions to 55 per cent for Europe and Central Asia. The lowest reported shares among immigrant adolescents occur among the groups from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (52–53 per cent).¹¹⁵ Gender differences are small to negligible among immigrant groups from many specific countries, but they are larger and to the advantage of girls by 10–20 per cent in Switzerland among immigrant adolescents

Table 14.2 - Per cent of 15- to 17-year-olds enrolled in secondary vocational and academic programmes, Germany and Switzerland

Family origin	Germany		Switzerland	
	Academic	Vocational	Academic	Vocational
All adolescents aged 15–17	82.3	17.7	59.2	29.4
Born in the settlement country	81.6	18.4	57.7	33.3
Not born in the settlement country	85.4	14.6	61.7	22.5
<i>15- to 17-year-olds in immigrant families by income category of the country of origin:</i>				
a- All low, lower-middle and upper-middle income:	83.6	16.4	59.4	20.2
East Asia and the Pacific	—	—	66.4	19.3
Low income	—	—	68.6	18.0
Lower-middle income	—	—	65.2	20.0
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	—
Europe and Central Asia	82.0	18.0	54.6	22.3
Low income	—	—	—	—
Lower-middle income	—	—	52.1	22.3
Upper-middle income	82.0	18.0	59.6	22.2
Latin America and the Caribbean	—	—	71.7	15.2
Low income	—	—	79.3	7.4
Lower-middle income	—	—	70.2	14.9
Upper-middle income	—	—	73.7	16.6
Middle East and North Africa	—	—	74.9	12.6
Low income	—	—	—	—
Lower-middle income	—	—	75.1	11.9
Upper-middle income	—	—	72.3	18.8
South Asia	—	—	68.7	13.3
Low income	—	—	72.5	14.8
Lower-middle income	—	—	65.2	12.0
Sub-Saharan Africa	—	—	69.2	14.9
Low income	—	—	70.7	12.4
Lower-middle income	—	—	66.5	14.1
Upper-middle income	—	—	69.1	21.6
b- All high income	85.6	14.4	63.8	24.6

Note: The data for Germany are calculated as a percentage of all enrolled adolescents in the age group. The data for Switzerland are calculated as a percentage of all adolescents in the age group.

— no cases or too few cases to report, or value less than 0.1%.

from Algeria, the Czech Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Morocco and Tunisia. The shares enrolled in the academic track in Germany are similar across reported immigrant origins, at 81 to 86 per cent for adolescents from the Russian Federation, Turkey and HICs. In Germany, adolescent immigrant girls are also somewhat advantaged in the share enrolled in the academic track, with differences of 3 to 8 per cent.

The vocational track does not usually provide access to university (in Switzerland, it provides access to some post-secondary, non-tertiary schools), but it can provide an avenue to skilled jobs that pay relatively well. The only countries in this report that provide data on this issue for both immigrant adolescents and adolescents born in the settlement country are Germany and Switzerland. In Germany, the shares enrolled in the vocational track are similar among adolescents born in Germany and adolescents born in LMICs (18 versus 15 per cent), but in Switzerland, the shares enrolled in the vocational track are 33 per cent among adolescents born in Switzerland and a much smaller 22 per cent among adolescents born in LMICs. Among LMIC immigrant adolescents in Germany and Switzerland, boys are more likely than girls to be enrolled in the vocational track.

Youth and young adults (18- to 24-year-olds) in school

Young people who continue in school into late adolescence and young adulthood are generally pursuing advanced education that may help to assure they will have access to good jobs that offer substantial economic returns. In the five countries under study on which relevant data on this issue are available, the share in school among 18- to 24-year-olds born in the country of settlement ranges from 28 to 31 per cent in Australia and the United Kingdom to 41 per cent in Italy, 46 per cent in the United States and 51 per cent in Germany (*see Table 14.3*).

The shares of immigrant youth and young adults from LMICs are lower than the corresponding shares of youth and young adults born in the country of settlement by 13–20 per cent in Germany, Italy and the United States, but much higher, by 35 per cent, in Australia and by 16 per cent in the United Kingdom. It should be noted that some youth and young adults from LMICs are in these countries temporarily to pursue university education; the share of such people may be especially large in Australia and the United Kingdom.

The lowest enrolment rates among immigrant youth and young adults from LMICs in France and Germany occur among people with origins in Turkey (20–21 per cent), while, in Italy, the lowest enrolment rates (6–16 per cent) occur among immigrant youth and young adults from Albania, Bangladesh, Cuba, Egypt, Ghana, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Republic of Moldova, Romania, Senegal, Slovakia, Sri Lanka, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Tunisia. Enrolment rates in the United Kingdom among most immigrant youth and young adults from LMICs are 40 per cent or higher, but the rates fall to 13–26 per cent among youth and young adults from the Czech Republic, Fiji, Namibia, Pakistan, Slovakia, South Africa and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. In the United States, too, most of the relevant enrolment rates are 40 per cent or higher, although they are in the lower range of 16–27 per cent among immigrant youth and young adults from El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Mexico. Immigrant youth and young adults from these countries have fewer opportunities than youth and young adults born in other countries or in the country of settlement to benefit from advanced education as they seek success in their adopted homelands or the adopted homelands of their families.

The differences in school enrolment rates between men and women in the youth and young adult group are in many cases no more than 10 per cent.

Youth and young adults not in school and not working

Young people aged 18–24 who are not in school and not working are thereby not included in the two major sets of activities that dominate these critical years of youth and early adulthood in all affluent countries. Such young people are more likely than their peers who are actively engaged in school or work to experience substantial social exclusion during the later years of adulthood.

In the six countries under study on which data are available, the shares of immigrant youth and young adults from LMICs who are neither in school nor at work differ substantially, from 8 per cent in Australia to 21–26 per cent in France, the United Kingdom and the United States and a high of 35–41 per cent in Germany and Italy (*see Table 14.4*). Only in Australia is the share lower among young

Table 14.3 - School enrolment among 18- to 24-year-olds, six affluent countries (per cent)

Family origin	Australia	France	Germany	Italy	United Kingdom	United States
All 18- to 24-year-olds	35.8	n.a.	49.7	40.3	30.1	44.6
Born in the settlement country	30.8	n.a.	50.6	41.0	28.2	45.9
Not born in the settlement country	42.8	46.9	36.0	25.8	48.0	36.9
<i>18- to 24-year-olds in immigrant families by income category of the country of origin:</i>						
a- All low, lower-middle and upper-middle income:	66.2	36.9	35.3	20.7	44.6	33.1
East Asia and the Pacific	65.5	42.5	—	23.4	74.4	60.0
Low income	57.7	42.5	—	—	60.7	59.7
Lower-middle income	67.9	—	—	23.4	72.7	59.4
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	—	86.9	79.9
Europe and Central Asia	—	19.5	34.3	15.7	43.1	55.1
Low income	—	—	—	—	71.4	68.8
Lower-middle income	—	—	36.0	13.6	52.9	52.0
Upper-middle income	—	19.5	33.9	20.0	41.0	56.5
Latin America and the Caribbean	—	—	—	37.4	51.4	23.6
Low income	—	—	—	—	—	60.0
Lower-middle income	—	—	—	35.7	49.9	36.2
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	40.9	55.9	17.3
Middle East and North Africa	—	40.8	36.1	13.6	53.6	57.6
Low income	—	—	—	—	37.4	35.9
Lower-middle income	—	40.8	36.1	12.8	52.8	60.4
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	52.4	64.2	50.6
South Asia	71.0	—	—	16.1	28.8	57.0
Low income	66.1	—	—	16.3	27.2	56.9
Lower-middle income	73.2	—	—	15.5	48.1	61.6
Sub-Saharan Africa	51.5	—	—	24.8	49.7	60.9
Low income	—	—	—	21.3	60.1	62.4
Lower-middle income	—	—	—	45.2	54.9	43.7
Upper-middle income	51.5	—	—	32.0	28.4	58.7
b- All high income	36.0	27.2	39.8	34.5	51.8	54.0

Note: n.a. = data not available.

