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# Conclusion

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## **Multiple disadvantages – making the links**

As New Labour begins its third term in office, the children in this book continue to be disproportionately disadvantaged from the moment they are born. Indeed, all too often children's histories are written while they are still in the womb. Family income remains a major determinant of a child's health at birth, her/his educational attainment levels and the sort of job s/he is likely to get.

This will not come as a surprise to the Government. As discussed in the Introduction, it has become an expert analyst of poverty and social exclusion. However, although the Treasury's *Child Poverty Review* states that 'A child's life chances should not be determined by their parent's capacity to earn', the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) accepts that:

Children's life chances are still strongly affected by the circumstances of their parents. The social class a child is born into and their parents' level of education and health are still major determinants of their life chances and mean that social exclusion and disadvantage can pass from generation to generation.<sup>1</sup>

A number of overlapping themes emerge in *At Greatest Risk* – many of which have already been identified by the Government as a source of concern.<sup>2</sup> Issues around education, poor housing and employment are found in all the chapters. Ill health and disability – both a cause and a consequence of poverty – are prevalent among all the 'at risk' groups. For mothers, high levels of stress, anxiety and ill health may be exacerbated by judgemental, discriminatory or disjointed services. For some children, systems that have been put in place to redress inequalities – eg, within the education system – sometimes consolidate them. Community deprivation destroys childhood experiences and blights future prospects. Lone parenthood and ethnicity often compound underlying disadvantages. The focus on work as the primary – indeed, the only – route out of poverty has both

marginalised and stigmatised families for whom it is not an option. Meanwhile, an inadequate and often inaccessible benefit system is failing to provide 'security for those who cannot work.'

## **Women, poverty, and family breakdown**

Gender and lone parenthood arise as significant and cross cutting issues in this book. While lone parenthood is closely linked with living in poverty, poverty also puts relationships under considerable strain and can result in families breaking up. Although this may damage children's life chances, because of the association with an increased likelihood of poverty, some Government policies directly or indirectly contribute to the breakdown of families.

In her chapter on asylum seekers Pamela Fitzpatrick records how newborn babies are being taken into care because of a government policy that impoverishes asylum seeking mothers. Mike Stein reveals that many children are taken into care as a direct consequence of parental poverty. When a parent is in prison Jan Walker and Peter McCarthy report that, although maintaining family ties is vital in preventing reoffending and the risk of children learning offending behaviour, family breakdown is high. The link between disability and lone parenthood is also strong. Caring for a disabled partner or a child without adequate support places enormous strain on relationships.

## **Black and minority ethnic families**

For a number of complex reasons, ethnicity often reinforces underlying disadvantages. Some black and minority ethnic (BME) families are more likely to be in the 'at risk' groups, to experience even greater disadvantages than white families within these 'at risk' groups, and are more likely to span different groups. For example, Gary Craig notes while only 8 per cent of white families and 29 per cent of Indian families contain five or more people, the figures rise to 59 and 65 per cent for Pakistani and Bangladeshi households. And Pamela Fitzpatrick reports:

A child aged between 5 and 9, in a two-parent household and whose parents were white owner-occupiers not dependent on social security benefits, had a 1 in 7,000 chance of entering care. A child of mixed race aged between 5 and 9 living in private rented accommodation with a lone parent who received income support had a 1 in 10 chance of entering care.

## **Poverty and ill health**

The direct link between poverty and ill health or disability remains stubbornly in place. As Ruth Northway notes, childhood disability can arise from poor maternal nutrition, and 'children of parents in manual occupation groups have a higher risk of serious childhood illness and disability.' Parents of disabled children find that their own health suffers due to stress, which in turn has a negative impact on their employment opportunities.

Poverty is also linked with mental health problems which, the Government itself recognises, dramatically reduces opportunities to access employment and/or the benefit system. Sarah Cernyn and Colin Clark report that Gypsies and Travellers have significantly poorer health than those of the same age, gender and economic status and are 'much more likely to experience anxiety, and, especially women, depression.' Pamela Fitzpatrick indicates that asylum seekers are 'vulnerable to ... poor health, depression, loneliness, stress and family breakdown.' Young children of asylum seekers in the UK experience particular health problems such as weight loss, mouth infections, persistent respiratory conditions, skin complaints and 'a general failure to thrive'.

Sue Regan and Jenny Neuberger note that inadequate housing also contributes to underlying health problems, including 'both the development of mental health problems, such as depression, and physical health problems, such as asthma caused by damp and condensation.'

