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PART IV CHANGING FAMILIES

11 Change within generation 1952–62

This chapter describes change in individual families within one generation. First, the families who became deprived while their children attended primary school are compared with families who remained non-deprived and then with the same families who remained deprived. Second, families who were deprived in 1952 but moved out of deprivation are compared with those who remained deprived.

Changes in deprivation

Prevalence and change

Data were recorded concerning deprivation in the family of origin in 1952 when the children were aged five and in 1957 when they were 10. These data allowed a study of changes between 1952 and 1957 – a period when deprivation was substantially reduced. The families with most deprivation showed the greatest reduction while a few others moved into deprivation (see Figure 11.1). By 1957 the differences between the deprived and non-deprived groups were reduced, much of the reduction being due to improvements in housing and less overcrowding, reflecting the Newcastle City Post-War Rehousing Programme – but there was some reduction in every criterion.

With the small movement into deprivation from the non-deprived group, it was important to know whether there was likely to have been an overall reduction of criteria of deprivation in our families in Newcastle. That this was so is shown in Table 11.1.

We also compared the sums of the same five criteria at the fifth and tenth years and we found that:

- (a) of families scoring zero at year 5, 10 per cent scored more at year 10;

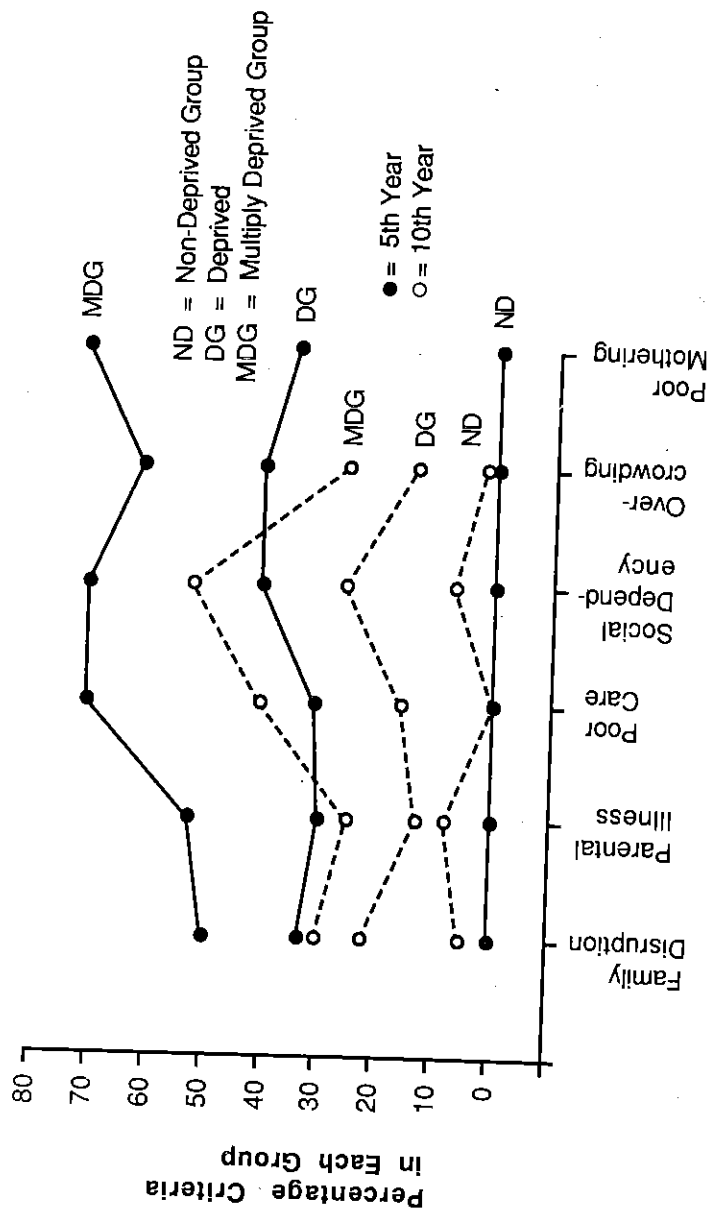


Figure 11.1 Profile of criteria of deprivation in the three selected groups at the 5th and 10th years (Generation I)

Table 11.1 D

Number of criteria in 1957	0	4
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	5th Year	4

Note: Based on fi

- (b) of those s and 7 per
- (c) of those s and 12 pe
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- (e) of those s and 10 pe
- (f) of those s year 10.