— no cases or too few cases to report, or value less than 0.1%.

people born in the country of settlement (by 8 per cent). In the other four countries reporting results on young people born in the country of settlement, that is, excluding France, immigrant youth and young adults from LMICs are more likely than youth and young adults born in the country of settlement not to be in school or at work, with gaps of 7–10 per cent in Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States and 23 per cent in Germany.

In France, 39 per cent of young immigrants in this age group from Turkey are not in school and

not working. The corresponding share is higher, at 55 per cent, in Germany. The corresponding shares in Italy and the United Kingdom are 30 and 36 per cent, respectively. Young people in many other immigrant groups are even more likely not to be in school or at work in Italy, with shares of 40–49 per cent among the immigrant groups from Bangladesh, Egypt, Hungary, Jordan, Mauritius, Morocco, Nigeria, Poland, the Republic of Moldova, Slovakia, the Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand and Ukraine and 56–64 per cent among the groups from Algeria, Cuba and Tunisia.

Table 14.4 - Per cent of 18- to 24-year-olds not enrolled in school and not working, six affluent countries

Family origin	Australia	France	Germany	Italy	United Kingdom	United States
All 18- to 24-year-olds	15.1	n.a.	19.4	28.5	16.3	17.2
Born in the settlement country	16.3	n.a.	18.2	28.1	16.2	16.0
Not born in the settlement country	13.4	8.6	38.2	35.9	17.9	24.4
<i>18- to 24-year-olds in immigrant families by income category of the country of origin:</i>						
a- All low, lower-middle and upper-middle income:	8.3	20.9	41.1	34.9	24.4	26.3
East Asia and the Pacific	9.5	8.2	—	26.2	7.4	13.7
Low income	11.7	8.2	—	—	12.2	15.4
Lower-middle income	8.8	—	—	26.2	7.8	12.6
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	—	3.3	6.7
Europe and Central Asia	—	39.4	41.3	35.1	23.5	14.5
Low income	—	—	—	—	13.6	14.7
Lower-middle income	—	—	34.5	35.9	17.4	16.4
Upper-middle income	—	39.4	42.8	33.6	24.8	13.3
Latin America and the Caribbean	—	—	—	30.3	18.4	30.5
Low income	—	—	—	—	—	18.0
Lower-middle income	—	—	—	31.2	20.2	24.0
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	28.5	12.9	33.6
Middle East and North Africa	—	17.7	42.9	44.1	27.7	18.4
Low income	—	—	—	—	40.2	29.7
Lower-middle income	—	17.7	42.9	44.4	28.2	16.4
Upper-middle income	—	—	—	29.1	20.1	25.0
South Asia	6.5	—	—	34.4	38.8	19.0
Low income	8.5	—	—	34.4	40.4	19.1
Lower-middle income	5.5	—	—	34.3	19.5	11.0
Sub-Saharan Africa	9.5	—	—	31.6	14.7	15.4
Low income	—	—	—	32.5	16.0	15.9
Lower-middle income	—	—	—	23.9	20.7	20.1
Upper-middle income	9.5	—	—	32.2	11.7	9.6
b- All high income	13.5	11.8	29.7	37.4	10.0	15.6

Note: n.a. = data not available.

— no cases or too few cases to report, or value less than 0.1%.

In the United Kingdom, the shares of young people not working and not in school reach one fourth or more (25–38 per cent) among immigrant groups from Albania, Belarus, Burundi, the Congo, Croatia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Jamaica, Lebanon, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Rwanda, Somalia and Turkey, and reach higher levels (39–46 per cent) among immigrant groups from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Morocco, Pakistan and Yemen.

The shares in the United States reach or exceed one fourth (25–34 per cent) among immigrant

groups from Belize, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Grenada, Guatemala, Honduras, Jordan, Lebanon, Mexico, Serbia and Montenegro, the Syrian Arab Republic and Yemen and reach a high of 51 per cent in the group from Samoa.

Among young people born in the country of settlement, gender differences in the shares neither in school nor at work are fairly small, in the range of 1–4 per cent, in the countries under study, although the differences are sometimes much larger among selected ethnic minorities, most notably an excess among

young German women in Australia and among young Black men in the United Kingdom. However, the shares neither in school nor working differ substantially by gender among immigrant young people from LMICs, except in Australia. Among this group, young women are 15–20 per cent more likely than young men not to be in school or working in France, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States. The difference is larger, 29 per cent, in Italy.

The shares neither in school nor working among immigrant youth and young adults from LMICs are, except for Australia, in the range of 12–30 per cent for men, but in the range of 29–49 per cent for women. These gender differences exist, at least in part, because of the family responsibilities associated with caring for young children in the home, but may also be associated with socio-economic status (for example, the ability to pay for day care) and cultural differences within ethnic minority or immigrant groups, among which women may sometimes tend to remain out of education and work.

The shares of young immigrant men who are neither in school nor working rises to 25 per cent only among young immigrants from a few countries of origin. In Germany, this applies to the immigrant groups from the Russian Federation (27 per cent) and Turkey (35 per cent). In Italy, it applies to the groups from Algeria, Argentina, Chile, the Dominican Republic, Ethiopia, Mauritius, the Republic of Moldova, Somalia, Ukraine and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela (25–30 per cent). In the United Kingdom, young immigrant men show shares in this range or higher (28–40 per cent) in the groups from

Afghanistan, Albania, Burundi, Croatia, Iraq, Jamaica, Saint Lucia, Somalia and Turkey. In the United States, the corresponding share (25–28 per cent) applies to immigrant groups from Cuba, the Czech Republic and the Dominican Republic. The share rises to 55 per cent among the immigrant group from Samoa.

The rates of young people neither in school nor working are higher among young immigrant women than among young immigrant men across most countries or regions of origin. The rate is a particularly high 40 per cent or more among young immigrant women from Turkey (66 per cent) in Germany, from Europe and Central Asia (51 per cent), the Middle East and North Africa (66 per cent) and South Asia (56 per cent) in Italy and, in the United Kingdom, from Bangladesh (59 per cent), Morocco (52 per cent), Pakistan (68 per cent) and Yemen (66 per cent). The shares are much lower, but still substantial, at 20 per cent or more, among young immigrant women in many origin groups in France, Germany and Italy. In the United Kingdom and the United States, the same is true of immigrant women in many origin groups from Eastern Europe and Central Asia and from sub-Saharan Africa.

The participation in school and the labour force among young immigrant women may not be indicative of social exclusion, because, for example, the women might be fully engaged in rearing young children at home. The high rates nonetheless represent a potential concern, particularly if viewed in conjunction with the high rates experienced by many young immigrant men.