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## **The political context and structural problems**

A number of the issues raised in this book relate directly to the Government's strategy on child poverty. These are discussed below.

## Rights and responsibilities

The Government is very keen on rights and responsibilities, and yet some children – for example, Gypsies and Travellers, and those who have a parent in prison – are not accorded the rights that childhood should bring. Despite the fact that the UK is a signatory to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Government itself has identified many of the children in this book as being at particular risk,<sup>3</sup> some of Britain's most vulnerable children are neither seen nor heard. Most disturbing of all, some aspects of legislation actively undermine children's status as children. Pamela Fitzpatrick notes that for the children of asylum seekers, 'their status of asylum seekers is given precedence over their status as children'. This is in direct contravention of Article 16<sup>4</sup> and Article 22<sup>5</sup> of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Other children register in the public consciousness only when they are perceived as being part of a vilified group. 'Blame and shame' is an integral part of the nation's psyche, although it is a culture which detracts from the Government's agenda on poverty and society inclusion. Misguided and sometimes inflammatory ministerial rhetoric around respect and discipline, and the compulsion to demonise some children as 'yobs' is a source of mounting concern. Slapping anti-social behaviour orders, curfews and custodial sentences on children who are already at risk<sup>6</sup> flies in the face of the Government's *Every Child Matters* agenda. It is to be hoped that the Government's eagerly awaited Green Paper on youth<sup>7</sup> will inculcate a more positive and understanding approach to young people. However, for the moment, young people seem to get significantly more stick than carrot.

Many of the young people in this book are affected by a judgemental rather than a supportive approach. Jan Walker and Peter McCarthy comment that parental imprisonment has a direct impact upon children who 'feel let down and experience emotional and behavioural problems.' However, they emphasise that rather than receiving support, children are themselves 'labelled as deviant and excluded even further'.

Their parents fare no better. Although many of this book's contributors emphasise that parenting is significantly harder when money, status and self esteem are in short supply, the Government seems intent on reflecting and reinforcing the media's and the public's compulsion to demonise and judge parents who are struggling to cope. As Pamela Fitzpatrick points out in relation to asylum seekers, being forced to leave their home, give up their career, family and friends, and often suffer severe

trauma 'may well affect their ability to care for their children'. Nevertheless, support and understanding is in very short supply. Harsh solutions do little to relieve problems of poverty – indeed, they often compound them. Drawing on research which has found evidence of a link between crime and poverty, Jan Walker and Peter McCarthy emphasise that 'Sending a parent to prison provides a marker for a range of linked effects, all of which contribute to and reinforce the propensity for child poverty', yet custodial sentences are on the increase.

This book clearly reveals that punishing parental behaviours – or penalising them because of their national or ethnic status, or because they are unable or unwilling to work – is not only unjust for the parent, but it means punishing children for something they haven't done. Although the *Child Poverty Review* promises to support and protect children 'so they do not suffer as a result of their parents' circumstances',<sup>8</sup> all too often – as Jan Walker and Peter McCarthy point out – children are the 'indisputably innocent victims'.

## **Work – a route out of poverty?**

Accessing paid employment plays a crucial role in the Government's strategy for the eradication of child poverty. The seemingly intractable link between worklessness and poverty clearly suggests that, for most families, sustainable, well paid employment is the *only* viable route out of poverty. However, work is not a reliable route out of poverty for everybody. For many of the families in this book, barriers to employment, low pay and living in single earner households significantly reduces the ability of employment to draw them out of poverty.

Low levels of educational achievement, poor training, ill health or discrimination, along with structural problems such as inadequate child-care or a lack of appropriate and/or locally accessible jobs, mean that even when families do access paid employment it is often, as David Piachaud points out, 'insecure and poorly rewarded'. Furthermore, despite a number of Government initiatives aimed at drawing low income families into paid employment – including New Deals, Pathways to Work, and legislation designed to reduce discrimination – many families in this book continue to face almost insurmountable barriers to the labour market. For example, Gary Craig reports that 'racism in the selection of people for jobs or redundancy and the greater likelihood of being in low-paid

work' renders employment an unreliable route out of poverty for some minority ethnic communities.

Families with disabled children also face significant barriers to employment.<sup>9</sup> For the minority who do access paid employment, it may not be financially beneficial. Ruth Northway emphasises that families with disabled children spend significantly longer periods of time caring for their children. As a consequence, when they return to work 'they may find themselves offered work which is low paid and often below their level of training/qualifications'.