We also wish the same famil at the fifth ar relations were family disrupti 0.58 respectiv 0.17). The ot dence $r = 0.46$ marital/family comparatively of the scores (score) with each similarly, the correlations pr considerably lo care and social and 0.47 respe

Table 11.1 Deprivation in 810 families in 1952 and 1957

		Number of Criteria in 1952							
		0	1	2	3	4	5	10th year	
Number of criteria in 1957	0	444	112	33	6	3	0	598	0
	1	38	44	28	15	6	1	132	1
	2	11	10	11	12	4	1	49	2
	3	0	0	7	3	2	3	15	3
	4	0	1	2	2	3	1	9	4
	5	0	0	1	3	2	1	7	5
5th Year	493	167	82	41	20	7	810		

Note: Based on five criteria in 1952 and 1957

- (b) of those scoring one at year 5, 67 per cent scored zero and 7 per cent scored more at year 10;
- (c) of those scoring two at year 5, 74 per cent scored zero and 12 per cent scored more at year 10;
- (d) of those scoring three or more at year 5, 80 per cent scored less and 12 per cent scored more at year 10;
- (e) of those scoring four at year 5, 75 per cent scored less and 10 per cent scored more at year 10;
- (f) of those scoring five at year 5, 86 per cent scored less at year 10.

We also wished to know whether deprivation continued in the same families. We studied this by correlating our criteria at the fifth and tenth years and found that, while all correlations were positive and significant, only those of marital/family disruption and poor care were moderate ($r = 0.57$ and 0.58 respectively), while parental illness proved low ($r = 0.17$). The other criteria were intermediate (social dependence $r = 0.46$; and overcrowding $r = 0.32$). This implied that marital/family disruption and poor care of children were comparatively stable phenomena. We also correlated the sum of the scores on five criteria of deprivation in 1952 (total score) with each of the criteria at both 1952 and 1957 and, similarly, the total score of deprivation at 1957. All the correlations proved substantial at the fifth year but were considerably lower at year 10. Only those in relation to poor care and social dependency were moderately high ($r = 0.50$ and 0.47 respectively), suggesting that the stability of total

deprivation was particularly dependent on these criteria. Total deprivation, too, proved a fairly stable phenomenon ($r = 0.61$) and further analysis suggested this was particularly owing to its association with poor care and social dependence.

Changes in the individual criteria

The prevalence of the various criteria of deprivation at the fifth and tenth years are shown in Table 11.2. Those at the tenth year include families which remained deprived and those which moved into deprivation. Nevertheless, it was evident that in the five years there had been an overall reduction in deprivation; this was most marked in respect of overcrowding and was least for marital disruption and social dependency.

Table 11.2 *Prevalence of criteria*

	Percentage of Families Showing Each of Five Criteria				
	Marital Disruption	Parental Illness	Poor Care	Social Dependency	Overcrowding
5th Year (n=847)	14.5	12.2	12.6	17.5	18.7
10th Year (n=812)	10.7	6.2	6.7	12.7	6.6

Improvement in individual families

However, such evidence of crude reduction of deprivation tells us little about the percentage of families who were 'deprived' initially but were free from deprivation at the tenth year. We defined improvement as follows:

- Deprived group: a deprivation score reduced to zero.
- Multiply deprived group: the deprivation score reduced to zero or one.
- Each of the single groups: the score reduced from one to zero.

To do this, we used the 812 families still in touch with the

research team with Table 11.3 shows multiply deprived with parental ill considerable improvement.

Table 11.3 *Improvement*

	Families	Deprived
Total	n = 331	
Improved	n = 167	
% Improvement	50.5	

Note: Based on a population of 331 families.

This categorization of families (10 per cent deprivation between 5 and 10 years) and the total study short-term changes to ask whether such functioning of the children.

Becoming deprived

Aims and hypotheses
Little has been written on this subject. We had two hypotheses:

- 1 That the main reason for becoming deprived was the loss of parental resources, and that

research team when the 'Red Spots' were 10 years old. Table 11.3 shows that about half of both the deprived and multiply deprived groups had improved by the tenth year, with parental illness and overcrowding groups showing considerable improvement, and marital disruption less improvement.

Table 11.3 Improvement from 1952 to 1957

	Families		Criteria				
	Deprived	Multiply Deprived	Marital In-stability	Parent Illness	Poor Care	Social Depen-dency	Over-crowding
Total	n = 331	103	112	88	98	130	147
Improved	n = 167	51	51	72	53	68	113
% Improvement	50.5	49.5	45.5	81.8	54.1	52.3	76.9

Poor mothering was not recorded at the 10th year

Note: Based on a population of 812

This categorization allowed us to look at 47 non-deprived families (10 per cent) who, for the first time, had moved into deprivation between 1952 and 1957. Using the above definitions and the total original sample, we had sufficient cases to study short-term changes of deprivation status of families and to ask whether such changes had implications for the later functioning of the children in these families.

