



TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN  
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# New Irish Families: A Profile of Second Generation Children and their Families



Department of Sociology,  
Trinity College Dublin, Ireland.

Antje Röder  
Mark Ward  
Carmen Frese  
Elizabeth Sánchez



IRISH RESEARCH COUNCIL  
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**This report should be cited as follows:**

Röder, A., Ward, M., Frese, C. and Sánchez, E. 2014. *New Irish Families: A Profile of Second Generation Children and their Families*. Dublin: Trinity College Dublin.

**Antje Röder** is Assistant Professor at the Department of Sociology, Trinity College Dublin.

**Mark Ward** is Postdoctoral Researcher at the Department of Sociology, Trinity College Dublin.

**Carmen Frese** is Postdoctoral Researcher at the Department of Sociology, Trinity College Dublin.

**Elizabeth Sánchez** is a research intern from the MSc in Applied Social Research, School of Social Work and Social Policy, Trinity College Dublin.

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Department of Sociology,  
Trinity College,  
3 College Green,  
Dublin 2.  
E-mail: [NewIrish@tcd.ie](mailto:NewIrish@tcd.ie)  
Web: [www.tcd.ie/merc](http://www.tcd.ie/merc)

## Acknowledgements

Firstly, we wish to thank the many thousands of families who gave up their time to participate in the *Growing Up in Ireland* study. Without their cooperation, studies of this nature would not be possible.

We thank the members of our Advisory Board for their invaluable comments on earlier drafts of this report. The Board members are: Ms Catherine Cosgrave, Law Centre for Children and Young People; Ms Daniela Jurj, New Communities Partnership; Dr Frances McGinnity, Senior Researcher, ESRI; Ms Teresa Buczkowska, Immigrant Council of Ireland; and Professor Trevor Spratt, Children's Research Centre, TCD. Any remaining errors or omissions are our own responsibility.

As researchers, we are indebted to the National Longitudinal Study of Children in Ireland project office in the Office of the Department of Children and Youth Affairs for providing us and the wider research community such an invaluable source of information on children and their families in Ireland. We also thank the Director General of the Central Statistics Office for granting us access to such a rich source of data. Finally, thank you to the Economic and Social Research Institute and Dr Amanda Quail in particular, for providing us with the data files we have used.

Lastly, we thank the Irish Research Council for funding this work under their IRC Starter Grant Programme.

The information presented here provides a snapshot of the lives of a sizeable proportion of Irish society which has heretofore been largely absent from public discourse. We hope that this report will provide a catalyst for future research in this area and contribute to the effective formulation of public policy in this important area.

**Dr Antje Röder** (Principal Investigator),  
Department of Sociology,  
Trinity College,  
Dublin

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## Chapter 1: Introduction and overview

Previous research on migrant children in Ireland has largely been concerned with ‘newcomer’ children who were born abroad and entered the Irish education system (Devine 2005; Devine et al. 2008; McGinnity et al. 2012; Smyth et al. 2009). Aside from the recently published Monitoring Report on Integration (McGinnity et al. 2014), very little is known about children born and raised in Ireland, whose families will face different challenges to those that moved here with their foreign born children. One of the lasting legacies of the Irish economic boom has been a much more diverse society in terms of nationality, ethnicity and religion, and as a result, numbers of children born in Ireland to immigrant parents are rising, and we are seeing a greater number of ‘New Irish Families’. This trend is particularly pronounced amongst some of the largest and most recent migrants groups such as Poles and Lithuanians due to their particular age profile (Census 2012), and illustrates that the new second generation will have an important impact on the development of Irish society in the future, yet we know little about this cohort and the families they grow up in.

To establish the diversity of the families of the newest generation of Irish citizens, it is firstly essential to profile this group. This report aims to do this by firstly providing a broad overview of migration trends that have occurred in Ireland and have led to profound change within society. Secondly, we analyse a group of ‘second generation’ children captured in the *Growing Up in Ireland* (GUI) nine-month-old Infant Cohort, with a focus on the diversity of family types they live in and their parents’ socio-economic profile and housing situation before looking at childcare and return to work. This report is part of the Irish Research Council funded ‘New Irish Families’ research project, which will continue to explore the questions arising from this report and aims to provide a better understanding of increasingly diverse families and to contribute to effective policy making in this area.

### 1.1 Background to this study

In many European countries, the second generation has come into focus in recent years due to the coming of age of the children of the guest worker cohort (Crul and Schneider 2010; Crul and Vermeulen 2006; Heath et al. 2008), while in the United States, there has been growing interest in the ‘new’ second generation (Alba 2005; Portes et al. 2009; Portes and Zhou 1993). The experience in other countries shows that the second generation tends to overcome some of the challenges their parents faced, but nevertheless experience some disadvantages for example in education and labour market access (Alba and Nee 2003; Heath et al. 2008). Much of this is attributed to the lower socio-economic position of their parents, which is often characterised by lower skilled work and high unemployment amongst some migrant groups (Heath et al. 2008). A second set of factors relates more specifically to particular challenges due to migrant background, such as language and discrimination on the basis of ethnicity (Shields and Behrman 2004; Lory 2006).

Considering the experience elsewhere, tracking the development of migrants and their children is important to raise awareness of the particular challenges they face and address these with policies that take into account the increasingly diverse nature of the population. The second generation in Ireland is still very young, therefore our concerns primarily lie in understanding factors that are important for the families of young children. Typically, such endeavours are hampered by an

absence of available data, and much research concentrates on the children of migrants when they are already in school or the labour market (e.g. Heath et al. 2008). While these are important turning points, research from psychology, social science and neuroscience indicates that early life stages are particularly important in reducing inequalities, and that policies targeting young children and their families are much more effective than interventions later in life (Heckman 2006). The 'New Irish Families' project, which will run until March 2015, seeks to contribute not only to our knowledge of the Irish situation, but also to research on the second generation more broadly. To this end the *Growing Up in Ireland* study - described further in Chapter 2 - offers a unique opportunity to study families when their children are still very young.

## 1.2 Recent migration to Ireland and the emergence of a second generation

Migration is no longer an entirely new phenomenon in Ireland, and emigration is again dominant in public discourse. While inflows of migrants have decreased substantially and outflows of both Irish and non-Irish have increased as a result of the economic recession, the relatively high level of migration in the last two decades has changed the composition of Irish society substantially. Currently, about 12% of the population are non-Irish citizens (Census 2011), which excludes the growing number of naturalized citizens particularly from non-European countries<sup>1</sup>. Analysis of recent migration patterns is important in understanding the origins of the increase in second generation children that this study focuses on, as this is a direct outcome of migration flows particularly in the last decade and the demographic profile of migrants to Ireland.

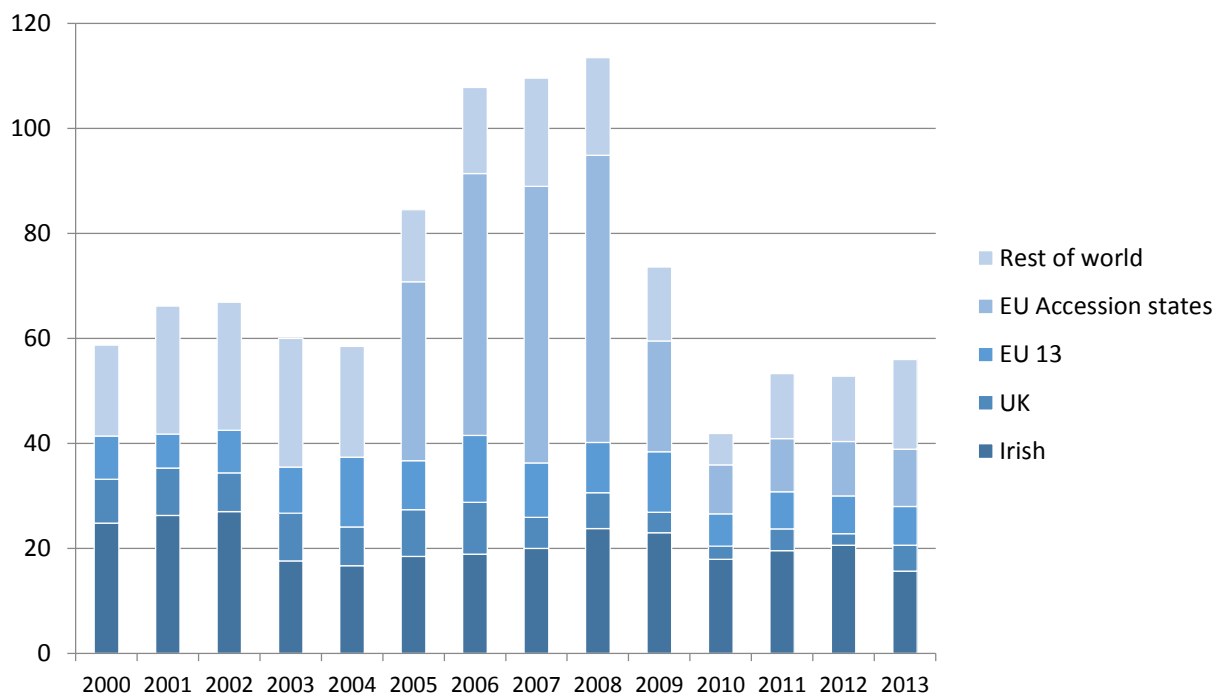
### 1.2.1 Flows and stocks of migrants in Ireland

After a long history of emigration, Ireland experienced growing inward migration from the 1990s onwards. Initially, this consisted to a large extent of returning Irish emigrants, who were attracted back by better job prospects in a growing economy. A smaller number were U.K. and other European citizens and migrants from beyond Europe. This latter group primarily consisted of people on work permits and a growing number of asylum seekers. As Figure 1 illustrates, immigrant numbers increased dramatically in 2004, when Ireland was one of only three countries to allow migrants from the EU Accession States immediate access to the labour market. This, coupled with a booming labour market, attracted a large number of citizens from these countries to Ireland, particularly from Poland, Lithuania and Latvia.

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<sup>1</sup> A parliamentary question 10<sup>th</sup> of July 2012 answered by Minister for Justice and Equality, Alan Shatter: 'The top ten nationalities naturalised since 2005 are Nigerian, Filipino, Indian, South African, Chinese (including Hong Kong nationals), Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Ukrainian, Russian Federation nationals and nationals of the United States of America. I am advised by the Irish Naturalisation and Immigration Service that the number of Certificates of Naturalisation issued in the years 2005 to 2012 were approximately 1 400, 1 400, 1 500, 3 100, 4 500, 6 400, 10 700, and 12 300 in the year to date respectively'.

Figure 1 Migration into Ireland since 2000

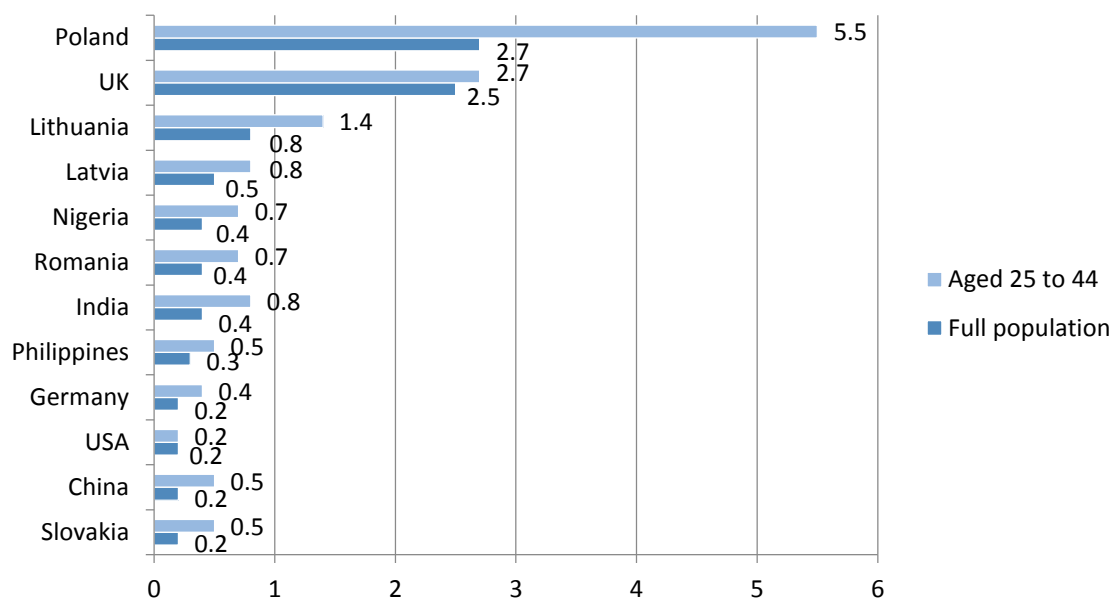


Source: CSO Population and Migration Estimates

While some of this migration was temporary, many have remained in Ireland, despite the economic crisis. Currently, as Figure 2 shows, 2.7% of the Irish population are Polish citizens, with the next largest group being U.K. citizens at 2.5%. Lithuanians (0.8%) and Latvians (0.5%) are the next largest groups. Romanians make up 0.4% of the total population and Slovaks 0.2%, while German citizens are the largest group of migrants from the 'old' European Union states (0.2%). The largest non-European groups are Nigerian citizens (0.4%), followed by Indians (0.4%) and Filipinos (0.3%) and US Americans and Chinese (0.2%).

As Figure 2 also illustrates, migrants are generally overrepresented in the younger age groups, and particularly the group between 25 and 44 years of age, which is the main age for family formation. When looking at this age group only, the share of migrants in the total population is much larger, and almost doubles for many groups, with the exception of U.K. and US citizens. It should be noted that these latter groups are more likely to have an Irish background.

Figure 2 Largest migrant groups by citizenship in 2011 as percentage of total population by age



Source: CSO Census 2011

As the age groups within Census statistics are quite broad, it is useful to look at some additional survey data, which is available for Poles in Dublin for 2009/2010 from the 'Polonia in Dublin' study. It shows that 42.7% of respondents were between 25 and 29 years of age, and a further 34% between 30 and 35 at the time of the survey (Mühlau et al. 2010). Migrants are therefore overrepresented in the main age cohorts for family formation, which explains why we can see such as strong increase in the number of children born to non-Irish parents in recent years, as the next section illustrates.

### 1.2.2 Emergence of a second generation

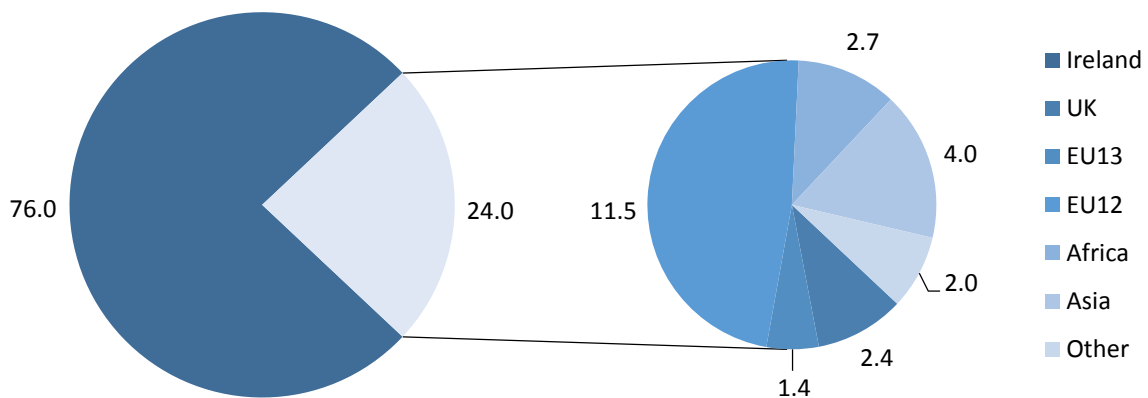
Previous research in Ireland on second generation immigrants is quite limited, which is unsurprising given the only recent emergence this group of children as a significant cohort of a numerically strong cohort of such children. Scholarly attempts to define and theorise second generation immigrants have often encountered challenges in situating the term 'second generation' in both descriptive and analytic context. The conflation of 'second generation' to include a wide collective of people who are the offspring of 'first generation' immigrants could become problematic analytically.

A classic definition of second generation refers to offspring born in the host country to first generation immigrant parents, that is, parents who were born abroad. However, complications arise when this definition is extended to include children brought to the host country at a young age. In Census and population register statistics, those children are recorded as 'foreign born' and hence considered as members of the first-generation migration cohort. Due to the nature of the *Growing Up in Ireland* data, which includes a cohort of nine-month-old children and their families, this issue does not arise in this particular project as only a very small proportion of children were born abroad, and for our purposes we consider them as 'second generation' given their very young age.

With few exceptions, the scholarship on immigrant adaptation/integration has defined the immigrant second generation as native-born residents who have at least one foreign-born parent (see for example Borjas 1999, Portes and Rumbaut 2001). We adopt this definition of ‘second generation’, while keeping in mind that infants with two migrant parents may be different from those with one migrant and one native born parent. As previous literature shows, a person with one foreign born parent tends to have outcomes that are more similar to children of natives (Röder and Mühlau 2014), although this differs depending on the outcome being studied (Platt 2012). A vast body of research on ethnic intermarriage shows that those that have a native partner are a selective group, and that intermarriage is indeed one of the main markers of assimilation (see for example Ramakrishnan 2004, Jacobs and Labov 2002, Kalmijn 1998). We will explore this difference further in the findings presented where relevant.

Internationally, second generation children make up a sizeable proportion of all children in immigrant families (UNICEF 2009). However, as noted above, there has been little research to date in Ireland concerned with second generation children growing up there. A simple reason for this is that this was a very small proportion of children until recently. An OECD report published in 2009 estimated that only about 1% of children of school going age in Ireland were children of migrants who were born in the country (Taguma et al. 2009). In only a few short years, however, this changed quite dramatically, as an analysis of perinatal statistics shows. One-in-four (24%) children born in Ireland in 2012 had a non-Irish born mother (Figure 3). A closer look at these births reveals that almost half of the ‘non-Irish’ group was made up of mothers from the EU Accession countries. The next largest group is Asian mothers (4.0%), followed by African (2.7%) and U.K. born mothers (2.4%), with mothers from the EU-13 countries making up the smallest group (1.4%).

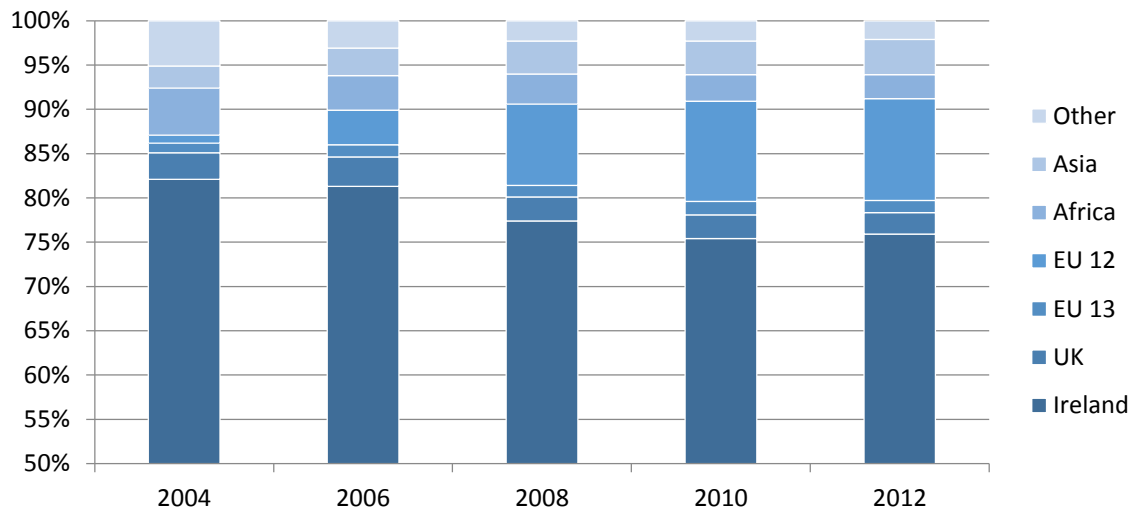
Figure 3 Percentage of births to Irish and non-Irish born mothers



Source: Perinatal Statistics 2012

Figure 4 illustrates that the proportion of non-Irish mothers has increased substantially in only one decade. While in 2004, Irish born mothers still made up well over four fifth of births recorded, this proportion dropped to about three quarters in only a few years. The main increase in births to non-Irish born mothers has been amongst EU Accession State nationals, who made up a negligible proportion of the population in 2004 but became by far the largest group by 2008. Other groups have changed less, although there was a noticeable increase of births to Asian mothers, who have overtaken African mothers, whose proportion has declined somewhat.

Figure 4 Trends in births to Irish and non-Irish born mothers



Source: Perinatal Statistics Report, ESRI 2012

### 1.3 Policy environment for young families in Ireland

This following section provides a general overview of the relevant policies, strategies and legislation in Ireland targeting young families. It briefly reviews some of the supports available for young families that are relevant for this report, and provides an overview of policies with a particular focus on social inclusion and childcare.

#### 1.3.1 Supports for young families in Ireland

There is a range of entitlements available to the parents of young children, most importantly, child benefit and maternity benefit. Child Benefit (previously known as Children's Allowance) is a cash payment payable for each child under 16 years of age, or under 18 years of age if the child is in full-time education or has a disability. Child Benefit is currently €140 per month for each of the first two children, €148 for the 3rd child, and €160 for the 4th and each subsequent child. In the 2012 Budget, it was announced that the rates of payment of Child Benefit would be standardised for all children over the next two years. Importantly, this payment is not means tested, so that all children, regardless of their parents' income are entitled to it.

Maternity Benefit is a payment made to women who are on maternity leave from work and is covered by social insurance (PRSI). It is paid for 26 weeks by the State and in 2012 was a maximum of €262 per week. Mothers are entitled to 16 weeks additional unpaid maternity leave. It should be

noted also that many employers, particularly in the public sector, pay mothers their full salary or some proportion thereof during the 26 weeks they are entitled to.

There are also a range of additional benefits available to one-parent families, such as the One-Parent Family Payment (OFP), which is capped at a maximum of €188 per week. This is a payment for men and women who are bringing children up without the support of a partner and who satisfy a means test. The upper age limit of the youngest child for new claimants was reduced to 12 years of age in 2012 and will be reduced further, to seven years of age, on a phased basis over the coming years.

Paternity leave is not recognised in employment law in Ireland. While male employees are not legally entitled to either paid or unpaid paternity leave, they may be entitled to unpaid parental leave. Since May 2006, parental leave can be taken in respect of a child up to 8 years of age. Parental leave is available for each child and amounts to a total of 14 working weeks per child. Both parents have separate entitlement to parental leave.

### 1.3.2 Irish government policy on families and children

The *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child* (UNCRC) is a binding international agreement on the rights of children, adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1989 and ratified by Ireland in 1992. This framework states that every child has the right to survival, development, protection and participation, and that the role of the State is to be guarantor and enabler of these rights. Parents are viewed as being responsible for caring for and protecting their children, and the importance of providing resources to meet the needs of parents is recognised. All countries that have ratified the UNCRC are expected to submit periodic reports on progress towards its implementation.

In the Irish context, it is important to mention the first National Children's Strategy, *Our Children – Their Lives* that was developed in 2000. Its three goals are that: (1) children will have a voice in matters that affect them and their views will be given due weight in accordance with their age and maturity; (2) children's lives will be better understood and that their lives will benefit from evaluation, research and information on their needs, rights and effectiveness of services; (3) children will receive quality supports and services to promote all aspects of their development. In its *Statement of Strategy* in 2012, the Department of Children and Youth Affairs commits to developing a Children and Young People's Policy Framework. This succeeds the *National Children's Strategy* and sets out the Government's high-level policy priorities for children and young people for the next 5 years. It will be followed by more detailed national strategies for different age groups – early years (aged 0-6), middle childhood (aged 6-12) and youth (aged 12+).

The Irish government believes that the Early Years Strategy (EYS) should be developed in the context of this overarching policy framework. Published in 2007, *The Agenda for Children's Services: A Policy Handbook* sets out the strategic direction and key goals of public policy in relation to children's health and social services in Ireland. It presents five key outcomes for children, and the *Early Years Strategy* should be aligned with these outcomes. The five outcomes are that children should be: (1) healthy, both physically and mentally; (2) supported in active learning; (3) safe from accidental and intentional harm, and secure in the immediate and wider physical environment; (4) economically

secure; (5) part of positive networks of family, friends, neighbours and community, and included and participating in society.

The *National Action Plan for Social Inclusion, 2007-2016*, produced by the Office for Social Inclusion in the Department of Social and Family Affairs sets out a programme of action to address poverty and social inclusion, using a life-cycle approach. It lists the services providing support to families in the areas of childcare, health and education. Goals relevant to early years include the targeting of pre-school education and reviewing child income supports for families on low income. This may be of added importance to immigrant families as international research has shown that immigrant families, particularly those from low-income countries, are at an increased risk of poverty compared to native families (UNICEF 2009).

The Programme for Government, *Toward Recovery: Programme for a National Government, 2011-2016*, makes a number of commitments that impact on early years. These include holding a Constitutional Referendum on children's rights (organised in 2012); establishing the Child and Family Agency during 2013; maintaining and improving the universal Free Pre-School Year; taking an area-based approach to ending child poverty; implementing a series of progressive reforms in health and education; making child literacy a national cause; and investing in children's mental health.

### 1.3.3 Early childhood education

Concerning early childcare and education, the *Report of the National Forum on Early Childhood Education* (1998) comprehensively sets out the way forward to put early childhood education and care 'on a new footing' in Ireland. The *National Childcare Strategy* (1999) highlighted a substantial number of significant issues pertaining to existing childcare provision in Ireland, including the uncoordinated provision of childcare, its variable quality, its lack of supply and its costliness compared to other EU countries. The strategy presented a total of 27 recommendations regarding the enhancement of childcare provision.

In 1999, *Ready to Learn – The Government White Paper on Early Childhood Education* aimed to support educational achievement among children aged 0-6 years through high-quality early education provision, with a particular focus on disadvantaged children and children with special needs. This *White Paper* led to the establishment of the Centre for Early Childhood Development and Education (CECDE). In 2004, the discussion document published by the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA), *Towards a Framework for Early Learning*, outlined an approach to education for children aged 0-6 that emphasised the importance of the early years as a basis for future learning.

The report *Early Childhood Care and Education*, published in 2005 by the National Economic and Social Forum, provides a comprehensive proposal for policy on early childhood care and education (ECCE) in Ireland and its implementation. The report evaluated ECCE policy on seven cross-national policy issues: (1) expanding provision towards universal access; (2) promoting coherence and coordination; (3) raising the quality of provision; (4) improving staff training and work conditions; (5) adequate investment; (6) developing appropriate pedagogies; and (7) engaging families and communities. The report also sets out an implementation process for policy development with key targets and objectives.



The *Right from the Start* report from the expert advisory group on the Early Years Strategy was launched in September 2013. This document provides a detailed plan for a comprehensive “Early Years Strategy”, with the provision of childcare a key issue. As well as highlighting that Ireland spends a smaller share of GDP on childcare than other countries, the authors also highlight the high cost of childcare in Ireland, both in absolute terms and in terms of share of income. The report also makes a number of recommendations regarding a future Early Years Strategy, some of which are explicitly targeted at the childcare sector. Two of these recommendations relate to the regulation of the home-based childcare sector, and the retention of income-related subsidies that prevent childcare from being an excessive financial burden on families. Income-related subsidies should have a particularly positive impact on low income families and those experiencing poverty. Reform of the existing subsidy schemes (e.g., Community Childcare Subvention and Childcare Education and Training Support Programme) were also proposed to ensure that subsidised places are equally accessible in all areas of the country.

Given the multisectoral nature of early childhood care and education, policy-makers face difficulties in achieving coordinated and coherent approaches that ensure children’s holistic development. A pattern of parallel administrative organisations still predominates in ECCE policy, with different responsibilities given to diverse Government departments and non-governmental organisations, creating multiple levels of decision-making and execution, and impeding progress and the full implementation of a coordinated and integrated policy. The division of provision into social, health, care and educational sectors, based on traditional beliefs regarding responsibility for the care of young children, has created and maintained the gap in access and quality provision for children under three years of age.

#### 1.4 Studying the children of migrants in Ireland

Ireland has become a much more diverse country, and nowhere is this more pronounced than amongst the youngest Irish citizens, as shown above. To ensure that all children growing up in Ireland will have a good start in life regardless of their parents’ background it is crucial to understand better the particular challenges faced by immigrant families. The overview of Perinatal and Census statistics presented in this chapter gives some insights into the main patterns and trends, but cannot tell us more about the specific issues that are important for young families in particular. This report therefore uses *Growing Up in Ireland* data, which is described further in the next chapter, to draw a more detailed picture of this emerging group in Irish society and address some of the questions that are crucial in early life, such as the growing diversity within families (Chapter 3), socio-economic position and neighborhood characteristics of parents with migrant background (Chapter 4), and childcare arrangements and return to work (Chapter 5).

## Chapter 2: Studying migrant families with Growing Up in Ireland data

It is rare that data is available on a phenomenon as it is unfolding, and we often have to rely on retrospective or incomplete information. Furthermore, it is often the case that minority groups, due to their comparatively small size, do not appear in sufficient numbers in larger survey projects to allow an analysis of specific subgroups. This is why *Growing Up in Ireland* offers such a unique opportunity: due to its timing, the study – and particularly the nine-month-old infant cohort we are using here - happened to capture a sizeable group of second generation children and their families, and will now follow them as they grow up. Due to the large overall sample size, it is also possible to look at some of the subgroups in more detail, and the representative nature of the data allows us to generalise our findings to the wider population of this age cohort. This chapter describes in more detail the dataset we are using and particularly how we identified migrant families for our analyses. It should be noted that where tables and figures are presented, these refer to GUI data unless another sources is indicated.

### 2.1 Background to Growing Up in Ireland

This section briefly describes the sample design employed for the first tranche of data collection among the infant cohort of *Growing Up in Ireland* (Quail et al. 2011). *Growing Up in Ireland* – The National Longitudinal Study of Children in Ireland (NLSCI) project was established in 2000 under the National Children’s Strategy, ‘Our Children – Their Lives’ (Department of Health and Children 2000). The aim of the study was to improve our understanding of Irish childhood, and develop evidence-driven policy for children and their families. The study consists of two cohorts – an infant and child cohort. The current study focuses on the first round of data collected from the infant cohort that included 11,000 children aged nine months who were born between December 1<sup>st</sup> 2007 and June 30<sup>th</sup> 2008. A comprehensive description of all aspects of the methodologies employed by *Growing Up in Ireland* are documented in a series of technical reports which are available to download from [www.growingup.ie/infantpublications](http://www.growingup.ie/infantpublications). The following description of the methodology used by *Growing Up in Ireland* is drawn from Quail et al. (2011).

To ensure that a nationally representative sample of infants was sampled, *Growing Up in Ireland* selected the Child Benefit Register as the preferred sampling frame. As described earlier, Child Benefit in the Republic of Ireland is a state payment made monthly to families (usually the child’s mother) in respect of every dependent child in the household under the age of 16 years or under 19 years if the child is in full-time education or training, or has a disability. The Child Benefit Register is an administrative payments database that contains details of all families in receipt of the payment. As such it is an accurate and up-to-date record of every child under 16 years of age in the jurisdiction. The register is managed by the Department of Social Protection and it showed that there were 41,185 infants born between 1<sup>st</sup> December 2007 and 30<sup>th</sup> June 2008 registered for child benefit. Having first stratified the population by marital status, county of residence, mothers’ nationality, and number of children per household, a final sample of 11,134 participants was arrived at. Taken together, this means that GUI collected information on 27% of all children born in Ireland during the sampling period. The final effective response rate reported for the study was 64%.

During the Pilot and Dress rehearsal phases of GUI, low participation rates were encountered among a number of sub-groups. One of these groups was children identified as being born to non-national

families on the Child Benefit Register. To address this and ensure that this group was adequately represented in the final sample, a separate supplementary sample of 700 of these children was selected. As language difficulty was one of the reasons given for the initial low participation rates among non-national families, foreign language versions of the survey instruments were developed and translators were also used.

Information about the infants and their families were collected by survey questionnaire by way of Computer Assisted Personal Interview (CAPI). Interviews were conducted with the Primary Caregiver (PCG), who was the person within the household who delivered most care to the Study Child and was most knowledgeable about them. Secondary Caregivers (SCG), who in most cases was the mothers' spouse or partner, were also interviewed. Where possible, the questionnaires were administered to both care givers and consisted of both a main questionnaire and a sensitive self-completion questionnaire. All documentation, including the questionnaires can be found at: [www.growingup.ie](http://www.growingup.ie).

As is usual for most survey data, sample weights were calculated in order to adjust the distribution of the achieved sample to that of the wider population from which the sample was drawn, that is, nine-month-old infants in the Republic of Ireland born between December 2007 and June 2008. Two external sources of information on the population were used in constructing the sampling weights. Firstly, information on all children aged less than one year, and their families, was included from the Census of Population 2006. The second source of information on the population was the Child Benefit Register which was also used as the sampling frame. Full details of the weighting schema employed for data collected when the infants were nine-months-old is available from Quail et al. (2011). All analytic results presented in this report apply these population weights.

Given that the GUI data included information on a very specific cohort of infants, as this Chapter progresses, information on the wider context is provided by drawing on more recently available data from Census 2011 as well as the yearly perinatal statistics that include the country of birth/nationality of the mother and father of children.

## 2.2 Identifying migrants in the data

The first task of this report was to identify second generation migrant children within the data. GUI recorded information on the nationality of both the Study Child and their Caregivers. In cases where participants were born outside of Ireland, their birth country was provided. Given the age of the infants and our interest in second generation children specifically, it was logical to assign migrant status according to the nationality of the infants' parent(s). In 99.9% of cases, the Study Child's mother identified themselves as the Primary Caregiver (PCG), and consequently the main respondent. Therefore, the primary means by which migrant status was identified was by the Primary Caregivers' nationality. It was then necessary to capture those households in which the Primary Caregiver was Irish but their partner was not. To achieve this, the nationality of the person identified as the Study Child's Secondary Caregiver (SCG) was also considered. In 89.8% of cases the Secondary Caregiver was the spouse or partner of the Study Child's mothers'. By this method, children for whom one or both parents were born outside of Ireland were considered for the purposes of this report as being a second generation migrant child. As shown in Table 1, 33% (n=3,661) of the infants had at least one migrant parent.