15

HEALTH STATUS, ADJUSTMENT AND ACCULTURATION

The health of children in immigrant families and the extent to which these children successfully adapt and acculturate in the settlement society are important, wide-ranging topics. Information is not collected on these topics in the data sets analysed for this report. Few national surveys include such information, and few data-collection systems have the capacity to distinguish first-, second-, third- or later-generation children. Although a comprehensive review of studies that have been conducted on these topics is not possible in this report, a summary is presented below of relevant studies in selected countries to highlight key emerging issues and conclusions. However, one should not generalize on the basis of the conclusions because children in immigrant families from various countries of origin and within a same country of origin differ greatly, and the available evidence is limited.

Physical health

An overview of the information available on the United States suggests that, at least in a small number of major dimensions, children in immigrant families show better health and adjustment than do children in native-born families.¹¹⁶ This advantage tends to deteriorate with longer residence in the United States and from one generation to the next. At the same

time, children in immigrant families may also be at higher risk for particular health conditions.

Regarding health in the United States, previous research has found that:

"[C]hildren in immigrant families experience fewer specific acute and chronic health problems than do U.S.-born children in U.S.-born families, according to parent reports, including acute infectious and parasitic diseases; acute ear infections; acute accidents; chronic respiratory conditions such as bronchitis, asthma, and hay fever; and chronic hearing impairments . . . First-generation immigrant adolescents also report lower levels of neurological impairment, obesity, and asthma, and fewer health risk behaviors such as early sexual activity; use of cigarettes, alcohol, marijuana, or hard drugs; delinquency; and use of violence . . . Similarly, second-generation infants are less likely to have low birth weight or to die in the first year of life than are third- and later-generation infants . . . "

"Not all indications are favorable, however . . . Tuberculosis, hepatitis B, parasitic infections, and elevated levels of lead in the blood are also of particular concern for children in immigrant families from certain high-risk countries of origin."

“The paradoxical finding that children in immigrant families have better health than U.S.-born children in U.S.-born families on most available measures – despite their overall lower socio-economic levels, higher poverty rates, and racial or ethnic minority status – suggests that strong family bonds among immigrants may act to sustain cultural orientations leading to healthful behavior, or that other unknown social and cultural factors may serve to protect them. . . . The apparent deterioration of the health of children in immigrant families the longer they reside in the United States and from one generation to the next suggests that protective aspects of immigrant culture may fade as assimilation into mainstream American culture occurs, allowing deleterious effects of low socio-economic status, high poverty, and racial or ethnic stratification to emerge.”¹¹⁷

In Australia, as in some other countries, there is little data on the physical health of children in immigrant families because routine health data-collection systems do not obtain information about immigrant status or country of origin. One source of relevant data indicates that premature births are less likely among immigrant mothers than among mothers in native-born Australian families in New South Wales if the immigrant mothers were born in China, India, Indonesia, the Netherlands, the Republic of Korea, Viet Nam and perhaps other countries as well, but the reverse is true of mothers born in Fiji.¹¹⁸

In the Netherlands, young people up to age 24 in immigrant families of non-western origin are somewhat less likely than native-born Dutch youth to report their health as good or excellent.¹¹⁹ Research finds that young people in immigrant families with origins in the Antilles and Aruba or Suriname are more likely than native-born Dutch young people to be overweight, and that the difference is still larger in the case of young people in families with origins in Morocco or Turkey. Studies also show, however, that youth in non-western immigrant groups are less likely than native-born Dutch youth to consume alcohol, particularly if they have origins in Morocco or Turkey, and that levels of cannabis use and overall drug use are also lowest among these last two groups. Perinatal mortality is a quarter to a third higher among non-western immigrant groups than among native-born Dutch.¹²⁰ These differences are related to the

higher prevalence of sexually transmitted infections and teenage pregnancies among immigrant groups from the Antilles and Aruba and to substandard medical care among the immigrant group from Suriname. Nonetheless, mortality rates among immigrant children and young people ages 5 to 24 are about half the rates among their native-born Dutch peers.

In Germany, too, few studies on health have been conducted among children and youth in immigrant families. The existing research indicates that these children and youth are less likely to use medical services than their German counterparts.¹²¹ Only around half participate in early diagnostic tests compared with 85 per cent among Germans in native-born families. In Berlin, children in immigrant families are more likely to be overweight.

In Switzerland, youth in native-born families are more likely than youth in foreign-born families to consume hashish and alcohol.¹²²

Overall, the limited data available on these countries of settlement indicate that there is considerable diversity in the health of children in immigrant families compared with children in native-born families, depending on the country of origin and the particular health indicator. Nonetheless, it is paradoxical that children in immigrant families often experience levels of health that exceed the levels among the native-born population despite the more frequently limited socio-economic resources of these families.

Psychological adjustment

Information is also quite limited in the countries under study on psychological adjustment among children in immigrant families. Fortunately, however, a group of psychologists from 13 countries has conducted the International Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth (ICSEY), which includes six of the countries discussed in this report.¹²³ Key findings are now highlighted from ICSEY and from additional research carried out in several of the countries under study.

The aim of the ICSEY project was to study acculturation, identity and adaptation among 32 immigrant groups in 13 countries and compare the results with samples among the national groups in these countries. The immigrant youth sample consists of 5,000 adolescents aged 13–18 who are either first or second generation. In addition to Australia,

France, Germany, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States, the ICSEY study also includes Canada, Finland, Israel, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal and Sweden.

In the study, psychological adaptation reflects measures of life satisfaction, self-esteem and psychological problems measured in terms of anxiety, depression and psychosomatic symptoms. Overall, youths in immigrant families had slightly fewer psychological problems than their peers in the national samples, but did not differ in levels of life satisfaction and self-esteem.¹²⁴

Recent research in Australia indicates that overall levels of mental illness among children in immigrant families are similar to or lower than levels among other children, including lower rates of neurotic and psychotic symptoms. A longitudinal study in Brisbane found that the children of immigrants initially have better mental health than other children, but that the levels converge over time.¹²⁵ A survey in Germany, in contrast, found that children in immigrant families are somewhat more likely than children in non-immigrant families to have emotional problems (such as excessive anxiety or depression).¹²⁶ A small study in Norway indicates that adolescents in immigrant families are more likely than their peers in native-born families to experience depressive symptoms.¹²⁷ Results for the United States are mixed, and a broad review of relevant studies, including studies outside the United States, shows mixed results as well.¹²⁸

Sociocultural adjustment

Sociocultural adaptation in the ICSEY study examines school adjustment and behavioural problems, that is, antisocial behaviour in the school or community. Overall, youth in immigrant families in the study reported better school adjustment and fewer behavioural problems than youth in native-born families.¹²⁹

Country-specific results on school success are discussed elsewhere in this report, but additional national-level studies indicate the following points.

Official statistics and large-scale studies in Australia find that children in immigrant families show higher crime rates than the native group.¹³⁰ The most comprehensive study to date, in New South Wales, also indicates that youth with non-English-speaking

backgrounds are overrepresented in the juvenile justice system. However, the same analysis appears to confirm that this overrepresentation is caused by discrimination in the juvenile justice system rather than higher rates of criminal behaviour. Similarly, ICSEY researchers report studies suggesting that youth in immigrant families are overrepresented in crime statistics, but that self-reported delinquency suggests there are no differences between these youth and others, although there appear to be differences in the severity of the crimes: these youth commit fewer acts of petty delinquency, but more acts of violent delinquency than youth in native-born families.