Becoming deprived 1952-57

Aims and hypotheses

Little has been written about families who move into deprivation. We had two hypotheses in relation to downward mobility:

- 1 That the main factors which precede movement into deprivation would be change in social and family circumstances, and that these could be defined.

- 2 That deterioration in family status would be associated with poorer behavioural, cognitive and educational functioning of children in the families concerned.

The group studied were families which were not deprived in 1952, but were so by 1957 – about 10 per cent of all non-deprived in 1952. We do not comment on variations in sample size from analysis to analysis unless the differences are greater than 5 per cent.

This is an attempt to highlight factors which were predictive of movement into deprivation between 1952 and 1957. A few hints were available from the large pool of data gathered during the first year of their children's lives but none proved substantial. The clues obtained related only to social influences such as poor occupational status which affected 23 per cent of families who were not deprived at any time and 36 per cent of those who had moved into deprivation; larger family size with household averages of 4.5 and 5.1 persons respectively; and families not living in owner-occupier situations. By the time the children were five years old, a greater number of risk factors were identifiable. Again, they were usually social in nature or reflected poor social circumstances, such as a large family, poor home circumstances (inadequate sleeping arrangements) and not owning one's home. Also, there was an excess of respiratory infections and poor speech development when compared to the families who would remain non-deprived (Miller *et al.*, 1985).

Defining differences between the groups

Comparison of the groups at the tenth year revealed three main differences (Table 11.4). First, despite general improvement in social and economic circumstances, some families remained static or deteriorated in these respects. Second, the father became unemployed or left the family. Third, housing and material circumstances deteriorated.

Later progress of the 47 families

Table 11.5 shows the social and family data for the 47 families in 1962. The picture had now become much clearer in that the central importance of the father was emphasized. In many of the families he was of low status or had

Table 11.4 Social

- i. Loss of father
- ii. Unemployment
- iii. Defective sleeping arrangements
- iv. Housing: owner-occupier
- v. Persons in household (mean)

Notes: 1. Items ii, iv and v
2. One-tailed test

Table 11.5 Year fi

- Father:
 - Permanently present
 - Substitute father in family
 - Personality good
 - Aspirant job status (success & promotion)
 - Inadequate provider
 - Poorly participates in domestic tasks
 - Poor organizer
- Mother:
 - Poor standard of house keeping
 - Poor child care
 - Good premarital employment history
 - Psychiatric illness
- Family:
 - Activities which include child
 - Maximum size sample

Notes: One-tailed test of 'n' refers to the example, 81 out of

Table 11.4 Social data in 1957

	A		B		C	
	Families not deprived in 1952 or 1957		Families moving into deprivation 1952-1957		Families deprived in 1952	
	Total n	% of n	n	%	n	%
i. Loss of father	430	2	47	17**	335	18
ii. Unemployment	430	0	47	45**	335	20
iii. Defective sleeping arrangements	430	< 1	43	8**	335	14
iv. Housing: owner-occupier	472	29	43	5**	308	6
v. Persons in household (mean)		4.4		5.2**		5.6

Notes: 1. Items ii, iv and v showed similar differences at year 15 (1962).
2. One-tailed tests of significance to A versus B; **p < .01.

Table 11.5 Year fifteen: social and family data

	A		B		C	
	Not deprived 1952-1957		Moved into deprivation 1952-57		Families deprived in 1952	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Father:						
Permanently present	377	88	44	66**	314	65
Substitute father in family	377	5	44	23**	313	15
Personality good	336	79	31	61**	255	45
Aspirant job status (success & promotion)	373	39	37	22**	279	14
Inadequate provider	372	8	38	34**	279	40
Poorly participates in domestic tasks	358	7	33	21**	262	38
Poor organizer	350	9	34	29**	281	37
Mother:						
Poor standard of house-keeping	357	2	44	16**	306	27
Poor child care	376	3	43	14**	306	25
Good premarital employment history	270	30	44	7**	309	5
Psychiatric illness	377	11	44	23**	304	19
Family:						
Activities which include child	374	70	42	45**	303	31
Maximum size sample	377		44		314	

Notes: One-tailed test of significance: A versus B, **p < .01
'n' refers to the sample upon which the percentage is derived: for example, 81 out of 270 mothers = 30%

disappeared and sometimes had been replaced. When he was present, unemployment was a frequent problem, and in one-third of families he did not make adequate provision, was a poor organizer and was recorded as having a difficult or complex personality. In reality, the loss or absence of the father is not only a key factor in its own right but complicates many of the other analyses that relate to the father figure. For instance, no information about his personality was available in 30 per cent of the families which became deprived and in 10 per cent of families without deprivation. Absence of the father also meant that both the number of persons in the family and the rate of overcrowding were underrepresented. A similar set of factors related to the mother — particularly poor housekeeping, poor child and family care, and a higher rate of psychiatric illness. The third series of factors related to housing; the families who became deprived were both larger than the non-deprived and lived in houses with a low rateable value (Table 11.4).