The Government acknowledges that 'Disabled people often experience multiple forms of labour market disadvantage.'<sup>10</sup> However, while Hugh Stickland and Richard Olsen argue that more should be done to improve employment opportunities for disabled parents, they note that when they do move into work 'the risk of poverty is greater for children with disabled parents than those with non-disabled parents.' They attribute this to the likelihood of disabled people being in relatively low paid, part-time and insecure work.

Larger families – who often span the 'at risk' groups – also face additional barriers to paid employment. Jonathan Bradshaw observes that apart from the desire to spend time with their children, having to arrange and co-ordinate childcare can be a deterrent to mothers taking on paid work. He also emphasises that larger families who do work are likely to be poorer than smaller families, because pay packets do not recognise additional family needs.

Furthermore, work is not a route out of poverty for families who are actively excluded from labour market participation – such as asylum seekers.

## **Security for those who cannot work?**

Given the difficulties mentioned above, it is essential that the benefit system provides an adequate financial safety net to safeguard families from poverty. But is financial security being provided for those who cannot work? New Labour has introduced substantial improvements to benefits for children (see p20). However, high levels of poverty in workless families raise serious questions about the structural effectiveness and administrative reliability, the adequacy and the accessibility of the benefit system.

Children in the 'at risk' groups are disproportionately reliant on benefits that, as Sue Middleton reports, remain woefully inadequate. The adult rate of income support (IS) comes in for a great deal of criticism. As David

Piachaud points out, ‘the “safety net” provided by the State is still far below its own poverty level’, a situation he angrily denounces as ‘inconsistent, indefensible and shameful.’

Paul Dornan points out that keeping adult IS levels so low saps improvements in financial support targeted at children and undermines progress on the eradication of child poverty. Recipients of IS live a hand to mouth existence which not only generates high levels of stress and ill health – thereby reducing the possibility of being able to work – but throws the veracity of the Government’s claim to provide security for those who cannot work into serious doubt.

Furthermore, a number of contributors highlight the fact that lack of information and an increasingly complex system exclude some of the UK’s most vulnerable citizens from accessing the benefits to which they are entitled. Gary Craig indicates that, for families from BME communities in the UK, take-up of benefits is lower than for the white population because of ‘confusion about the system, cultural obstacles and the failure of the social security system to provide adequate help for minorities seeking access to benefits.’ Sarah Cemlyn and Colin Clark also note that Travellers and Gypsies face ‘discrimination and disadvantage in accessing the benefit system’.

A complex system often prevents disabled parents and disabled children accessing the benefits to which they are entitled. Hugh Stickland and Richard Olsen note that, while disability benefits do safeguard some families from poverty, many – often lone parents – do not claim the incapacity benefits to which they are entitled. Despite the fact that families with disabled children incur additional costs, Ruth Northway records that often they ‘do not receive the level of benefits to which they are entitled due to a lack of information concerning such benefits and difficulties with making applications.’ The Government accepts that ‘Families from BME groups with disabled children have a lower take-up of services, and often feel less informed or able to access the system.’<sup>11</sup>

Most iniquitous of all is the treatment of asylum seekers. Pamela Fitzpatrick reports:

...they cannot work or claim social security benefits, have no access to permanent housing, and at best receive support that is set well below subsistence level by way of a largely unregulated parallel benefit system.

‘Security for those who cannot work’ is, for the moment, more aspirational rhetoric than reality for many of the families in this book.

## Social exclusion

In the words of the SEU:

Social exclusion is about more than income poverty. It is a shorthand term for what can happen when people or areas face a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, discrimination, poor skills, low income, poor housing, high crime, bad health and family breakdown... (it) is an extreme consequence of what happens when people don't get a fair deal throughout their lives, often because of the disadvantage they face at birth.<sup>12</sup>

Despite this welcome and insightful analysis, a worrying theme that emerges from this book is that Government policy is not only proving largely irrelevant for some of the UK's most disadvantaged children, in some cases it is actively making the situation worse. Sarah Cernyn and Colin Clark point out that the exclusion experienced by Gypsies and Travellers has been compounded by the '*substantive* denial of ethnic minority status and corresponding rights.' Jan Walker and Peter McCarthy state that:

Social inclusion – the realisation of citizenship economically and socially – militates against crime. Conversely, social exclusion – homelessness, worklessness and social alienation – creates the desperation which frequently gives rise to criminal activities.