In Germany, children who are foreign citizens reportedly fight and steal more often than children who are German citizens (17 versus 14 per cent), and official statistics indicate that 14- to 24-year-old youth and young adults who are foreign citizens are more likely to be involved in criminal activity (13 versus 12 per cent), while self-reported data indicate that adolescents in immigrant families are more likely to commit robbery, extortion and assault.¹³¹

A small study in Norway also finds that boys in immigrant families are more likely than boys in native-born families to be identified by peers as bullies, while girls in immigrant families are less likely to be identified as bullies.¹³²

In France, ethnic minority youth, especially youth in families with origins in North Africa, are overrepresented in the prison population.¹³³

In the Netherlands, first- and second-generation minors in any of the four largest immigrant groups (from the Antilles and Aruba, Morocco, Suriname and Turkey) run a significantly higher risk of being suspected of a crime than minors in the native-born population.¹³⁴

In Switzerland, police and judicial statistics indicate that foreign youth are more likely than native youth to be suspected of involvement in violent offences, especially if they are in recent immigrant flows from Turkey or the countries of the former Yugoslavia. The findings derived from self-reporting in studies are similar. A study in the French-speaking canton of Vaud also shows higher delinquency rates among foreign adolescents than native-born Swiss adolescents for 9 of 22 types of deviant behaviour, including absenteeism, running away from home, shoplifting, car theft, theft from a vehicle, bodily injury and drug dealing, although the difference between adolescents of Swiss and foreign origin is small relative to the

overall increase in deviant behaviour since 1992. A recent government report noted the lack of criminal data at the federal level that could be used to monitor delinquency among youth, including youth in immigrant families.¹³⁵

In the United States, self-reported data in one study on adolescents have been collected for as many as 11 delinquent acts, such as painting graffiti, damaging property, shoplifting, running away from home, stealing a car, selling drugs and burglary. Data have also been collected for as many as nine violent behaviours or the use of weapons, including fighting, threatening with a knife or gun, shooting or stabbing someone and using a weapon in a fight. The results indicate that first-generation adolescents are less likely than second and later generations to perform delinquent or violent acts. In addition, beginning with the first generation, the likelihood grows across generations that adolescents with origins in Afro-Caribbean populations or in Central and South America, Mexico or Puerto Rico will perform these acts. The same is often true across generational groups, particularly between the first generation and later generations, among adolescents with origins in Canada, China, Cuba, European countries, the Philippines and Viet Nam.¹³⁶

Acculturation, identity and adjustment

Overall, the ICSEY study finds that adolescents in immigrant families are generally well adapted and are similar to their peers in native-born families in psychological adaptation, but that they are generally better in sociocultural adaptation, although there are variations across groups and countries.¹³⁷ The researchers note that the overall conclusion is consistent with the findings of studies conducted in the United States in the late 1990s.¹³⁸

But not all adolescents in immigrant families adjust equally well. To study the reasons for such differences, the ICSEY project focused on the acculturation profiles of individuals and groups and on national policies. At the level of individuals, “‘psychological acculturation’ refers to the changes an individual experiences as a result of being in contact with other cultures or participating in the acculturation one’s cultural or ethnic group is undergoing.”¹³⁹ Based on a series of questions to adolescents on their acculturation attitudes, ethnic and

national identities, language, social contacts among peers, family relationship variables and perceived discrimination, the ICSEY project identified four acculturation profiles: integration, ethnic, national and diffuse.¹⁴⁰

Adolescents fitting the integration profile reported high involvement in their ethnic and national cultures and scored well on their ethnic and national identities. They scored well on national language proficiency, but average on ethnic language proficiency, suggesting that there was a rather balanced use of the two languages. They also had peer contacts with both their own ethnic group and national groups.

Adolescents fitting the ethnic profile were clearly oriented toward their own ethnic group, scoring well on ethnic identity, ethnic language proficiency and use, and ethnic peer contacts. They had substantially higher than average support for family relationship values and were embedded mainly in their own cultural milieu; they had little involvement in the broader society.

Adolescents fitting the national profile were strongly oriented toward the society in which they were living and scored well on national identity and low on ethnic identity. These youth were proficient in the national language, mainly used this language, had peer contacts mainly with the national group and showed low support for family obligations.

Adolescents with a diffuse profile had somewhat contradictory patterns. They reported high proficiency in and use of the ethnic language, but low ethnic identity. They had low proficiency in the national language and somewhat low national identity and national peer contacts. These adolescents appeared to lack a clear direction or purpose in their lives and were often socially isolated.

In the ICSEY study, adolescents with the ethnic, national, or diffuse profiles each accounted for about one fifth of the total, while the largest group, approaching two fifths of the adolescents, consisted of those with the integration profile.¹⁴¹

Overall, adolescents with the integration profile were most likely to experience both positive psychological adaptation and positive sociocultural adaptation, where psychological adaptation includes both psychological well-being (positive self-esteem and lower levels of mental health problems, including anxiety, depression and psychosomatic symptoms) and

high levels of satisfaction with their lives, while sociocultural adaptation reflects adjustment in school and low levels of behavioural problems (antisocial behaviour). Adolescents with the diffuse profile experienced the lowest levels of psychological and sociocultural adaptation. The remaining two groups showed intermediate levels. The ethnic profile adolescents scored higher on psychological adaptation, and the national profile adolescents scored higher on sociocultural adaptation. Thus, the integration profile is the most adaptive of the four profiles in the acculturation of adolescents.¹⁴²

Based on similarities and differences between children and parents in the pace of learning American customs and the English language and in the extent of their involvement with their ethnic communities, a major study conducted in southern California and southern Florida by two sociologists, the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), distinguishes three basic types of acculturation: selective, consonant and dissonant.¹⁴³

Selective acculturation occurs when both the children and the parents are embedded in a co-ethnic community that is sufficiently large and institutionally diverse to allow for a slower cultural shift and the partial retention of the language and norms of origin of the parents – including fluent bilingualism among children – and the preservation of parental authority, but with little or no intergenerational conflict. This type of acculturation corresponds fairly closely to the ICSEY integration profile because of the latter's balance in the use of the heritage and national languages and average commitment to family values.

Consonant acculturation occurs when parents and children learn the new culture and lose the heritage culture at about the same pace. There is a rapid shift to English monolingualism among children and a shared generational search for integration into the American mainstream. This type of acculturation is most similar to the ICSEY national profile because of the latter's predominant use of the national language and focus on national rather than ethnic identity.

Dissonant acculturation occurs when children learn American ways and the English language more rapidly than their parents, while simultaneously losing the culture of origin. This can lead to a loss of parental authority and a reversal of parental and child roles; parents become dependent on their children in

functioning in the settlement society. This type of acculturation does not map easily onto the ICSEY profiles because it involves a comparatively rapid shift by children into the national language and culture and the loss of the heritage culture, while, in the ICSEY ethnic and diffuse profiles, the adolescent is oriented toward ethnic language and away from the national language.

Based on the CILS, which followed students from eighth or ninth grade through the last year of secondary school in twelfth grade, the researchers concluded that selective acculturation

"[I]s closely intertwined with preservation of fluent bilingualism and linked, in turn, with higher self esteem, higher educational and occupational expectations, and higher academic achievement. . . . Children who learn the language and culture of their new country without losing those of the old have a much better understanding of their place in the world. They need not clash with their parents as often or feel embarrassed by them because they are able to bridge across generations and value their elders' traditions and goals. Selective acculturation forges an intergenerational alliance for successful adaptation that is absent among youths who have severed bonds with their past in the pursuit of acceptance by their native peers."¹⁴⁴

Thus, the international ICSEY study and the CILS in the United States find that adolescents who identify with and participate in the cultures of both the society of origin and the society of settlement and who become fluent in both languages, adjust in the settlement society more successfully than do adolescents with other acculturation profiles or types of acculturation.