Intellectual, educational and behavioural data

School reports on behaviour and test scores are given in Tables 11.6 and 11.7. Although, as a group, the children of families who moved into deprivation always did worse than the non-deprived, formal tests seldom gave rise to significant differences.

Differences reported by teachers were mainly concerned with poor reading performance. Children in families entering deprivation read fewer library books, were thought to have poorer concentration, to be less persistent in the classroom, and were generally considered less reliable pupils.

Table 11.7 gives more information derived from school. Children from families entering deprivation were absent from school more often, and their teachers thought they were more eager to leave and also more likely to become mal-adjusted than their peers from non-deprived families. Further, three times as many children from non-deprived families hoped for skilled employment. Formal ability tests showed poorer vocabulary and performance scores. There were no significant differences between boys and girls.

*Table 11.6 Last year
(approximate)*

Test Scores:
Mean IQ (11+ exam)
English
Maximum 'n'
Achievements:
Reading poor
Does not read library books
Classroom Behaviour:
Good reliability
Poor concentration
Poor persistence
Maximum 'n'

Note: One-tailed test of

*Table 11.7 Outcomes
Behaviour*

Behaviour:
Less than 90% school attendance during last year
Children considered at age 12 likely to become delinquent (by teacher)
Eager to leave school
Aspiring to skilled employment of those who left school at 1
Test Scores:
Mill Hill Vocabulary Test (mean)
Progressive Matrices (mean)

* $p < .05$

Table 11.6 Last year in primary school 1958
(approx. 11 years of age)

	Intellectual, Educational and Behavioural					
	A Not Deprived 1952 or 1957		B Moved into Deprivation 1952-57		C Families Deprived in 1952	
Test Scores:						
Mean IQ (11+ exam)	104.4		103.3		92.9	
English	105.8		103.7		94.0	
Maximum 'n'	367		45		305	
Achievements:						
Reading poor	314	16%	42	33%	285	31%
Does not read library books	347	57%	45	73%	274	55%
Classroom Behaviour:						
Good reliability	316	72%	42	45%*	286	51%
Poor concentration	316	20%	42	40%	286	37%
Poor persistence	316	21%	42	38%	285	47%
Maximum 'n'	316		47			

Note: One-tailed test of significance: A versus B, * $p < .05$

Table 11.7 Outcome: secondary school/early employment
Behavioural and cognitive data

	A Not Deprived 1952-57		B Moved into Deprivation 1952-57		C Families Deprived in 1952	
	Base 'n'	%	Base 'n'	%	Base 'n'	%
Behaviour:						
Less than 90% school attendance during last year	301	22	38	42	375	53
Children considered at age 12 likely to become delinquent (by teacher)	374	13	43	26	320	37
Eager to leave school	304	24	38	42	272	42
Aspiring to skilled employment of those who left school at 15	374	42	42	12	311	25
Test Scores:						
Mill Hill Vocabulary Test (mean)	257	42.8	38	39.8*	223	36.0
Progressive Matrices (mean)	257	46.2	38	43.2*	223	41.2

* $p < .05$

Relationship between occupational class and movement into deprivation

Data relevant to social class are shown in Table 11.8 which shows that, if one's family comes from a lower occupational class and moves into deprivation, then the effects appear to be considerable. This is reflected in classroom behaviour and achievements, intellectual ability, examination successes and teachers' judgements about the probability of delinquency when the children are 12 years old. This is particularly so in performance ability as shown by Raven's Matrices and very much less evident in vocabulary ability. The data also suggest that it is not simply a matter of occupational class, based on the nature of father's employment, but rather those additional factors inimical to family well-being that correlate with the social grouping which are most crucial. This is exemplified by the presence of a series of adverse paternal characteristics which loomed large in the lower social group which then moved into deprivation.