Table 1 Irish and non-Irish born parents

Country	Un-weighted		Weighted
	N	%	%
Both parents Irish	5600	50.3	52.3
Both parents not Irish	1475	13.3	10.2
PCG Irish SCG not Irish	718	6.5	6.2
SCG Irish PCG not Irish	833	7.5	7.0
Lone parent Irish	1867	16.8	19.3
Lone parent not Irish	635	5.7	5.0
Total	11128	100	100

While the groupings shown in Table 1 provided a means by which to identify second generation migrant children within the GUI sample, due to the heterogeneous nature of the groups it did not provide a suitable classification system by which to differentiate migrant groups. Therefore, the next task was to construct a classification system that took account of the diverse nationalities represented in the sample.

It was initially intended to classify nationalities according to the system used in the reporting of National Perinatal Statistics which follows the system used by the Central Statistics Office. However, there were a number of challenges faced that required this system to be adapted for present purposes. In deciding on the most suitable way to group nationalities together, it was necessary to meet three criteria:

- (1) Groupings needed to be large enough to be amenable to statistical analysis;
- (2) To adhere to the data usage agreement entered into, groupings needed to be large enough to make identification of individual children or their families impossible;
- (3) Nationalities needed to be grouped together in a logically meaningful way so that each group could be considered largely homogenous.

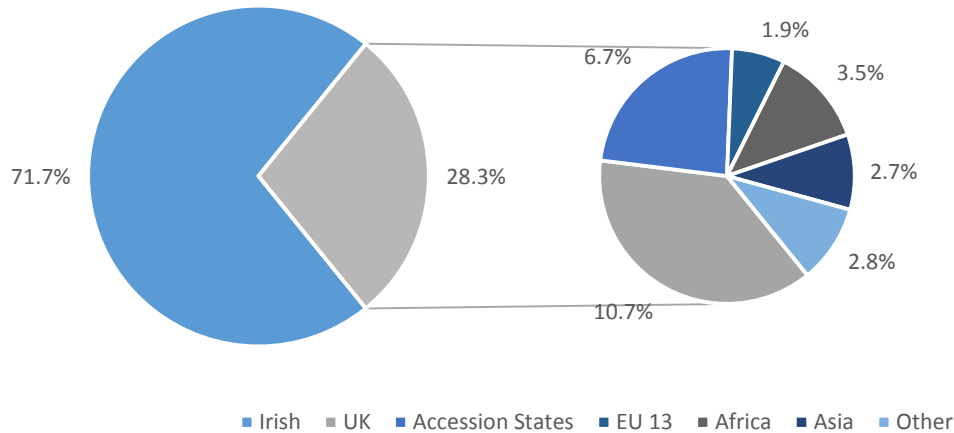
To meet these criteria, a classification system containing seven groups was constructed. The groups are:

- The Republic of Ireland;
- The United Kingdom;
- EU Accession States – Countries that joined the EU between 1st May 2004 and 1st July 2013;
- EU-13 – This contains EU 15 countries, excluding the Republic of Ireland and the United Kingdom;
- Africa – The African continent;
- Asia – The Asian continent;
- Other – This group contains countries from Oceania, North America, Americas, non-EU European, and unspecified nationalities

As shown in Figure 5, 71.7% of the infants were from indigenous families. Infants from households where at least one parent was born in the United Kingdom represented 10.7% of the total sample. The second largest group were those from EU accession states (6.7%). This grouping contains countries that entered the European Union between May 2004 and July 2013. The third largest non-indigenous group were African (3.5%). This was followed by Asian countries (2.7%) and EU-13 (1.9%).

The EU-13 group includes individuals born in EU-15 member states, excluding the Republic of Ireland and the United Kingdom. The remaining 'other' group consisted of those countries which did not fit into any of the other groupings and whose numbers were too small to include as a separate distinct group. As this report progresses, these groups form the basic unit of analysis with groups compared on a number of characteristics, according to their household' nationality.

Figure 5 Percentage of births to a non-Irish parent



### 2.3 Ethical considerations and data protection

The Growing Up in Ireland study was overseen by an independent Research Ethics Committee convened by the Department of Health and Children. The project was conducted in adherence to the Statistics Act 1993 which is the same legislation that covers the national Census of Population. Furthermore, the *Data Protection Acts* 1988 and 2003 were adhered to with procedures relating to child protection informed by the *Children First Guidelines* (Department of Health and Children, 2000). All GUI project staff were vetted by An Garda Síochána (the Irish Police Service) and field staff were appointed Officers of Statistics which included a confidentiality and non-disclosure of information clause. A full description of the ethical procedures adhered to by the GUI project are available from Thornton et al. (2013).

This report involved the secondary data analysis of information collected by the *Growing Up in Ireland - National Longitudinal Study of Children in Ireland* (NLSCI). As such, the research team did not have direct contact with any of the respondents who participated in the study. Nor did they have access to any of the participants' personal information by which they might be identified, such as date of birth or home address. The confidentiality of the data is guaranteed in law under the Statistics Act, 1993.

## 2.4 Tests of statistical significance

The analysis presented in this report is limited to providing a description of the characteristics and situation of second generation infants and their families living in the Republic of Ireland. As such, the results of statistical tests of significance to test for between-group differences have not been included. In part, it was decided not to include tests of significance as the report is intended to be accessible to a broad audience that includes academics, policymakers, community workers and other interested readers. For this reason, statistical analysis is limited to describing the distribution of items of interest by way of proportions only. Due to the large sample size, 95% confidence intervals are very small and therefore any sizeable differences in group proportions can be expected to reach statistical significance. As a guide for interested readers, Table 2, show the 95% confidence intervals for a range of percentages for a sample size of 11,000.

*Table 2 Percentages and confidence intervals*

Observed percentage	5% or 95%	10% or 90%	20% or 80%	30% or 70%	40% or 60%	50%
Confidence interval	+/- 0.41	+/- 0.56	+/- 0.75	+/- 0.86	+/- 0.92	+/- 0.93

For example, in Section 3.1.3, Figure 10, we report that 84.6% of Irish households have a partner present compared to 95.3% of EU-13 households. These values are our estimate of the values we would expect to find in the wider population. Using the confidence intervals shown here, we can say that we are 95% confident that between the 83.85% (84.6-0.75) and 85.35% (84.6+0.75) of Irish households in the population from which the sample was drawn have a partner living in the household. The corresponding values for EU-13 households are 94.89% (95.3-0.41) and 95.71% (95.3+0.41). We can also say with 95% confidence that this is a statistically significantly lower proportion of households than that observed in the EU-13 group as the estimate for both do not overlap.

## Chapter 3: Profile of ‘New Irish Families’

The aim of this chapter is to provide a profile of ‘New Irish Families’ in terms of their diverse demographic composition, citizenship, ethnicity, religion and language. We look at different immigrant groups as outlined in the previous chapter and provide a comparison with families headed by Irish parents. To understand better the background and migration history of these different groups, Chapter 1 should be consulted for an overview. In this chapter, we rely primarily on the GUI data collected from families when the infants were nine-months-old. This provides us with the opportunity to present a detailed description of this particular cohort of Irish families. To contextualise some of our findings for this particular cohort we also include information from other data sources where available, as this can help to understand the broader trends and developments behind the findings for this cohort. Whenever other sources than GUI are used, this is clearly indicated.

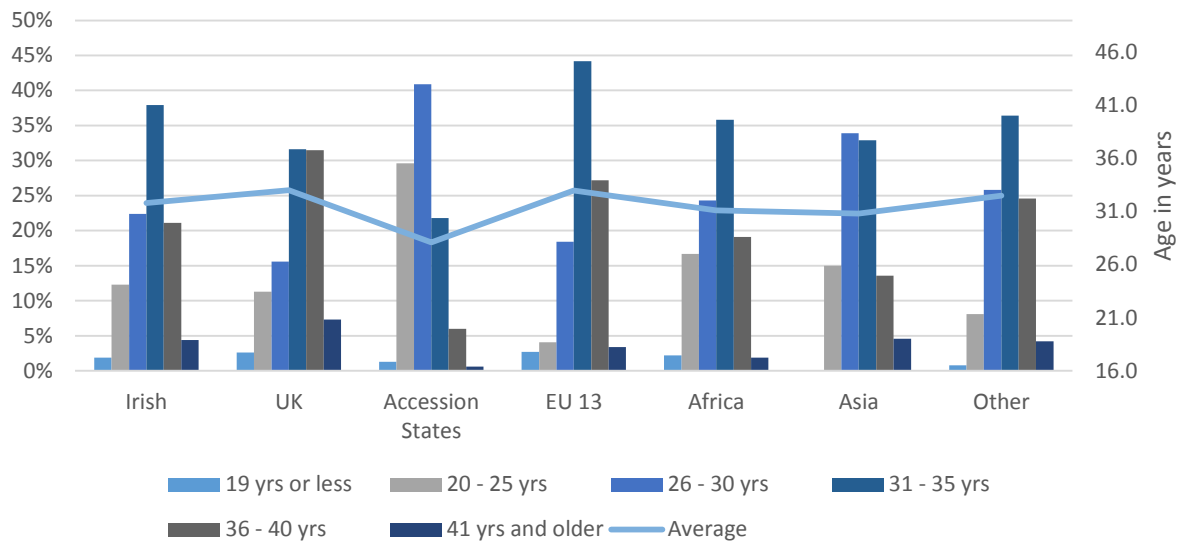
### 3.1 Family composition

Having located the ‘New Irish Families’ within the GUI sample and constructed a suitable classification system by which to group the families for further analysis (see Chapter 2), this section examines the diverse characteristics of these families, particularly the family contexts in which second generation children live. Of particular importance in this context is the differentiation between households with two migrant parents versus those with ‘mixed’ parents. Initially, however, we focus on some more general demographic characteristics such as mother’s age and marital status, as well as the type and size of the household.

#### 3.1.1 Migrant mothers’ age

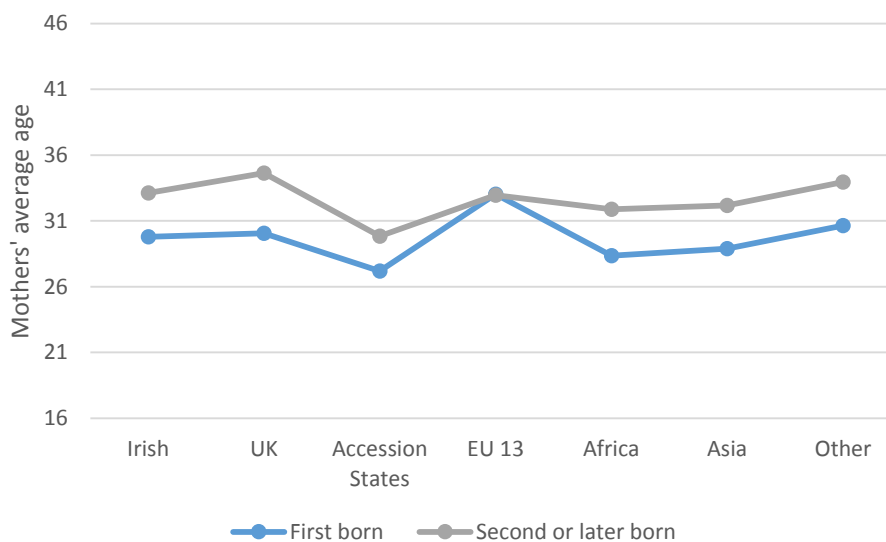
The distribution and average age of migrant mothers, when their child was nine-months-old, are shown in Figure 6. At this time, the average age of mothers in the sample was 31.6 years (Std. Dev. 5.0), with the youngest mother aged 16 years and the oldest biological mother aged 49 years. Mothers from EU Accession States were on average younger than their peers, while those from the U.K and Africa tended to be older. The largest proportion of mothers from EU Accession States (40.9%) and Asia (33.9%) were aged between 26 and 30 years. While among the other groups, the largest proportion of mothers were aged between 31 and 35 years.

Figure 6 Distribution and average of mother's age



It is important to consider whether the different age profiles of the groups merely reflect the birth order of the study children which might mean that mothers who had their first birth were younger than those on their second or subsequent child. Less than half of the children (41%) sampled were first-borns. Figure 7 shows that mothers who had their first born included in the study were, on average, younger than those who had previously had a child. However, the same pattern observed previously was again apparent with mothers from EU Accession States notably younger than others when they gave birth, irrespective of whether the child was their first or not.

Figure 7 Average mother's age if study child first or subsequent birth



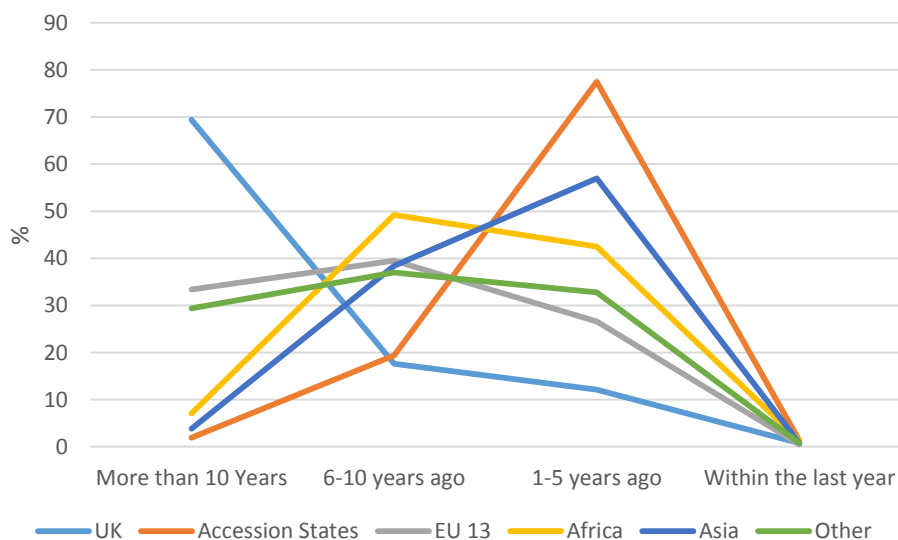


### 3.1.2 Length of time living in Ireland

There were large differences observed in the length of time that migrant mothers had lived in Ireland prior to interview. This pattern reflects the wider trends in migration to Ireland that were discussed in Chapter 1. Initial inward migration experienced in Ireland from the 1990s consisted in the main of migration from the U.K. and other European citizens, along with migrants from outside Europe seeking work or asylum. This pattern changed dramatically from 2004 and onwards as Ireland granted access to its labour market to recent EU Accession States.

Similar to this wider pattern, 69.4% of mothers from the U.K had moved to Ireland prior to 1997. It should also be noted here that many of them consider themselves of Irish ethnicity, so that they are likely to have Irish roots either by having parents or grandparents originally from Ireland. Only 12.9% mothers in this group had moved to Ireland within the five years prior to interview. Length of stay of original EU member states and countries such as North America follow a similar pattern with 33.4% of the former and 29.4% the latter reported to have been living in Ireland for more than 10 years. Among the current sample, 49.2% of African and 38.4% of Asian mothers, moved to Ireland during the last six to ten years, reflecting general migration patterns of non-EU migrants that increased in the 1990s and particularly in the 2000s. There was a dramatic increase in the number of mothers from EU Accession States that had moved to Ireland from 2002 onwards with more than three quarters (77.5%) of mothers from these countries moving to Ireland during this time. This inward movement will have predominantly occurred post 2004 when the opening of the Irish labour market attracted large numbers of young working age men and women from EU Accession States. As well as being mobile and of working age, they were also predominantly at the age for family formation (Mühlau et al. 2010).

Figure 8 Length of time that migrant mothers have lived in Ireland

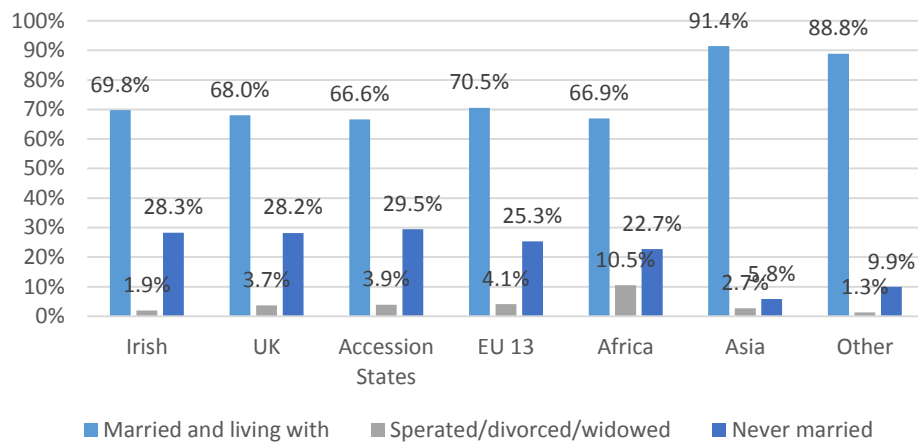


The large proportion of births among migrants from the Accession States in particular which occurred from 2004 onwards has a number of important policy and societal implications given that second generation births among this cohort now accounts for a substantial proportion of all births in the country as discussed above.

### 3.1.3 Marital and partnership status

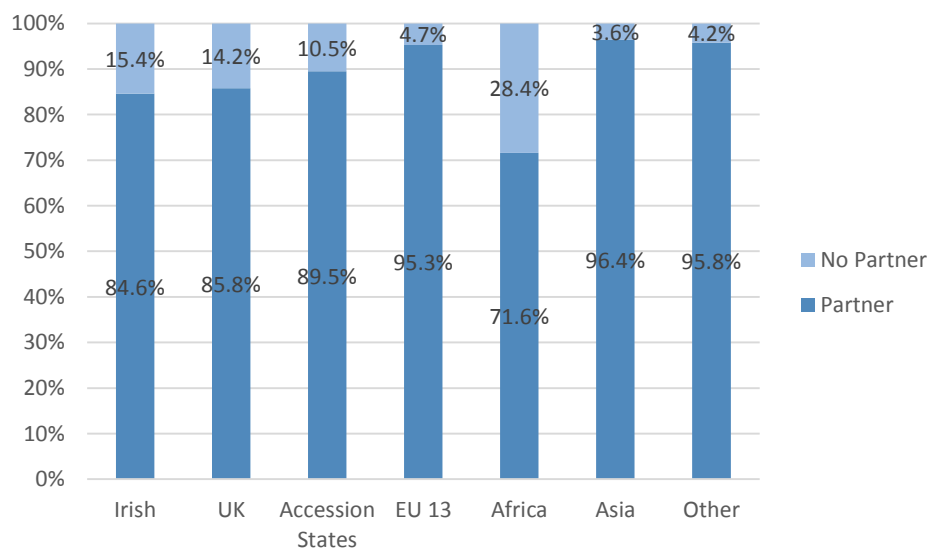
The marital status of mothers in most groups were broadly similar with more than two-thirds married and between one-quarter and one-third never married. Higher rates of marriage were found among Asian mothers with 91.4% of this group married. This may have cultural or religious reasons, and is also likely to be linked to migration policy.

Figure 9 Marital Status



More than one quarter of the mothers sampled had never married; however, more important than marital status per se is whether or not there is a partner present in the household in which a child is reared. African participants (28.4%) were most likely to be lone parents while Asian mothers were the most likely to have a partner present in the household with only 3.6% reporting that their partner was not present.

Figure 10 Percentage of households with a partner present by Primary Caregiver's nationality



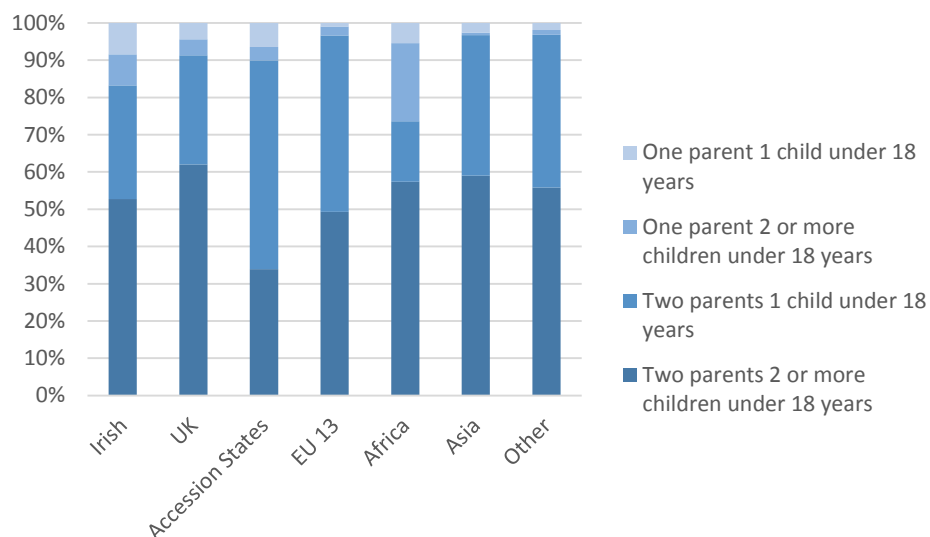
The observation that a large number of African households in particular, were headed by a single parent may be at least partly an artefact of Government policy on family reunification, which is further discussed in Chapter 6. For example, it may be the case that some of the African mothers

identified as heading a single parent family in fact have a spouse/partner who has been unable to secure permission to join them in Ireland.

### 3.1.4 Household type and size

Here households are classified according to four household composition types: those consisting of one parent and the Study Child (7.3%); one parent and two or more children under 18 years of age (7.5%); two parent families with the Study Child only (32.4%); and two parent families with two or more children under 18 years of age (52.8%). In the main, families with at least one parent from EU Accession States tended to be smaller than Irish families, while African ones were larger on average. Reflecting their younger age profile, households headed by at least one parent from an EU Accession State had the smallest proportion of two parent families with two or more children (33.9%). Conversely, the largest proportion of these households consisted of two parent families with only one child, that is, the Study Child (56.0%). More than half of the households for each other group consisted of two parent families with two or more children under the age of 18. African households had the highest proportion of one parent families with two or more children at 21.0%.

Figure 11 Household type by Primary Caregiver's nationality



Finally, as shown in Table 3, there was little difference in the average size of households. Overall, the average household consisted of 3.95 individuals. Households where at least one parent was from Africa had the largest average household size (4.40), while those from EU Accession States were, on average, the smallest (3.75). The smallest household size reported for all groups was two, consisting of the Primary Caregiver and the Study Child only. The largest households consisted of 13 individuals.

Table 3 Average number of people living in household

Country	N	Mean (Std. Dev.)	Maximum
Irish	7969	3.93 (1.17)	13
U.K.	1193	4.08 (1.20)	13
EU Accession States	741	3.75 (1.12)	12
EU-13	206	3.73 (0.92)	9
Africa	391	4.40 (1.39)	9
Asia	302	4.13 (1.26)	10
Other	310	3.91 (1.03)	9
Total	11112	3.95 (1.18)	13

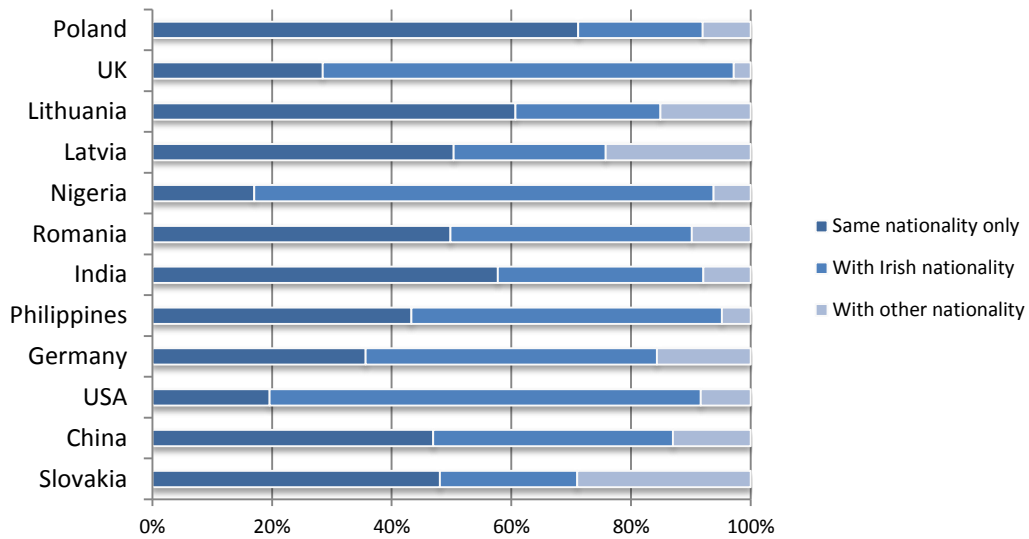
### 3.1.5 'Mixed' versus 'immigrant only' households

Research on ethnic inter-relationships shows that those that have a native partner are a selective group, and that intermarriage is one of the main markers of assimilation (Jacobs and Labov 2002, Kalmijn 1998). Previous literature also shows that a person with one foreign born parent tends to have outcomes that are more similar to children of natives (Röder and Mühlau 2014), although this differs depending on the outcome being studied (Platt 2012). The more segregated a particular group, the less likely they are to have the opportunity to meet partners from other ethnic groups, and the less likely they are to consider such partners as appropriate spouses (Kalmijn 1998). We can therefore expect that intermarriage rates will differ substantially between migrant groups. This will at least partly be due to the different nature of migration to Ireland, with longer staying migrants having had more opportunity to meet a native partner. Unlike much of the previous literature, we include parents here regardless of whether they are married or not, as the analysis above shows that this includes a substantial proportion of couples.

Before looking at our cohort from the GUI data, it is possible to gain some information from Census 2011, as it classified households based on composition of nationalities within them. One issue with this is that it includes children who were born in Ireland, and who generally – though not always as illustrated further below - have Irish citizenship. It does, nevertheless, indicate whether a particular group primarily consists of households with only same nationality members, or whether it is more diverse.

Figure 12 shows that Poles, followed by Lithuanians and Indians, are the most likely to live only with other people with the same nationality. Nigerians, followed by US Americans and U.K. nationals are the most likely to live with Irish nationals, while out of the above groups, Slovaks, followed by Latvians and Germans are the most likely to live with other nationalities than Irish or their own. As noted above, Irish born children will influence household composition strongly, which is likely to explain the high rates for mixed households for Nigerians for example. Nevertheless, these figures do show that some groups are much more likely to live with co-nationals, giving some indication of their social integration and marriage patterns.

Figure 12 Proportions of households by nationality composition for largest migrant groups

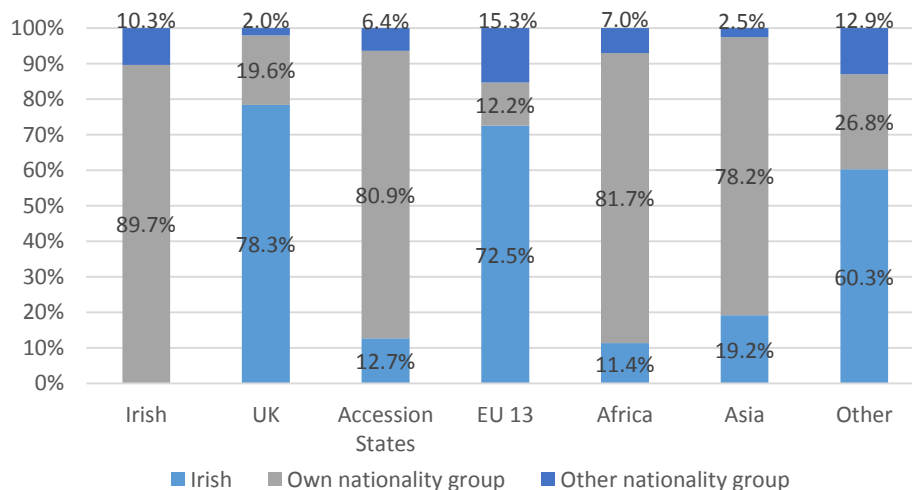


Source: Census 2011

Returning again to the GUI cohort, we examined whether many of the migrant parents had Irish partners. Figure 13 shows the nationality group of the mothers' partner, in cases that they were present in the household when the child was nine-months-old. The 'own nationality group' includes partners born in any of the countries within the same geographic groups and not necessarily the same country. For example, if the mother was born in France and their partner in Italy, they were considered to be within the same nationality grouping, the EU-13. To be included in the 'other nationality' group, the mothers' partner needed to be from a country outside of the grouping we used.

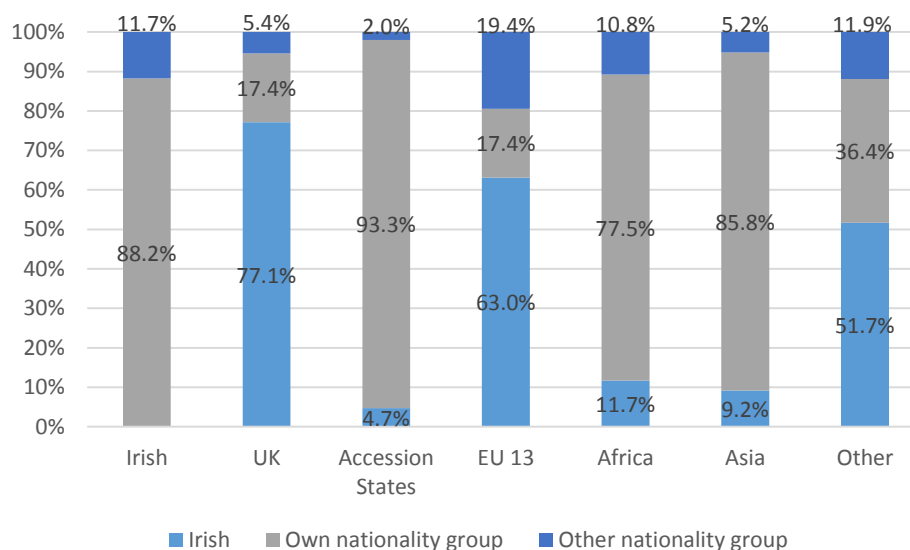
In the case of mothers from the U.K, it was found that 78.3% lived with Irish partners. A large proportion of mothers from EU-13 member states also had Irish partners (72.5%) with only 12.2% in a relationship with someone from their own nationality group. The nationality groups most likely to have a partner from the same group were Irish (89.7%), African (81.7%), and EU Accession States (80.9%).

Figure 13 Nationality group of mother's partner



Turning to Secondary Caregivers, Figure 14 shows the nationality group of the fathers' partner, in cases that they are present in the household when the child was nine-months-old. Comparing these results to those presented above, it was found that Secondary Caregivers from EU Accession States (93.3%) and Asia (85.8%) were less likely than Primary Caregivers to live with a partner from a different nationality group.

Figure 14 Nationality group of father's partner



### 3.1.6 Citizenship

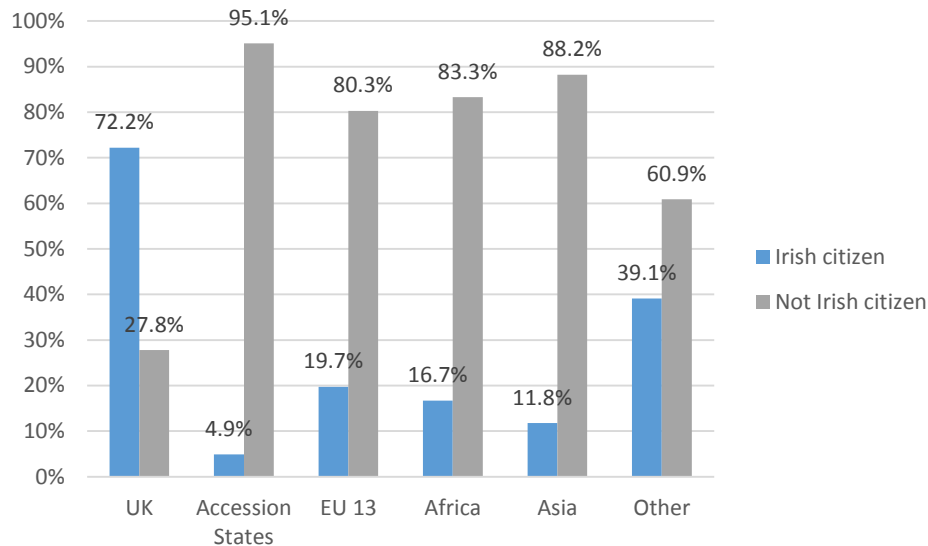
Before moving on to describe diversity amongst families in the GUI data based on their ethnic group membership, religious denomination and languages spoken at home, it is useful to consider the issue of citizenship. Irish citizenship confers a number of benefits to individuals living here, not least, unrestricted access to the labour market. Citizenship has also been shown to impact positively on integration more generally (McGinnity et al. 2013). Citizens from the European Economic Area<sup>2</sup> and Switzerland are entitled to work in Ireland without an employment permit. Under the Employment Permits Acts 2003-2006, migrants from other countries who wish to work here are required to have a work permit. In 2013, over 30,000 applications for citizenship were processed compared to 25,000 in 2012 (Irish Naturalisation and immigration Service 2013). For non-EEA and Swiss migrants, attaining naturalised citizenship means that they then share the same rights and responsibilities as Irish by birth or descent, including unrestricted access to labour market participation.

As shown in Figure 15, the lowest rate of Irish citizenship was reported by Primary Caregivers from EU Accession States (4.9%). The highest rates of Irish citizenship was reported among U.K. migrants 72.2% and the other group which includes North America and Australia. This most likely reflects the ability of migrants from these countries to attain citizenship by virtue of their Irish ancestry, which many of them have (i.e. they identify as 'Irish' in terms of ethnicity). Also, individuals born in Northern Ireland are entitled to dual British and Irish citizenship which further explains the high level of Irish citizenship among the U.K population living in Ireland. The high rates of Irish citizenship

<sup>2</sup> The European Economic Area consists of the EU member states, together with Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein.

among some of the groups supports our classification of ‘non-Irish’ based on nationality rather than citizenship as the former would have meant that a number of migrant families would have been subsumed into the Irish group by virtue of their having inherited citizenship or attained naturalised citizenship. This may have masked some important aspects of the experiences of naturalised citizens and their families.