Most shocking of all, as governments have sought to prove their toughness on immigration issues, successive legislation has led to the active economic and social exclusion of asylum seekers. This flies in the face of Government policy on poverty which, as Pamela Fitzpatrick observes, 'is about social inclusion and non-discrimination... Yet... asylum policy is about non-integration, about separateness and otherness.'

## Educational disadvantages

The Government – rightly – looks to the education system to redress some of the inequalities that beset children's lives. However, this book suggests that far from compensating disadvantaged children, the educational system may compound difficulties.

The causes of educational underachievement among children at risk of poverty are complex. Gary Craig writes that it is not simply to do with the relationship between poverty and educational disadvantage, but with the education system itself. He points out that, although educational achievement among minority ethnic groups is variable, most BME children encounter disadvantage and discrimination within the system from a very early age.

The impact of poor educational achievement is costly for individuals and society alike. In the case of prisoners, Jan Walker and Peter McCarthy write that, compared to non-offenders, they are 'more likely...to have received a poor education,...truanted or been excluded from school.' Sarah Cemlyn and Colin Clark report that Gypsy and Traveller children have been identified as the 'group most at risk in the education system.'

Other groups are also disadvantaged. Mike Stein notes that young people leaving care are particularly poorly served by the education system, experiencing lower levels of educational attainment at 16 and 18 and lower post-16 participation rates than their peer group. All too often, poor educational progress is compounded by restricted training and labour market opportunities. Mike Stein reports that care leavers are also less likely to be engaged in post-16 education, employment and training than other young people aged between 16 and 19 in the population.

As with so many other areas discussed in this book, the children of asylum seekers are treated quite differently from other children. Notions of integration, mainstreaming and the importance of educating disadvantaged children in a mixed environment<sup>13</sup> are seemingly irrelevant for these most vulnerable of children. Pamela Fitzpatrick notes that the intention of the The Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002 was 'that children would be removed from mainstream education and instead educated separately with other asylum seekers.'

## **Social care**

Despite the Government's attempts to co-ordinate and integrate children's services, disjointed and inappropriate service provision often adds to families' difficulties. Gary Craig discusses the multiple ways in which BME ethnic families are disadvantaged, and reports that social care provision 'remains fairly uneven at best'. Sarah Cemlyn and Colin Clark observe how 'vulnerable Gypsy and Traveller children may be ignored because they do not fit mainstream systems'. Pamela Fitzpatrick points out that

local authorities are actively prevented from providing support to failed asylum seekers.

As discussed above, the focus on the parent often displaces considerations of the needs of the child. Jan Walker and Peter McCarthy observe that:

In assessing risk factors for children, there has been a tendency to focus on the parental offending behaviour and to ignore the complex repercussions of imprisonment...Any help that is available at present tends to be provided by different agencies addressing different problems, with little evidence of joined-up service provision.

## **Housing**

For many of the children in this book, inadequate housing, living in temporary accommodation or homelessness compound and consolidate disadvantages in a variety of inter-linking ways. Sue Regan and Jenny Neuberger report that 'BME households are more than six times more likely than white households to be overcrowded...[or] homeless and living in temporary accommodation...' and that children who have disabilities or chronic health problems are put at greater risk by poor housing conditions and inadequate access to services. They highlight the fact that poor housing is not only distressing and damaging in its own right, but it disrupts access to schools and the labour market, and erodes social and support networks. It damages the health of parents and children, and tears families apart.

Sara Cemlyn and Colin Clark indicate that when Gypsies and Travellers are 'pushed' into housing, they experience 'poor conditions; overcrowding, often temporary housing; and also problems of stress because housing is culturally alien...' Children leaving care are also at particular risk, as are asylum seekers.

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## Recommendations

Unravelling the causes and the consequences of poverty is clearly a complex enterprise. However, this book raises a number of issues that need to be addressed, and they are outlined below. These reflect, reiterate and reinforce the demands outlined in CPAG's manifesto, *Ten steps to a society free of child poverty*.<sup>14</sup>

### The role of paid work

If employment provides 'opportunity and security',<sup>15</sup> then it is right and proper for paid work to play a central role in the Government's strategy on the eradication of child poverty. However, while people who are able and willing to take up paid work should be assisted to do so, 'welfare to work' is not necessarily an appropriate or an effective strategy for the families in this book. Forcing people into jobs that may be low paid and insecure will not reduce child poverty. Apart from the fact that around half of currently income poor children have one or more parent in work, low wages may generate or exacerbate health problems, stress, or depression – major causes of people moving *out* of employment. Furthermore, the emphasis on drawing parents who have experienced multiple disadvantages from the word go into employment that is unlikely to prove either well paid or rewarding, may well sabotage Government attempts to break cycles of disadvantage for their children. CPAG urges the Government to review its welfare to work strategy in the light of the following issues. First, not all adults can work. Even if an 80 per cent employment target is reached, one in five will not be in paid employment. Second, wages do not cater for the additional spending needs that arise from having children, or the extra costs incurred by some families. And third, not all parents can command the same wages, perhaps because of caring responsibilities, lack of skills or discrimination.