Table 11.8 Occupational class and movement into deprivation by 1957

Groups	Remained Not Deprived		Moved into Deprivation	
	Social Class of Family of Origin		Social Class of Family of Origin	
	1-3	4-5	1-3	4-5
Father:				
Generation I				
Good personality	82%	69%	80%	20%
Good provider	87%	57%	64%	20%
Poorly participates in domestic tasks	4%	16%	11%	39%
Child:				
Aged 15: Generation II				
Classroom behaviour:				
Poor concentration in class	19%	25%	35%	53%
Poor persistence in class	20%	27%	31%	53%
Poor reading	13%	23%	23%	53%
Teacher Prediction (1959)				
Delinquency and mal-adjustment	11%	20%	15%	44%
Public Examination				
Successes, Age 15-16	49%	24%	45%	0%
Test of Ability				
Ravens Matrices (mean)	46.3	45.6	45.7	38.9
Mill Hill Vocabulary (mean)	43.7	39.6	40.5	38.7

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Comparison of families deprived in 1952 with those who moved into deprivation between 1952-57

We did not undertake statistical comparison between these groups of families but compared selected data.

The deprived group in 1952 had larger households than those who moved into deprivation (Table 11.4) and had poorer sleeping arrangements. Children in both groups had similar levels of respiratory infections; on the other hand children of families who moved into deprivation had higher rates of poor speech than children whose families were originally deprived (Miller *et al.*, 1985). We concluded that the circumstances of families who moved into deprivation soon approximated to those who had started as deprived, but their social circumstances were never as dysfunctional, apart from unemployment. (When the Red Spots were 10, we saw no differences in rates of loss of father or house ownership — Table 11.4.)

Data on the Red Spots at 15 years old showed a few interesting differences (Table 11.5). Fathers in the families who started as deprived tended to be less adequate providers; a high proportion participated poorly in domestic tasks and were poor organizers. Fewer were 'good' personalities. A similar picture was found with the mothers far more of whom showed poor housekeeping standards and poor care of children.

There were some clear-cut differences in mental performance and behaviour. Red Spots deprived in 1952 had lower intelligence and poorer educational achievements than those who moved into deprivation (Table 11.6). Differences in classroom behaviour proved marginal although 50 per cent more children in the always deprived group were predicted as likely to become delinquent or maladjusted. We concluded that the children of families who had moved into deprivation usually performed less well on measures of intelligence, attainment and behaviour than those who had never been deprived, but better than those whose families were rated as deprived in their fifth year of life.

Moving out of deprivation

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deprivation improved showed better progress than those whose family situation did not improve. About half the deprived and multiply deprived groups improved between the fifth and tenth year (Table 11.2, p. 148). We have allocated data according to improved and static sub-groups.

Findings: physical development

In absolute terms, children from deprived families in 1952 whose deprivation subsequently improved were significantly heavier and taller at 10 and 15 years than children from deprived families who did not improve. At the ninth year their weight difference was 2.5 lb, and by the fifteenth year almost 8 lb. At ten years their height difference was 0.8 inches, and at fifteen years 1.1 inches. There were no differences in children from multiply deprived families which improved, compared with those in families who remained deprived (Kolvin *et al.*, 1983b).

Intellectual development

Table 11.9 shows that children from deprived and multiply deprived families in which there was a lessening of deprivation during the junior school years performed better on intellectual tests at the tenth year than children in families who remained unchanged. Many of the differences were significant and the absolute differences were always greater in the deprived than in the multiply deprived families. By 15 years, the differences in the multiply deprived group were no longer significant.

Table 11.9 Mental ability scores (mean quotients)

Children	Deprived Families			Multiply Deprived Families		
	Improved	Static	Sig.	Improved	Static	Sig.
Aged 11 Years:						
IQ	95.2	90.6	< .01	89.2	84.8	< .05
Ravens Matrices	37.0	31.1	< .01	31.1	27.2	< .05
Mill Hill Vocabulary	31.7	27.7	< .01	27.1	24.0	< .05
Aged 15 Years:						
Ravens Matrices	43.2	38.8	< .01	39.5	36.9	NS
Mill Hill Vocabulary	37.9	33.7	< .01	33.6	32.4	NS

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General behaviour and attitude to school (Table 11.10)

We did not have comparable behavioural data at both the tenth and fifteenth years, and data were not available for all children at age 15. However, there were no differences at the tenth year. At the fifteenth year more children from the static deprived (but not the static multiply deprived) families showed poorer concentration in class, were viewed by the teacher as likely to become maladjusted, and showed poorer interest in family activities. In addition, more were eager to leave school. A significant number of the group whose deprivation had improved continued at school after 15 years whilst most of the multiply deprived left.