Figure 15 Migrant mother's citizenship



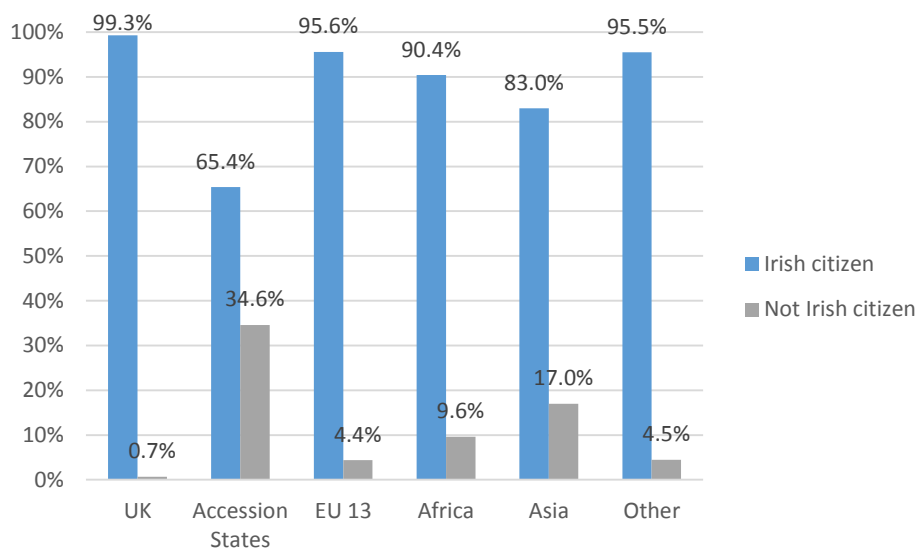
In the past, all children born in Ireland were automatically granted citizenship, irrespective of the status of their parents. In turn, the parents of Irish citizens were granted residency and permitted to enter paid employment (Coakley, 2012). This situation changed with the introduction of the 27<sup>th</sup> amendment to the constitution of Ireland in June 2003. This amendment was enacted as the result of a referendum whereby the Irish public voted to restrict Irish citizenship to people born in the island of Ireland who had at least one parent who was either an Irish citizen or entitled to Irish citizenship (Coakley, 2012). This referendum was enacted in law by the introduction of the Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act 2004, which was introduced on 1<sup>st</sup> January 2005. From this date onwards, which included the period in which the current cohort were born, many children born to immigrant parents no longer automatically had the right to Irish citizenship.

The conferment of Irish citizenship to second generation migrant children is far from straightforward. Children born in Ireland after 1<sup>st</sup> January 2005 to foreign national parents are not automatically entitled to Irish citizenship. Under the Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act 2004, foreign born parents of children born on the island of Ireland must provide evidence that they have a ‘genuine’ link to Ireland. To prove this, they must provide evidence that they have been resident in the country for three of the four years prior to the birth of their child. In cases where they parent is British, or has been granted refugee status, the child is automatically entitled to Irish citizenship. If children have at least one Irish grandparent but neither of their parents are Irish, then they can

apply for Irish citizenship. To acquire Irish citizenship by this route, the child's birth must be registered in the Foreign Births Register<sup>3</sup>.

As shown in Figure 16, despite being born in Ireland, a large number of the infants did not have Irish citizenship. Overall, 96.6% of the infants were Irish citizens, however, there was large variation between the groups. More than one third (34.6%) of children from households where at least one parent was from an EU Accession State was not an Irish citizen. The comparable figure for the Asian group was 17.0% and 9.6% among Africans.

Figure 16 Infant's citizenship

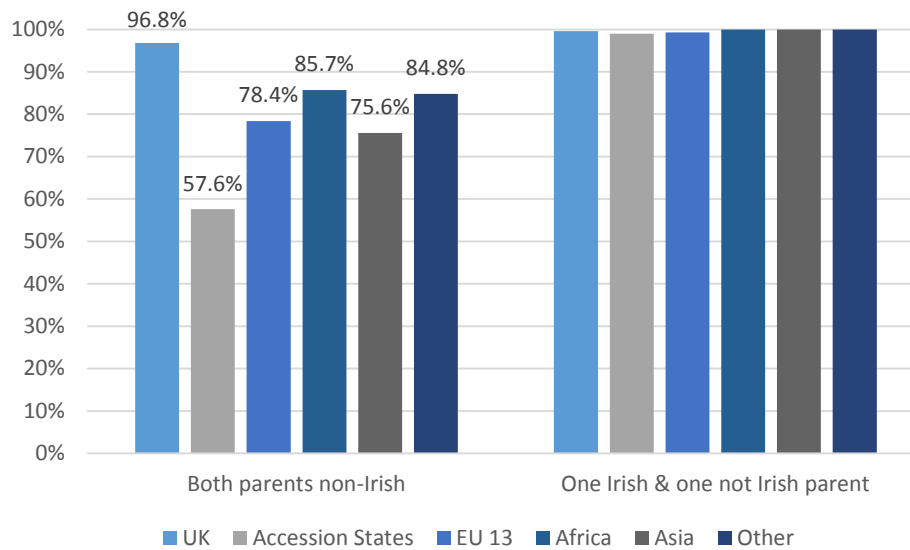


Having one Irish parent entitles children born in Ireland to automatic citizenship, therefore it is of interest to examine if children with one Irish and one foreign born parent have always availed of citizenship. Figure 17 shows the percentage of children born to two foreign born parents who had Irish citizenship compared to those with one Irish and one non-Irish parent. Among the latter group, almost all children had Irish citizenship. Among households where both parents were born outside of Ireland, a large proportion of children born to parents from EU Accession States (42.4%), Asia (24.4%), and Africa (14.3%) did not have Irish citizenship. The corresponding figure for the EU-13 group was 21.6%.

<sup>3</sup> Fuller details on the myriad of paths to Irish citizenship can be found at: [www.citizeninformation.ie/en/moving\\_country/irish\\_citizenship\\_through\\_birth\\_or\\_descent.html](http://www.citizeninformation.ie/en/moving_country/irish_citizenship_through_birth_or_descent.html)



Figure 17 Citizenship of infants according to parental nationality dyad by household nationality



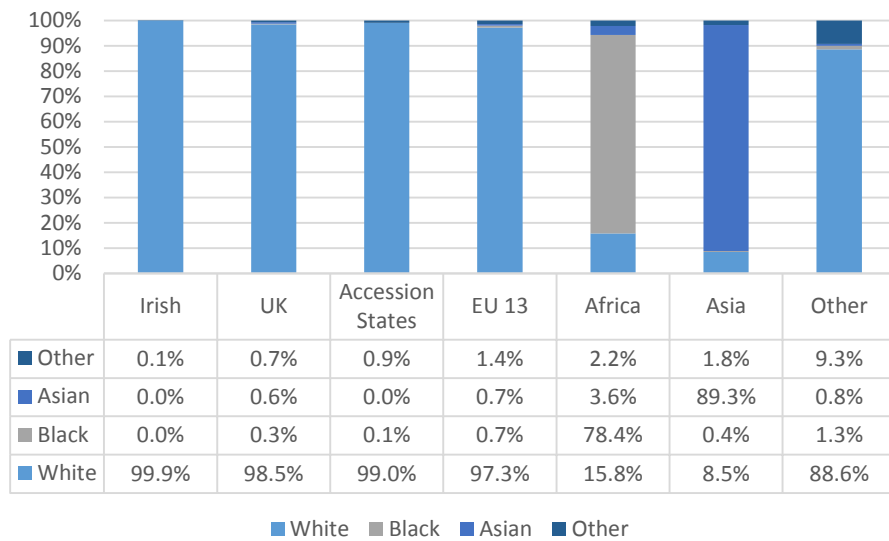
### 3.2 Ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity in ‘New Irish Families’

The first chapter has already shown that Irish society has become much more diverse in terms of the origins of its residents. This diversity can be both a contribution to a society, as well as a source of inequality and disadvantage. Ethnic discrimination occurs in the Irish context (McGinnity et al. 2009; OECD 2012; O’Connell and McGinnity 2008; Russell et al. 2008), and while its consequences for second generation children are not clear yet, the evidence from other countries suggests that this is an important issue to consider (Alba 2005; Crul and Mollenkopf 2012; Heath et al. 2008, Portes et al. 2009). Given the strongly Catholic focus of the primary education system in Ireland, an examination of the religious denominations of mothers and children is also required. This is particularly timely as the children in the GUI cohort are currently entering primary school. Greater linguistic diversity can also be an asset particularly in a country like Ireland that is often criticised for the low levels of foreign language learning, but children will also require proficiency in the host country language to succeed in the education system (Department of Education and Science 2005).

#### 3.2.1 Ethnicity

An important legacy of migration into Ireland is the increased diversity of the population in terms of ethnicity. The ethnic background of immigrants can have important implications for their integration into a society, particularly as a cause for potential discrimination. In the current sample, 94.4% of mothers were white ethnic background, 2.7% were African or other black background, 2.4% were Asian, with the remaining 0.5% consisting of other including mixed ethnicity. As shown in Figure 18, a large majority of migrants from the U.K. and the EU Accession States were white.

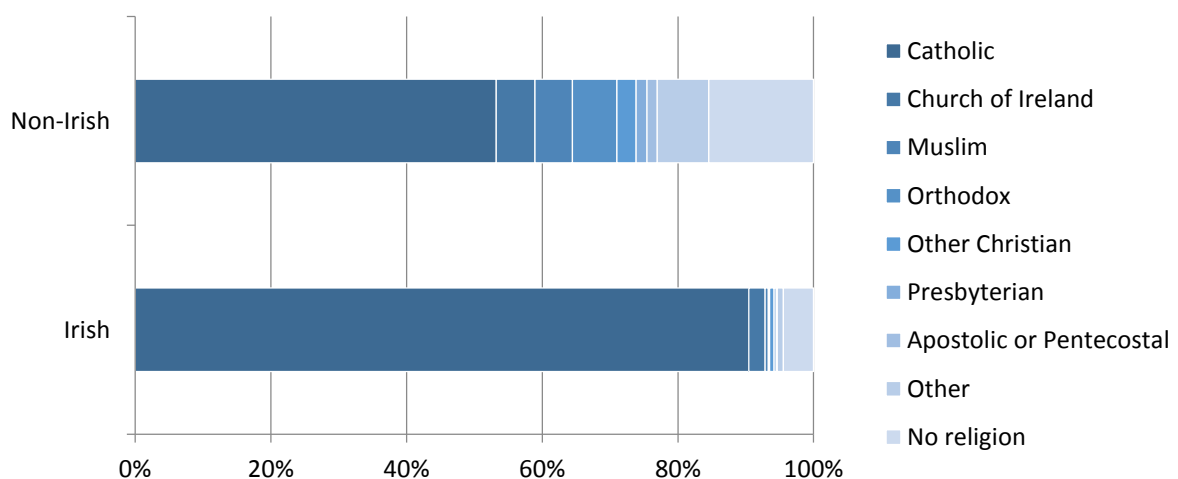
Figure 18 Primary Caregivers' ethnicity by household nationality



### 3.2.2 Migrant mothers' and children's religion

Religious diversity has grown in Ireland, and an increasing number of people no longer identify with any religious denomination. While this is not entirely due to migration alone, Figure 19, based on recent Census statistics, illustrates that it is strongly connected to it. Amongst Irish residents, 90.5% are Catholic, while amongst non-Irish residents this is only the case for just over half (53.2%). Individuals who do not belong to any religion make up the second largest group, with 4.4% of Irish and 15.5% of non-Irish not identifying with a particular denomination. Church of Ireland is the next largest group amongst the Irish with only 2.3%, while it makes up 5.7% of the non-Irish group. On closer inspection this is almost entirely due to U.K. born migrants.

Figure 19 Religious profile of Irish and non-Irish

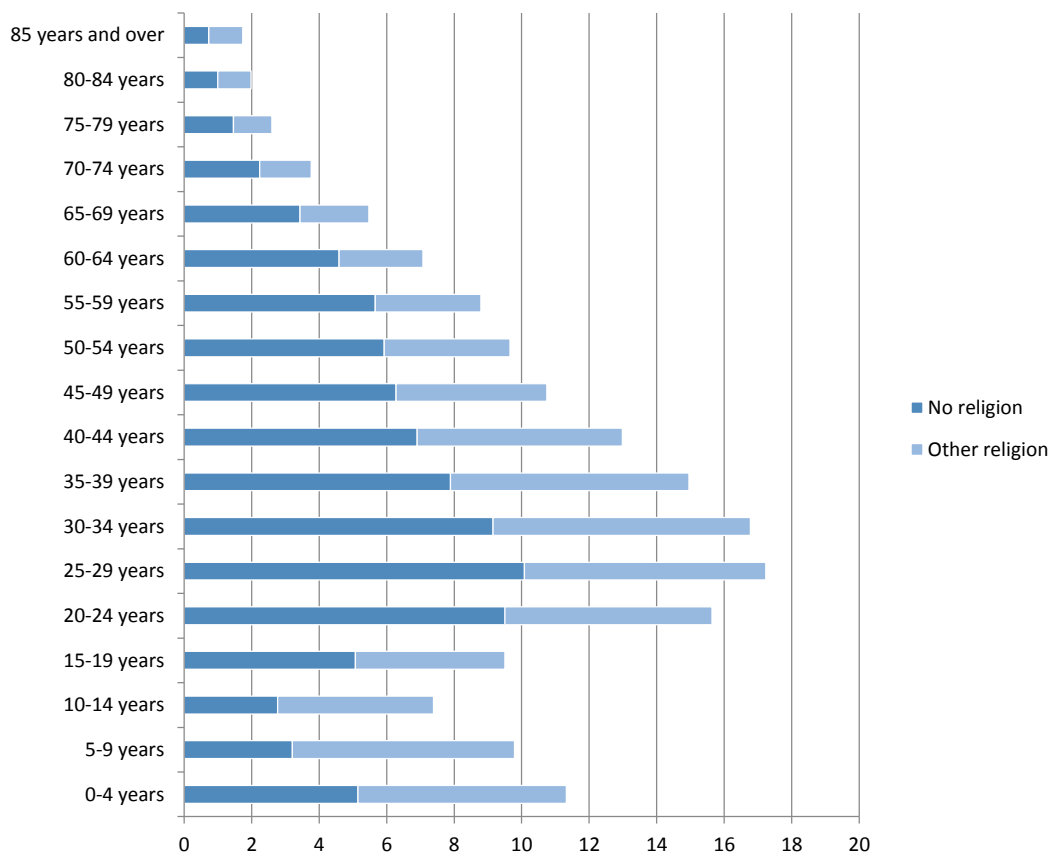


Source: Census 2011; excludes those that did not state religion

All other religious denominations remain well below 1% among the Irish population. Amongst the non-Irish population, on the other hand, Muslims (5.5%) and Orthodox (6.6%) form quite substantial groups. Presbyterians (1.6%), Apostolic (1.5%) and other Christian (2.9%) form smaller groups, with a substantial group belonging to 'other' religions (7.6%).

Increased religious diversity is clearly accelerated by migration, and there are growing numbers of people who now no longer belong to the majority Catholic religion nor to the indigenous Protestant minorities. Considering the focus on young families here, it is worthwhile to explore this pattern further according to age. Again using Census data, Figure 20 shows that there is a particular age pattern amongst those that do not belong to any religion or belong to one of the non-indigenous religions. A specific cohort pattern is emerging here, with people in the middle age category being the most likely to not belong to a religion or to belong to a 'new' religion. However, amongst the youngest cohorts we also see a relatively high share of 'no' or 'new' religion, especially within the zero to four year olds. This is also the age cohort in which we observe an increase of births to non-Irish mothers, which is certainly no coincidence. What this indicates is that religious diversity is likely to grow further, raising important issues regarding the provision of appropriate education.

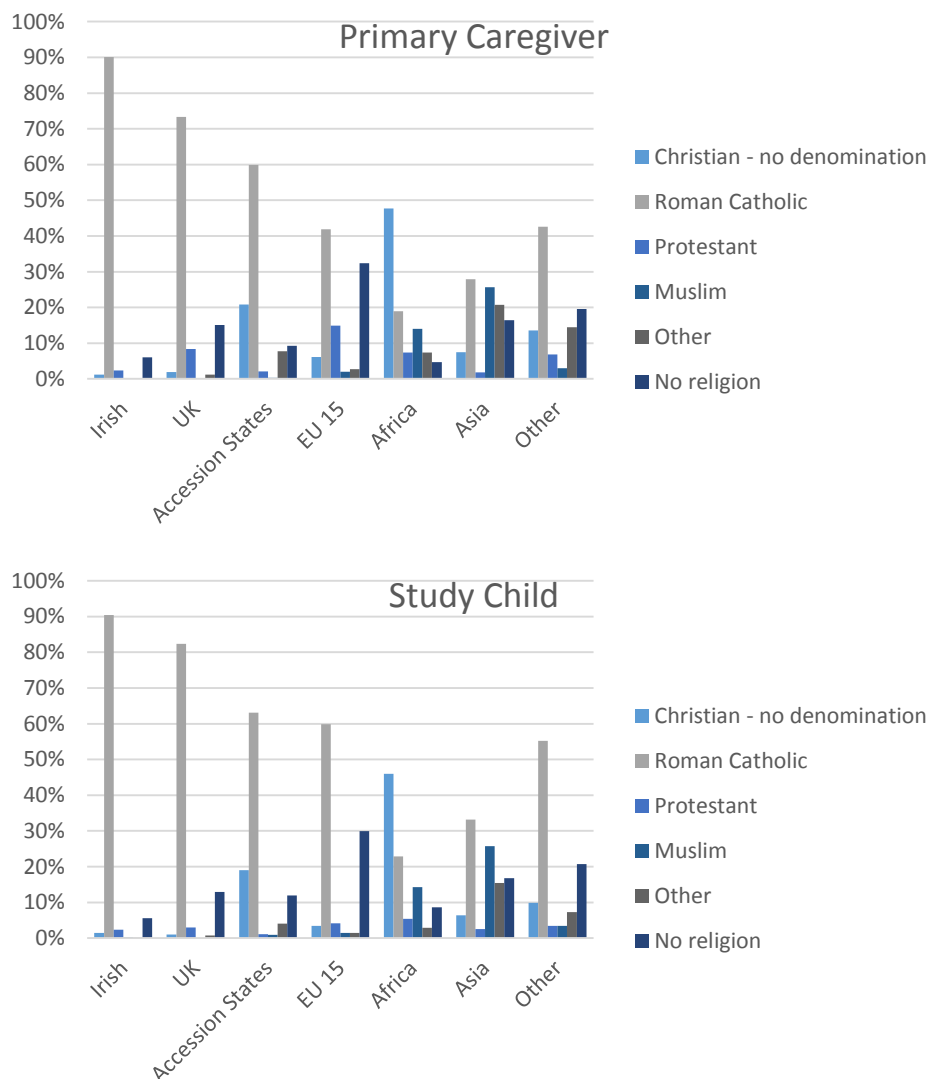
Figure 20 Proportion of Irish residents who do not belong to a religion or to a religion other than Catholic, Church of Ireland or Presbyterian



Source: Census 2011

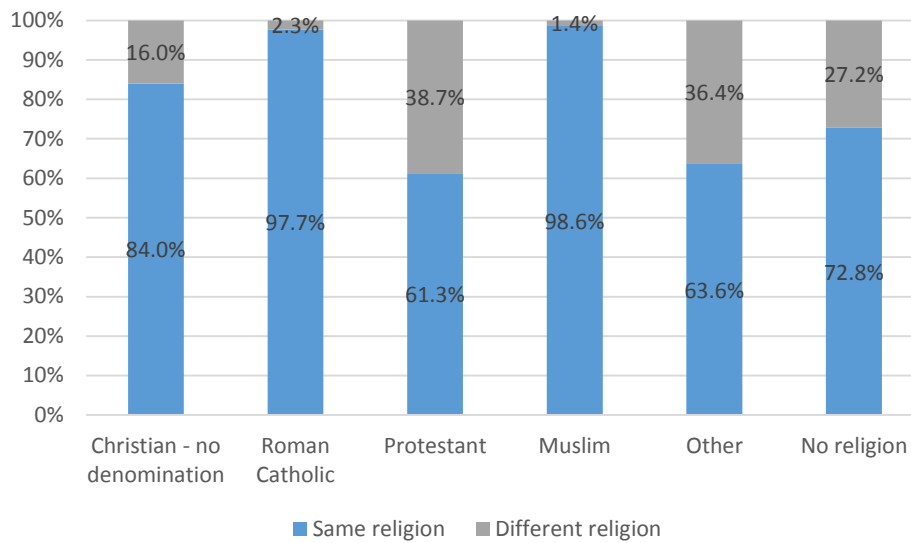
We can expect this growing religious diversity to be strongly reflected in our cohort of young parents. Returning to the GUI cohort, Figure 21 shows the religious denomination of all mothers and children separately. Roman Catholicism was the most common religion among all groups except for African, among whom 47.7% belonged to another Christian denomination. While 90.1% of Irish mothers were Roman Catholic, there was greater variety among migrant mothers. Excluding Irish mothers, the most common religion reported was again, Roman Catholic (58.1%), followed by Christian (13.8%), and no religion (12.5%). A further 5.8% were Muslim and 3.5% Protestant. A similar pattern was observed among the children.

Figure 21 Primary Caregiver and children's religion



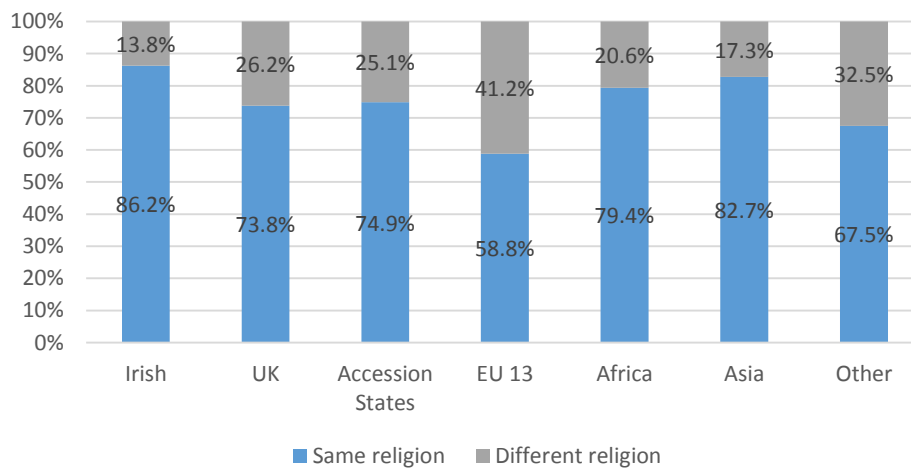
Looking at whether mothers passed on their religious denomination to their children, it was found that 93.5% did so. As shown in Figure 22, Roman Catholic and Muslim mothers were the most likely to pass their religious denomination their child with only 2.3% and 1.4% respectively not doing so. Protestants were the least likely group (61.3%) to assign their child their religious denomination. Taking this group as an example, we found that children born to Protestant mothers whose child was not also reported to be Protestant (n=138) were most likely to be Roman Catholic or of no religion.

Figure 22 Percentage of mothers and children with the same religion



Further analysis showed that in 37.1% of cases where the child’s religion was different than that of the mother, the child also had a different religious denomination than their father, with 59.2% of these children reported to be of no religion. A majority of parental couples (83.5%) reported belonging to the same religious denomination. Primary Caregivers from the EU-13 member states were the least likely to belong to the same religion as their partner with 41.2% reported to have a different religious affiliation than their partner (Figure 23).

Figure 23 Percentage of mothers and fathers with the same religion



### 3.2.3 Language spoken in the home

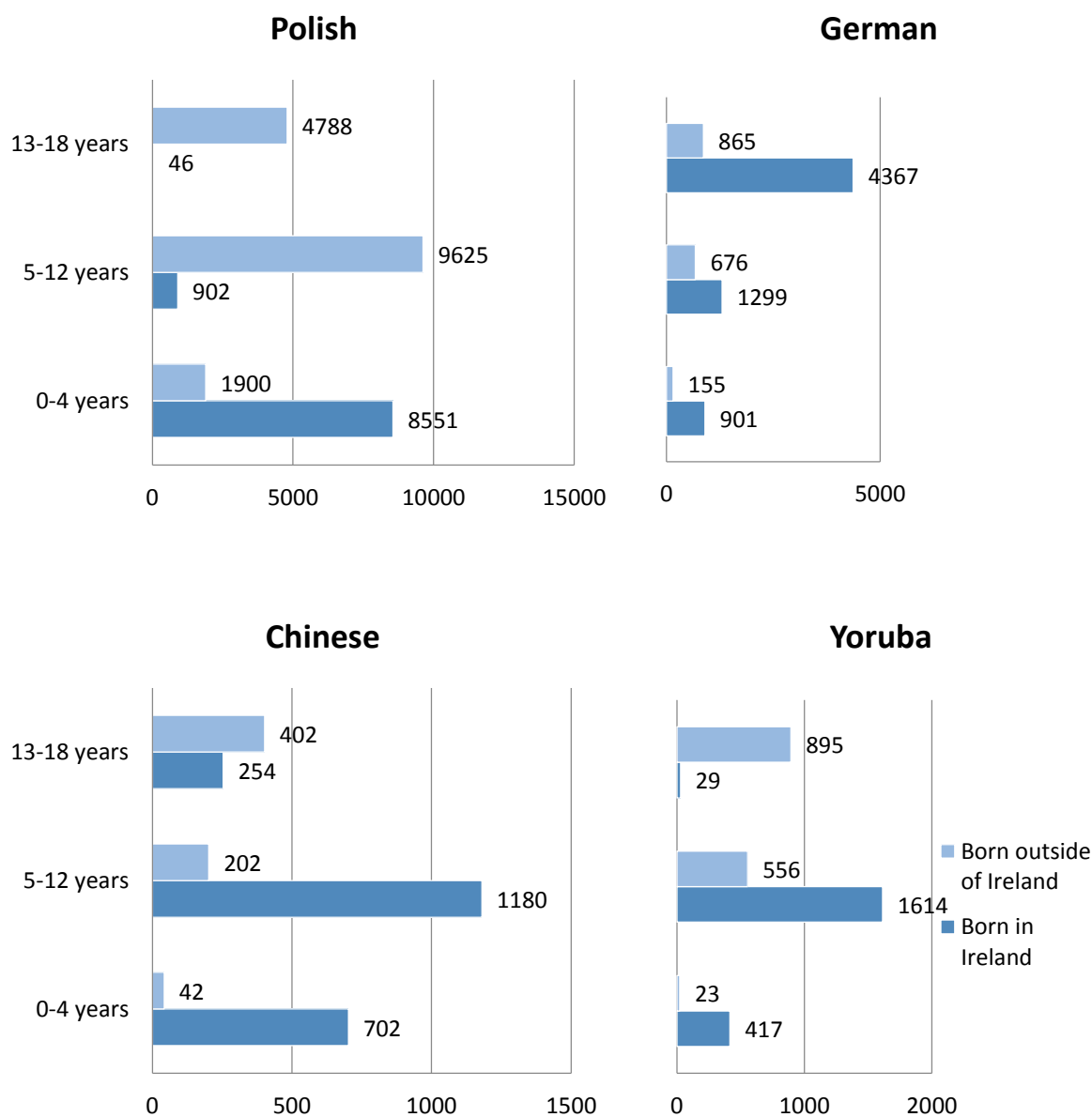
Internationally, it has been found that few immigrant children speak exclusively in their heritage language with most conversing with their parents in the language of the destination country (UNICEF 2009). Fluency in the language of the country of residence is an important factor for integration and an important determinant of the lives of migrants more generally (Molcho et al. 2011). For children, it is sometimes equally important that adults living in their households are also proficient in the language of their destination country if the advantages conferred by doing so are to be realised. For example, a number of studies from the United States have shown that children may be exposed to increased levels of stress if they have to act as intermediaries between adult family members and professional agencies such as schools or health professionals (see for example Hernandez et al. 2008). For these reasons, language spoken at home is a further interesting and important aspect.

Census 2011 statistics allow us to gain an idea of the scale of this phenomenon, and – unlike the specific cohort in the GUI data that will be presented later – can inform us of numbers in different age groups. Figure 24 shows the numbers of children in different age groups based on the most common languages reported for each region of interest: Polish as an example of Accession State migrants, German as an example of migration from the ‘old’ EU, Chinese as an example of Asian migration and Yoruba as an African-origin language<sup>4</sup>. Amongst the Polish speakers, the vast majority of school age children were born abroad, while a large proportion of preschoolers were born in Ireland. This huge change illustrates the very strong cohort effect explained above in relation to the time of arrival of many migrants from Poland and their specific age profile. The German speakers, on the other hand, show a quite different pattern: in each age cohort, more children were born in Ireland, and relatively few migrated from elsewhere. Amongst Chinese and Yoruba speakers, the large number of Irish-born children is observable in both the pre-school and the primary school cohort, whereas amongst the older children of secondary school age more were born abroad than in Ireland.

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<sup>4</sup> French is spoken at home by more people than German; however, it is also a language spoken more widely globally and can therefore not be allocated as closely to a specific region of origin. While migrants from the Philippines make up a larger share of the population than Chinese migrants, the diversity of languages spoken by its’ inhabitants means that numbers were too small to be listed separately. Arabic is spoken in a large region, so that Yoruba, primarily spoken in parts of Nigeria, serves as a better example of an African language, although more people report speaking Arabic.

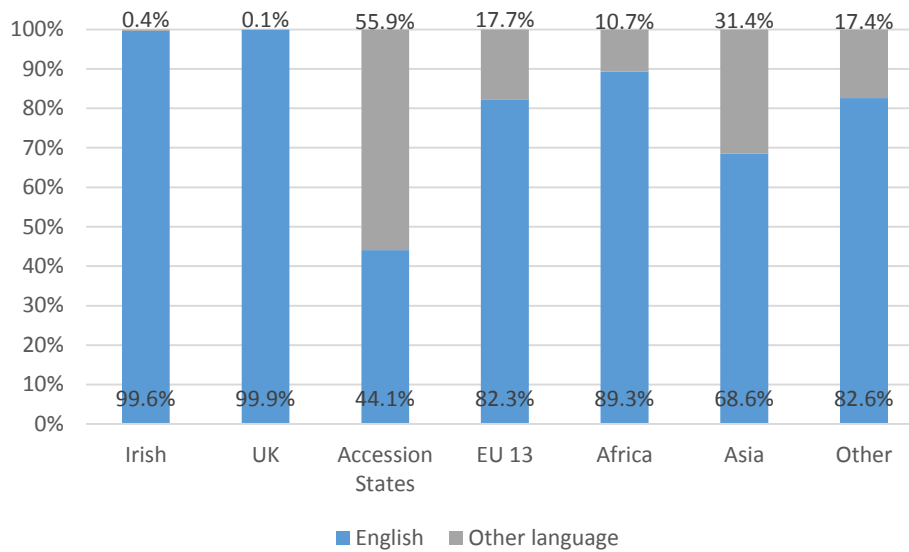
Figure 24 Children who speak a language other than Irish or English at home



Source: Census 2011

The information from the Census, shown in Figure 24, provides information on the number of children speaking a particular language at home. This is much more likely to be the case if both parents speak the same language, or in lone parent households. However, this information is unlikely to include many children growing up in mixed households, which the GUI data allows us to examine in more detail. Turning to the GUI sample, we see in Figure 25, that more than half (55.9%) of the households in which the Primary Caregiver was from an EU Accession State spoke a language other than English in the home. Asian mothers were the next most likely group among whom English was not the main spoken language in the home (31.4%), followed by those from EU-13 and African countries.

Figure 25 Language spoken to study child in the home

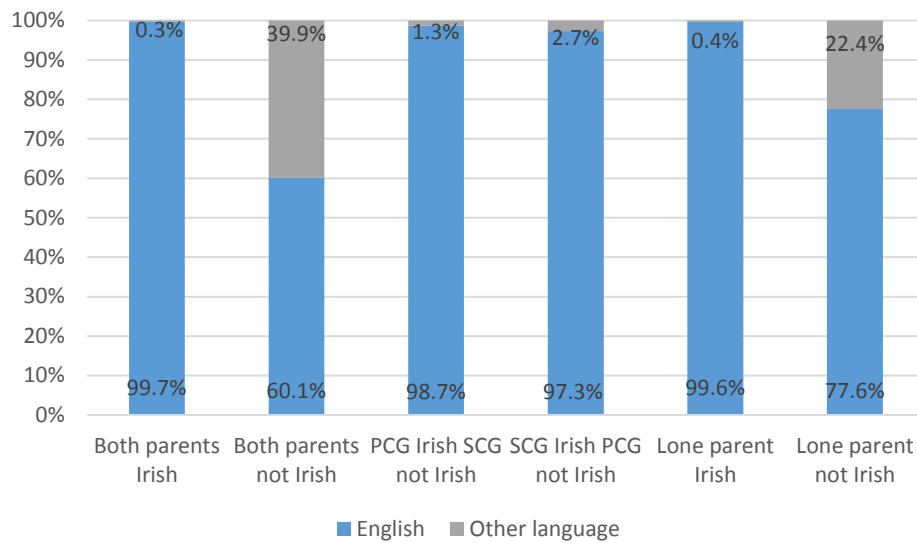


Among households where English was not the language spoken at home, it was possible to examine what the main language spoken was. Among households where the Primary Caregiver was from one of the EU Accession States and English was not the main language spoken in the home, the most commonly spoken languages were Polish (66.2%), Lithuanian (17.2%), Russian (8.7%), and Romanian (5%). In households where the Primary Caregiver was born in Africa, the most common spoken languages in non-English speaking households were French (57.5%), Arabic (36.3%), and Portuguese (7.1%). Chinese (74.4%) was the main non-English language spoken in households where the Primary Caregiver was from Asia. In a small number of these households, Arabic and Spanish were spoken.

Figure 26, below, shows the percentage of households that speak English or another language in the home, disaggregated according to the migrant status of pairs of parents and lone parents in households where the partner was not present. In all households in which at least one parent was born in Ireland, English was the dominant language. The highest percentage (39.9%) of households in which English was not spoken in the home were those where neither parents were Irish. In mixed relationships, that is households wherein one parent was Irish and the other not, English was almost exclusively the main language spoken to the infants in their homes. In cases where the Primary Caregiver was Irish and the Secondary not Irish, 1.3% did not speak to the child in English. Where the Secondary Caregiver was Irish and Primary Caregiver not, 2.7% spoke a language other than English. Among non-Irish lone parent families, 22.4% spoke a language other than English in the home.



Figure 26 Parental migration status dyads and language spoken to study child in the home



It is not clear whether the preference for speaking in a parents’ native language will continue as the children get older. There are a number of reasons why some groups tend to speak their native language in the home. One explanation could be low levels of English speaking skills. Alternatively, it might indicate that they intend re-locating to their home country as some point. Another possible reason may be that parents wish to maintain and transmit to their children a strong sense of their cultural heritage which might be eroded if their children cannot communicate in their native tongue. As well as potentially impacting on children’s integration, English language skills are also important for their transition to primary level education. However, it will be possible to examine if this is the case using information from the later rounds of data collection when the children are three years of age, and importantly when they are five years of age, which is the age at which children begin their primary education.