The question arises, then: To what extent have various countries adopted policies and developed programmes that are most likely to foster successful adaptation among children in immigrant families? Among the six countries in the present study that are included in the ICSEY research, only Australia is classified as promoting cultural diversity as a national goal, that is, pursuing policies and programmes that support cultural pluralism by aiming to maintain heritage cultures and facilitate contacts among members of various ethnocultural groups within the society.

Two of the countries under study, France and Germany, pursue policies for a culturally homogeneous society and ignore or reject cultural diversity as a path to facilitate life together among individuals and groups, while the public policies of the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States

are intermediate.¹⁴⁵ Because public policies encouraging cultural pluralism may foster selective acculturation and the development of integration profiles, most of these countries could improve their policies and programmes to foster more appropriate psychological and sociocultural adaptation among immigrant youth.

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GOVERNMENT POLICIES ON CHILDREN IN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES

Because the nature and success of government policies that might foster social inclusion and civil integration of children in immigrant families with LMIC origins are not explicitly reviewed in this report, the results do not provide a basis for detailed recommendations for improving these policies. However, the new results presented and findings summarized from the literature shed considerable light on areas in which the circumstances of children in immigrant families with LMIC origins reflect less than full social inclusion and civil integration in some immigrant groups and in some affluent countries.

On this basis, a summary overview is offered of areas where improvement is possible among at least some immigrant groups in some affluent countries and, often, among many groups in many affluent countries. It is emphasized at the outset that children in immigrant families benefit from the important strengths and substantial resources they and their parents bring to the countries under study; thus, for example, most children in all immigrant groups live in stable two-parent families.

Language

Inclusion and integration of immigrants frequently entail learning the language spoken in the society of settlement, but it is also

important for parents in immigrant families and for their children's healthy identity development to speak their language of origin, so as to maintain and reinforce key features of the culture and religion of the country of origin. In fact, comparative research on adolescents spanning 13 affluent countries and longitudinal research in the United States suggest that sociocultural and psychological adaptation are achieved most effectively if the acculturation fosters proficiency in both languages of the settlement country and the origin country.

Additional research indicates that children who learn more than one language benefit from enhanced cognitive development. Moreover, when fluently bilingual children become adults and enter the labour force, they may serve as an important bridge linking settlement and origin countries, providing a potentially valuable resource for settlement countries in the increasingly globalized economy. Government policies fostering dual language learning and bilingualism may therefore be quite beneficial both to the social inclusion and civil integration of children in immigrant families with LMIC origins and to the broader society.

Civic participation

Inclusion and integration of immigrants are often strongly associated with participation in

the democratic process. In the affluent countries on which data are available in this study, many children in immigrant families with LMIC origins are living with parents who are citizens of the settlement society. Equally important, most of these children are born in the settlement society and are likely to be life-long residents. In some settlement societies, most children in immigrant families with LMIC origins are also citizens of the adopted homeland of their families and therefore share the rights of citizenship experienced by the non-immigrant native born.

These facts of birth and citizenship among the parents and children in immigrant families imply not only an opportunity for, but also a significant likelihood of civic engagement by many of these children and their parents. However, affluent countries differ enormously in the policies and practices they apply regarding naturalization, citizenship and other aspects of civic participation among immigrants. In so far as individual countries adopt policies that foster civic participation, they will foster the inclusion and integration of the parents and children in immigrant families, thereby promoting social cohesion in these countries.

Education and schools

Education is critical to parents and children in immigrant families for social inclusion, civil integration and active participation in the labour force and other aspects of the settlement society. However, many children in immigrant families with LMIC origins are living with parents whose educational attainment is limited. In addition, despite the high educational aspirations that parents often have for their children and that children have for themselves, the available research suggests that the educational opportunities open to many children in immigrant families with LMIC origins are circumscribed by the limited socio-economic resources of their families, but also by school tracking, geographical segregation in schooling, stereotyping and discrimination.

A wide range of government policies could promote access to education and thus the inclusion and integration of immigrants. Schooling begins with early education in affluent countries, but children in some immigrant groups have low enrolment rates because of socio-economic barriers. Government policies should be designed to increase access to early education among children in immigrant families with LMIC

origins. This may require active outreach to immigrant communities and families with limited fluency in the local language. Early education programmes might also be designed specifically to maintain and develop bilingual speaking and literacy skills. Two-generation family literacy programmes might also be beneficial by providing the children and their parents with the opportunity to work together to learn the local language and to develop strategies for building literacy into their homes and daily lives.

The education of children in immigrant families with LMIC origins continues in primary and secondary school and beyond. The possible negative effects of tracking, segregation, stereotyping and discrimination on educational outcomes should be explored and redressed through explicit changes in policies and programmes. The social inclusion of children who arrive as immigrants at older ages might also be facilitated through the development of expanded programmes specifically addressing educational need. Greater access for parents in immigrant families who have limited educational attainment and who might return to school or obtain vocational training as adults would foster improved employment opportunities and income from work, leading to a better chance of success in school for their children.

Policies aimed at enhancing educational access and success among children in immigrant families with LMIC origins and their parents would pay a large dividend in social inclusion and economic productivity that would benefit children, their parents and society.

Employment

Paid employment is a primary form of social inclusion and is also the major source of economic support for all children and families, including immigrants. Most children in immigrant families with LMIC origins are living with fathers and often also mothers who are working to support themselves and their children. Indeed, a key motivation among many people who immigrate to affluent societies is to improve their economic prospects. Still, children in immigrant families in some country-of-origin groups are living in households with much lower rates of parental employment than among the households of children in native-born families. Parents in immigrant families who want to work but cannot find appropriate employment may thus be living with their children at the economic margins of society.

The transition to working in the settlement society by children in immigrant families with LMIC origins who have been educated in the settlement society, and by adolescents and young adults who have immigrated is critical to full social inclusion. However, the new results in this report and the literature summarized here suggest that some youths and young adults in immigrant groups are especially likely to be neither in school nor working. Public policies to assure access to employment are essential if these people are to become economically and socially included in the settlement society. Without effective policies, these potential workers who are not in school or at work represent, for the larger society, the waste of a valuable resource.

Poverty and social transfers

Social inclusion requires access to public and private goods and services. Children in families with low incomes may lack the resources needed for decent housing, food, clothing, books and other educational resources. These children also tend to experience negative developmental outcomes, including less success in school, lower educational attainment and lower earnings during adulthood.

Children in immigrant families in the countries under study experience poverty rates that are one half to three times higher than the rates among children in native-born families. If data were available on children in immigrant families with LMIC origins, the gaps in poverty rates would appear even wider. Social transfers reduce poverty among children in immigrant and native-born families, and they often lead to greater relative reductions in poverty among children in immigrant families. The size of these effects varies greatly across affluent countries, however, ranging from substantial to negligible. Among the five countries on which results are reported, the poverty rates among children in immigrant families range from 15 to 33 per cent. Clearly, there is substantial room for government policies to reduce poverty among children in immigrant families in these countries and many others.