Table 11.10 Red Spots aged 15 years: behaviour and attitude to school

Children	Deprived Families			Multiply Deprived Families		
	Improved %	Static %	Sig.	Improved %	Static %	Sig.
Eager to leave school	35.9	47.7	< .05	35.7	59.1	< .01
Continued school after 15 years school attendance	30.0	17.3	< .01	14.0	4.2	NS
Interest in family activities	56.5	39.9	< .01	48.0	20.0	< .01
Police probation record	9.0	17.9	< .05	10.0	37.7	< .01
Sibling delinquency (15 year data)	5.0	21.5	< .01	15.0	35.0	< .05
Teacher prediction: likely to become maladjusted	27.0	44.7	< .01	34.0	60.0	< .01
Good concentration in class	54.5	25.2	< .01	31.8	27.2	NS

Note: Tests of significance are one-tailed

School attendance (Table 11.10)

Children from either deprived or multiply deprived families who improved had significantly better records of attendance at school than children from static families. The highest rates of attendance occurred in the children from deprived families

who improved and the lowest rates in multiply deprived families who remained static.

Police record (Table 11.11)

Fewer children from families who improved had a police record. Improvement was associated with a substantially lower risk of court appearance in both deprived and multiply deprived families. This was true both for the Red Spots and their siblings.

Table 11.11 The offence rates of men whose families moved in or out of deprivation

	Family Never Deprived	Family Moving Into Deprivation 1952-57	Family Moving Out of Deprivation 1952-57	Family Always Deprived
'n'	207	19	92	84
% offending	16	26	32	54
Not corrected for attrition				

Continuities and discontinuities of risk factors and criminality

The question arises whether an increase in family deprivation over time (that is, from 1952 to 1957) increases the risk of offending as defined in Chapter 14 or, conversely, whether a reduction of family deprivation acts as a protective factor in relation to offending. To examine this question, the families were divided into those who were never deprived, those who moved into deprivation over that period, those who moved out of deprivation, and those who were deprived in both 1952 and 1957. The data in Table 11.11 suggest that, if the family moved into deprivation, there was a 50 per cent increase in the rate of offending. If the family moved out of deprivation, there was a 40 per cent decrease in the rate of offending.

Change in deprivation status in one generation — implications for housing circumstances in the next

We used the Acorn system to examine the housing circumstances in 1980 of families who changed their deprivation

status over the 761 addresses authority households were when compared to their status, downward mobility small effect generation. Most were upward authority households.

Another wave in 1980 is in relation to 1952. Of those rated so in 1952, 71 per cent of those at both times contrast to 40 per cent crowded only coming from those were living in 1952.

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status over the period 1952-57. For 1980 we had access to 761 addresses. As the findings are complex we focus on local authority housing data alone. More of the Red Spots whose families were downwardly mobile between 1952 and 1957, when compared to the non-deprived who did not change their status, lived in urban local authority housing. Thus, downward mobility in one generation appeared to have a small effect on the housing circumstances of the next generation. Most of the deprived Red Spot families who were upwardly mobile in 1957 were living in urban local authority housing in 1980.

Another way of looking at second-generation housing in 1980 is in relation to those families which were overcrowded in 1952. Of those 131 families, three-quarters were no longer rated so in 1957. Although numbers are small, we see that 71 per cent of the Red Spots whose homes were overcrowded at both times were living in council houses in 1980 in contrast to 41 per cent of those whose homes were overcrowded only in 1952. Only 28 per cent of Red Spots coming from families who were not overcrowded in 1952 were living in council housing.

Certain social factors, which did not appear sufficient in themselves to represent deprivation at an earlier period in time, appeared to make families more vulnerable to subsequent environmental stress when they occurred together. Examination of the 1957 data indicates that the key factors were unemployment, absence or loss of father and large families associated with overcrowding.

Subsequent circumstances

Five years after moving into deprivation (1962), the picture had become clearer. There was a series of unusual or adverse circumstances relating to fathers and also deterioration of care given by mothers. The differences, while significant, were not substantial, but they provided indications of associated mechanisms.

As to children, there were few differences in intellectual abilities between those coming from non-deprived families and those who moved into deprivation. Some of the important indicators of poor functioning derive from the school where there were significant judgements about delinquency, eagerness to leave school and poor aspirations

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of children from families who moved into disadvantage. There were also some signs of poorer achievements in reading, concentration and persistence. This implies that good early foundations are important and that subsequent breakdown of caring circumstances are not so damaging to psychological development.

Thus we identified effects which were behavioural and scholastic in nature, although we have not identified any substantial intellectual effects. It is not clear why there should be this distinction or why disadvantage in the primary school years had so little impact when it has marked impact in the pre-school years. We can only speculate about possible reasons. For instance, the foundation for intellectual development may have already been laid down in the pre-school years and become sufficiently robust to resist later adverse influences. Alternatively, the effects of deprivation on intelligence may be transient at this stage. There may also be some substantial self-correcting mechanisms operative at this time (Hinde, 1982). Another possible hypothesis is that there are age-dependent sensitivities to life stresses (Rutter, 1981a), so that intelligence is more sensitive in the pre-school years and scholastic achievements and behaviour is more sensitive during the school years. The first of these alternatives seems to fit the facts best.