### 3.3 Chapter summary

In this Chapter, we provided details on the composition of migrant families who participated in the GUI survey. Information was also presented that highlights the heterogeneity of these households in terms of citizenship, ethnicity, religion and language.

While the age distribution of the mothers interviewed were broadly similar, we found that mothers from EU Accession States were on average younger than their peers. Similar to the wider trend of migration to Ireland, length of residence differed noticeably between groups, with Asian and EU Accession State migrants being comparatively more recent arrivals. In contrast, mothers who were born in the United Kingdom tended to have lived in Ireland for more than ten years.

The proportion of mothers who were married was similar across the groups, with the exception of Asians where it was much higher than average. However, when we examined whether there was a partner living in the household, a notable number of African households consisted of a single parent. While data limitations meant were unable to fully explain this anomaly, we suggested that migrant family reunification policies may play a part and discuss this further in Chapter 6.

Typically, households consisted of four persons with African households tending towards a larger size. In terms of inter-cultural relationships, a large number of mothers from the U.K. and EU-13 member states were in a relationship with an Irish partner. Mothers from the other groups largely had partners from countries within the same nationality group, and for most groups this proportion was even lower for fathers.

A sizeable proportion of the parents interviewed did not have Irish citizenship. This proportion with Irish citizenship was particularly low among those from EU Accession States which most likely reflects their recent arrival and the fact that as members of the EU Irish citizenship is not a prerequisite to participation in the labour force or access to public services. Despite the fact that since 2005, children born to immigrant parents in Ireland are not automatically entitled to Irish citizenship, a large majority of the infants included here did have Irish citizenship. Children in households from the EU Accession States were an exception to this but given the limited information available to us from GUI, the reasons for this are unclear but as with parents from these countries may stem from their parents' recent arrival in Ireland and the limited additional benefits which citizenship conveys on EU migrants.

Turning to ethnic and cultural diversity among the families, 94.4% of mothers were white ethnic background. Of the African mothers sampled, three quarters were black ethnicity while 89.3% of Asians were of Asian ethnicity. There was a great deal of variety in the religious denominations of mothers with Roman Catholic the most common. Most were found to have passed on their religious denomination to their child. A large majority of the families communicated in English although more than half of the families from the EU Accession States spoke mainly in their native language with Polish the most commonly spoken one. The likelihood of speaking English in the home was greatest in parental partnerships where at least one partner was Irish.

## Chapter 4: Socio-economic background and housing

In this section, the socio-demographic characteristics as well as housing situation of the families are described. While not all migrants are lower skilled, first generation immigrants, especially from less prosperous countries, often find it difficult to translate their skills gained in the origin country into labour market success in the host country. With time and effort, they can recoup at least some of the losses made during migration (Chiswick et al. 2005). Their children typically achieve better positions, and make the move into the mainstream of society (Alba and Nee 2003). However, this process may not follow a straight line for all migrant groups, is dependent on the social and economic capital of the parents, the ethnic group they belong to and the circumstances in the host society (see for example Portes et al. 2005; Vermeulen 2010). Growing up in disadvantaged areas puts migrant children at particular risk of downward assimilation (Portes et al. 2005). While the children in the study here are still very young, it is increasingly understood that early life circumstances are highly influential for later outcomes (Heckman 2006), so that it is crucial to understand the circumstances of their parents better.

### 4.1 Immigrant socio-economic status in Ireland

Before analysing our cohort of young families, this section provides some background to migration to Ireland that is relevant to the situation of different migrant groups within the labour market. Selective migration policies and the opening of the labour market to EU Accession State members play a large role in understanding the different socio-economic profile of these groups. A body of literature examines the occupations and incomes of migrants, which serves to contextualise the situation of the cohort examined here specifically.

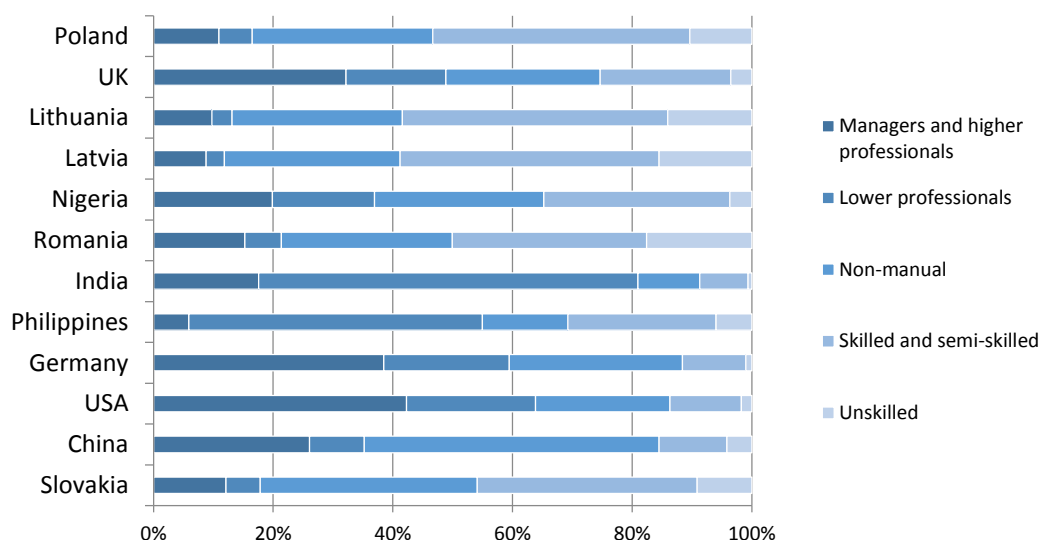
#### 4.1.1 Background to labour market integration in Ireland

In the case of Ireland, it is important to consider that intra-European migrants have free access to the labour market, and that this has also applied to migrants from EU Accession States since 2004. Migrants from outside of Europe who do not fall into the category of company transfers or those that have Irish ancestors generally arrive via work permit schemes or as asylum seekers. As the latter prohibits work until refugee status is confirmed – a process that can take many years - it has a scarring effect on the labour market participation of those affected. This, together with high levels of reported discrimination, has often been cited as a main reason for the lower labour market participation of Africans in particular (O'Connell and McGinnity 2008). Work permits are issued to migrants who work in areas of skill shortages, although in reality many were also given out to migrants employed in low-skilled service occupations, such as catering and agriculture. This changed in 2004 when the new accession states joined the European Union and could access the Irish labour market. The work permit scheme was consequently tightened, although most permits continue to be for the service sector, though increasingly in the area of medical and nursing and less in catering and agriculture (Ruhs 2009). A further large group of immigrants are students, either full degree, visiting or language students, who come to Ireland to study English and often work part-time to finance their stay.

#### 4.1.2 Migrant advantage and disadvantage

There are some groups of migrants that are quite advantaged in the labour market, particularly those from English speaking countries outside of Europe and those from Western Europe (Barrett and McCarthy, 2007; O’Connell and McGinnity, 2008). Figure 27 presents Census statistics to illustrate that for example US, U.K., and Germans citizens are frequently found in managerial and professional jobs, and rarely perform unskilled work. Migrants from non-European countries are not as advantaged as these groups, but have relatively high proportions of people working in managerial and especially lower professional jobs, particularly amongst Indians and Filipinos. Chinese migrants are overrepresented both amongst professionals and amongst non-manual service jobs, while Nigerians are distributed more evenly across all occupational groups. However, Eastern Europeans are the group that shows the most distinctive pattern: while they are well educated on average, they are frequently employed below their formal qualification level (Barret et al. 2006). Again, this is illustrated in Figure 27, where for example Poles, Lithuanians, Latvians, Romanians and Slovaks are disproportionately found in non-manual service jobs or in skilled and semi-skilled manual work, and perform unskilled work more often than other groups.

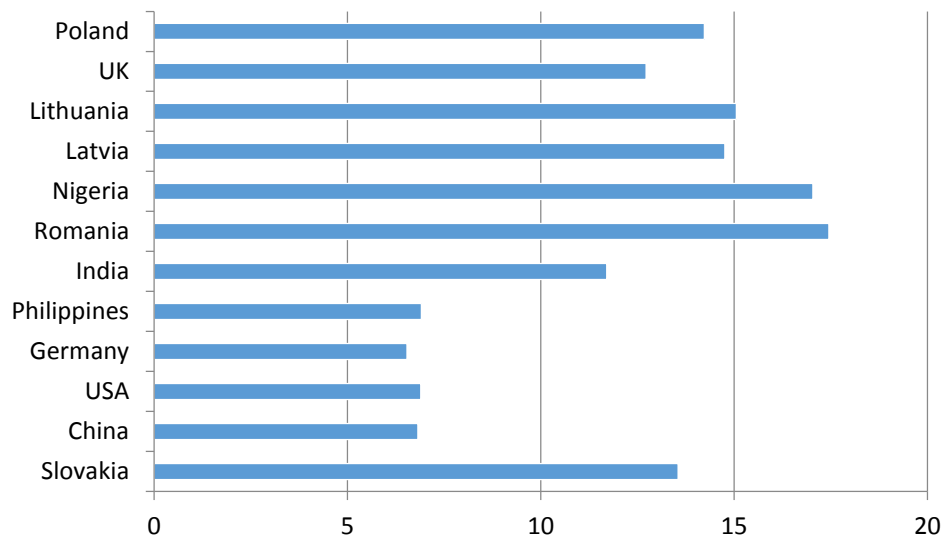
Figure 27 Proportions of migrants by socio-economic group



Source: Census 2011; excluding other and unknown occupations

Other research shows that this group also tend to earn less than their native peers (Barret and McCarthy 2007; O’Connell and McGinnity 2008), and there is little evidence for improvement in labour market outcomes with longer residence (Barret and Duffy 2008), which may have partly to do with the onset of the recession in the meantime (Mühlau 2012) or indeed be a symptom of a segmentation particularly of Eastern European workers into low skilled service sector jobs (Favell 2008). As shown in Figure 28, immigrants, especially from EU Accession States, also have a higher risk of unemployment and were particularly hard hit by the economic recession, having been overrepresented in sectors like construction and manufacturing that were the most strongly affected by the downturn (CSO 2010).

Figure 28 Percentage unemployed amongst largest migrant groups



Source: Census 2011

#### 4.1.3 Household social class

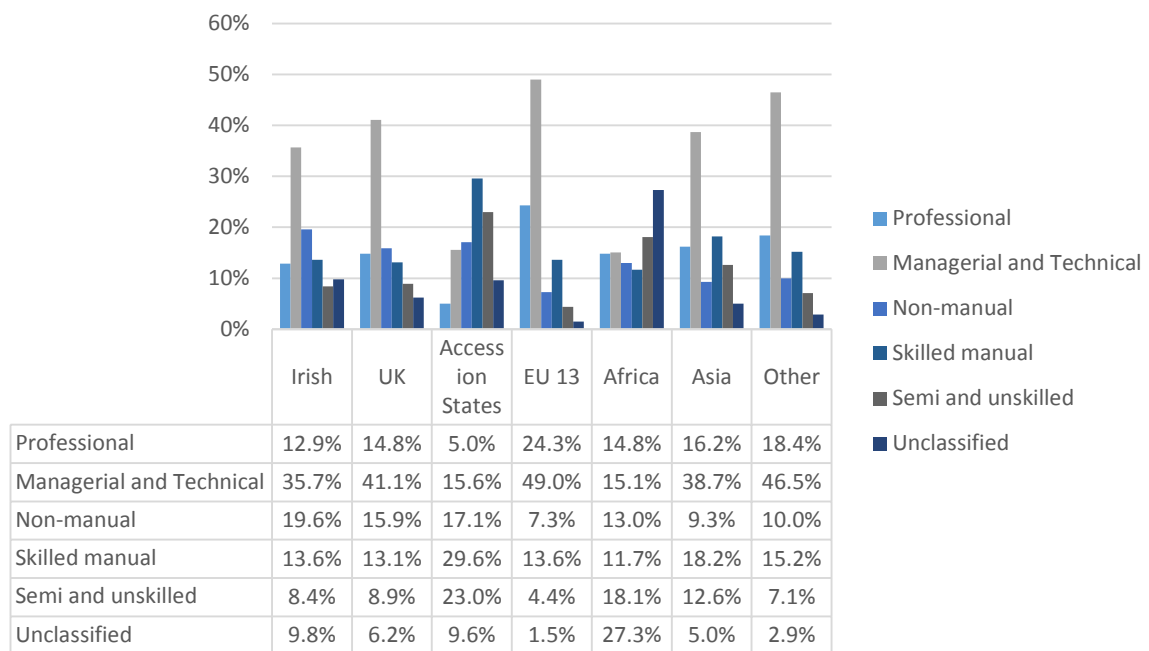
Turning to the GUI cohort, it is firstly important to describe how the social class classification system used here was constructed. The categorisation used here is that of the Central Statistics Office (2006) which is coded using the International Standard Classification of Occupations 1988 (ISCO88). Under this schema, individuals are grouped together according to their level of occupational skill, and the social standing in which an occupation is held within the community on a scale ranging from one to seven, with one indicating the highest or most advantageous social class. While higher level professional and managerial occupations are generally characterised by high levels of autonomy, better working conditions, and greater reward, lower level occupations are typically characterised by routine tasks and closer supervision. The six categories used here for classification are: professional workers, managerial and technical, non-manual, skilled manual, semi- and un-skilled, and a residual category containing all others gainfully occupied and unknown. In the current study, the semi- and un-skilled groups have been merged together due to the comparatively small number of individuals in both groupings. A dominance procedure was then used to establish household social class whereby in families with two economically active adults the household social class assigned to the household was that of the higher of the two. In single adult households the social class presented is that of the Primary Caregiver.

A key premise of this classification system is that the groupings refer to employment relations and conditions. It does not explicitly take into account education or income although both are highly correlated with social class. As such, social class as it is understood here is primarily a measure of social status rather than living conditions or economic status.

There were significant differences between the groups in the proportion of families classified as belonging to each social class group. As shown in Figure 29, households from the EU-13 member states were over-represented in the higher social classes, while those from EU Accession States were mostly found in the skilled, semi-, and un-skilled classes. Families where at least one parent was born in one of the EU-13 member states were more likely than the other groups to be in the

professional (24.3%) or managerial and technical group (49.0%). Households in the EU Accession States group were more likely than those from other groups to be classified in the skilled manual group (29.6%), or semi- and un-skilled group (23.0%). They were the least likely group to belong to the professional social class (5.0%). Almost one third of African households (27.3%) were included in the unclassified social class group which includes those not economically active and also those for whom there was not enough information to classify them in one of the other groups. In general, we found that the distribution of social class was broadly similar for Irish and U.K. households.

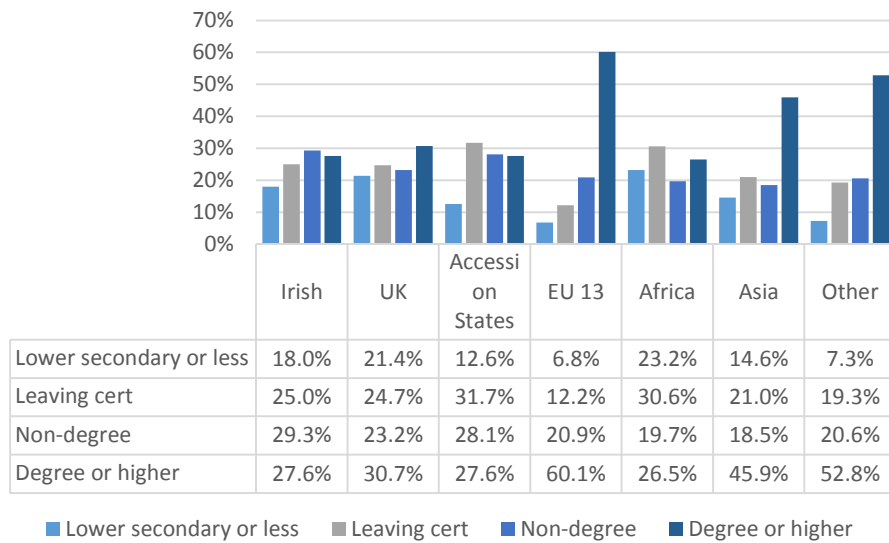
Figure 29 Household social class



#### 4.1.4 Education level of Primary Caregivers

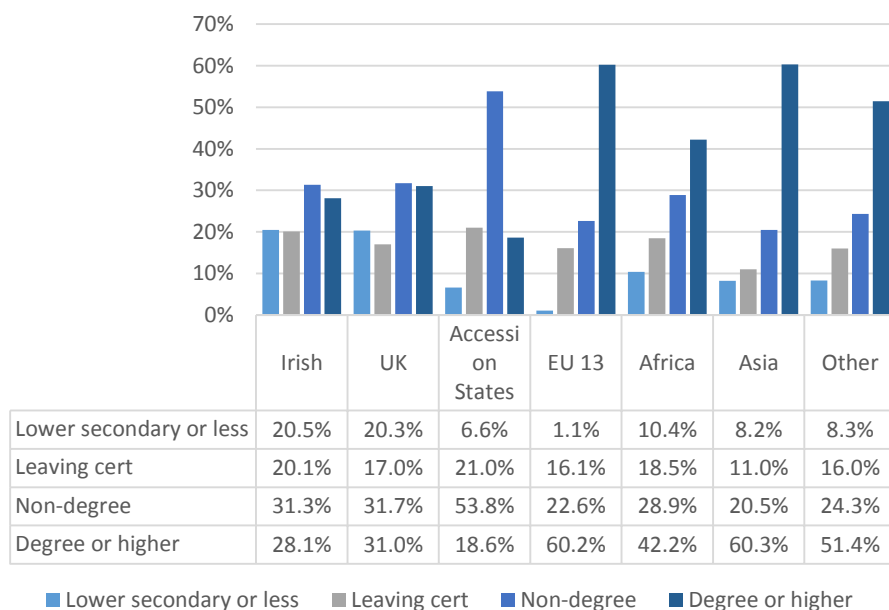
Among the current sample, it was generally found that migrants were more likely than their Irish peers to have a third level qualification, although Primary Caregivers from Africa had lower overall levels of educational attainment. Figures 30 and 31 show the percentage of Primary and Secondary Caregivers who completed each level of education. Higher educational attainment was observed among Primary Caregivers from EU-13 countries and Asia in particular. Overall, 17.6% of Primary Caregivers left full-time education before entering the Leaving Certificate cycle. One-in-four (25.2%) completed the Leaving Certificate or its equivalent, while 28.0% had non-degree third level education, with the remaining 29.2% having obtained a degree level or higher third level accreditation. Lower rates of third level education were found among migrant Primary Caregivers from Africa with 46.2% having obtained some third level education. The largest proportion of third level degree education was found among those from EU-13 countries (60.1%) and Asia (52.8%).

Figure 30 Highest education level of Primary Caregivers



A similar pattern was observed in terms of the levels of education among Secondary Caregivers with the highest levels of education found among those from EU-13 countries and Asia. Overall, 18.6% of Secondary Caregivers left full-time education before entering the Leaving Certificate cycle. One-in-five (19.5%) completed the Leaving Certificate or its equivalent, while 32.1% had non-degree third level education, with the remaining 29.7% having obtained a degree level or higher third level accreditation. Secondary Caregivers from EU-13 member states and Asia, had the highest levels of educational attainment with 82.8% and 80.8% respectively having completed some third level education. The lowest rate of third level education was observed among Irish (59.4%) and U.K. Secondary Caregivers (62.7%). More than half of the Secondary Caregivers from EU Accession States 53.8% had completed a non-degree third level education which includes vocational education.

Figure 31 Highest education level of Secondary Caregivers



#### 4.1.5 Matching educational and occupational achievement

Given that an individual's level of education is a key determinant of their occupation and that the social class classification system used here is based on occupation, there should be a strong correlation between level of education and social class, with higher education associated with higher social class. In order to test if the association between social class and education is similar among migrant and Irish participants, the correlation between social class and education were calculated separately for both groups. Among Irish Primary Caregivers 33% of the variation in social class was explained by educational level ( $r_s=0.57$ ;  $n=8661$ ;  $<0.001$ ). The association between social class and education was weaker among non-Irish Primary Caregivers ( $r_s=0.46$ ;  $n=2402$ ;  $<0.001$ ) with 21% of the variation in social class explained by education. The weakest correlation between education and social class was found among Primary Caregivers from EU Accession States ( $r_s=0.29$ ;  $n=665$ ;  $<0.001$ ), which only explains 17% of the variation and provides evidence of a greater mismatch between education and social class among this group.

A similar pattern of results was observed when the association between household social class and the Secondary Caregivers level of education was examined. Again, the association between education and social class was higher among those born in Ireland ( $r_s=0.51$ ;  $n=6709$ ;  $<0.001$ ) versus those born elsewhere ( $r_s=0.44$ ;  $n=1717$ ;  $<0.001$ ). Again, the weakest correlation was found among Secondary Caregivers born in EU Accession States ( $r_s=0.26$ ;  $n=450$ ;  $<0.001$ ).

#### 4.1.6 Household equivalised income

The income measure used here was equivalised or weighted to account for differences in the size and composition of each household. This procedure was carried out by the *Growing Up in Ireland* study team at the ESRI using the modified Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD<sup>5</sup>) equivalence scale. A weight of one was applied to the first adult household member, 0.66 to each subsequent adult (aged 14+ years living in the household), and 0.33 to each child aged less than 14 years. These weights were then summed to produce the households' equivalised size, that is, the size of the household in adult equivalents. Household equivalised income was then calculated as disposable income divided by equivalised household size, where disposable income is gross income less statutory deductions for income tax and social insurance contributions<sup>6</sup>.

The average household equivalised income was €21,451 (CI<sub>.95</sub>=€21,199-€21,702). The values for income were grouped into quintiles for ease of interpretation in the analysis that follows. For clarity, only the percentage numbers for the lowest and highest equivalised household income quintiles are

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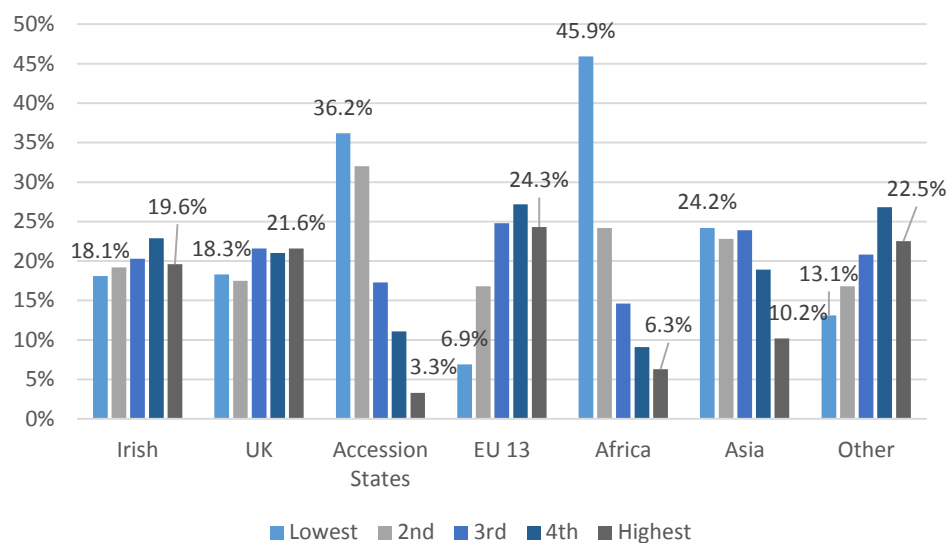
<sup>5</sup>Available at [www.oecd.org/eco/growth/OECD-Note-EquivalenceScales.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/eco/growth/OECD-Note-EquivalenceScales.pdf) [Accessed May 2014]

<sup>6</sup> There was no income information available for 7.8% ( $n=864$ ) of the sample. To address this, income values for the missing cases were imputed using the Multiple Imputation UVIS program implemented in Stata by Royston (2004). Imputation was based on the highest level of education of both the Primary and Secondary Caregivers; household social class; mother's age; housing tenure; the smoking status of the Primary Caregiver; whether or not the Primary Caregiver was born in Ireland; the principal economic status of both the Primary and Secondary Caregivers; and finally household composition. In cases where there was no information on the Secondary Caregiver, the imputation was calculated on the items pertaining to Primary Caregivers only. This procedure resulted in 396 or 3.6% of the total sample having inadequate income information which led to their exclusion from subsequent analysis of household income.



shown in Figure 32. The distribution of household income for Irish families and those with at least one parent from the U.K. were evenly spread across the quintiles. Households with one or more parents from an EU Accession State were the least likely group to be in the highest income quintile at only 3.3%. Among this group more than one-third (36.2%) had an equivalised income in the lowest quintile. A similar income gradient was found among families with one or more parents from an African country. Among this group almost half (45.9%) were in the lowest quintile while only 6.3% had a household income in the highest quintile. Households with at least one parent from an EU-13 member state tended to have higher equivalised household incomes on average, with 24.3% of this group in the highest quintile and a high proportion also found in the second (27.2%) and third highest quintile (24.8%). Conversely, comparatively few of these households were in the lowest quintile (6.9%) for household equivalised income.

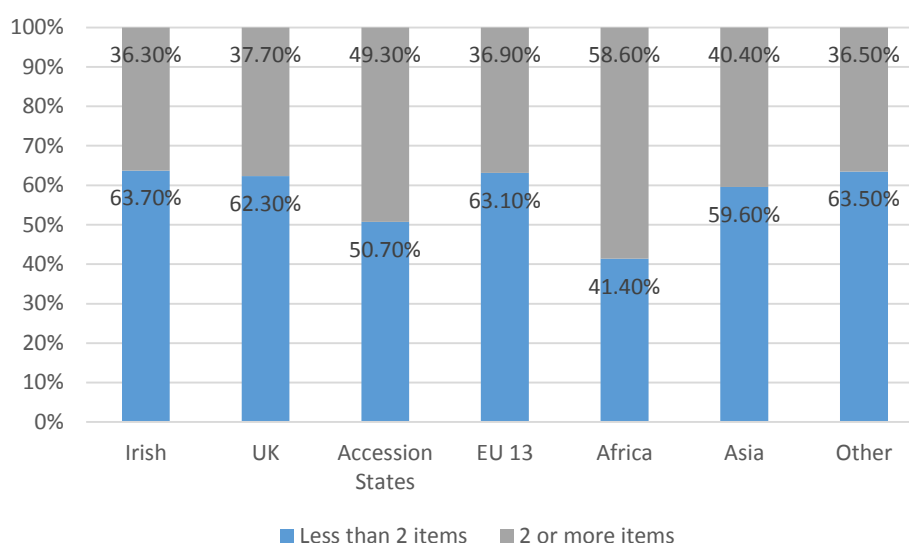
Figure 32 Percentage of households in each household equivalised income quintile by nationality group



#### 4.1.7 Basic Deprivation Scale

The basic deprivation scale used here (Whelan et al. 2007) constitutes a move away from other similar measures based solely on income in an attempt to capture the broader multi-dimensional aspects of deprivation. By taking this approach households are defined as deprived when they are considered marginalised on two aspects – income and basic deprivation. The multi-dimensional nature of the indicators included in the scale are clearly reflected in the domains from which information is captured including items related to food; heating; clothes; furniture; and being able to afford to engage in family and social life. Further information on the eleven items included in the scale and the method used to calculate scores for individual households are provided in Appendix 1. Among the current sample 38.3% of households were considered to experience basic deprivation.

Figure 33 Percentage of households reporting two or more items on the basic deprivation scale by nationality group



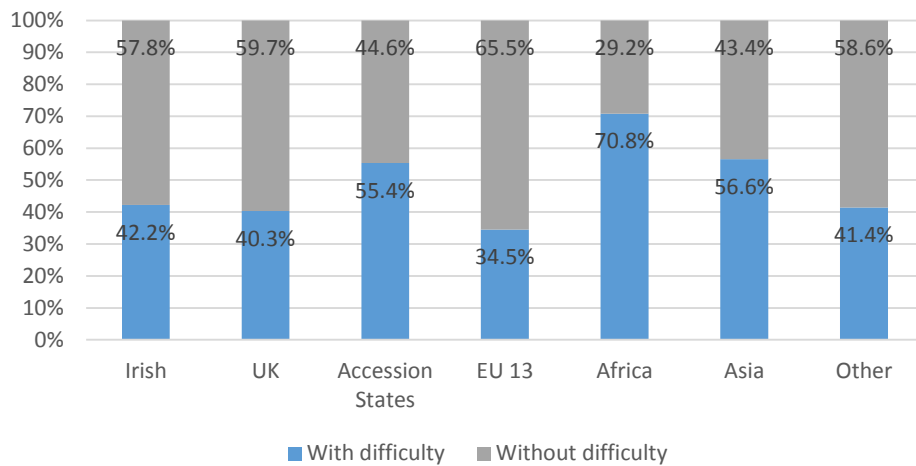
In terms of the basic deprivation construct used here, Irish households (36.3%) and those with at least one parent from the U.K. (37.7%) or EU-13 (36.9%) member states had a similar profile, with a little over one-third reporting not being deprived of two or more of the items included in the indicator. Asian families had slightly higher rates of deprivation, although the highest share of families defined as deprived were those with one or both parents from Africa (58.6%) and EU Accession States (49.3%).

#### 4.1.8 Making ends meet

Respondents were asked the degree to which they were able to make ends meet. Specifically, they were asked to respond to the statement: ‘A household may have different sources of income and more than one household member may contribute to it. Concerning your household’s total monthly or weekly income, with which degree of ease or difficulty is the household able to make ends meet?’ The response categories were: ‘with great difficulty’, ‘with difficulty’, ‘with some difficulty’, ‘fairly easily’, ‘easily’, and ‘very easily’. For analysis, these responses were re-grouped into two categories, ‘with difficulty’ and ‘without difficulty’.

Households with one or both parents from Africa reported the most difficulty in making ends meet with almost three-quarters of these households reporting at least some difficulty (70.8%). As shown in Figure 34, more than half of both Asian (56.6%) and EU Accession households (55.4%) also reported at least some difficulty making ends meet. Households with at least one parent from an EU-13 member state were again the most advantaged with 65.5% of this group reporting no difficulty making ends meet.

Figure 34 Difficulty making ends meet



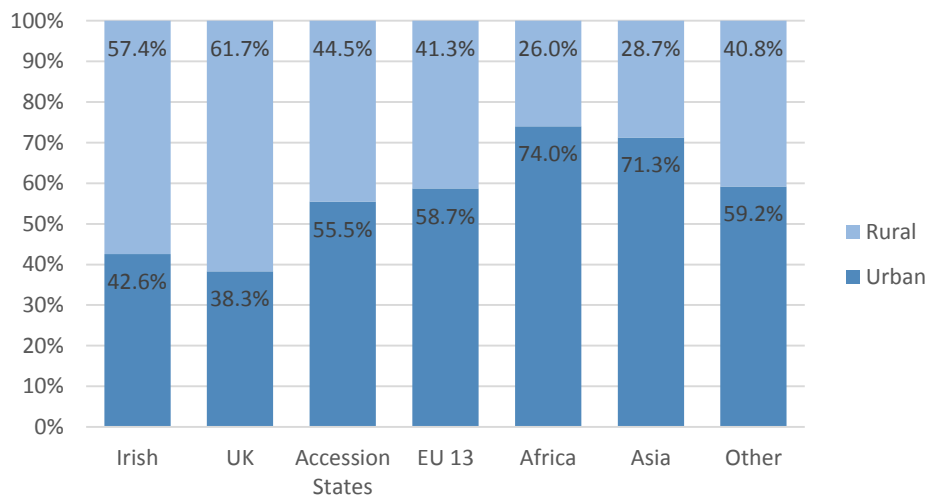
## 4.2 Where and how the families live

In this section, the regions where second generation children and their families live in Ireland are described. Information is also provided about the type of accommodation they live in, which is important to understand the kinds of places in which second generation children are growing up. This informs both provision of relevant services in the regions with the highest presence of migrant families, as well as pointing to potential disadvantages children are experiencing based on the housing situation of their families.

### 4.2.1 Regional distribution

Overall, 45.6% of the sample lived in urban areas. As shown in Figure 35, migrant households headed by at least one parent from the U.K. were more likely than Irish households to live in a rural area (61.7%). Households from each of the other nationality groups were more likely than their Irish peers to live in urban areas with African (74.0%) and Asian (71.3%) households in particular, concentrated in urban areas.

Figure 35 Percentage of households living in urban or rural locations



*Growing Up in Ireland* also recorded the location of households at the eight NUTS-III level regions. Details of the location of these regions are shown in Figure 36. These regions came into existence in 1994, under the Local Government Act 1991, and consist of geographic regions under the jurisdiction of three or more units of local government, that is, county and city councils. Each region falls under the remit of a Regional Authority which has responsibility for the delivery of EU structural funds and the co-ordination of the delivery of public services.

Figure 36 NUTS-III regions in the Republic of Ireland (Source: European Commission 2011)



The counties and cities, and percentage of the population<sup>7</sup> living in each region are provided in Table 4. The Dublin region, which contains Dublin City and its environs was the most populated region in the country with 26.4% of all births in 2008 residing there. The South-west region containing Cork City was the second most populated (14.1%). The least populated regions were the Midlands (6.3%) and Mid-West regions (8.4%).

Table 4 Details of NUTS-III regions in the Republic of Ireland

NUTS code	Name	Areas included	% of Population
IE011	Border	Cavan, Donegal, Leitrim, Louth, Monaghan, Sligo	11.2
IE013	West	Mayo, Roscommon, Galway and Galway City	9.5
IE012	Midlands	Laois, Longford, Offaly, Westmeath	6.3
IE022	Mid-East	Kildare, Meath, Wicklow	13.2
IE021	Dublin	Dún Laoghaire–Rathdown, Fingal, South Dublin and Dublin City	26.4
IE024	South-East	Carlow, Kilkenny, South Tipperary, Wexford, Waterford and Waterford City	10.8
IE025	South-West	Kerry, Cork and Cork City	14.1
IE023	Mid-West	Clare, North Tipperary, Limerick and Limerick City	8.4

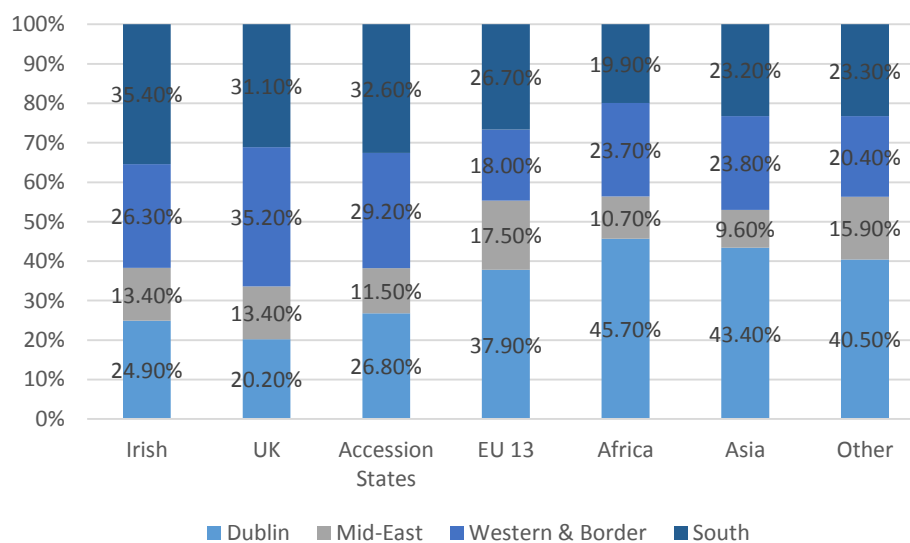
<sup>7</sup> Population refers to the 73,662 children born in 2008 and registered on the Child Benefit Register.