Housing

Successful inclusion requires access to housing. One measure of access to decent housing is the rate of overcrowding in the places in which children live. In four of the five affluent countries for which data have been

obtained, because of high poverty rates, other features in the available housing and related government policies, children in immigrant families with LMIC origins are affected by rates of overcrowding that are far greater than the rates affecting children in native-born families.

Another measure of access to housing is the rate of homeownership. Although children in immigrant families with LMIC origins are substantially less likely than children in native-born families to live in family-owned homes in three of the five affluent countries for which relevant data have been obtained, between one fourth and two thirds of these children do live in homes owned by their families.

The rates of overcrowding in housing suggest that there is a lack of access to this important resource among many children in immigrant families with LMIC origins. The second measure, homeownership, suggests that many children in immigrant families with LMIC origins are living with families that have the opportunity to purchase their own homes, and this is evidence that these families are making a tangible commitment to local neighbourhoods, towns and cities.

Concluding thoughts about the future

Population projections indicate that the native-born populations in affluent countries are ageing and that there is rapid growth in the share of people in these populations who have a non-western cultural heritage. This unprecedented shift in the composition of affluent countries is being driven by immigration, frequently from LMICs, by people who often differ from the native populations in cultural, religious, linguistic and ethnic background.

The children of these immigrants represent an increasingly large share of all children in affluent countries and will, during coming decades, be more prominent in society as workers, voters and parents. It is critical to the social inclusion and civil integration of these children and families, and to the social cohesion of the broader society, that these children not be victims of discrimination and intolerance. Government policies should therefore help ensure that these children reach their full potential to participate in the affluent countries that their parents have adopted.

ANNEX

RECENT AND HISTORICAL CHANGES IN IMMIGRANT ORIGINS AND POLICIES IN THE EIGHT AFFLUENT COUNTRIES

This annex provides a more detailed discussion of recent and historical changes that have occurred in the origins of immigrants and in immigration policies in the countries that are the focus of this report.

The economically advanced countries under study have typically experienced significant growth in immigration since the end of World War II, especially and most recently from non-western developing countries. This is the case not only in Australia and the United States, which have centuries-long histories of mass immigration (mainly from Europe). Western European countries, which have, historically, sometimes experienced net emigration and sporadic immigration (mainly from within Europe), have also been experiencing a substantial rise in immigration from non-European developing countries since World War II.

This section begins with a discussion of the changing origins of immigrants and the shifting policies in Australia and the United States, most clearly founded or enlarged on the basis of immigration. That is followed by an examination of the six other countries in order of the absolute size (rather than the share) of the relevant immigrant populations.

■ *United States*

Of the eight countries, the United States has the longest history of mass immigration in modern times. There have been three especially prominent waves of immigration.¹⁴⁶

The first wave consisted mainly of immigrants from north-west Europe. It lasted from the settlement of the colonies in the early seventeenth century through the middle of the nineteenth century.

The second wave occurred between the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century and saw a shift to south-east Europe as a source of immigration. Immigrants with south-east European origins exceeded in number those with north-west European origins only in the three decades spanning 1891–1920, and the share of all immigrants with south-east European origins reached no more than 55 per cent during these decades. As this second great wave of immigration receded, 88 per cent of all immigrants to the United States had origins in Canada or Europe.

Few restrictions were placed on immigration by the government during most of this period. However, the non-domestic slave trade was made illegal in 1808, and immigration from China was suspended by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Subsequently, immigration from

Japan was severely limited in 1907 through a voluntary agreement between the Government of the United States and the Japanese Government, and the Immigration Act of 1917 was enacted, barring immigration from Asia. Subsequent immigration quotas, the two world wars and the Great Depression led to a sharp decline in immigration, which reached a low point during the 1930s.¹⁴⁷

Following a series of smaller changes, amendments to immigration law in 1965 opened the United States to renewed immigration which gave preference to family reunification and to immigrants with specific occupations; new provisions on refugees were implemented beginning in 1970.¹⁴⁸

The third major wave of immigration, from 1965 to the present, has involved immigrants drawn mainly from Asia and Latin America, including a large inflow of refugees from South-East Asia that was associated with the Viet Nam War.¹⁴⁹ In fact, by the 1980s, only 13 per cent of all immigrants were from Canada or Europe; 37 per cent were from Asia and 47 per cent from Latin America. This represented a complete reversal of the situation in 1911–1920, when only 12 per cent of all immigrants had not come from Canada or Europe. Because of the post-1965 resurgence in immigration, the share of the population that was immigrant more than doubled, from 5.4 per cent in 1960 to 12.8 per cent in 2005, which approached the 14.7 per cent peak in 1910 of the previous major wave of immigration.¹⁵⁰

The immigration categories of family reunification and the admission of dependants continue to account for the largest number of documented immigrants, followed by employment-sanctioned immigration and refugee immigration. In addition, from 2002 to 2006, about 27 per cent of immigrants were immigrants with irregular status.¹⁵¹ The United States has no formal policy on the inclusion of immigrants beyond naturalization and citizenship policies.

■ **Australia**

The history of immigration to Australia follows a different path, but is similar in broad outline to the history in the United States. Immigration to Australia has been continuous since 1788.¹⁵² The first distinguishable wave of immigration spans 150 years, from earliest settlement to the end of World War II, when most immigrants to Australia arrived from Ireland and the United Kingdom. Following the war, Australia accepted large

numbers of refugees and other immigrants from Europe, although immigration was reduced during the early 1970s.

For most of its history, Australia has had a policy of preference for immigrants from the United Kingdom, but the White Australia policy was abandoned in the 1970s.¹⁵³ By the end of the 1970s, immigration had increased again through successive waves of immigrants from Lebanon, then China, Indonesia and Viet Nam and, most recently, refugee-sending countries, including Ethiopia, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq, Somalia and Yugoslavia.¹⁵⁴ Other important sources of immigration from 2002 to 2006 included Afghanistan, India, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore, Sri Lanka, the Sudan, Thailand and Zimbabwe.¹⁵⁵

Although new countries emerged as important sources of immigration beginning in the late 1970s, immigrants from English-speaking countries, mainly New Zealand and the United Kingdom, have been the largest sources of immigration throughout the recent period.¹⁵⁶ Despite the post-1970 shift in flows away from immigrants with Western European origins towards immigrants from other regions of the world. By 2006, immigrants accounted for 23.9 per cent of the Australian population.¹⁵⁷

Inclusion policy in Australia has long had the aim of assimilation, but this shifted towards a policy of integration after the late-1960s and later, in 1989, towards a policy of multiculturalism, which supports cultural maintenance, productive diversity and social justice.¹⁵⁸ Multiculturalism has subsequently been somewhat narrowed through additional restrictions placed on immigration and naturalization.¹⁵⁹

■ **Germany**

Following the United States among the eight affluent countries examined, Germany has the second-largest immigrant population, at 10.1 million compared with 38.4 million in the United States.

Germany was losing population through emigration in the nineteenth century, but, at the turn of the twentieth century, significant numbers of immigrants were recruited from the region of Germany that would later become Poland. Moreover, during World War II, millions of men from German-occupied territories were forced to work in factories in Germany.¹⁶⁰ During the five years from 1945 to 1949, about 12 million German refugees returned from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia.