We have not yet answered the question whether the second-generation children who showed immediate reactions to psychosocial stresses continued to show these effects into adulthood. Nor have we been able, so far, to study chain effects, such as early psychosocial stress giving rise to lack of educational qualifications and in turn to employment difficulties.

There is an extensive literature on deprivation and its consequences, but relatively little about families who are suddenly plunged into deprivation as occurred during the Great Depression. The classic American research on families who lived through the Depression was that of Elder (1974); Elder and Rockwell (1978); Elder (1979). He studied families with younger and older children and examined mechanisms by which the effects were mediated. His work encapsulated the best of the sociological approach, taking hard data and adding to it information about stability and change in families in relation to socioeconomic changes in the

community in these changes reviewed by Bro

Elder studied Depression, the exposed to this second set were community of during the depre

In the Oakland were examined the full impact emergent dom lowered status role failure in responsibility preference for identification v have many friends there was role domestic roles side the home. of independence findings in that to profit from vation and mat contrast, those less successful Elder concluded from hardship sequent life c were supported effect of social

The Oakland A greater similar Elder and Rock enduring outc experienced th mentally. Yet, working-class families were s disadvantage in

community in order to understand the relationship between these changes over time. The above work has been well reviewed by Bronfenbrenner (1979).

Elder studied two cohorts of families exposed to the Depression, the first born in 1922 at Oakland and thus exposed to this economic disaster in later childhood. The second set were born in 1928-1929 into the more affluent community of Berkeley and thus spent their earliest years during the depths of the Depression.

In the Oakland study (Elder, 1974), two family groups were examined - those with and those without exposure to the full impact of the Depression. In the latter there was an emergent dominance of mothers often accompanied by lowered status of fathers. Elder interpreted this as perceived role failure in the father and consequent shift of economic responsibility to the mother. In addition to showing preference for mothers, the children also showed strong identification with the peer group, manifested in a desire to have many friends rather than a few. In the deprived homes there was role differentiation in that girls specialized in domestic roles and boys in economic roles, seeking work outside the home. Both boys and girls developed an earlier sense of independence. Nevertheless, there were some paradoxical findings in that sons whose families were hardest hit appeared to profit from the experience by showing vocational motivation and maturation ahead of the non-deprived youths. In contrast, those whose families escaped the Depression proved less successful in adulthood educationally and vocationally. Elder concluded that childhood which shelters the young from hardship may not facilitate adaptive capacity in subsequent life crises. Nevertheless, boys coped better if they were supported by their fathers, which suggests a beneficial effect of social cohesion (Brown and Madge, 1982).

The Oakland study is not strictly comparable with ours. A greater similarity exists with the Berkeley cohort in which Elder and Rockwell (1978) hypothesized that adverse and enduring outcomes would be seen more in those who experienced the Depression when more dependent developmentally. Yet, they found that sons of both middle and working-class families who entered first school while their families were suffering from the Depression did not show any disadvantage in psychological stability, social relationship or

school achievement. Subsequently in adolescence, however, the sons of middle and working-class families who had suffered the full force of the Depression had poorer academic aspirations, achieved lower rankings on high school performance, showed a lack of self-esteem and a tendency to withdraw from adversity, and were also less likely to complete college. They naturally tended to enter work earlier than those who had not suffered the Depression, and they spent much of their working life in manual jobs and unstable work patterns. They showed an excess of health problems, chronic fatigue and problem drinking, and these trends were surprisingly most common among those who had achieved scholastic success. It is notable that these effects emerged only in their adolescent years during World War II, a period of rising prosperity. Elder and Rockwell did not see these as 'sleeper' effects but rather as maladaptive responses in youngsters previously cushioned from environmental pressures when confronted with demanding situations in adolescence that call for adaptive responses. However, despite these adolescent problems, many of the previously deprived youngsters achieved occupational success and no longer had a sense of inadequacy but showed greater inner strength and effectiveness. It has been suggested that such positive changes may have been prompted by adult independence, work or marriage.

We may conclude that family deprivation produced greater disadvantage for the work and health of the Berkeley than the Oakland cohort, this being evidence in lowered aspirations and self-esteem in early adolescence and failure to make full use of opportunities at high school. Elder (1979) also reported that Berkeley girls from deprived families paradoxically fared well and proved more self-assertive than girls from non-deprived families, emerging as competent and resourceful adolescents (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Elder surmised that even when parental relationship remained harmonious, boys under hardship lost their affection and identification with fathers, while girls developed a stronger tie with mothers.