In order to adhere to the necessity to report cell sizes that are large enough to make identification of individual children or their families impossible, the eight regions have been collapsed into four groups. The four groups used for analysis purposes are:

- Dublin – includes the Dublin region;
- Mid-East – includes the Mid-East region which captures the main Dublin commuter belt;
- Western & Border – includes the Border, West, and Midlands regions;
- South – includes the South-East, South-West, and Mid-West regions.

Using these new categories, 26.5% of the households were located in Dublin, 13.2% in the Mid-East, 27.0% in the Western and Border region, and the remaining 33.4% lived in the South. Figure 37 shows the percentage of households living in each region broken down by the different household nationalities. Almost half of households with at least one parent from Africa (45.7%) or Asian (43.4%) lived in Dublin with a further 10.7% and 9.6% respectively, living in the surrounding Mid-East region. Households with at least one parent from EU Accession States were distributed quite evenly between Dublin (26.8%), the Western and Border region (29.2%), and the South (32.6%) which included Cork and Waterford cities. The remaining 11.5% of this group were lived in the Mid-East.

Figure 37 Location of households by Primary Caregiver birth region



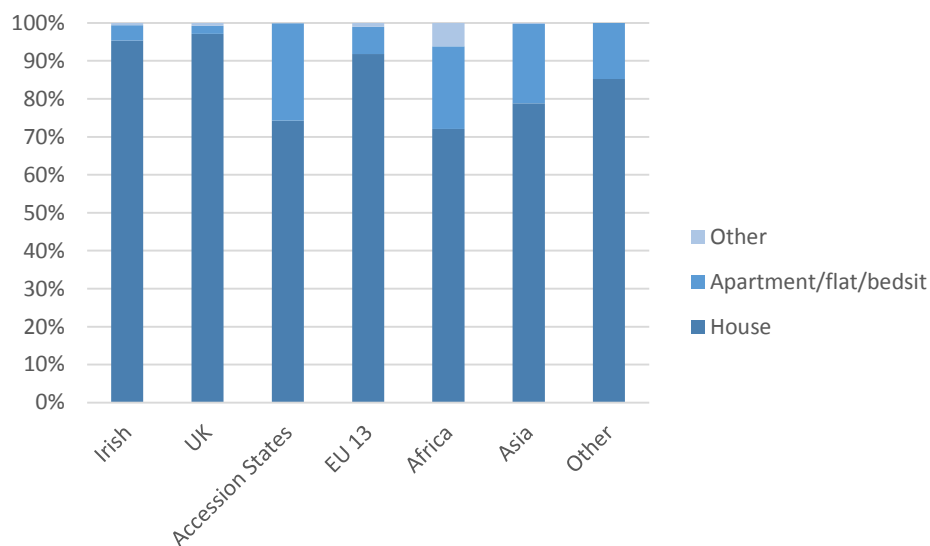
#### 4.2.2 Housing situation

In this section, details about the type of accommodation in which the households live are provided. In the period prior to the birth of the Study Children, Ireland was in the last throes of a property bubble which had seen unprecedented housing construction coupled with escalating housing costs. This led to concerns about the affordability of housing for both house purchasers and private renters (Downey 2005; Fahey 2004). In particular, increasing house prices during this period led to a situation whereby poorer and younger households found it difficult to access housing (Drudy and Punch 2005). The affordability of housing is also an important factor for new household formation with new families requiring somewhere to live (Fahey and Duffy 2007). Therefore the current cohort

of younger, oftentimes less economically advantaged households may have faced particular difficulties with regard to accessing suitable housing in which to raise a young family.

In terms of the type of accommodation the families from GUI lived in (Figure 38), it was found that 92.5% of the households lived in a house; 6.7% lived in an apartment, flat or bedsit; while the remainder lived in other types of accommodation which included caravans, asylum seeker accommodation, and other, non-defined types of housing. A sizeable proportion of households with at least one parent from an EU Accession State (25.6%) or Asia (20.9%) lived in an apartment, flat or bedsit. The most common type of accommodation other than a house was found among Africans with 21.8% living in an apartment, flat or bedsit, and a further 6.2% lived in asylum seeker accommodation or other. A similar proportion of households from Ireland (95.3%), the U.K. (97.2%), and EU-13 countries (91.8%) lived in houses.

Figure 38 Type of accommodation

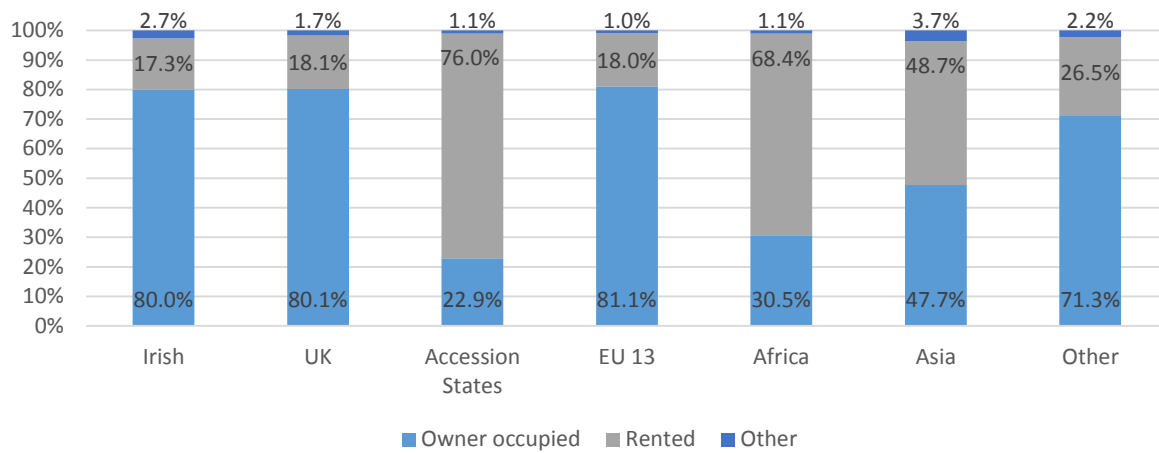


As well as the physical type of accommodation that the households lived in, it is also important to consider the nature of their occupancy, particularly given the comparatively high rates of owner-occupancy in Ireland and the long-term financial commitment required when purchasing a home. Equally, an important feature of renting in the private sector is its high cost with rents absorbing a large proportion of a households' net monthly income. An analysis in the early 2000s of the affordability of renting in the private sector showed that a greater proportion (28%) of those living in private rented accommodation spent in excess of one third of their net monthly income on rent alone. This compared to 6% of owners with a mortgage and only 1% of local authority tenants (Watson and Williams 2003).

Overall, 73.4% of the families lived in owner-occupied accommodation, 24.2% lived in rented accommodation, while a small number lived either with grandparents (rent free or paying rent), or in accommodation provided free of rent from an employer. As shown in Figure 39, the lowest rate of home ownership was found among households with at least one parent from an EU Accession State (22.9%) or Africa (30.5%). Even though Asian households were largely similar to the native population and those from EU-13 member states in terms of education and social class, among other characteristics, they were more likely than these groups to live in rented accommodation. Although

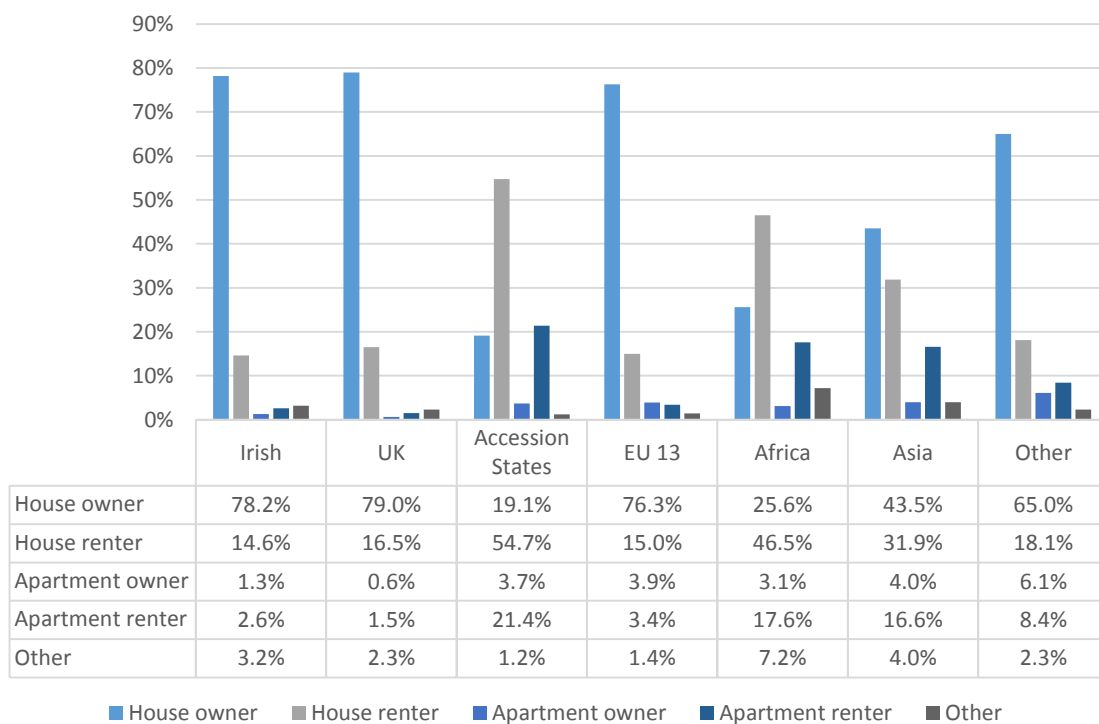
numbers are small, it is also noteworthy that this group were the most likely to have their accommodation provided rent free by an employer.

Figure 39 Occupancy type



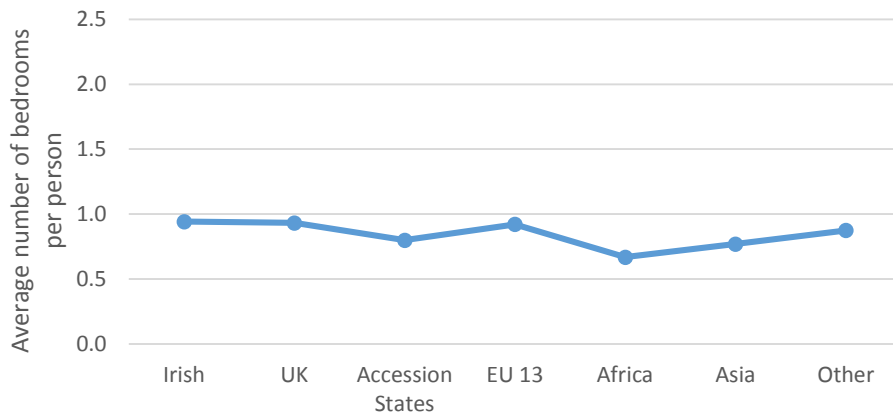
Overall, 71.2% of the total sample, owned their own house, while 19.2% rented a house. A small number (1.7%) of households owned their own apartment, with a further 4.8% living in apartments that were rented. When the nationality groups were compared (Figure 40), it was found that house ownership rates were lowest among those from EU Accession States (19.1%), Africa (25.2%), and Asia (43.5%). These same groups were the most likely to rent an apartment/flat/bedsit with 21.4% of households from EU Accession States doing so. Among African and Asian households the percentage was 17.6% and 16.6%, respectively.

Figure 40 Accommodation by occupancy type



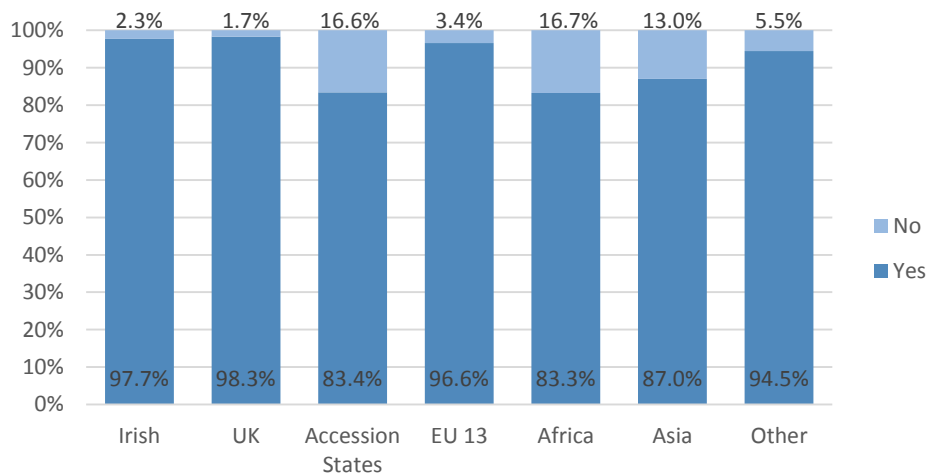
Two aspects of the type of accommodation in which the households live which may impact directly on the children’s quality of life as they grow older are the size of the accommodation and access to a garden or common space. To measure the size of the accommodation with reference to the number of people living in the household, the ratio of the number of bedrooms to the number of people living in the household was calculated. As shown in Figure 41, there was little difference between the groups in the average number of bedrooms per person living in the household. The households with the least number of bedrooms per person had 0.1 bedrooms per person, meaning that one bedroom was shared by ten people. At the upper end of the scale, a small number of households had 2.5 bedrooms per person. These households consisted of mother and child living in a five bedroom home. On average, households in which at least one parent was from an EU Accession State (0.80), Arica (0.67), and Asia (0.77), had less living space, than those from Ireland (0.94), the U.K. (0.93), and EU-13 member states (0.92).

Figure 41 Average number of bedrooms per person living in the household



The second aspect of the living conditions of the households surveyed was whether or not they had access to a garden or other common space. As shown in Figure 42, those households with the least access to a garden or common space were those where at least one parent was from Africa (16.7%), EU Accession States (16.6%), or Asia (13.0%).

Figure 42 Access to a garden or common space





### 4.3 Neighbourhoods and communities

The neighbourhood and communities in which migrant families live are important to their experience of living in the country. As well as determining their access to services such as healthcare and education, many of their interactions with non-family members occur within their local environment. The importance of characteristics of the local environment has recently received more attention in research literature. This reflects a greater awareness of the potential impact that a broad range of physical and social environmental factors may have on the lives of both adults and children. These characteristics include, not only to access to local services, but also to neighbourhood norms such as collective efficacy social norms (Cohen et al. 2006; Grow et al. 2010; Williams et al. 2011).

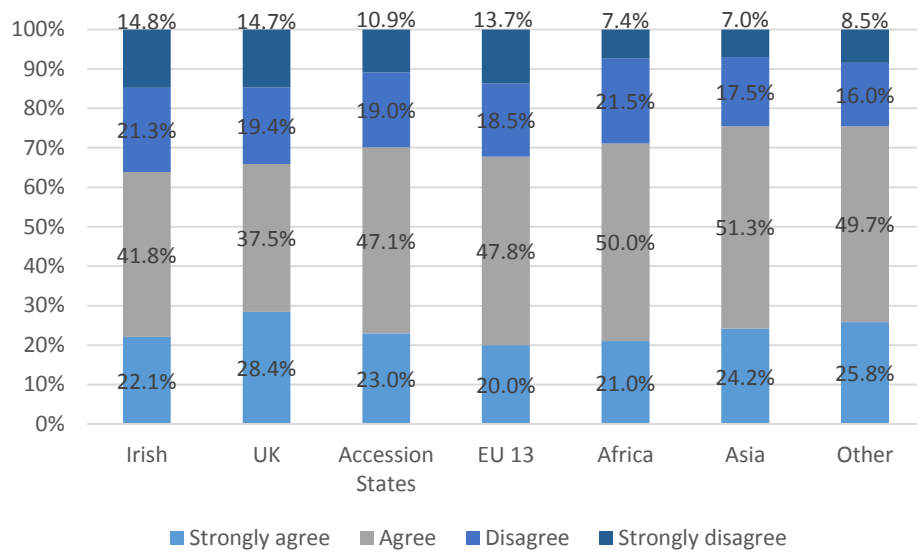
As the children in the GUI study get older, the neighbourhoods and communities in which they live will become increasingly important, in particular with regard to their forming friendships and peer relationships. There are both direct and indirect mechanisms by which the lives of children and their families may be impacted by the local environment. The physical environment may impact directly on the quality of life of families, through both its perceived safety and access to resources such as areas for play and institutional and community services. The nature of the local environment may also impact on children's lives indirectly as it is here that social norms will be learned. Also, for first and second generation migrants, the nature of the neighbourhood in which they live may play an important role in their integration within the local community and wider society in which they now find themselves.

Given the importance of the local neighbourhood and community introduced above, this section focuses on a number of aspects of where the families of second generation infants live. The section begins by describing the availability of safe areas for children to play. The second part looks at the availability of local services, while the section concludes with a description of respondents' satisfaction in their local community and available familial supports.

#### 4.3.1 Neighbourhood safety for children

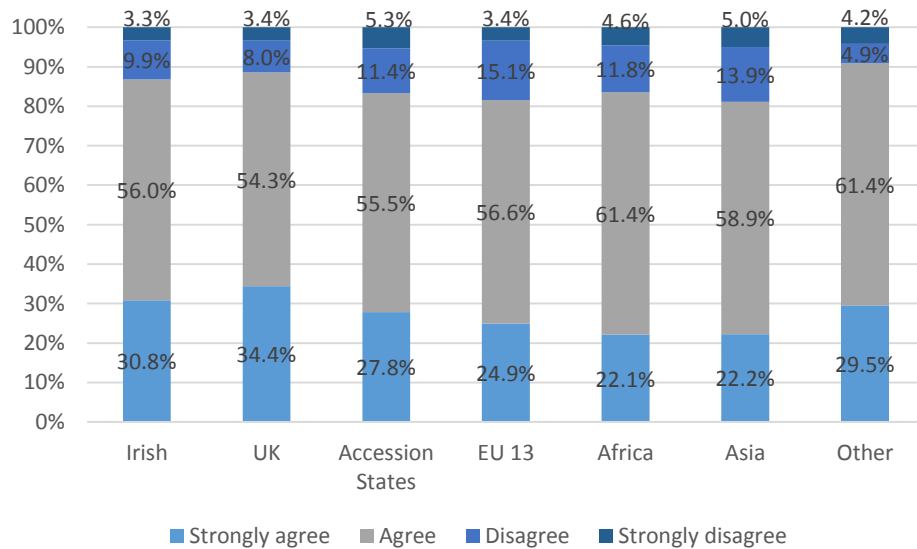
Primary Caregivers were asked whether they agreed that there were safe parks, playgrounds and play spaces in their local area. While the infants were only nine-months-old at time of interview, the availability of accessible safe areas in which to play will become increasingly important as they grow up and begin interacting independently with the environment beyond their home. Overall, almost two-thirds (65.5%) of Primary Caregivers either strongly agreed or agreed that there were safe parks, playgrounds and play spaces in their neighbourhood (Figure 43). The group most likely to report that this was not the case were Irish households (36.1%). Households with at least one parent from Asia were most likely to strongly agree or agree that there were safe play areas in their neighbourhood (75.5%).

Figure 43 Availability of safe parks, playgrounds and play spaces in the neighbourhood



The infants' Primary Caregivers were also asked if they agreed that it was safe for children to play outside during the day (Figure 44). Here, more than 80% of each group either agreed or agreed strongly that it was safe for children to play outside in their neighbourhood during the day. Primary Caregivers from households with one or more parents from Asia (18.9%) or EU-13 member states were most likely to report that it was not safe for children to do so.

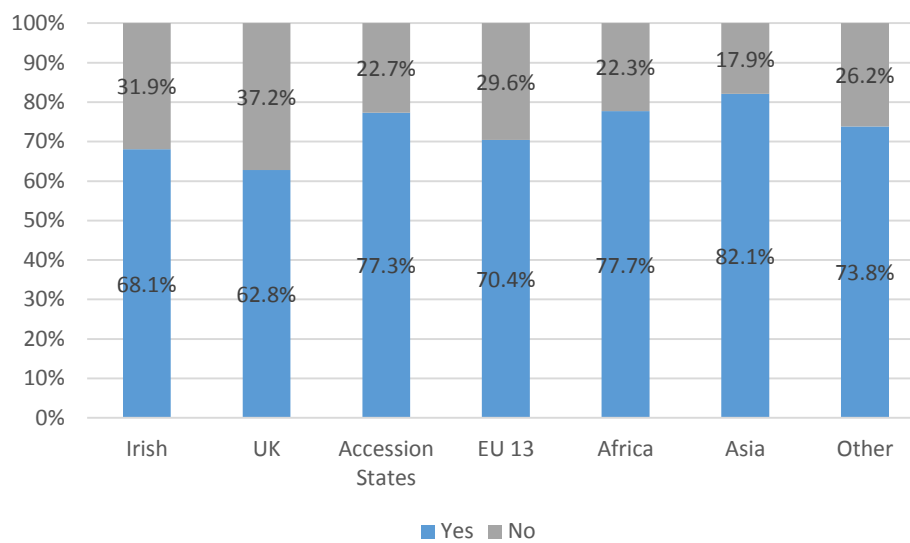
Figure 44 Safe for children to play outside during the day



### 4.3.2 Local services

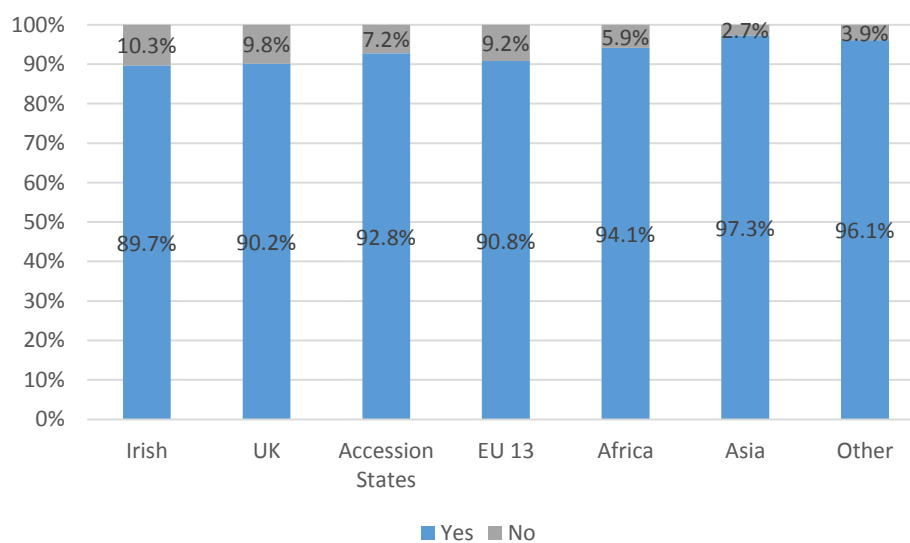
In this section, the availability of a number of local services to each of the groups is described. Firstly, respondents were asked if regular public transport was available in their area (Figure 45). Overall, 69.0% reported that there was. Households with at least one parent from the U.K. had the poorest access to regular public transport with 37.2% reporting no service. This reflects the fact that these households were more likely than those from the other nationality groups to live in rural areas where regular public transport is scarce.

Figure 45 Access to regular public transport



All groups were well serviced when it came to the availability of a General Practitioner or local health clinic (Figure 46). Overall, 90.5% of Primary Caregivers reported that these services were available in their neighbourhood and there was little difference reported between the groups.

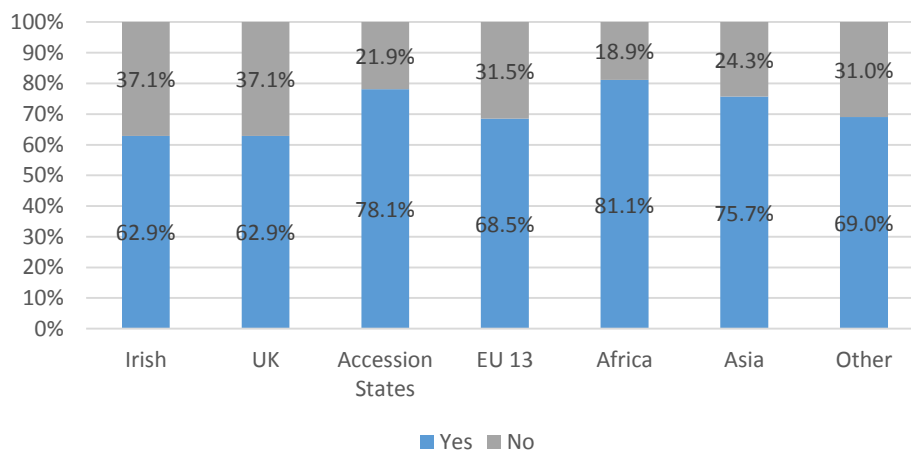
Figure 46 Access to a General Practitioner or local health clinic



However, availability should not be conflated with access. For this reason, we examined the number of families within each group who reported not being able to afford to pay for medical care or treatment for their child due to the financial cost involved was examined. We found that only 3.7% of the children had required a medical examination or treatment since they were born but did not receive it for any reason. The number who reported the reason for not accessing care due to inability to pay was too small to report here.

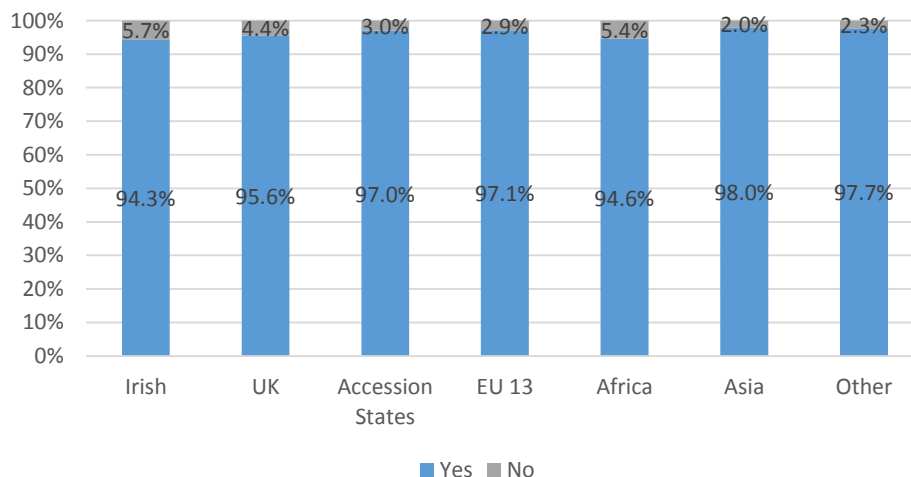
Access to a social welfare office was more varied than was the case for other local services. As shown in Figure 47, households with one or both parents from EU Accession States (78.1%), Africa (81.1%), or Asia (75.7%), had the greatest access to a social welfare office, while Irish (62.9%), U.K. (62.9%), and EU-13 member states (68.5%) had the poorest access. Much of the variation observed can again be explained by the concentration of particular groups in urban centres which have a greater availability of the services considered.

Figure 47 Access to a social welfare office



Finally, the percentage of households who reported having access to essential grocery shopping was recorded (Figure 48). Overall, 94.9% of households reported having access to essential grocery shopping and, as shown in Figure 50, there was little difference found between the groups.

Figure 48 Access to essential grocery shopping

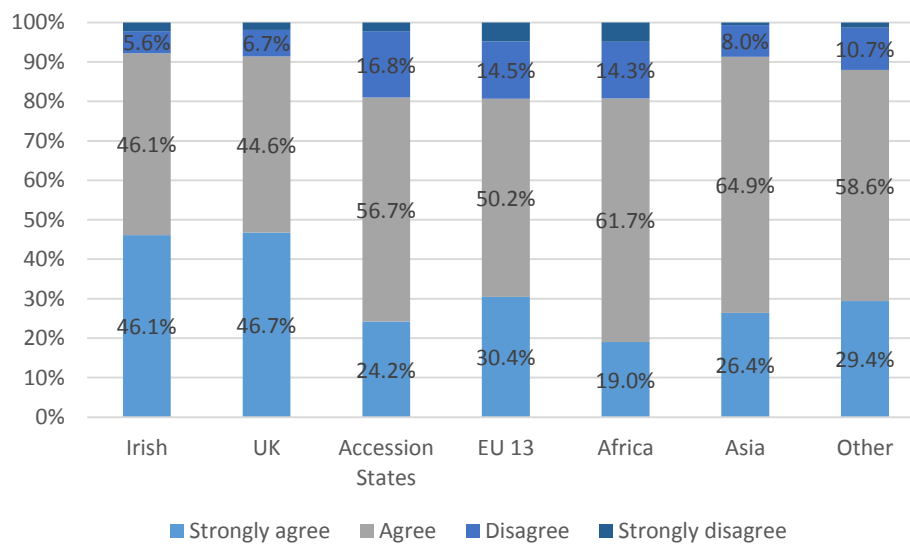


### 4.3.3 Belonging in the local community

This final section examines two aspects of the position of the families within their local communities. Firstly, Primary Caregivers were asked whether their families considered themselves settled in, and part of, their community. Secondly, they were asked whether or not they intended to continue living in their current area.

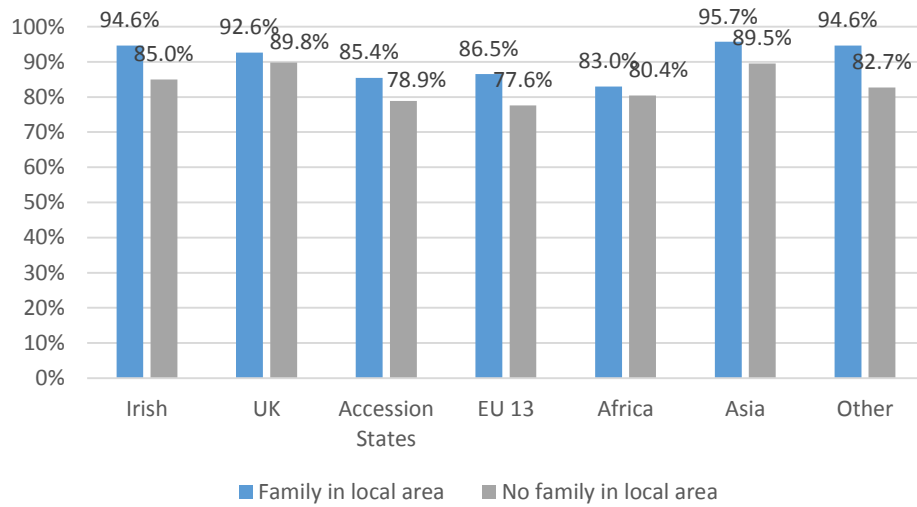
As shown in Figure 49, when asked the extent to which they agreed with the statement: 'As a family we are settled in and part of this community', 42.5% strongly agreed and a further 48.1% agreed. The groups least likely to agree that they were settled in and part of their community were families with at least one parent from Africa (25.1%), EU Accession States (14.6%), and EU-13 member states (20.2%).

Figure 49 Agreement that families feel settled in and part of their community



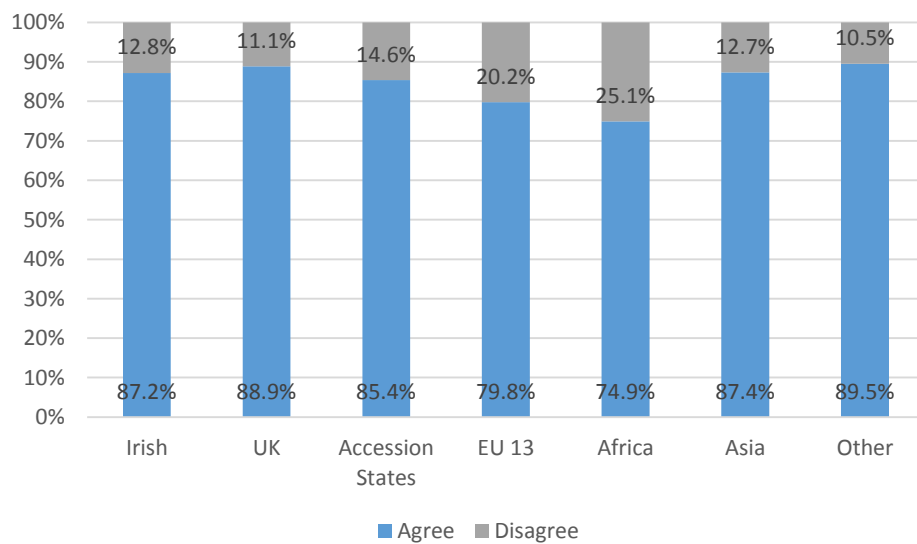
The degree to which the families felt settled in their local communities was further examined with a view to assessing whether having extended family living in the same area impacted the families sense of belonging in their community. As shown in Figure 50, there was a small effect with households in each nationality group somewhat more likely to feel settled in their community when there were also other family members living there.

Figure 50 Percentage of households that feel settled in and part of their community by whether or not they have family members living in the same area



With regard to whether the families intended living in the area they were in when interviewed, Primary Caregivers were asked the degree to which they agreed that they did intend living in the area. As shown in Figure 51, families with at least one parent from Africa (25.1%) were least likely to report that they intended to do so. The corresponding figure for those from EU Accession States was 14.6%, and 22.2% for families from EU-13 member states.