The immigration of ethnic German repatriates (*Spätaussiedler*) from Eastern Europe and other regions increased sharply beginning at the end of the 1980s and reached a peak in 1990. Thereafter, the government pursued policies to reduce the annual inflow, including a quota system and aid to ethnic German communities in countries of origin. The aim of the aid was to raise standards of living so as to entice these ethnic Germans to remain in their countries of origin. Ethnic German repatriates, particularly those who have arrived in Germany since the mid-1990s, face substantial challenges in economic and social inclusion, in part because many have limited proficiency in German. It is difficult to assess the circumstances of these people because official statistics often do not count them separately; they have a right to citizenship on demand and easily disappear statistically into the native-born German population.¹⁶¹ The data presented in this report do distinguish ethnic Germans born in other countries.

The second major immigration flow, which consists of non-German immigrants, began in the second half of the 1950s with the recruitment of guest workers admitted to help with the post-war economic recovery. The programme grew after the Berlin Wall was constructed in 1961, but was halted in 1973 as Germany entered an economic recession resulting at least partly from the 1973 oil crisis. By 1973, the largest numbers of foreigners in Germany were from Turkey (23 per cent), Yugoslavia (17 per cent), Italy (16 per cent), Greece (10 per cent) and Spain (7 per cent). These immigrant workers were drawn especially from the poorer countries of southern Europe and Turkey. Though some guest workers returned to their countries of origin, many obtained permits for longer term or permanent residence in Germany, and family reunification policies brought additional immigrants to the country. By 1988, foreigners accounted for 7 per cent of the population.¹⁶²

Following the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, temporary labour was again drawn to Germany, especially from the poorer countries of Central and Eastern Europe, including the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and the former Yugoslavia. More recently, immigration has occurred in the context of new rules fostering free labour migration within the EU and the growth in the number of refugees and asylum-seekers.¹⁶³ Recent estimates indicate that immigrants account for about 12.3 per cent of the population of Germany, nearly the same as the 12.8 per cent in the United States.¹⁶⁴

The largest sources of immigrants entering Germany in 2000–2003 included Hungary, Italy, Poland, Romania, the Russian Federation, Turkey and the United States.¹⁶⁵

■ **France**

France has had an explicit immigration policy since the mid-nineteenth century with the goals of recruiting migrant workers and attracting permanent settlers to offset a low rate of natural population increase and ensure overall population stability or growth.¹⁶⁶

After World War II, foreign labour was recruited from Italy, North Africa, Portugal and Spain. In 1974, following the oil crisis, France sharply reduced unskilled labour migration. Meanwhile, through an agreement between Algeria – a French colony until 1962 – and France, the number of French Muslims from Algeria living in France grew from 350,000 in 1962 to 800,000 in 1982.¹⁶⁷

With changes in the political landscape and legislation, the annual number of immigrants settling in France declined from 102,400 in 1990 to 55,600 in 1996 and then climbed to 141,000 in 2001. Family reunification is the primary source of immigration, followed by students, temporary employment and asylum. France is home to Europe's largest Islamic community and has recently engaged in promoting the integration of Muslims, even though 'Islamophobia' is still widespread and the credo of secularism (*laïcité*) may create specific problems in the accommodation of French Islam.¹⁶⁸

The principle of equality has been favoured in the Constitution since the French Revolution, but the principle has remained generally formal. The issue of the equal treatment of diverse groups represents a major challenge. Information on ethnicity and race is not collected in official statistics; until recently, the same has been true of information on the second immigrant generation.¹⁶⁹ Recent riots in France involving Muslim youth have, however, raised public awareness of the situation of immigrants and diversity. Only recently have efforts been made to collect data on ethnicity and race.¹⁷⁰

Among the immigrants who entered France in 2004, nearly two thirds (64 per cent) were from Africa, and, reflecting historical colonial relationships, more than half of these were from Algeria (20 per cent) and Morocco (16 per cent). An additional 14 per cent were from Turkey, and 3 per cent were from Asia. About 9 per cent were from the Americas, including seven tenths

(of the 9 per cent) from Central and South America, and a similar 10 per cent were from various European countries.¹⁷¹ Recent estimates indicate that immigrants account for almost 11 per cent of the French population, nearly as high as the 12–13 per cent in Germany and the United States and much less than the 23.9 per cent in Australia.¹⁷²

■ **United Kingdom**

The United Kingdom, with 5.4 million immigrants, ranks ninth among nations as a home to people not living in the country of their birth.¹⁷³ However, not until recently, in the mid-1980s has the United Kingdom experienced net immigration. Prior to the 1980s, emigrants from the United Kingdom were especially likely to settle in Australia, New Zealand and Spain.¹⁷⁴

The United Kingdom had no restrictions on immigration until the Aliens Act of 1905 was adopted to deny access to foreigners from outside the British Empire who were deemed to be undesirable (such as paupers, lunatics, vagrants and prostitutes) and to limit Jewish immigration. Since that time, immigration rules have become more stringent for some groups, while ensuring relatively easy access for others.

Access has been easy for Irish nationals and residents of the British Isles, and it has become easier for immigrants from other EU member states. But, following substantial immigration from former colonies of the United Kingdom, the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962 introduced restrictions on immigration that were intended to halt ‘coloured immigration’ from the colonies, including India, Jamaica and other Caribbean islands and Pakistan.¹⁷⁵

The immediate effect of the 1962 legislation was, however, to increase immigration from South Asia because fear that additional restrictions would be implemented led to greater use of the provisions for family reunification by persons already living in the United Kingdom. The subsequent Immigration Act of 1971 favoured persons of ‘British stock’, notably immigrants from Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa. Thus, the history of immigration policy diverged from that in Australia and the United States at this time, because, while Australia and the United States were opening their borders to Asians and other non-white groups during the 1960s and 1970s, the immigration policy in the United Kingdom was moving in the opposite direction. Nonetheless, in 2000–2006, the top 10 countries

of origin of immigrants to the United Kingdom often included not only Turkey but also the low-income, non-European countries of Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Somalia.¹⁷⁶ Since 1990, much policy attention has focused on managing the flows associated with requests for asylum, as well as labour immigration.¹⁷⁷

The increasing ethnic diversity arising from immigration has been associated with greater public attention to important policy issues revolving around immigration and race. In 2001, the shares of ethnic minorities, that accounted for 6.9 per cent of the population, were reportedly as follows: Bangladeshi (0.5 per cent of the 6.9 per cent), Black African (0.85 per cent), Black Caribbean (1.0 per cent), Chinese (0.4 per cent), Indian (1.8 per cent), Pakistani (1.3 per cent) and other Asian, other Black and other ethnic minority (a total of 1.0 per cent).¹⁷⁸ Following riots in 2001 involving ethnic minorities, immigrant inclusion policy has shifted focus from multiculturalism to community cohesion, which seeks to improve contact across cultures and promote a sense of citizenship, while a strategy initiated in 2005 seeks to foster equal opportunities for ethnic minorities and cohesion among different communities.¹⁷⁹

Recent data indicate that immigrants account for 9.1 per cent of the population, a few percentage points less than the 11–13 per cent found in France, Germany and the United States. If unofficial government estimates that 500,000 immigrants with irregular status were living in the United Kingdom in 2005 are roughly correct, then approximately 8 per cent of all immigrants in the United Kingdom are immigrants with irregular status, and about 10 per cent of the population consists of immigrants.¹⁸⁰