Our Newcastle research concerns families which moved into deprivation against a general trend of economic advance, although we did not have comparable data into adulthood, only until school leaving age and early employment. Some

of our findings concerning the daughters are described in this report. The findings for boys are rather different from those for girls. It arises whether these are the same as those for the Berkeley boys who were deprived were more substantial achievements in adolescence as well as higher achievers from adolescence onwards. It is increasingly to confidence that deprived children, deprived children, and stealing experience predict a negative, children of the New and appeared may have unexpected

An additional finding is that if a family status of deprivation, and if occupational status,

Next we compare with those who moved into the families who were higher rates of social had recently moved so. However, the difference being larger were 10 years old, and for families moving into of other family factors tended to have less providers or participants were not families which stated standards of housekeeping

It is also important effects on intelligence deprived in their pre-mental ability scores. This suggests that be

of our findings concerning the early secondary school period described in this report are in accord with the Berkeley findings for boys. However, the picture for Berkeley girls is rather different from ours. Thus there are diverse effects of adverse life experiences, and in the case of boys the question arises whether these are persistent or transient effects. Of those Berkeley boys who attended university, the formerly deprived were more likely than the non-deprived to produce substantial achievements despite previously appearing in adolescence as unambitious, passive and indecisive. The higher achievers from deprived backgrounds moved increasingly to confidence and health. So for certain of the deprived children, deprivation proved to be a strengthening and steeling experience. It would, therefore, be unwise to predict a negative, developmental pathway for all the children of the Newcastle families who moved into deprivation and appeared to show effects in adolescence. Some may have unexpected successes in later life (see Part IV).

An additional finding in our research was the demonstration that if a family starts as non-deprived then moves into deprivation, and if the breadwinner comes from a lower occupational status, the effects appear to be considerable.

Next we compared those families who started deprived with those who moved into deprivation. We anticipated that the families who were deprived would subsequently show higher rates of social and family dysfunction than those who had recently moved into deprivation and this proved to be so. However, the differences were not substantial; the most evident being larger family size. By the time the children were 10 years old, unemployment was the most likely reason for families moving into deprivation. We examined a number of other family factors and found that the fathers concerned tended to have less adequate personalities, and were poorer providers or participators in family life but, again, the differences were not substantial. Similarly, mothers in the families which started in deprivation showed poorer standards of housekeeping and child care.

It is also important to note that there were different effects on intelligence and behaviour. Those who were deprived in their pre-school years ended up with lower mean mental ability scores than those who moved into deprivation. This suggests that being protected from deprivation for the

first five years of a child's life has important protective effects as far as intellect is concerned. However, there do not appear to be similar protective effects in relation to behaviour as the rates of difficult behaviour usually proved to be similar in the offspring of Red Spot families moving into deprivation to those who started in deprivation. The exception was for delinquency, where the rates proved higher in those Red Spot children who had always been deprived.

We also examined the implications of life cycle changes in one generation for the next and found that life cycle changes of deprivation status in the direction of improvement in one generation were associated with evidence of improved functioning of physical development, intelligence and behaviour in the next generation, provided that the deprivation was not severe. Where deprivation was severe, reduction in family deprivation was associated with better intellectual functioning in the next generation, when the children were 10 years of age, but this had disappeared by the time they were 15. While improvement in family circumstances did not seem to affect physical development, there were some effects on behaviour and attitude to school.

It is important to try to understand the mechanisms that determine these differences. One approach is to attribute the differences between the groups of children to the changes in family circumstances over their second five years of life. This would give rise to the suggestion that the adverse effects of milder deprivation can be appreciably mitigated by later reduction in deprivation.

Another possibility is that the differences between the groups of children are mostly determined by the intelligence of the parents which in turn determines both the reduction in family deprivation and their children's performance. For instance, the lessening of deprivation may in part reflect the greater social competence of intellectually more able parents, which then re-emerges as identifiable differences between the groups of children in the next generation. This theory would carry with it the implication that, where deprivation is not severe, the range of intellectual abilities is wide, allowing differences between the group of children to emerge. However, where deprivation is severe, not only is the range of intellectual abilities narrow, but the mean level is low, and these factors hamper the appearance of differences.

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We also studied the implications of change in deprivation status in one generation for housing circumstances in the next, and found that a substantial proportion of children from deprived families who were upwardly mobile were likely, as adults, to live in council accommodation. This was also the case for those from overcrowded families. Further, the data suggest that the offspring of families in satisfactory housing circumstances in one generation are likely to find their way into satisfactory housing in the next.