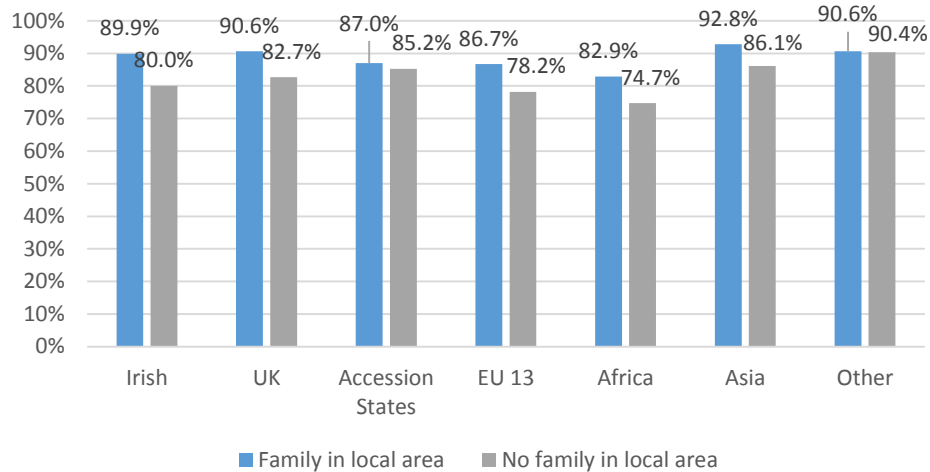
Figure 51 Families intention to continue living in their local area



The potential role that extended family might play in the intention or otherwise of households to remain in their current local area was also assessed. Similar to the earlier findings on the families' sense of belonging in their community, the presence of extended family in the area had only a small effect on whether families intended to remain living in their local area with those with family close by more likely to do so. Households with one or both parents from an EU Accession State were the least likely to be influenced in their intention on whether to continue living in their current area, by the presence of family there. Conversely, as shown in Figure 52, 89.9% of Irish households who had

extended family living in the local area intended to remain living in that area, compared to 80% with no family living in the locality.

Figure 52 Percentage of families intending to continue living in their local area by whether or not they have family members living in the same area



#### 4.4 Chapter summary

In Chapter 4, we described the socio-economic characteristics of the households, and provided details of their housing situation and the places they live. Similar to the wider immigrant population, households from EU Accession States and Africa were predominantly positioned in lower social classes. However, there were important differences between the nationality groups with a higher proportion of Asian households and those from EU-13 member states found in the higher, managerial and professional social classes. As the social class schema used here was based on occupation, this pattern reflects the fact that households from these two groups in particular tended to work in higher status jobs which have attendant advantages over other types of work such as higher salaries, greater autonomy, and security.

Similarly, while a number of the groups were distributed similarly to the native population, in terms of educational attainment, households from EU-13 member states and Asia tended to have higher levels of education with 60.1% of the former and 45.9% of the latter having completed third level education to degree level or higher. While the education levels of Primary and Secondary Caregivers were broadly similar it is interesting to note that a large proportion of fathers from EU Accession States had completed non degree level third education which includes vocational and other professional training. When social class and education were considered in conjunction for both Primary and Secondary Caregivers from EU Accession States in particular, a mismatch was observed between their education level and social class, compared to other groups. This suggests that many of this group work in lower status jobs than might be expected given their education level, in line with previous research on this group (Barret et al. 2006).

In terms of income, again, households from EU Accession States and Africa were disadvantaged compared to indigenous households and those from EU-13 member states and Asia, with both groups heavily skewed towards the lower income brackets. This was particularly true for African households among whom 45.9% were in the lowest household income bracket. This may in part be

explained by the fact that a large proportion of these households consisted of single parents. They also tended on average to have more family members. The relative disadvantage of households from EU Accession States and Africa was again evidenced by the proportion of these households reporting two or more items on Whelan and colleagues' basic deprivation scale (2007) and in the high percentage who reported that they found it difficult to make ends meet.

Turning to where the families' live, migrant families were more likely than their Irish peers to live in urban areas, with African and Asian households in particular being concentrated in urban centres. Overall, migrant households were more likely to live in an apartment/flat/bedsit than a house. This may simply reflect a personal preference for this type of accommodation, or the fact that this type of accommodation may be more readily available in urban centres. Households from EU Accession States, Africa, and Asia, were most likely to live in rented accommodation rather than owner occupied. For the former two groups this may be due to having lived in the country for a comparatively short period of time, but also with predominantly working in lower status jobs, thus being precluded from purchasing their home due to the high cost of housing and lack of access to home mortgages. It might also suggest that these families may not plan to stay in the country in the longer term and so are reluctant to commit to the long term investment which a home purchase entails. Households from EU Accession States and Africa were least likely to have access to a garden which is a valuable resource for the children as they grow older.

Next, two aspects of the local environment were examined: availability of recreational facilities, and perceived safety. Here there were few differences between the household nationality groups with a majority of all stating that that were safe parks, playgrounds and play spaces in their neighbourhood; and that they considered it safe for children to play outside in the local area during the daytime. For the majority of households, local areas tended to be well serviced by a General Practitioner or health service clinic, and essential grocery shopping. The availability of regular public transport and social welfare office was not as widespread but these disparities can be largely explained by the urban and rural nature of the areas in which the families tend to locate.

Finally, two items concerning the families' sense of belonging in the community were assessed. Firstly, a smaller proportion of all of the migrant household groups agreed strongly that they felt settled in and part of their community. However, overall the percentage agreeing to some extent with this statement was similar across groups. Secondly, a large majority of all groups reported that they intended to continue living in their local area, although African households were less likely than others to report this. Whether or not there was local family living in the same area had only a small effect on the attitude of the households towards their community with the presence of family associated with a slightly increased likelihood of respondents feeling settled and part of their community, and also their intending to continue living in their local area.



## Chapter 5 – Childcare and return to work

Childcare is one of the main issues affecting young families, regardless of their background. Especially after the end of maternity leave, childcare becomes a pressing issue for mothers in particular, who may or may not return to work depending on a wide range of factors. Migrant families are likely to struggle particularly as they cannot readily avail of family members to help them in this regard. Furthermore, as seen in Chapter 4, some migrant groups are disadvantaged socio-economically, which impacts on their ability to afford certain forms of childcare at the same time as increasing the need for the mother to return to paid work. This is a challenge commonly found for all families. Additionally, cultural norms about appropriate forms of childcare differ and may impact on who looks after infants. We therefore provide a brief overview of some of the research on childcare challenges amongst migrant families before presenting results from our analysis.

While this report is concerned with highlighting similarities and differences between households according to parental nationality, further information on variations in paid employment and childcare arrangements according to a number of parental, household, and child characteristics, are available from McGinnity et al. (2013).

### 5.1 Managing work and care: challenges for young migrant families

In general, many immigrant families suffer from the absence of close kin networks to support childcare, strong pressure to work, working conditions often characterised by long or atypical hours. There are also various integration problems such as social isolation, lack of information on services, and problems with housing. However, among other factors, migration patterns (e.g. unskilled and low skilled labour migration, student migration, highly qualified professional migration, asylum-seeker/refugee migration, mixed marriages migration) have a significant impact on work/care strategies employed by immigrant families (Wall and Jose 2004). According to Wall and Jose's study on immigrant families from France, Portugal, Italy and Finland, highly qualified migrant families are more likely to avail of private and often high-cost childcare solution. Marriage migration, on the other hand, often results in mother-centred care, while unskilled labour migrants have to rely on low-cost solutions, supplemented by workplace care, or older children within the family. Their study also found that first-generation unskilled worker migrant families are more exposed to occupational and residential segregation, atypical working hours, low earnings and in general great difficulties in managing work and care for young children.

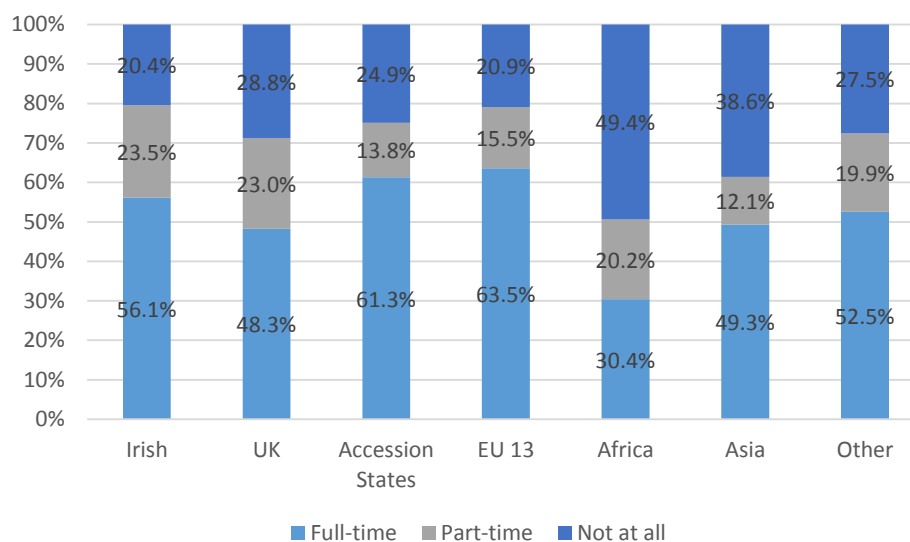
Paola Bonizzoni's recently published paper provides 'an exploration of the work-family reconciliation processes of immigrant working mothers in Italy' (Bonizzoni, 2014:1). The study highlights the strategies immigrants and their families adopted to manage work and childcare under oftentimes unfavourable conditions due to the intertwining effects of immigration, care and employment regimes. These, leading to limited social and employment rights, also influence migrants' participation in the labour market and constrain the geographical mobility of family members, leading women to enact - over time but also simultaneously, a variety of local childcare strategies. For example, taking children to work, finding casual hourly-paid domestic work, sharing childcare duties with a partner, siblings, solidarity networks from co-nationals and trustworthy networks, undocumented siblings or grandparents, and so on. While these can be interpreted as additional

resources available to migrant families, they can also be viewed as the outcome of only partial inclusion in the host society, showing new forms of inequality in the access to social care.

## 5.2 Employment status prior to birth of Study Child

In this section we examine whether there were differences between the mothers of different nationalities with regard to labour force participation. The question asked is, did mothers who were employed before the birth of the child return to work by the time their child was nine months of age? The employment status of mothers in each of the nationality groups before the birth of the Study Child is presented in Figure 53. Overall, 55% of mothers were in full-time employment before their child's birth with a further 22.2% employed part-time. The highest rate of employment (full- or part-time) was found among Irish (79.6%) and EU-13 (79.0%), while African migrant mothers had the lowest rate of employment outside of the home (50.6%). In terms of full-time employment, mothers from EU-13 countries (63.5%) and the Accession States (61.3%) were most the most likely to have been employed full-time prior to the birth of their child, with 49.3% of Asians and 52.5% of others employed full-time.

Figure 53 Employment status before the birth of Study Child by mothers' nationality group



### 5.3 Return to work

As shown in Figure 54, there was a large decrease in the percentage of mothers employed full-time at time of interview with 30.2% of all mothers employed full-time compared to 55% previously, a reduction of 45.1%. The group that saw the largest decrease in full-time employment was mothers from EU Accession States, whose full-time employment rate decreased from 61.3% to 20.4%, a reduction of 66.7%. In contrast to the other groups, full-time employment among Asian mothers increased during this period from 49.3% to 58.1%.

Figure 54 Employment status after the birth of Study Child by mothers' nationality group

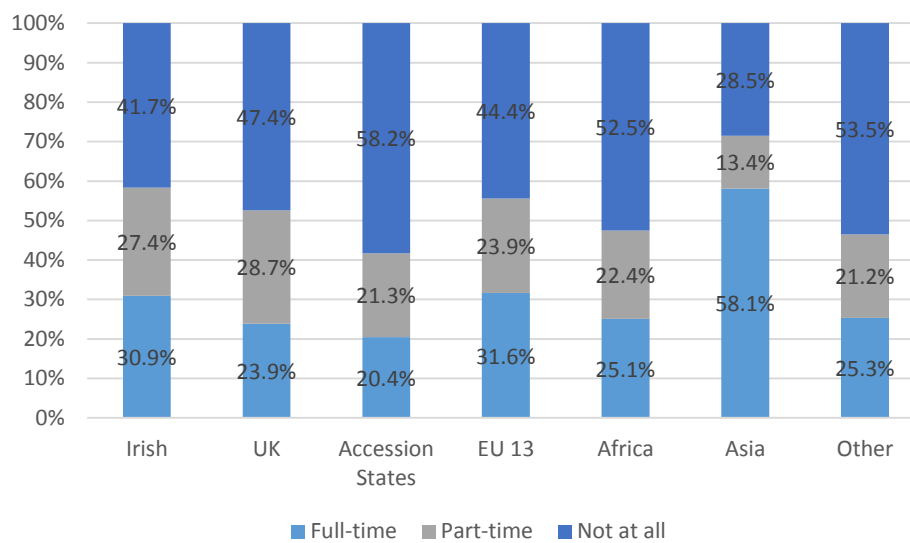
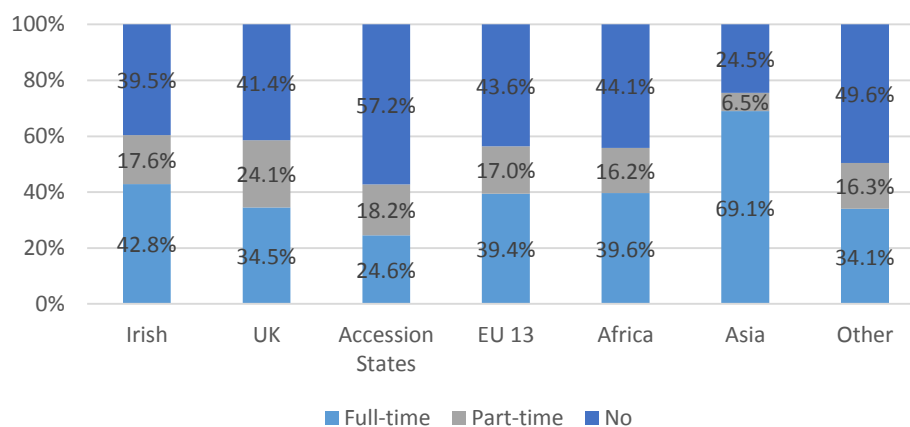


Figure 55 below, shows the employment status, when the Study Child was nine-months-old, of those who were in full-time employment prior to giving birth. The highest rate of return to work was found among Asian mothers with 69.1% having returned to work by the time their child was nine-months-old. The lowest rate of return to work was observed among mothers from EU Accession States. Among this group, less than one-in-four (24.6%) previously employed mothers had returned to full-time employment while a further 18.2% had taken up part-time employment having previously worked full-time.

Figure 55 Percentage of mothers who returned to work by mothers' nationality group

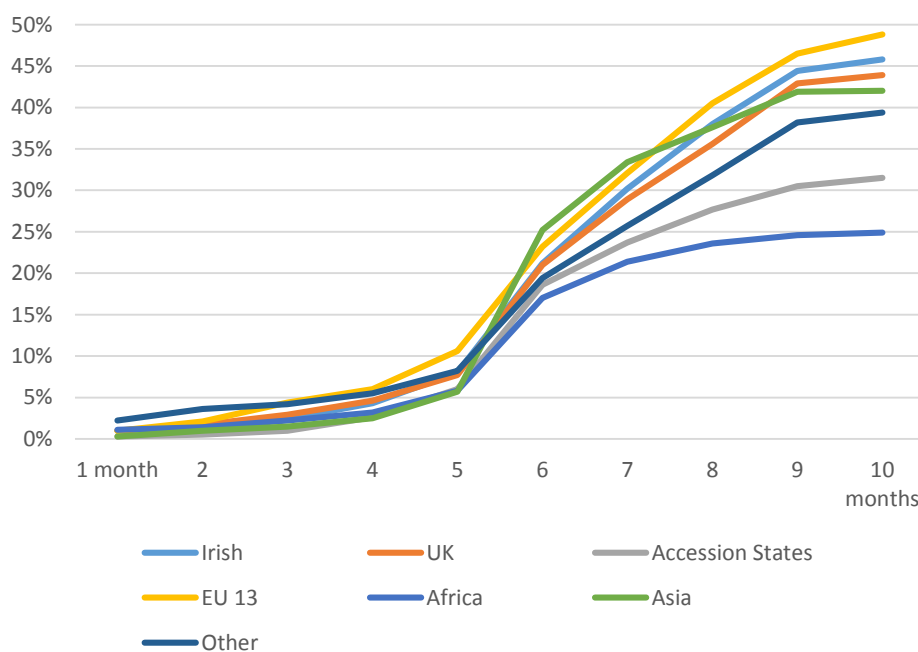


### 5.3.1 Timing of return to work

Attention now turns to the timing of mothers re-entering the labour market after the birth of the Study Child. It is important to note that the nationality groups referred to here are those of the household, that is, one or both parents' non-Irish nationality, whereas the previous section concentrated on mothers' nationality only. Also, all mothers were included in the analysis, except those for whom no information on return to work was available. Using this classification, households with at least one parent from an EU-13 member states (48.8%) had the highest rate of maternal employment outside of the home by the time the Study Child was nine-months-old, while African households reported the lowest rate (24.9%).

It is clear from Figure 56, that very few mothers were employed outside the home for the first five months after the birth of their child. Overall, only 7.7% of mothers were in paid employment in the first five months after the birth of the Study Child. At month six, there was a marked increase in the number of mothers engaged in paid labour outside of the home with this pattern replicated in each of the nationality groups. This finding points to the importance of maternity leave which entitles all female employees (including casual workers) to 26 weeks' paid maternity leave and a further 16 weeks' unpaid leave.

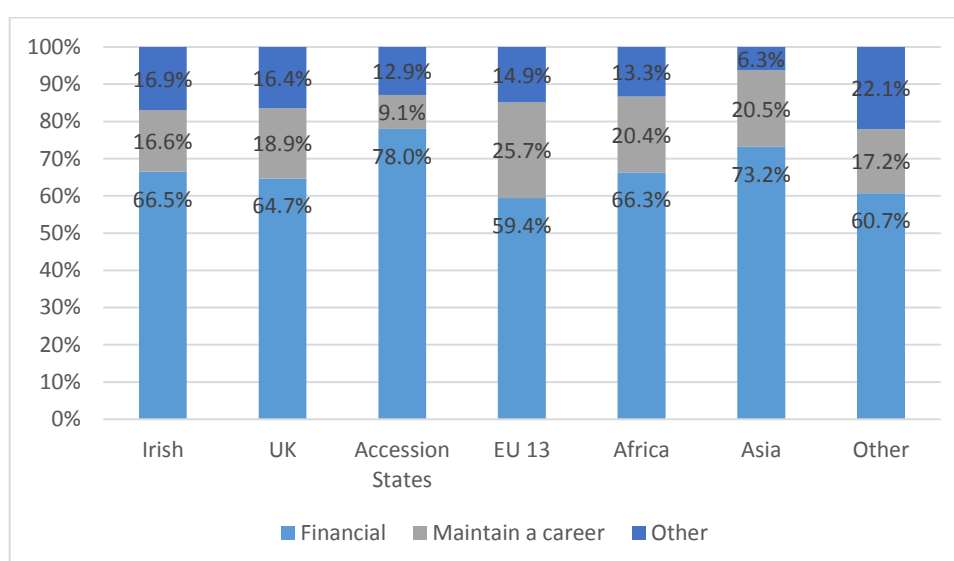
Figure 56 Percentage of mothers at work in each month after giving birth, by nationality group



### 5.3.2 Reasons for returning to work

As well as being asked when they returned to work, mothers also provided information on the reason for their undertaking paid employment after the birth of the Study Child. As shown in Figure 57, the main reason for returning to work for all groups was financial. Reflecting their higher socio-economic status, a sizeable proportion (25.7%) of mothers from households in which at least one parent was born in an EU-13 member state, had returned to paid employment in order to maintain their career. This contrasts with mothers from EU Accession State households, among whom only 9.1% reported maintaining a career as the main motivation for returning to work. As well as financial reasons and the desire to maintain a career, other reasons reported included, job related benefits (pension, car, health insurance etc.), the need for an outlet outside the home, and a small number of self-employed and those who were the only wage earner in the home.

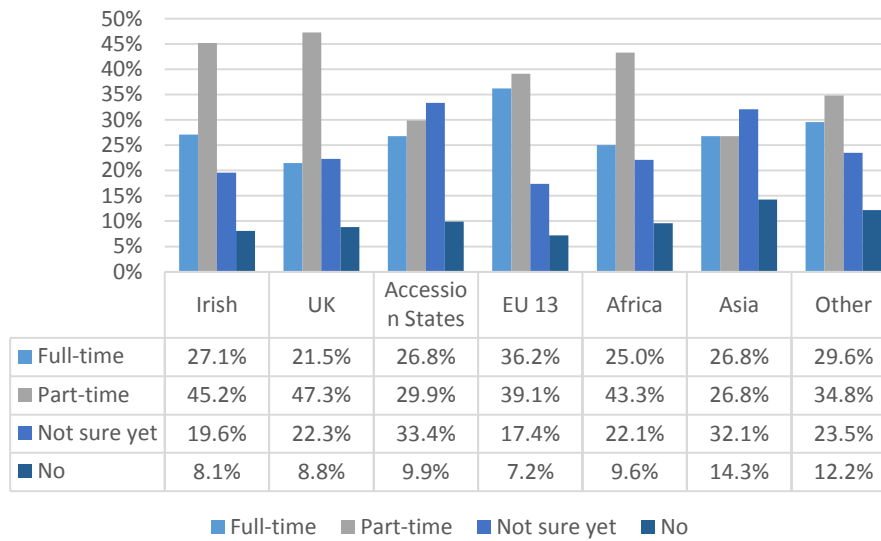
Figure 57 Main reason given for returning to work by household nationality group



### 5.4 Future return to work

While 43.3% of mothers had not returned to work by the time the Study Child was nine-months-old, a sizeable proportion of these did intend gaining employment outside of the home at a future date. Of those not yet returned to work, 26.7% planned to take up full-time employment, 43.4% intended taking up part-time employment, and 21.4% were unsure. Overall, only 8.6% of mothers who were not employed outside of the home stated that they did not intend seeking employment at a future date. It is to the group intending to return to work that we now turn our attention. Figure 58, shows the comparison in intention to return to work between the different household nationality groups. Among mothers who had not yet returned to work, more than half of each group stated that they intended to work either full- or part-time at some point in the future. Among those who definitely intended returning to work at some point, part-time employment was favoured above full-time work among along groups except Asian were the percentage intending to take up part-time employment was the same as that planning to work full-time (26.8%). Mothers either from an EU-13 member state or whose partner was, were the group most likely to intend taking up employment in the future with 36.2% planning to do full-time work and a further 39.1% intending to take up part-time employment.

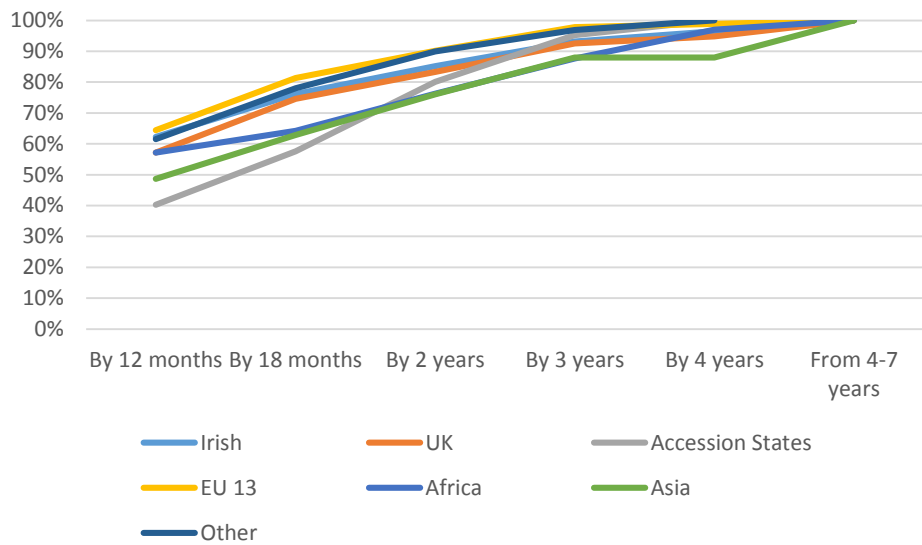
Figure 58 Intentions regarding to return to work among mothers not employed when baby was nine-months-old by household nationality groups



#### 5.4.1 Timing of intended return to work

Figure 59 shows the age that the Study Child will be when those not yet returned to work, but intending to do so either full-time or part-time in the future, plan on taking up employment outside of the home. Among mothers not already in employment, 60.0% intended taking up full- or part-time employment before their child’s first birthday, a further 14.5% planned to enter the workforce by the time the Study Child was 18 months old, 10.1% by their child’s second birthday, an additional 8.7% by the time the Study Child was three years of age, with the remainder planning to take employment outside of the home sometime between their child’s third and seventh birthday. While a similar pattern was observed between the groups, some differences are noteworthy. Mothers in households where they or their partner were from an EU Accession States were least likely (40.3%) to intend working outside the home before their child’s first birthday. Mothers from EU-13 member state households were most likely to do so with 64.4% intending to return to work during this period. All mothers from EU Accession State households intending working outside the home by the time their child was four years of age whereas a small number in each of the household groups did not intend working outside the home until their child was older than four years which roughly corresponds to the age at which children begin their primary education.

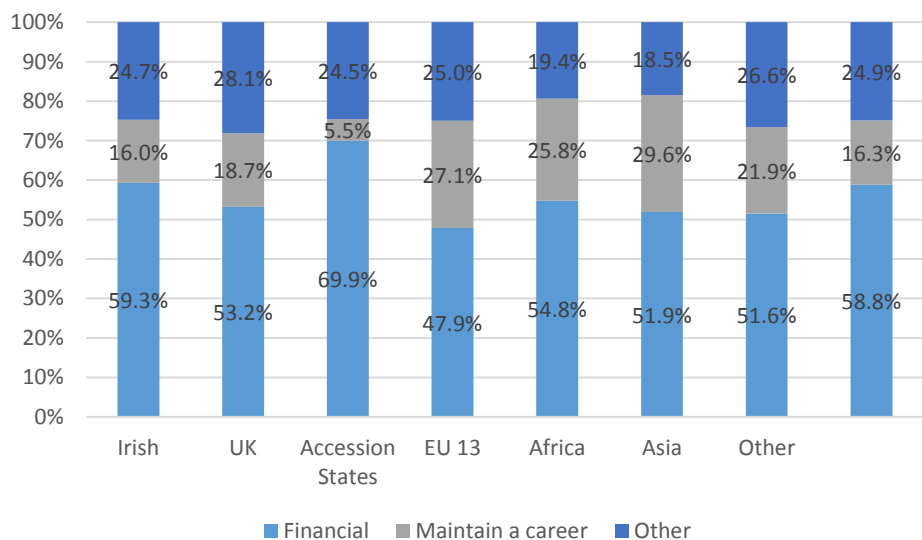
Figure 59 Study Child's age when mothers intend returning to work, by nationality group



#### 5.4.2 Reasons for intending to return to work

Similar to those mothers who had already returned to work by the time the Study Child was nine-months-old, mothers who intended returning to work at a future date were asked for their reason for doing so (Figure 60). With the exception households with one or both parents from an EU-13 member state, more than half of all mothers in each group intended to return to work for financial reasons. This was particularly true among households where one or both parents were born in an EU Accession State with 69.9% planning to take up full- or part-time employment outside of the home for financial reasons. Maintaining a career was most important among reason provided for 29.6% of mothers from Asian households and 27.1% of those in households where one or both parents were born in an EU-13 member state.

Figure 60 Main reason for intending to return to work by household nationality group



## 5.5 Childcare arrangements

Despite the changing social, economic and demographic circumstances throughout the latter half of the 1990s which moved childcare to the fore of the political agenda, policy-making in Ireland for young children outside the home environment has had a relatively short history. While there has been some recent progress in accessibility to early education and childcare policies, Ireland trails behind its EU counterparts, particularly in terms of accessibility and affordability of childcare (McGinnity et al. 2013). Nevertheless, some initiatives to date have focused on improved co-ordination.

The Irish childcare system is considered to have a 'laissez faire approach' adopted by successive Irish governments. Consequently, the childcare market became 'largely unregulated, fragmented and costly' excluding mainly low and increasingly middle income households from accessing childcare services. It is believed that this approach hinders parental, particularly mothers' choice and ability to avail of education, training and employment opportunities and does not address child poverty in any meaningful way (The National Women's Council of Ireland 2005:30).

In terms of Government policy, support for childcare comes mainly in the form of cash transfers. The universal Child Benefit, described earlier, has since 2006, been supplemented by a universal cash supplement called the Early Childcare Supplement, which is a benefit payable with respect to all children aged 5/6 years. This supplemental benefit was introduced explicitly to assist with pre-school childcare needs. At the time that information was collected from the current cohort in 2008, parents were entitled to €92 per month for each child aged under 5½ years (McGinnity et al. 2013). This Early Childcare Supplement was replaced in January 2010 with free pre-school year of Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE). Despite these financial supports, childcare costs in the Republic of Ireland are among the highest in the EU and OECD. OECD (2007) estimates, cited in McGinnity et al (2013: 24), shows that for a typical dual earner family availing of full-day care for two pre-school children, the cost amounts to 29% of the family's net income. This is more than twice the OECD average of 13%.

There seems to be a growing concern about accessibility to education and child care provision for immigrant families and ethnic minorities with low incomes. This concern is expressed in international policy documents (see for example European Commission 2011, European Parliament 2002) as well as in international reports (for example Eming Young 2007; Naudeau et al. 2011; OECD 2006 and 2012; UNICEF, 2009). At the European level this concern originates in a commitment towards the reduction of child poverty rates across EU Member States and complements the recognition that high quality childcare has a crucial role to play in tackling disadvantage from an early stage (see for example European Commission 2006; Education, Audio-visual and Culture Executive Agency 2009). In this context, the provision of universal and equitable access to high quality childcare is believed to reduce early school leaving and to counter the risk of poverty and social exclusion (Council of European Union 2011).

Despite consensus at the policy level, research documents that children from migrant background and ethnic minority low-income families are less often enrolled in non-maternal care or preschool, and that, when enrolled, these children are often found in poorer quality provisions than their more affluent peers. While detailed figures are not available for most European countries, there is an

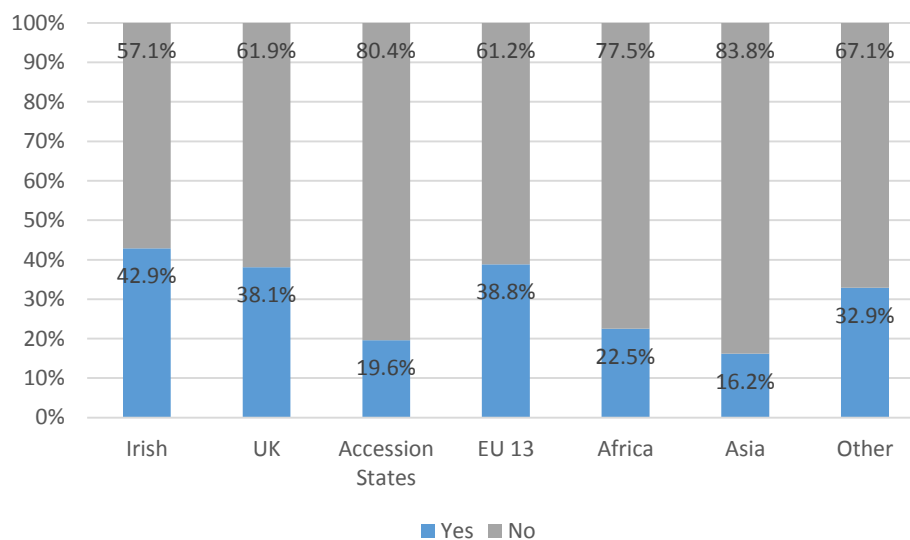


abundance of evidence from elsewhere that this is a global phenomenon. This has been demonstrated in the United States (Hernandez et al. 2009) and in several European countries (Brabant-Delannoy and Lemoine 2009; Büchel and Spiess 2002; Del Boca 2010; Driessen 2004; Ghysels and Van Lancker 2011; Noailly et al. 2007; Sylva et al. 2007; Wall and Jose 2004).

### 5.5.1 Parental and non-parental care

The ability of mothers to return to work is dependent on the availability of and access to suitable childcare for their new-born, whether relative, non-relative, or centre based. In this section we examine childcare arrangements when the Study Child was nine-months-old. Figure 61 shows the percentage of children in non-parental care of any type. Non-parental care is defined as care by someone other than the Primary Caregiver or their partner on a regular basis each week. Households where one or both parents were born in an Asian country were the least likely group to avail of non-parental childcare with 16.2% doing so. Rates of non-parental childcare were also comparatively low among households from EU Accession States (19.6%) and Africa (22.5%). The highest rate of non-parental childcare was among Irish families (42.9%).

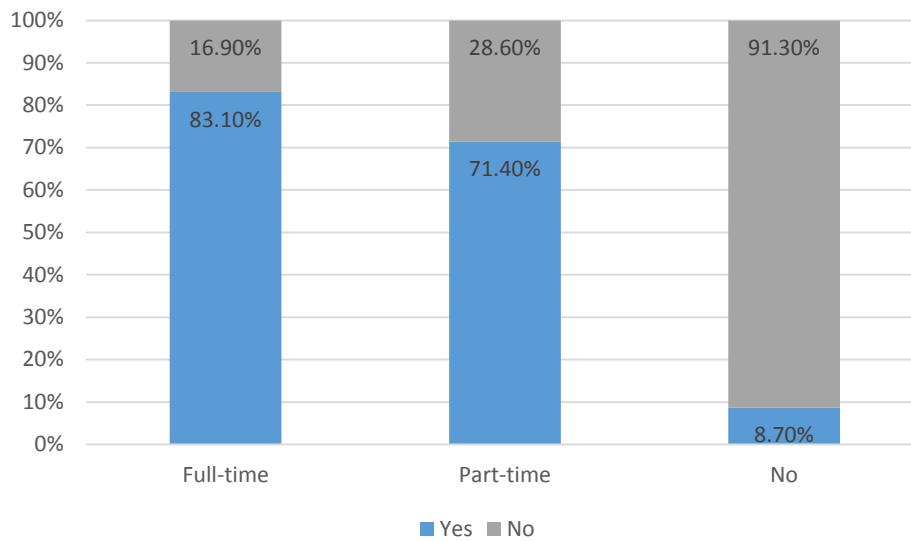
Figure 61 Percentage of infants in regular non-parental care



Non-parental childcare is often a necessity in households in which the children's mother is at work outside of the home<sup>8</sup>. Figure 62 shows that among those for whom information on employment outside of the home was available, 83.1% of those in full-time employment availed of non-parental care. Among those in part-time employment, 71.4% did so while 8.7% of mothers who did not work outside the home also had regular childcare support. This illustrates again the strong link between women's labour force participation and childcare discussed above.