### CPAG urges the Government to:

- increase wages for the poorest earners. The minimum wage must go up in real terms – above the rate of earnings inflation;
- work towards better jobs, not just more jobs;
- increase efforts to enhance adult skills.

## **Education and training**

It is a sad fact of life that children who are born into low income families do less well out of the 'free' British state educational system than their better-off peers. Children who need to do better than their peer group to compensate them for a disadvantaged start in life are doing worse.<sup>16</sup> Although the causes of educational disadvantage are complex, many of the difficulties experienced by children are a direct consequence of their parents' income levels – which, in turn, is heavily influenced by parental educational qualifications. It is to be hoped that the Government's various initiatives to improve early childhood experiences and educational attainment levels will draw dividends in both the short term – by improving childhood experiences – and in the long term – by enhancing these children's prospects of accessing financially rewarding and sustainable jobs if they can work, and facilitating a fulfilling and secure existence if they cannot. However, this will not happen unless their parents are also drawn out of poverty.

### **CPAG urges the Government to:**

- maximise life chances by ensuring that policies take account of the many ways in which poverty restricts poorer children's ability to join in and participate fully in school life;
- ensure all children have full access to the requirements – meals, uniforms and activities – of their education;
- weight educational funding in favour of the early years – when all children will benefit and it is most effective.

## **Security for those who cannot work**

'Security for those who cannot work' is being undermined by a number of factors. An increasingly complex and often impenetrable benefit and tax credit system is disempowering recipients and generating administrative problems. Where support is available it does make a real difference, for example in households with a disabled child or adult. However, families who are in greatest need are the least likely to access the benefits to which they are entitled.

Since many of the children discussed in this book are disproportionately reliant upon key safety net benefits (IS, child tax credit (CTC) and

child benefit), addressing adequacy is critical to improving their life chances. To safeguard children from living in poverty, all children (including the children of asylum seekers) must be caught by a comprehensive financial safety net. This bedrock of provision requires effective benefit and tax credit administrative processes which ensure that all families receive their full benefit entitlement and avoid 'cliff edges' in family incomes due to the sudden withdrawal of benefits or the recovery of overpaid benefits or tax credits.

In addition to an effective safety net, the benefit and tax credit system must meet additional needs, for example by increasing disability living allowance, or by increasing and reversing the current weighting of child benefit (which favours smaller families), or by providing additional support via the per child element of CTC.

### **CPAG urges the Government to:**

- uprate the combined value of child tax credit and child benefit at least in line with the fastest growing of either prices or earnings. The element of this that is child benefit ought to be maximised;
- increase the adult payments within income support in line with those for children;
- reform the administration of tax credits and benefits – ensure they provide the right amount to the right people at the right time;
- provide benefit entitlement to all UK residents equally, irrespective of their immigration status;
- establish a Minimum Income Standards Commission which is independent of, but funded by, government and responsible to Parliament, to review evidence and conduct research on the adequacy of benefits and tax credits.

### **Service provision**

The Government Green Paper, *Every Child Matters*, aims to ensure that all children and young people are healthy, stay safe, enjoy and achieve, make a positive contribution, and achieve economic well-being. Unfortunately, many of the children in this book are barred from these fundamental rights. Clearly, more needs to be done to improve the quality, delivery and accessibility of services – particularly childcare, education, health, social services and transport.

**CPAG urges the Government to:**

- deliver services that recognise children first and foremost as children, not as asylum seekers or any other group;
- provide high quality services to all children, irrespective of their parent's national, ethnic or work status.