■ **Italy**

Italy ranks 16th among countries in the number of immigrants within its borders. The total number of immigrants in Italy (2.5 million) is about half the total for the United Kingdom (5.4 million). Immigrants as a share of the population in Italy are about half the corresponding share in the United Kingdom (4.3 versus 9.1 per cent).¹⁸¹ Italy, like the United Kingdom, did not become a country of net immigration until the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s, but, unlike the United Kingdom, immigration to Italy before the 1970s was extremely limited.¹⁸² Thus, Italy provided a larger number of immigrants to the United States than any other European country during the second great wave of

immigration to that country. Italy, along with the other comparatively poor countries of Portugal and Spain in southern Europe, was an important source of immigrant labour for northern European countries after World War II.¹⁸³

Immigrants with regular status in Italy in 2000 were drawn especially from Albania, China, Morocco, the Philippines and Romania, which together accounted for 38 per cent of new residence permits in that year. Many immigrants with irregular status arrive in Italy from Brazil and Poland. They often arrive via Italy's long coasts, mainly from Albania, Morocco, Romania and Tunisia. Substantial numbers seek asylum in Italy. For example, in 2000, Italy reported 272,000 authorized admissions and 24,500 applications for asylum. By that year, Albania and Morocco together accounted for more than 20 per cent of the foreign-born population.

Immigration has been fuelled in part by regional conflicts in the Balkans, along the Mediterranean rim and elsewhere within the broader region. Italy is a favoured destination because of the ease of access its long sea coasts provide, as well as its economic opportunities and its location as a bridge to other EU countries.¹⁸⁴

■ **Switzerland**

Switzerland is ranked 25th in the size of its immigrant population. It is the least populous of the eight countries considered in this report, but it has the second largest share of immigrants in the population (22.9 per cent), slightly behind Australia (23.9 per cent).¹⁸⁵ Switzerland has long been a linguistically diverse country; there are four official national languages (French, German, Italian and Romansh). The governmental structure is highly decentralized, and it was not until 1925 that the responsibility for immigration was shifted from each individual canton to the federal government through the addition of a new article to the Constitution.¹⁸⁶

At the crossroads of northern and southern Europe, Switzerland has long been a destination for immigrants who were often also refugees. In the sixteenth century, Huguenots from France immigrated to Switzerland seeking refuge from persecution for their religious beliefs. In the late nineteenth century, German intellectuals moved to Switzerland following the failed liberal revolution of 1848–1849, and many Italians were recruited to Switzerland during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to work on railroads and other infrastructure projects. In 1914, 14.7 per cent of

the population consisted of foreigners, the same share accounted for by immigrants in the United States in 1910.¹⁸⁷

Following World War II and until 1974, a guest worker policy brought immigrants from the poorer southern European countries of Italy, Portugal and Spain during the 1950s and 1960s and then from Turkey and Yugoslavia during the 1970s. Although the guest worker policy provided for the rotation of workers back to their countries of origin, many migrant workers became permanent residents. By the end of 1970, 17 per cent of all children in Switzerland were foreign citizens.

Several waves of asylum-seekers have also come to Switzerland, including asylum-seekers from Hungary after the uprising in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, Chile in the mid-1970s, Cambodia and Viet Nam in 1979–1982 and, since the 1980s, Turkey, Yugoslavia and various countries in Africa, Asia and the Middle East. As of 2000, the share of foreigners in the population was among the highest in Europe.¹⁸⁸

■ **Netherlands**

The Netherlands is ranked 27th in the size of its immigrant population, slightly behind Switzerland at 25th.¹⁸⁹ With a total population more than twice as large, the share of the population represented by immigrants is somewhat less than half as large in the Netherlands as in Switzerland (10.0 versus 22.9 per cent), but about the same as in the other countries under study (9–13 per cent), except Australia (23.9 per cent).

The Netherlands, like Switzerland, has a long history as a haven for refugees, including the Huguenots who fled France in the sixteenth century, Belgians who fled their country during World War I and Jews from Austria and Germany in the 1930s.¹⁹⁰

Following a period of emigration after World War II to Australia, Canada and the United States, three immigration flows developed.¹⁹¹ One is immigration from former Dutch colonies, including the Antilles and Aruba, Indonesia and Suriname. Between 1945 and 1965, 300,000 persons, including 180,000 Eurasians, immigrated from Indonesia to the Netherlands.¹⁹² Immigration from the Antilles and Aruba has been relatively easy because they remain part of the Netherlands, while immigration from Suriname rose around the time of its independence (1975), and the Surinamese kept Dutch nationality until 1980.¹⁹³

The second type of immigration involves guest workers who, from the end of World War II to 1974, came primarily from the poorer countries of southern Europe and Eastern Europe, including Italy, Morocco, Spain, Turkey and Yugoslavia. Labour migrants were supposed to stay only temporarily, but they often become permanent residents. Many were joined by their families in the Netherlands or sought partners in their countries of origin and brought them to the Netherlands (family reunification and family formation).

The third type of immigration is represented by refugees, who were few in number between 1945 and the early 1980s, but who then increased substantially to peak at 52,000 applications in 1994 and 45,000 in 1998.¹⁹⁴

From 1997 to 2002, the top 10 sources of immigrants included Afghanistan, the Antilles and Aruba, China, Iraq, Morocco, Suriname and Turkey.¹⁹⁵ In more recent years, immigration from new EU member states such as Bulgaria and Poland has increased substantially and is

currently outnumbering immigration from, for example, Morocco and Turkey.

Prior to the end of the 1990s, the Netherlands was generally viewed to be multicultural, and, beginning in the 1980s, terms such as 'emancipation' and 'combating disadvantage' were common in discussions of minority policy. But, since then, the focus has shifted to inclusion and integration aimed at full and equal participation, mutual acceptance and non-discrimination. This includes the idea that immigrants ultimately will become included and integrated into society and understand the norms and values of the broadly tolerant Dutch community.¹⁹⁶ Issues of inclusion and integration have become especially urgent in recent years and the national debate and related policies on immigration, inclusion and integration issues have toughened.¹⁹⁷

The source documents cited in this annex and the main text provide further detail and context on the historical and recent trends in immigration and immigration policies summarized here.

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During recent decades, most affluent countries have experienced large increases in the number and diversity of immigrants. Accordingly, it is projected that children in immigrant families today will be increasingly prominent as workers, voters and parents over the coming years. The social, economic and civic integration of these children is of critical policy relevance, yet there is little statistical evidence available on this segment of the immigrant population.

Children in Immigrant Families in Eight Affluent Countries presents internationally comparable data for this group of children, drawing on research conducted in eight advanced industrialized countries – Australia, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States – that together include almost 40 per cent of all persons in the world living outside their countries of birth.

The study provides detailed information on the situation of these children over a broad range of dimensions, including family composition, educational background and working status of parents, and housing conditions, school and labour market participation and poverty status of children, presenting statistics broken down by region and GDP level of the country of origin.

Overall, the findings indicate areas of success in the social inclusion and civic integration of children in immigrant families in different countries. They also highlight areas in which the circumstances of the children, particularly those from low- and middle-income countries, call for further improvement. Governments are urged to ensure that their policies facilitate full participation of these children, for example by adopting and promoting policies that foster civic participation, promote access to education and employment, ensure access to appropriate housing and reduce poverty.

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USD 20.00
ISBN: 978-88-89129-93-7



Sales No. E.09.XX.21
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August 2009
IRC stock number: 576U