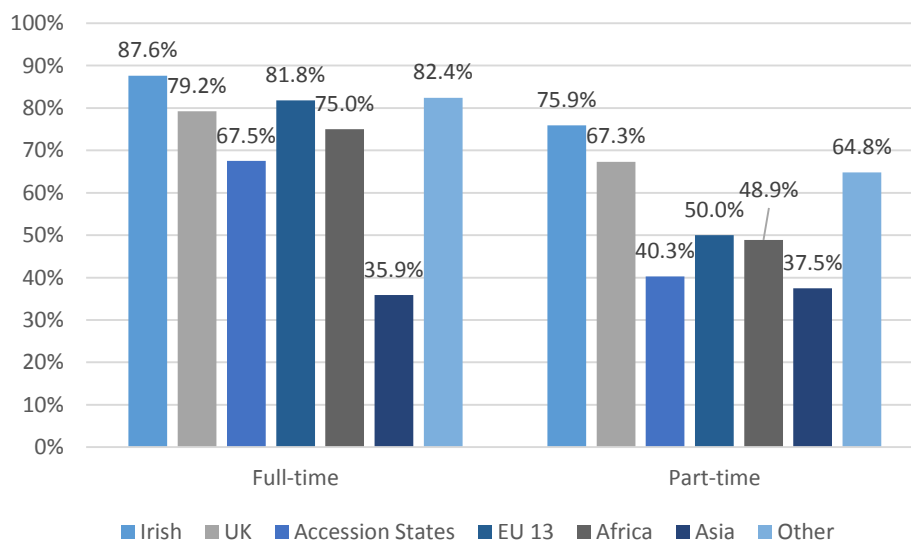
<sup>8</sup> Information on work outside the home was not available for 28.2% of respondents (n=2,542)

Figure 62 Work outside the home by non-parental care



The pattern with regard to non-parental childcare and work outside the home was broadly similar among the groups with a higher percentage of those who worked full-time having some form of regular non-parental care compared to those who worked part-time (Figure 63). The comparatively low levels of non-parental childcare among families in which one or both parents were from Asia are noteworthy. Even in cases where the Primary Caregiver was engaged in full-time employment outside of the home, only 35.9% of infants received regular non-parental care. Also, a higher percentage of Asian mothers who worked part-time (37.5%), compared to full-time workers (35.9%), availed of regular non-parental care.

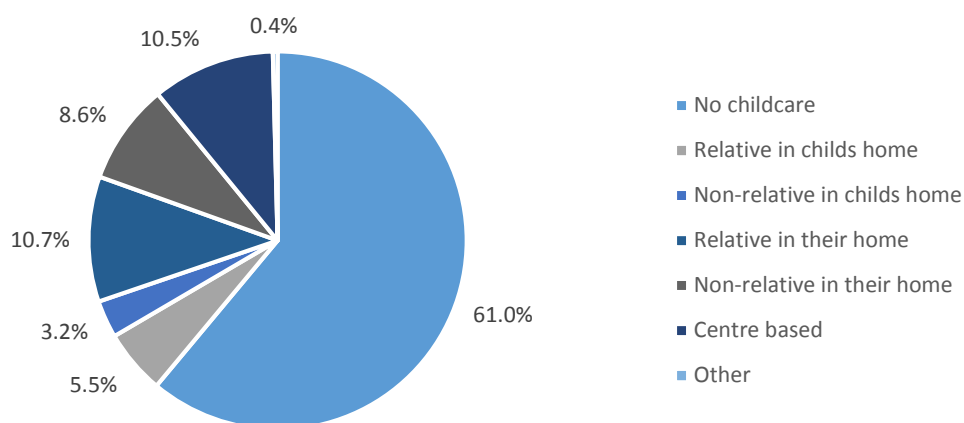
Figure 63 Percentage of infants in non-parental care in households where the Primary Caregiver was engaged in either full- or part-time work outside of the home



### 5.5.2 Main type of childcare

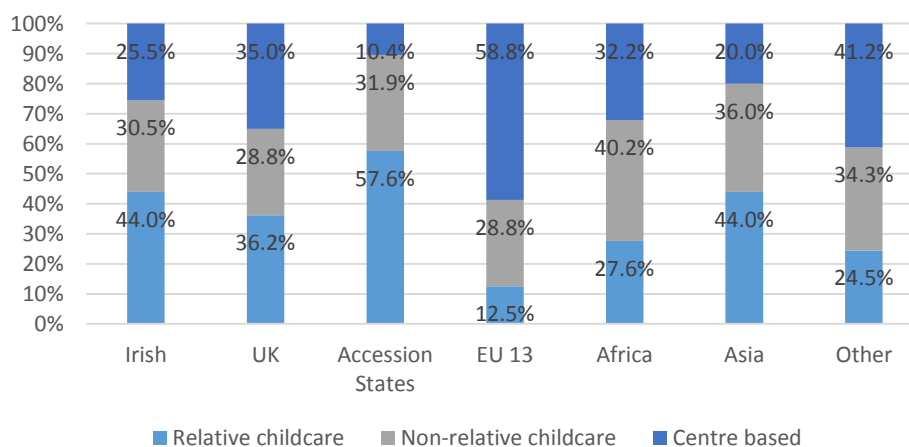
Overall, 39% of the infants were cared for by someone other than a parent on a regular basis. A similar proportion of the infants were cared for by a relative in that relative's home (10.7%) and centre based care (10.5%). A small number of the children were cared for by someone other than a relative in that person's home (8.6%), while the remainder were cared for in their own home by either a relative (5.5%) or someone not related to the child (3.2%), such as a child minder or au pair (Figure 64).

Figure 64 Main type of regular non-parental childcare



Among those infants who received regular non-parental care<sup>9</sup>, 42.2% were in the care of a family relative, 30.7% were in non-relative care, and the remaining 27.0% of the infants were in centre based care. As shown in Figure 65, parents from EU-13 member states were the group most likely to use centre based care with 58.8% doing so. Infants with one or both parents from EU Accession States were the least likely to be in centre based care (10.4%). Care by a family relative was the most popular type of childcare used by families from EU Accession States (57.6%), while only 12.5% of those from EU-13 countries used this form of childcare.

Figure 65 Main type of childcare among those in regular non-parental care

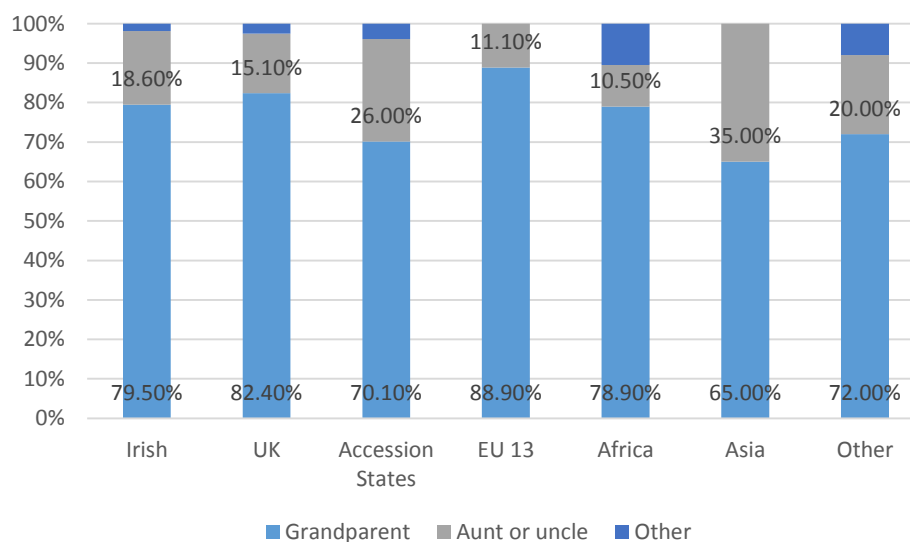


<sup>9</sup> The small number of households availing of 'other' childcare were excluded from this analysis.

An important consequence of the comparatively high childcare costs noted earlier is an increased reliance on familial and other informal childcare arrangements (CSO 2009). In light of the reliance on non-parental childcare that is provided by relatives of the families, and a developing literature that has highlighted the increasingly important role played by grandparents in rearing children (Hayslip and Kaminski 2006; Share and Kerrins 2009), we examined in further detail the nature of relative childcare. This is particularly important with regard to parents born outside of Ireland as many do not have extended family in the country. As shown already, of those children in regular childcare, 42.2% received this care from a family relative. Attention is now turned to this group. Relative childcare was predominantly provided by one or both of the infants' grandparents, either in the child's or grandparents' home. This was the case for 79.1% of households. A further 18.7% were cared for by an aunt or uncle. The remainder were cared for by an 'other' relative which included the infant's siblings, non-resident parent, cousin, and other relatives not specified. The possibility of migrant parents enlisting the help of grandparents not normally resident in Ireland is also hampered by difficulties in securing visit-visas for grandparents.

As shown in Figure 66, grandparents were by far the most often providers of relative childcare among all the groups. The lowest use of grandparent care were observed among households where one or both parents were from an EU Accession State (70.1%) or Africa (78.9%). Although the greatest use of grandparents for childcare was observed among households where one or both parents from an EU-13 member state, it should be remembered that only a small proportion of this group (12.5%) used any form of relative care.

Figure 66 Family relative providers of childcare to the infants according to household nationality

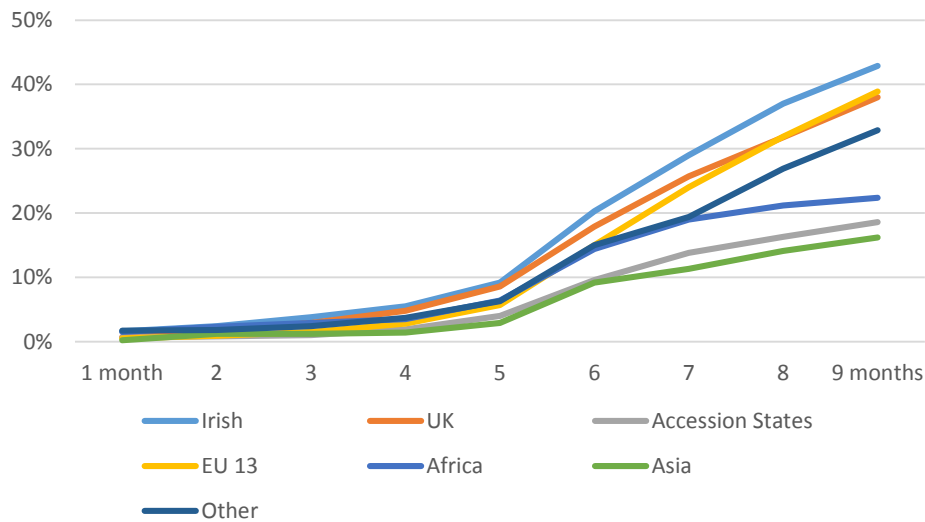


### 5.5.3 Infants' age when entered childcare

While the age that infants began regular non-parental childcare is naturally highly correlated with the timing of mothers return to work, it is nonetheless of interest to highlight differences in non-parental childcare usage between the groups, even when limited to those who are in paid employment. A case in point is the fact that mothers from Asian households had the third highest rate of paid employment when interviewed, while they had the lowest rate of non-parental

childcare usage (16.2%). Similar to the trend observed for the timing of return to work, few (8.3%) of the infants received regular non-parental childcare before the age of 6 months (Figure 67). This again reflects duration of maternity leave available to mothers in Ireland.

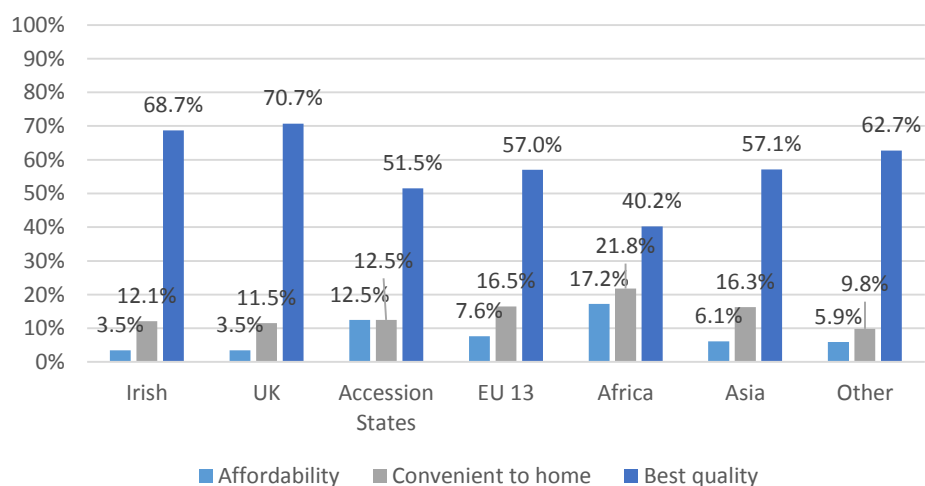
Figure 67 Infants 'age when entered childcare



#### 5.5.4 Reasons for choosing childcare

Among those who received regular non-parental childcare, 67.2% reported 'best quality' to be the leading reason for choosing their main type of childcare. Convenience (12.4%) was the second most cited reason reported. The pattern between the nationality groups were broadly similar with 'best quality' the most often cited reason, followed by affordability and convenience. However, some differences were observed. As shown in Figure 68, compared to other groups, affordability was cited more often by households where one or both parents were from an EU Accession State (12.5%) or Africa (17.2%). African households were also most likely to report convenience (21.8%) to be the main deciding factor and they were also the least likely to cite quality (40.2%) as the most important reason for choosing their main type of regular non-parental childcare.

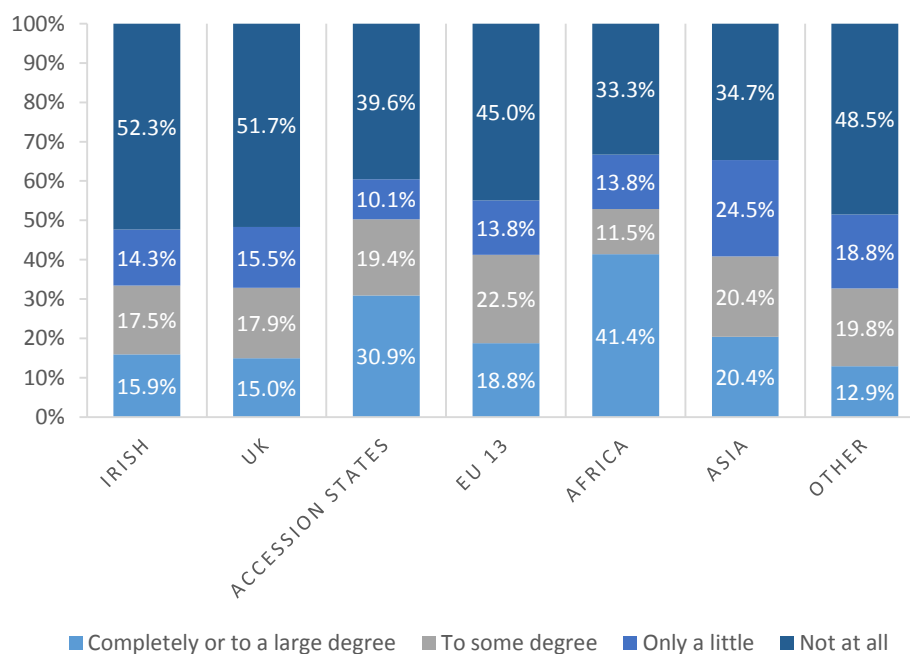
Figure 68 Single most important reason for choosing this form of childcare



When interpreting the above results, particularly with regard to the high proportion of mothers reporting 'best quality' to be the main deciding factor in their choice of childcare, the possibility of response bias or social desirability cannot be completely ignored. This is the situation where respondents may provide what they consider to be the most acceptable response to a survey question rather than the one that is the true reason, and is particularly an issue during face-to-face interview where respondents do not have the benefit of anonymity (de Vaus, 2002: 130). Given the importance of childcare arrangements, mothers may be reluctant to report that their choice of childcare was based on anything other than quality. While there is no evidence here to suggest that the responses provided here have been impacted by response bias, it should nonetheless be considered a possibility.

Primary Caregivers were also asked the extent to which their choice of childcare arrangement was determined by financial constraints. It is clear from Figure 69 that financial considerations was an important factor for families when choosing childcare. Overall, 16.9% reported that their choice of non-parental childcare was completely determined by financial considerations, while a further 17.6% reported that their choice was due to some degree on financial considerations and 14.5% said financial considerations played only a little role. The remaining 50.9% of respondents, said that financial considerations were not a factor. Financial considerations were most important for households with at least one parent from and African country (41.4%) or EU Accession State (30.9%). The groups for whom financial considerations were least important were Irish families (52.3%), followed by the U.K. (51.7%) and those from EU-13 member states (45.0%).

Figure 69 Extent was your choice of childcare determined by financial constraints

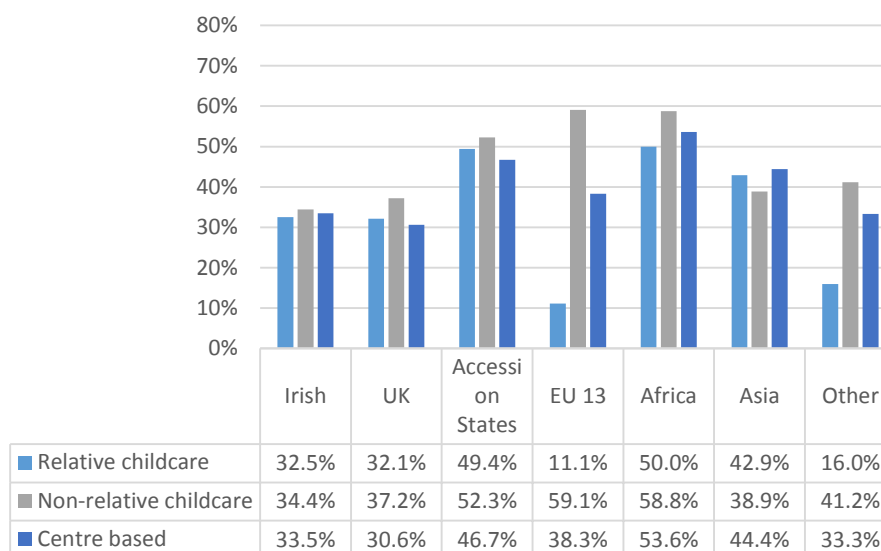


In order to understand if financial considerations resulted in certain types of non-parental childcare being favoured by families, the association between childcare type, birth nationality and the importance of financial considerations were explored. With a view to maintaining large cell sizes and for ease of interpretation, the above categorisation of agreement that financial considerations were important, has been recoded into a dichotomous indicator which captures those who based their

choice of childcare to at least some degree on financial considerations (34.5%) and those for whom financial considerations mattered only a little or not at all (65.5%).

Figure 70 shows that among households with at least one parent from an EU-13 member state, the choice to use relative care was not due to financial considerations. Among the other groups, particularly those from EU Accession States and Africa, financial considerations were important, irrespective of the type of non-parental childcare availed of.

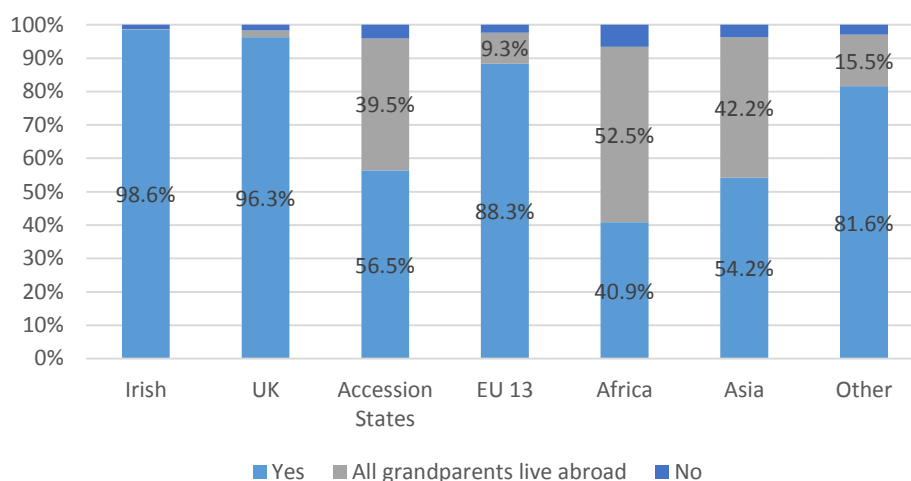
Figure 70 Financial considerations and choice of main type of non-parental childcare



## 5.6 The wider role of grandparents

Having already seen the importance of grandparents as providers of non-parental childcare we now examine some of the other ways in which they support the infants' rearing. As well as providing regular childcare to many of the families, grandparents also supported them and the infants in other ways. As shown in Figure 71, a large majority of families (91.7%) were in regular contact with the Study Children's grandparents. Among families, where one or both parents were born somewhere other than Ireland it was found that 22.7% did not have grandparents living in Ireland at time of interview. Households where one or both parents were born in an African country were the least likely to have grandparents living in Ireland with 52.5% reporting they did not. This group were followed by Asian (42.2%) and EU Accession State households (39.5%). This reflects also the fact that amongst these groups fewer are in relationships with Irish partners as shown above.

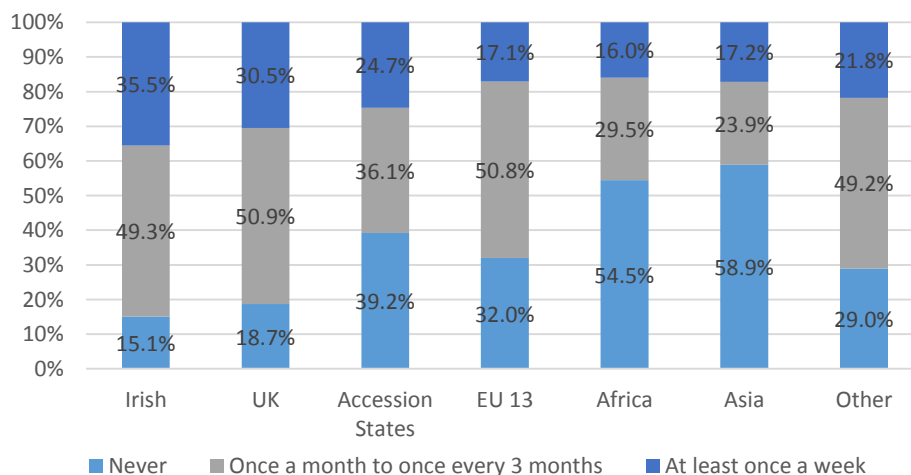
Figure 71 Infants' with grandparents by household nationality groups



Once the GUI survey had established that the Study Childs' grandparents lived abroad, no further questions were asked about their involvement in the lives of the participating families. Therefore, households that did not have any grandparents living in Ireland were excluded from the next series of analysis that describes supports provided by them. This does not necessarily mean that these grandparents had no contact with the infants or did not provide financial or other support, but was necessary due to the manner in which information on these indicators was recorded which precludes their inclusion. The exclusion of non-resident grandparents, means that the number of non-Irish households considered is reduced due to the high percentage of non-Irish nationality households whose grandparents lived in a different jurisdiction. The result is that for the analysis of grandparent involvement the effective number in each group is: U.K. – 1,153; EU Accession States – 544; EU-13 member states – 226; African – 194; Asian – 175; and others – 277.

Firstly, Primary Caregivers were asked how often the child's grandparents babysat for them. Irish and U.K. households were the most likely to have grandparents babysit their child with approximately one-third doing so at least once a week. Asian (58.9%) and African (54.5%) households were least likely to have resident grandparents babysit for them (Figure 72).

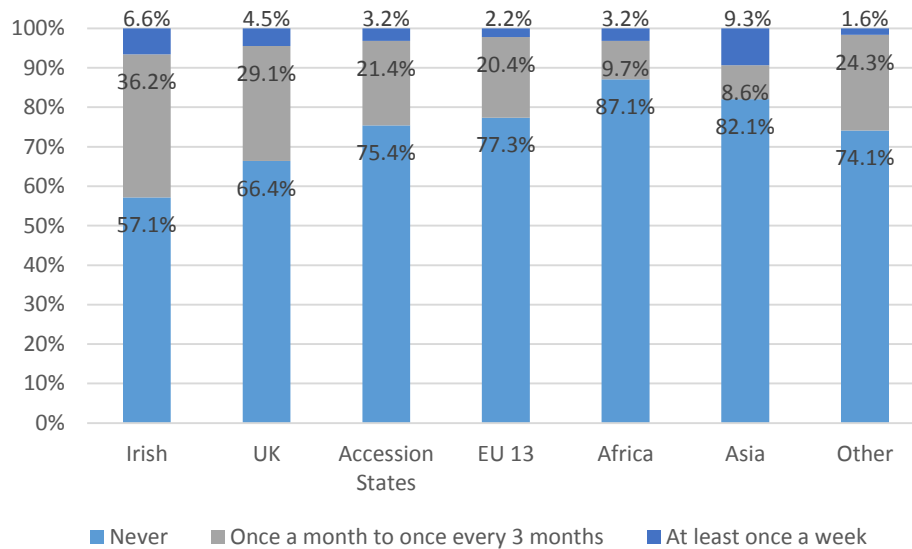
Figure 72 How often grandparents, who lived in Ireland, babysit the Study Child, by household nationality group





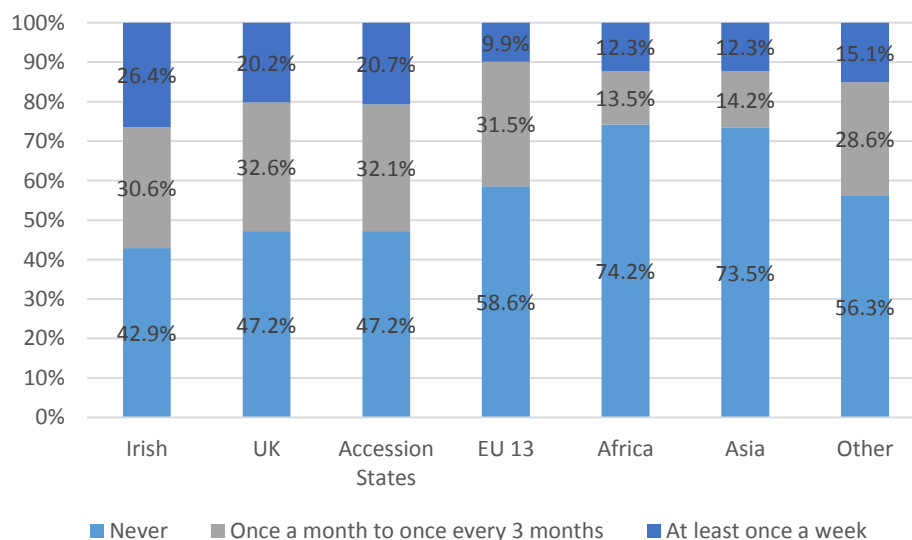
As shown in Figure 73, a similar pattern to that regarding babysitting was observed when grandparents taking the infants for overnight stays was examined with Asian (87.1%) and African (82.1%) households least likely to do so. Conversely, 42.8% of infants from Irish households and 33.6% of those from households in which at least one parent was from the U.K. stayed overnight with their grandparents at least once every three months.

Figure 73 How often grandparents, who lived in Ireland, took the Study Child for overnight stays, by household nationality group



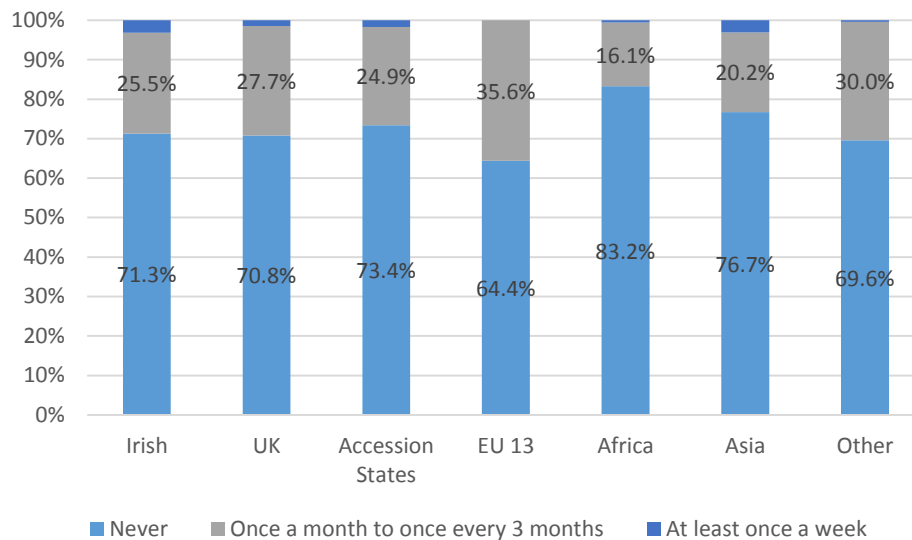
The next question asked how often grandparents took the baby out with them (Figure 74). The pattern observed among households in which at least one parent was from an EU Accession State was similar to that of Irish and U.K. households with more than half (52.8%) of their infants being taken out by their grandparents at least once every three months. Again African (74.2%) and Asian (73.5%) households were the least likely to have this involvement by grandparents.

Figure 74 How often grandparents, who lived in Ireland, took the Study Child out, by household nationality group



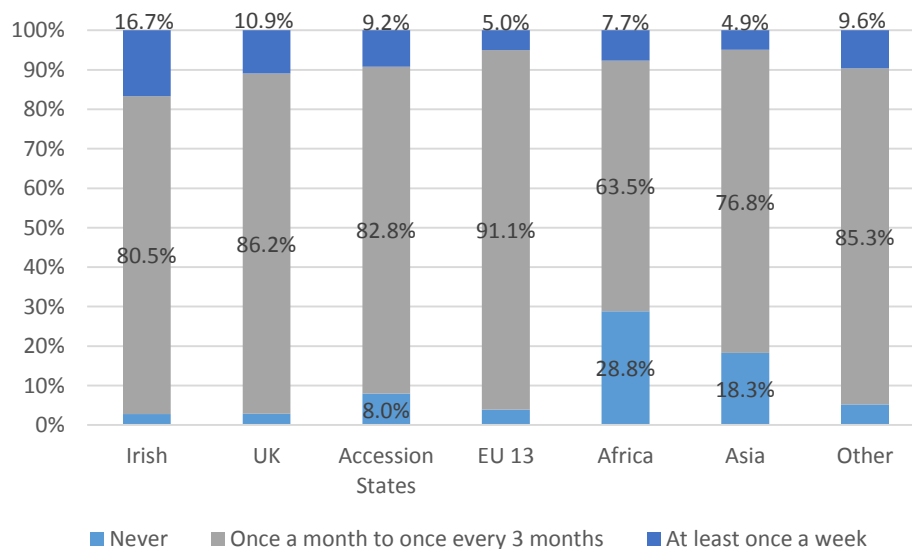
Regarding direct financial support (Figure 75), 28.6% of households reported that they received financial support from the infants' grandparents at least once every three months. Of the total sample, 2.8% received financial support at least once a week. Even though households where at least one parent was born in an EU-13 member state were the most economically advantaged of the nationality groups, they received the highest level of financial support, in terms of frequency at least.

Figure 75 How often grandparents, who lived in Ireland, provided financial support, by household nationality group



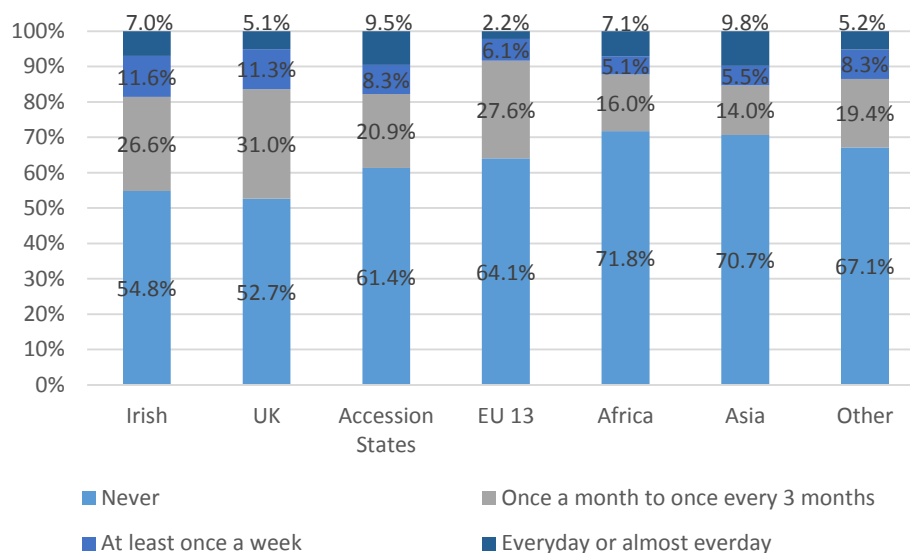
A high level of grandparent involvement in the lives of infants was found when we considered the frequency which they bought toys or clothes for them (Figure 76). Overall, 96.2% of the infants had toys or clothes bought for them by their grandparents at least once every three months with a sizeable proportion doing so on a weekly basis. Households where one or both parents were from and African (28.8%) or Asian (18.3%) country were most likely to never have toys or clothes bought for their child by the child's grandparents.

Figure 76 How often grandparents, who lived in Ireland, bought toys or clothes for baby, by household nationality group



The final question included in this section asked the frequency which grandparents provided help around the infants' home (Figure 77). Here a somewhat mixed picture emerged. While considerably fewer EU Accession State (38.6%), African (28.2%), and Asian (29.3%) households received help around the home from grandparents compared to Irish (45.2%) and U.K. households (47.3%), they were more likely to receive this help as regularly as every day or almost every day (EU Accession 9.5%; African 7.1%; and Asian 9.8%).

Figure 77 How often grandparents, who lived in Ireland, provided help around the home, by household nationality group



## 5.7 Chapter summary

Immigrant families face particular challenges with regard to managing labour market participation and childcare, particularly in the absence of familial support. With this in mind, Chapter 5 described the situation of the families sampled in GUI in terms of their labour market participation and childcare arrangements.

Prior to the birth of the study child, a higher proportion of mothers from EU Accession States and EU-13 member states were engaged in full-time employment, compared to Irish mothers. On the other hand, lower levels of economic activity were observed among African mothers with almost half not working in the period preceding the birth of the Study Child. Whether this is due to personal choice, barriers to labour market participation, or the fact that they were the group most likely to have had other children prior to this is not clear from the information available.