**A final message to Government**

1. **Language:** Although, as this book demonstrates, New Labour has mastered the language of disadvantage and social exclusion, all too often different elements within the Government sabotage insightful social analysis by utilising inflammatory and discriminatory language. Misguided rhetoric on asylum seekers and attempts to 'get tough' with lone parents or disabled adults – whom the Government wishes to encourage into paid employment – sends out confusing and, as this book demonstrates, negative, unjust and largely self-defeating messages.
2. **Statistics:** Given the statistical shortcomings discussed in the Introduction, the authors in this book have had to make the best of often inadequate data. This highlights the difficulty of analysing the impact of Government policy on the most disadvantaged people. The Government must ensure that better data is compiled on groups facing particular risks and the overlaps between these groups.
3. **Poverty proof policies:** The root cause of child poverty is inadequate income. Its consequences are complex and wide-ranging. These cut across many boundaries of governmental responsibility. The Government recognises the need for joined-up solutions.<sup>17</sup> However, this book confirms that not only are some government departments failing to focus directly on the goal of tackling child poverty, but they may be pursuing policies which actually worsen the situation for families who are at greatest risk. If child poverty is to be eradicated, poverty proofing of policies must be applied to all relevant departments, not just the Treasury or the DWP. This would ensure that policy interventions and spending priorities support and enhance, rather than undermine, the achievement of the child poverty ambition.

## Notes

- 1 Social Exclusion Unit, *Breaking the Cycle: taking stock of progress and priorities for the future*, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2004, p10
- 2 Ibid. 'The main causes and consequences of social exclusion are: low income; unemployment; poor educational attainment; poor mental or physical health; family breakdown and poor parenting; poor housing and homelessness; discrimination; crime; living in a disadvantaged area', p7
- 3 In *Breaking the Cycle: taking stock of progress and priorities for the future*, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2004, the Social Exclusion Unit identified the following groups as a major priorities: people with physical or mental health problems; those who lack skills or qualifications, both formal qualifications and broader basic life skills; people from some ethnic minority groups, including asylum seekers and refugees, p11
- 4 'No child should be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his or her privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his or her honour and reputation' and 'The child has the right to the protection of the law against such interference and attacks'.
- 5 '... a child who is seeking refugee status or who is considered a refugee ... shall, whether unaccompanied or accompanied by his or her parents or by any other person, receive appropriate protection and humanitarian assistance in the enjoyment of applicable rights set forth in the present Convention and in all other international human rights or humanitarian instruments to which the said States are Parties.'
- 6 See, for example, M Bright, 'Children with autism the target of Asbos', *The Observer*, 22 May 2005
- 7 This much delayed Green Paper, now scheduled to be published in summer 2005, will focus on 'places to go, things to do', vulnerability, and support, advice and guidance.
- 8 HM Treasury, *Child Poverty Review*, The Stationery Office, 2004, p16
- 9 Ibid. Only 3% of mothers with disabled children are in full time employment (compared with 22% of mothers with non-disabled children) and only 13% manage part-time work (compared with 39% of mothers with non-disabled children), p22.
- 10 'More than 40% of disabled people are low skilled; around 25% of disabled people of working age are over 50 years; around 10% are from BME groups.' Prime Minister's Strategy Unit, *Improving the Life Chances of Disabled People. Final Report*, Prime Minister's Strategy Unit, 2005, p6
- 11 Ibid., p33
- 12 Social Exclusion Unit, *Breaking the Cycle: taking stock of progress and priorities for the future*, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2004, p17

- 13 'Children from disadvantaged backgrounds benefit particularly from care in groups made up of a wide range of children, suggesting there are social gains from ensuring that children attending a group setting come from a range of backgrounds,' HM Treasury, *Choice for Parents, the Best Start for Children: a ten year strategy for childcare*, HMSO, 2004, p14
- 14 CPAG's manifesto, *Ten Steps to a Society Free of Child Poverty*, CPAG, 2005
- 15 HM Government, *Department for Work and Pensions Five Year Strategy: opportunity and security throughout life*, Department for Work and Pensions, 2005
- 16 Research from the Sutton Trust and the London School of Economics and Political Science reveal that social mobility in Britain is lower than in other advanced countries and declining. They conclude that 'the strength of the relationship between educational attainment and family income, especially for access to higher education, is at the heart of Britain's low mobility culture and what sets us apart from other European and North American countries.' See J Blanden, P Gregg and S Machin, *Intergenerational Mobility in Europe and North America*, a report supported by the Sutton Trust, Centre for Economic Performance, London School of Economics and Political Science, 2005
- 17 See HM Treasury, *The Child Poverty Review*, The Stationery Office, 2004; 'Making further progress requires cross-Government action,' p85