Of those who were in employment prior to the birth of the Study Child, more than half had returned to work by the time the child was nine-months-old, although less than half of mothers from the EU Accession States had done so. The rate of return to work was highest among Asian mothers. Unsurprisingly, given that all female employees (including casual workers) are entitled to 26 weeks' paid maternity leave and a further 16 weeks' unpaid leave, most of those who returned to work did so after their infant was six-months-old.

As well as collecting information on the timing of mothers return to work, GUI also asked about the main reason for doing so. While most mothers stated that financial reasons were the most

important for their decision to re-enter the labour market after the birth of their child, many mothers from higher socio-economic strata did so in order to maintain the careers they were in prior to the birth of their child. This was particularly evident among mothers from EU-13 households who, as shown earlier, were most likely to be found in higher social class groups. Among those mothers who had previously been in employment but had not returned to work by the time their child was nine-months old, more than half of all groups intended taking up paid employment again at some point in the future, with most expecting to do so by the time their child entered primary education.

In most cases, a mothers' ability to return to work is intertwined with access to and availability of non-parental childcare. Among mothers who were in full-time employment, 83.1% availed of non-parental childcare on a regular basis. The corresponding figure for those working on a part-time basis was 71.4%. It is clear from these numbers that non-parental childcare is a necessity for a great number of mothers. There were also clear differences between the nationality groupings in terms of their utilisation of regular non-parental childcare. In particular, the use of childcare was noticeably lower among full-time workers from Asian households.

There was a great deal of variation in the types of childcare arrangement which the mothers entered into. Mothers born in EU-13 countries had the highest rate of centre based care and lowest rate of relative childcare. This may be due to both an absence of familial networks and their higher socio-economic status with the former meaning these mothers may not have had extended family living in Ireland, and the latter meaning they were better positioned than other groups to meet the high costs of centre based care. Also noteworthy was the fact that a large proportion of children born to mothers from EU Accession States were in relative childcare, despite the likelihood of these households having fewer extended family members living in Ireland. Part of the reason for this was apparent from the subsequent analysis which examined which family members regularly looked after the Study Child. Among EU Accession State households, it was observed that a comparatively high proportion of this care was carried out by aunts or uncles of the Study Child, while the picture that emerged among the other groups pointed to the important role that grandparents play in providing regular childcare. On the latter, it is important to highlight the role of grandparents in the provision of childcare with a large majority of relative childcare provided by them. The centrality of grandparents in the provision of relative childcare remained, regardless of whether one of the Study Child's parents were Irish, with 70.1% of two migrant parent households with a child in relative childcare drawing on grandparents for this role.

While few mothers reported that affordability was the main reason for choosing a particular form of childcare, financial constraints were reported by many as an important consideration in their choice of childcare. Some clear differences were apparent between the nationality groups with financial constraints found to be particularly important for mothers from the EU Accession States and Africa. This resulted in a situation whereby these groups tended to be more reliant on family relatives for the provision of childcare.

Beyond regular childcare, grandparents who lived in Ireland were also regular providers of other supports. A large majority among all groups except for African and Asian households were found to regularly babysit the Study Child. Among all nationality groups, a large majority of the infants' grandparents bought toys or clothes for baby. A sizeable minority regularly took the Study Child for overnight stays; took them out with them at other times; provided financial support, sometimes

weekly; and helped around the children's home. Unfortunately, these questions were not asked of participants in cases where all of the Study Child's grandparents lived abroad. Therefore, it was not possible to examine that role that these non-resident grandparents might play in the lives of the infants.

## Chapter 6: Conclusion

While emigration rather than immigration appears to be the dominant concern in the public domain, this neglects not only that previous migration has changed the composition of Irish society quite dramatically, but also ignores the emergence of a numerically strong and diverse second generation in recent years. Amongst young families this increasing diversification of Irish society is particularly pronounced given the young age profile of many migrants in recent years. In this report we aimed to make this population visible by using *Growing Up in Ireland* data that provides a detailed snapshot of one cohort of such families. Here it is of course important to remember that this particular cohort is not necessarily representative of all migrant families or all migrants in Ireland, but of those children born at a specific point in time. It does, however, give some insights into broader trends that are occurring.

Working with existing data always has some limitations in terms of the questions it allows us to address. However, we have been able to analyse a range of important domains in the lives of young families, namely the growing diversity, socio-economic profiles and housing situation, as well as childcare and return to work. Findings are already summarised at the end of each chapter, although we include short profiles here of the nationality groups we studied to highlight some particularities. Mainly, we focus in this conclusion on the most important themes and provide thoughts on their relevance for policies that will be required to address this greater diversity. We also note several areas of further research that will need to be undertaken to better understand this development. Some will be explored in further publications from the 'New Irish Families' project, while others could be taken up in future projects.

### 6.1 Growing ethnic and religious diversity amongst young families

A large and growing number of families have at least one parent that is not from Ireland, reflecting migration into the country over recent decades. The most recent arrivals, both generally as well as in our data, are migrants from the new EU member states (Accession States), who at the time of birth of the Study Child were frequently in the country for less than five years. Asian migrants are also a relatively recent group, followed by Africans. Other groups are more mixed and include substantial proportions of long established migrants.

This brings with it greater diversity amongst children born in Ireland, who are more likely than before of different ethnic and religious background than the majority, particularly amongst Asian and African families. Based on the experience in other countries, as well as the Irish experience with newcomer children and adult migrants, this is not going to be without challenges. The international literature cautions that outcomes of the second generation may be at least partly determined by their ethnicity unless social boundaries are blurred sufficiently to embrace such children fully as members of mainstream society (see for example Alba and Nee, 2003 for a discussion of this in the US context). Ethnic background continues to be a source of discrimination in Ireland in various contexts, such as the labour market (McGinnity et al. 2009; O'Connell and McGinnity 2008) and the public domain more generally (Russell et al. 2008). In Particular, high levels of discrimination against Black Africans will need to be monitored closely to ensure that second generation children who are visibly different will not be marginalised due to this.

While the majority of migrants to Ireland are Catholic, the religious profile of the country is changing and this is at least in part due to migration. The international literature highlights that tensions can arise because of this, with particular emphasis being placed in Europe on debates around the role of Islam (Foner and Alba 2008). While numbers of Muslims are comparatively low in Ireland, there are numerous other Christian and non-Christian denominations present in the country, especially amongst African and Asian families. In addition it is notable that there is a relatively high proportion of parents and children in migrant families that do not belong to any religion, and this is a phenomenon that can be found amongst many of the migrant groups. Given that the study children are currently entering schools, this raises important questions regarding the provision of suitable educational options in a denominational education system that continues to be dominated by Catholic schools. While many of these issues were already brought up by the arrival of newcomer children over the last decades (Smyth et al. 2009), they will become ever more pronounced as more second generation children enter and progress through the education system.

### ***Families with U.K. born parents***

This group includes all those families with at least one U.K. born parent. It should be noted here that many within this group have some form of Irish background. They have generally been in the country for the longest time out of all groups, and were very similar to Irish families in many ways. Parents are almost all of White ethnicity and they and their children are overwhelmingly Catholic with some Protestants amongst them. They are also the most likely of all groups to be in mixed relationships with an Irish partner, and almost three quarters have Irish citizenship. Practically all such households speak English at home, and all their children had Irish citizenship. Mothers were only slightly older at birth of the Study Child, which is largely explained by the fact that this was more often not their first child.

Young families with a U.K. born migrant are very similar in their socio-economic profile to the Irish population, with slightly higher occupational positions and a small over-representation of individuals with 3<sup>rd</sup> level degrees. They have slightly higher household income and very similar levels of deprivation and self-reported financial difficulties. U.K. families are the only migrant group that are more likely to live in rural areas than their Irish peers, and are overrepresented in the West and Border regions. Their housing situation is very comparable to that of Irish families, and they feel as settled in their communities as their Irish peers.

Mothers in U.K. born families are less likely to have worked before birth than Irish mothers, and less likely to do so after birth. Also, a greater proportion switched from full-time to part-time employment. Amongst those who had not yet returned to work, a strong preference for part-time work was reported. They also use non-parental childcare slightly less than their Irish peers, and rely more strongly on centre based childcare.

## 6.2 Language development

Greater linguistic diversity is also a feature of recent migration, and can have both positive and negative implications for children and their families. The issue of language is crucial to families with one or more parent whose mother tongue is not English or Irish. Interestingly, the main language spoken in immigrant households is English, although a substantial minority of households consisting of two immigrant parents speak another language at home. Given that the children were still very young at the time their parents were interviewed, this will be important to follow up with later waves of data collection, as language formation is particularly crucial in the early years of a child's life (see for example Singleton and Lengyel 1995).

In particular, the English language ability of children from households with parents who do not speak English at home will need to be monitored to detect and avoid potential disadvantages this may cause. Literature elsewhere indicates that language disadvantage can occur in such contexts and has negative consequences for school achievement (see for example Caldas and Bankston 1998), which may be further intensified by low rates of non-relative childcare usage amongst the groups most likely to speak another language at home, which is further explored below. This appears to be especially the case for migrants from Accession States, raising a legitimate concern that some children may enter schools without English language fluency.

We did not focus here on bilingualism and the extent to which this is maintained despite the relative dominance of English in mixed and even in two immigrant households. This is a further area of investigation, as bilingualism is often desired by parents and is increasingly recognised as beneficial for children (Bialystok 2011). While the Irish government is promoting English and Irish bilingualism (Government of Ireland 2010), there is now scope for widening this understanding. Considering that Ireland has a skill shortage in foreign language ability (FAS 2013), the children of migrants may indeed be a great potential resource if their second language is nurtured and supported while also acquiring proficiency in English as the main host country language.

### *Families with parents from New EU Accession States*

This group of families includes those where one or both parents are from a country that joined the EU since 2004. Migrants from the Accession States were the most recent arrivals in Ireland, and the study child was often the first child in the family. The partner was very frequently from the same nationality group, although women in this group are more likely to have an Irish partner than men. English is spoken in less than half of such households. Almost all respondents identified as White and a majority were Catholic. Very few parents in this group held Irish citizenship, and only about one third of children did. Mothers in this group are also the youngest at age of first birth and birth of the Study Child, with a significant proportion being between 20 and 25 years of age, and relatively few becoming mothers over the age of 35. An average proportion of mothers are married, but more than average have their partner living with them in the household; they are therefore less likely to live in lone parent households.

Migrants from Accession States disproportionately occupy jobs at the lower level of



the occupational ladder and have much lower household incomes, despite having a quite similar educational profile to Irish parents. They also report deprivation and difficulty making ends meet more frequently. Accession State migrants are found across all Irish regions, although they more often live in urban contexts than their Irish peers. They more often occupy apartments rather than houses, and have less living space and access to outdoor spaces, and overwhelmingly rent their accommodation. They enjoy good access to services, and only about one sixth report not feeling settled in their community.

Migrants from Accession State countries were more likely to work full-time before birth, but they are least likely to do so nine months after birth. Only about a quarter of previously full-time working mothers in this group have returned to full-time work at this point. While a similar proportion to Irish mothers plan to return full-time at a later stage, many were still unsure as to their plans. A small proportion of children were in non-parental care, and out of those the majority were in relative care. Only very few are in centre based care. This group are also more likely than Irish parents to report that their choice of childcare was determined at least to some extent by financial constraints.

### 6.3 Citizenship: Exclusion and inclusion

When classifying who we consider 'New Irish Families', a choice had to be made between country of birth versus citizenship. While we decided to use country of birth as we wanted to include individuals who had acquired Irish citizenship since arriving in Ireland, we recognise that citizenship is an important factor that needs to be looked at to better understand the situation of migrants and their children. Citizenship is an important factor for integration outcomes (McGinnity et al. 2013) and is relevant both for parents but also for second generation children as they grow up.

Many of the migrant parents were not citizens, with the notable exception of those groups where many have Irish heritage (i.e. U.K. born and 'other' category that includes many North Americans and Australians). This is at least partly explained by a high proportion of migrants having arrived in the country relatively recently, particularly amongst Accession State migrants, but also Asians and to a lesser extent Africans. The latter two groups have more to gain from citizenship than intra-European Union migrants, with the former enjoying broadly similar rights to natives without having to avail of citizenship. New research shows that citizenship acquisitions have risen sharply as migrant communities are becoming more established and qualify for citizenship, but also because there have been improvements in speed and ease of the process itself (McGinnity et al. 2014).

The citizenship status of parents has consequences for children born in Ireland, as they are no longer automatically entitled to citizenship as they had been previously (Coakley, 2012). Despite these limitations, most of the children had Irish citizenship, although this proportion was markedly lower amongst Accession State migrants, followed by Asian and African migrants. The high rates of citizenship amongst children of EU-13 and 'other' migrants are to a great extent explained by their being more likely to have one Irish parent. When only two-migrant families were examined, between 14 and 24% of children do not have Irish citizenship, with the exception of children of

Accession State migrants with 42%. Future research should attempt to determine whether parents and their children acquire citizenship with longer residence, and whether there are barriers to doing so.

#### ***Families with parents from the 'old' EU***

This group includes families with at least one parent from an EU 13 country, or 'old' EU country. Migrants from this group were generally longer in the country than migrants from the Accession States or outside of Europe. Only about one fifth of mothers held Irish citizenship, but almost all of the children did. English was spoken in the vast majority of such households. Almost all identified as White, but the religious profile is much more mixed with a large proportion not having any religion. They are almost as frequently in relationships with an Irish partner as U.K. born migrants, although more frequently for women than for men. They also tended to have their first child a little later in life than the Irish average. Their partner was much more likely to be living in the household than average and there are very few lone parent households in this group.

Migrants from the 'old' EU countries hold significantly higher level jobs than the Irish population, which is unsurprising given their much higher educational attainment. Their higher household income is in line with this pattern. Levels of deprivation are similar to the average, and fewer report having financial difficulties. EU 13 migrants live more often than average in urban contexts, and particularly in Dublin, and are slightly more likely to live in apartments. They are about as likely to own their homes as Irish families and only about one sixth report not feeling part of their community. However, a greater proportion than average plan to move away from their local area.

Migrants from EU 13 countries were the most likely to work full-time before birth, but are broadly in line with the Irish population after birth, being slightly less likely to return to full-time work, although many intended to do so at a later stage. Their use of non-parental childcare is similar to that of their Irish peers, but they are by far more likely to use centre based and less likely to use relative childcare than any other group.

#### **6.4 Partnership status and lone parenthood**

As some of the more recent migrant groups were relatively young and were only starting to form families when the first wave of the *Growing Up in Ireland* survey took place, it is unsurprising that especially amongst Accession State migrants the Study Child was often their first child. Marriage rates are very high amongst Asian and 'other' migrants, which may have to do both with cultural preferences as well as visa restrictions that generally require marriage as a condition for family reunification. There is little evidence of very early childbearing, which has been observed amongst some disadvantaged migrant groups in other countries, such as Mexicans in the United States (Rumbaut 2005), although some immigrant mothers appear to have children earlier than their Irish counterparts. Again, some of this may be cultural preference, and future research could investigate

whether patterns observed in other countries hold similarly for Ireland (see for example Stichnoth and Yeter 2013 for Germany).

Amongst most migrant groups, the proportion of lone parents was lower than in Irish households, with the exception of Africans. Mothers born in Africa are not only more likely to be lone parents, but also to have more than one child to care for by themselves. As the literature strongly emphasises the challenges for lone parents as well as likely disadvantages for their children (see for example Hannan et al. 2013) this is a worrying trend. While it has been argued that cultural differences in family practices contribute to this, for example in the case of African Americans in the United States (Ruggles 1994), it is also possible that family reunification policies play a part.

Family reunification policies are an important aspect of migration policy that are heavily impacted by the migration status of individual family members and in many cases favours marital partnerships above others. While the UNCRC, which Ireland ratified, specifically provides that children should not be separated from their parents against their will, an examination of the Irish Naturalisation and Immigration Service *Policy Document on Non-EEA Family Reunification* (2013) shows that Irish government policy permits barriers to family reunification. Currently, statutory rights to family reunification are only available to EU/EEA nationals, scientific researchers working in Ireland under Directive 2005/71/EC, and persons granted refugee status or subsidiary protection. Family members of legally resident migrants and Irish citizens can apply for a visa to join their family in Ireland or, if already present, to remain with their family. However, applicable policies vary considerably, depending on the residence status of the family members living in Ireland (Becker et al. 2012). The complexity of Irish family reunification policy has led to '*confusion and frustration on the part of applicants and their family members*' (ibid, p.27). It has also been noted that apart from creating confusion and frustration, there are long delays in processing family reunification applications and high levels of refusals, both of which impact negatively on families (Coakley 2012; Cosgrave 2006; Galvin 2012). Unfortunately, due to limitations in the data available to us from GUI, we are unable to address this issue directly, but future research should consider this.

Regardless of this, lone parent migrant mothers are likely to require particular attention and support, as they are less likely have the same family supports that typically help to sustain one parent families in Ireland (Hannan et al. 2013). While it is beyond the scope of this study to look at this further, future research should focus specifically on this group to determine whether they are doubly disadvantaged, or whether immigrant lone parents develop coping strategies to deal with this particularly challenging situation. However, this may not be possible with GUI data due to relatively low case numbers of one parent headed households in some immigrant groups.

### *Families with African parents*

This group includes families with at least one parent born in Africa. Relatively few African mothers were in the country for more than ten years, but more than in other groups arrived between six and ten years ago. Few Africans are in relationships with an Irish partner, and less than one fifth of mothers have Irish citizenship. However, over 90% of children are Irish citizens, and a similar proportion of households speak English at home. The vast majority identify as Black, although a not insignificant proportion were of White ethnicity. Most were of Christian religion, but with a greater mix of denominations amongst them than in Irish families. Mothers in this group are only marginally younger than average. They are the most likely to be separated, divorced or widowed out of all groups and the most likely to not have a partner living with them. They have the highest proportion living in a lone parent household, and it is particularly noticeable that there is a relatively large group of lone parents with more than one child in this group. This is also the group with the largest average household size overall.

African families have a lower socio-economic profile than average, and are strongly overrepresented in the lowest household income group. However, their educational level is not vastly lower than average, particularly amongst the fathers. They are the most likely group to report deprivation and difficulty making ends meet. African families are also strongly clustered in urban areas, particularly in Dublin, and are more likely to live in apartments. They have less living space and access to gardens than average, and less than one third own their accommodation. They generally enjoy good access to services, and only about one sixth do not feel part of their community. Yet, about one quarter plan to move from their current local area.

African mothers were the least likely to work before giving birth, but are quite similar to other groups in terms of their participation after birth and rates of return to full-timework, with the vast majority hoping to return at least on a part-time basis. A relatively low proportion of children were in non-parental childcare, with the preferred option being non-relative childcare followed by centre based childcare. Their childcare choices were most frequently of all groups reported to be primarily due to financial constraints

### **6.5 Mixed relationships with Irish partners**

A greater proportion of families consist of mixed couples with one Irish partner than of two migrant couples. However, this is very unevenly distributed between groups: U.K. born and migrants from 'old' EU member states are very frequently in relationship with an Irish partner, as are the 'other' category that includes many North American and Australian migrants. This is likely to be both a function of their longer residence and socio-economic status, as well as a result of comparatively lower social boundaries between these groups. There are also quite a few truly international couples where neither partner is Irish nor both partners from the same nationality group.

Interestingly, there are some gender differences in terms of the likelihood to have an Irish partner, which is noticeably higher for women amongst all groups except for Africans and U.K. born, but is particularly pronounced for Accession State and Asian women, where more than twice as many foreign born mothers have an Irish partner than foreign born fathers. Research in other countries has shown that intermarriage, or inter-ethnic couples more broadly, are strong indicators for social integration between groups (Kalmijn 1998), and future research could look at this interesting phenomenon in the Irish case to show the degree of selectivity we see in who enters such relationships.

A second question relates to the consequences for children of having one Irish parent. What we can already see in our analyses here is that having an Irish partner acts as an important bridge into society. This is most noticeable in terms of citizenship, which almost all children with one Irish parent hold. Also, English language appears to be extremely dominant in such households, although as discussed above there may be some degree of bilingualism that we did not explore here. Further analyses will show whether this also extends to other domains, where having local networks and family support from Irish relatives could be of great importance.

#### *Families with Asian parents*

This group includes families with at least one Asian born parent. Asian parents were the second most recent group according to length of stay. While a large proportion are in relationships with a partner from the same nationality group, about one fifth of Asian women and one tenth of Asian men have an Irish partner. They largely identify as Asian ethnicity, and have a very mixed religious profile, with a significant proportion not belonging to any religion at all. Just under one third speak a language other than English in the home. While just above one tenth of Asian born mothers hold Irish citizenship, more than three quarters of their children do. They are very similar in terms of mothers' age at birth to their Irish peers, but are much more likely to be married and have a partner present in the household than any other group. Very few are in lone parent households.

Asian migrants are overrepresented both at the higher and the lower end of the occupational ladder, and have on average higher educational levels. Their household income is more often in the lower categories than amongst their Irish peers, but only marginally more of them report deprivation, though a higher than average proportion find it difficult to make ends meet. Asian migrants are strongly clustered in urban areas and Dublin in particular and are more likely to live in apartments than Irish families. They have slightly less space and access to gardens than average, but almost one half of this group own their accommodation. Access to services is generally good, and the vast majority feel settled in their community.

Asian mothers show a very interesting pattern: while a relatively high proportion did not work before birth, this actually decreases after birth, making them the group with the highest proportion working full-time after birth of all groups, with by far the highest return to full-time work. They do, however, also have the highest – if not very large – proportion not intending to return to work at all, and many indicate that they

were not yet sure about their future plans. Their usage of non-parental childcare is the lowest of all groups, and those that do use it tend to use relative and non-relative childcare, with very few children being placed in centre based settings. Their choice of childcare was most frequently reported to be at least to some extent due to financial constraints.

## 6.6 Socio-economic segmentation and its consequences for second generation children

Concerns about segmented assimilation have been raised in the literature in the US as well as in many European countries (Crul and Schneider 2010; Crul and Vermeulen 2006; Heath et al. 2008; Portes et al. 2009; Portes and Zhou 1993). This refers to the disadvantaged position of some migrant parents, which can lead to poor outcomes for their children. The main factors raised in this literature are low socio-economic status, growing up in disadvantaged areas, family breakdown and discrimination based on race and ethnicity. The latter two have already been discussed above, so the focus in the following is on socio-economic position and residential area. While it will not be possible to see outcomes in terms of school or transition into the labour market for many years to come, important pathways are laid early in life. Understanding and addressing potential disadvantages also tends to be more effective at an early age, rather than dealing with problems later in life (Heckman 2006).

In the Irish context it is very important to highlight that not all migrants are disadvantaged. Indeed, some groups, particularly those from Western Europe and English-speaking countries outside of Europe, even outperform Irish people in terms of educational attainment and occupational position (Barrett and McCarthy, 2007; O'Connell and McGinnity, 2008). However, there are some groups that fare significantly worse, with higher unemployment (CSO 2010), persistently low occupational attainment that often remains below their educational level (Mühlau 2012), and lower wages (Barrett and McCarthy 2007; O'Connell and McGinnity 2008). As seen in previous research for the general population as well as in our analyses of a specific cohort of young families, this affects particularly migrants from the EU Accession States and Africa: their educational profile is similar and in some cases higher than that of the native population, but their occupational status is much lower. While the main issue for Africans appears to be not being active on the labour market at all, the issue for Accession State migrants is employment in lower level jobs that may not match their educational achievement. As a result, these two groups are much more likely to be in low income households, to report basic deprivation and difficulties with making ends meet. Asian migrants are more similar to the overall population, although there is a stronger division between those that are in relatively high skilled employment, and a larger than average proportion in lower skilled employment. They also seem to be slightly over-represented in lower income groups, and report quite high levels of difficulty with making ends meet.

While it is too early to outline the effects the disadvantaged socio-economic status will have on the children in these families, a body of literature outlines the potential negative effects across all life domains (see for example Duncal et al. 1998; 2010). While these issues affect all low income households, whether they are headed by a migrant or not, there are additional difficulties for the children of migrants that are outlined above in terms of language, citizenship and discrimination on grounds of ethnicity or religion. Additionally, as the sections below illustrate, the living

environments, social integration and lack of family supports can put additional pressure onto migrant families, especially in relation to childcare.

### *Families with parents born in 'other' countries*

This group includes all those families with a migrant parent not classified in any of the groups above. It is therefore a very heterogeneous group and results should be interpreted accordingly. Mothers in this group had generally been in the country for a similar amount of time as migrants from the EU 13 countries. Over half of people in this group have an Irish partner, although again this is higher for women than men. More than one third of mothers held Irish citizenship, and almost all children were Irish citizens. Most identified as White, with the most frequent religion named being Catholicism, followed by no religion. English was by far the most common language spoken in such households. Mothers were also slightly older than Irish mothers at birth, and are much more likely to be married and to have the partner living in the household, with very few lone parent households.

Migrant families from 'other' countries are most commonly found in higher level occupations in line with their higher educational level and consequently enjoy higher household incomes. Their deprivation levels and self-reported difficulty making ends meet are in line with Irish households. Migrants from 'other' countries more often live in urban areas than their Irish peers and more often in Dublin. They are more likely to live in apartments than average, and often own their accommodation. Access to services is in line with the general population, and families overall appear to feel well settled in the community.

While having similar employment status to Irish mothers before birth, a higher proportion did not return to work. Only Accession State migrants had lower return to work than this group. Despite this, about one third of children in this group were in regular non-parental care, which is below the Irish average but above that for many other migrant groups. The most popular form of non-parental childcare was centre based followed by non-relative childcare.

### 6.7 Disadvantage in living conditions?

Immigrant families are more likely to live in urban areas and particularly in and around Dublin, with the exception of U.K. born parents. Only Accession State migrants are quite evenly distributed across the regions, but nevertheless seem to cluster in more urban areas. While this on the one hand gives greater access to services as we can see in our analyses, it also tends to be associated with a less favourable housing situation due to greater competition for good quality housing in urban areas.

Given that data collection took place towards the end of the housing boom in Ireland, accommodation would have been a major expense with only limited choice available for newly arrived migrants, particularly if coupled with relatively low incomes. As new arrivals are generally not in a position to purchase housing, it is unsurprising that more recent migrant groups are overwhelmingly found in rented accommodation, with a much higher proportion living in apartments than houses. Due to the decline in the provision of social housing, accommodation for

low income families is increasingly provided by the private rental sector (Fahey et al. 2004), making such families particularly vulnerable to fluctuations in this sector. Also, Fahey (2010) points out that migrants at that time were clustered disproportionately into areas with greater availability of private rental accommodation. On the one hand it may be reassuring that there appeared to be little residential segregation by ethnicity as seen in other countries. However, migrants – and particularly lower income households – have become clustered in less established neighbourhoods of lower socio-economic profile.

A consequence of urban living is less space, and a higher likelihood to live in apartments rather than houses. While apartments are not per se unsuitable housing for families, much of the apartment stock in Ireland was not built as long term family housing. Unsurprisingly, families from Accession State countries, Africa and Asia, who are overrepresented in apartments, are also the least likely to have access to a garden and common spaces, and have the least rooms per household member available. Migrants are also more likely to report that their area is not safe for children to play outside, although this may be linked to their greater likelihood of living in urban areas more generally. Reassuringly, though, many migrants do feel part of their local community, although there is a not insignificant proportion that do not, which would require further following up to understand possible reasons for this.

## 6.8 Childcare strategies

Return to work and childcare arrangements are particularly challenging for young families, and this becomes especially relevant when statutory maternity leave ends and decisions have to be made in terms of whether it is desirable and feasible to return to work and place a child in non-parental care, or whether becoming a full-time carer is a better option. Attitudes about appropriate childcare of young children interact with practical and financial constraints, and families have to find satisfactory strategies that suit their resources and preferences. In this context it is important to consider that childcare in Ireland is amongst the most expensive in Europe, which has led to very high reliance on relative childcare especially amongst lower income households (McGinnity et al. 2013).

Given that migrants, and especially those with no Irish partner, are less likely to have family living close by, reliance on relative childcare is not an option for many of them. This, coupled with the lower household income, creates a potentially very challenging situation. While further work is needed to disentangle the complex factors that influence childcare and work strategies, a few important issues already emerge from our analyses here. Better off migrant parents seem to use centre based childcare more widely than Irish parents and thus compensate the lack of other forms of childcare available to them. Due to the high cost of such care, this seems not to be an option for many other groups, who are less likely to avail of non-parental childcare even if they work full-time.

This suggests that they have developed other strategies, which could mean that fathers play a more significant role, but could also indicate that mothers carry a double burden between full-time work, such as shift work common in certain professions, and long hours of childcare duties (Bonizzoni 2014). Part-time work also appears to be a strategy associated with compensating for the absence of non-parental childcare amongst migrants, who are much less likely to use non-parental childcare when working part-time.



While fewer migrants than Irish parents had access to relative childcare, a not insignificant proportion did have family members helping them. Grandparents play a large role in relative childcare, but aunts and uncles are also common especially amongst Accession State and Asian migrants. Interestingly, quite high proportions of migrants had at least one grandparent in the country, even amongst groups where most couples were made up of two immigrants. Nevertheless, Africans, followed by Asians and Accession State migrants were the least likely to have grandparents in Ireland. Grandparent support for childcare and housework was lower amongst migrant families, however, even when there were grandparents resident in the country.

Overall, it seems that the childcare system in Ireland with its high reliance on childcare provided by relatives is creating major challenges for parents that are further compounded for migrant families. This has consequences for return to work of mothers, which is discussed below, but also raises other questions. Relatively few migrant children attend centre based childcare, although they may greatly benefit from this. Early childhood education has a particular significance for children from disadvantaged families, who reap the rewards of this disproportionately (Barnett 1995; Campbell et al. 2002; European Commission 2006). Future research should focus on this with later cohorts of the GUI dataset to understand the outcomes for parents and their children better. The ECCE pre-school year is likely to be a great asset in this regard, as such programmes have been shown elsewhere to particularly benefit migrant children who otherwise tend to use pre-school less frequently than natives (Magnuson et al. 2005), but the programme may be too late and too short to have the desired benefits. Given current resource constraints, interventions have to be targeted at groups most in need. Non-English-speaking migrant families in lower income groups appear to be most likely to benefit significantly from provision of affordable childcare options.

## 6.9 Dropping out of the labour market?

It is particularly noticeable that migrant mothers from Accession States seem to be dropping out of the labour market at a very high rate, which is especially striking as they were frequently found in full-time employment previous to birth, and the Study Child is often their only child. This could be explained by their relatively low occupational attainment, suggesting that career reasons may not be a strong motivation, and that their wages may not justify childcare costs. While Asian and African mothers had lower labour force participation before birth, those that did work have similar if not higher return to work than their Irish peers. The findings here suggest that many Africans are excluded from the labour market already before birth, although it is unclear here whether this is because many of them have larger families, or whether there are other reasons. Previous research suggests that the persistent exclusion of Africans from the labour market is not specific to women, and that discrimination as well as their migration status play a role (O'Connell and McGinnity 2008).

Asians, on the other hand, seem to fall into two broad groups: those that did work and have a high rate of return to work after birth, and those that are not strongly attached to the labour market neither before nor after birth. This is likely to reflect migration patterns of professional migrant women from Asia who often work in the healthcare sector (Humphreys et al. 2008) and may frequently be the primary breadwinners, and marriage migration on the other hand, consisting of women who join their husbands who are the main breadwinners. To what extent cultural factors and preferences play a role in this cannot be determined here, and we aim to further explore this in the next stages of this research project.

## 6.10 Future outlook

In this report, we have only focused on children and their families at the age of nine months. However, many of the questions raised here will continue to be of importance and in some cases even gain greater significance as the children get older, and new questions will arise. We will focus particularly on childcare, return to work and socio-economic well-being more broadly in further analyses of the nine month cohort and use the next wave of data collection at three years of age to track and understand changes that have occurred. To address some of the questions that remain we are also carrying out a qualitative study, conducting interviews with a range of migrant families. This will help us understand their experiences, motivations and decisions better, and fill in some of the gaps left by the descriptive findings provided here.

The greater diversity of 'New Irish Families' is very apparent from this report, and we have highlighted some of the issues that are arising as a result of this. Some groups in particular are disadvantaged and may require additional supports if we are to ensure that all children, regardless of their background, have equal life chances. Likewise, we should not forget that even for the more advantaged migrant families issues seem to arise particularly in relation to childcare and return to work. If Ireland wishes to continue to attract and retain highly skilled migrants this should not be neglected. To achieve this, the progress of families will need to be monitored continuously, and policies will need to consistently consider a greater variety in backgrounds. Being aware of the disadvantages and challenges faced by some of the second generation children and their families is a first step, but significant future work will be needed both in research and in policy making.

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## Appendix 1 Scoring of the Basic Deprivation Scale

The eleven items that make up the Basic Deprivation Scale are as follows:

- 1) Does your household eat meals with meat, chicken, fish at least every second day?
- 2) Does your household have a roast joint (or its equivalent) at least once a week?
- 3) Do household members buy new rather than second-hand clothes?
- 4) Does each household member possess a warm waterproof coat?
- 5) Does each household member possess two pairs of strong shoes?
- 6) Does the household replace any worn out furniture?
- 7) Does the household keep the home adequately warm?
- 8) Does the household have family or friends for a drink or meal once a month?
- 9) Does the household buy presents for family or friends at least once a year?
- 10) Have you ever had to go without heating during the last 12 months through lack of money? (I mean have you had to go without a fire on a cold day, or go to bed to keep warm or light the fire late because of lack of coal/fuel?)
- 11) Did you have a morning, afternoon or evening out in the last fortnight, for your entertainment (something that cost money)?

For Items 1 through 9 respondents answered 'yes', 'no, cannot afford', or 'no, other reason'. Details of other reasons were not recorded. Respondents were given a score of 1 for each 'yes' response and 0 for each 'no' response, these were then added together to provide an overall score. The original authors of the scale suggested a threshold score of 2+ whereby households are considered to be in deprivation if they report negatively to two or more of the eleven items listed above. These cut-offs were defined 'so that in each case a significant, but variable, minority are above the deprivation cut-off point'. This approach was 'consistent with the notion that multiple deprivation arises where excluded minorities overlap substantially' (Whelan et al., 2007). In choosing this threshold the authors found that one-in-seven of the sample from the 2004 European Survey on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC) used when designing the scale were found to be in basic deprivation. Given the recession of the Irish economy since then it is likely that this figure will have increased in the interim.