

## 12 Change across generations 1952-80

Change and the measurement of change in a particular population is of the main purpose of this study. Do families in severe deprivation remain so from generation to generation? If not, what proportion escape and what are the characteristics of those who do? The same questions can be asked about families who are not deprived; do they remain so and, if not, what proportion moves into deprivation in its various degrees and why does this happen?

Our six criteria of deprivation have been described in Chapter 2, but here it must be noted that, while they can each be quantified, they are different in nature and not of equal 'value'. These differences have been described (Chapters 2 and 13) and must be taken into account when the reasons for movement into or out of deprivation or change in degree or type of deprivation are considered. To record quantitative changes in the various groups of non-deprived, deprived and multiply deprived is not, in itself, sufficient. We need to know the movement of each of the Red Spot children in their family of origin through their childhood and then to their thirty-third year (1979-80) when all but a small group who had never married were living in a family of formation. If the position of each individual with regard to deprivation can be determined in 1952 and in 1980 then his or her movement can be described both in terms of degree of change according to the number of criteria, and also in relation to the kind of criteria. This, in turn, allows a study of the specific continuity and discontinuity of criteria from one generation to the next as the index cases passed through childhood into adult life.

### *Resumé of method*

There were 847 families in 1952, and the group of 264 families interviewed in 1979-80 was composed of stratified

samples from the exercise we have without deprivation criteria); and 78 criteria) at five years. Red Spots can be the samples is rejected, it was selected, the 847 can be estimated.

The final stage to trace the change in Red Spot boy or girl can be made. This analysis of movement in degrees of deprivation the criteria demonstrate reviewing changes in be remembered that will have been interviewed. Spot-spouse, he or she broadly similar families.

**Measurement of change**  
The data of Table 1 show the situation in the families with that in their children. The 264 families contain some 200 parent families or their spouse. In the does not necessarily both spouses or parents.

Change is the degree of 62 children whose 1952, only 43.5 per cent remained non-deprived criterion (D1); 22.1 per cent were in multiple movement was applied only 43.6 per cent remarkably, the sample 12.8 per cent had remained

samples from those 847 families. For the purposes of this exercise we have analysed data on all the 264 families: 62 without deprivation; 124 with mild deprivation (one or two criteria); and 78 with multiple deprivation (three or more criteria) at five years of age. Only the movement of the 264 Red Spots can be detailed but, as the proportion of each of the samples is representative of the total group from which it was selected, the degree of movement in relation to the 847 can be estimated.

The final stage in the analysis of movement is, therefore, to trace the change of each of the 264 families containing a Red Spot boy or girl through that child's life until the assessment can be made of his or her condition or family in 1980. This analysis of movement is in two parts: first, according to degrees of deprivation in 1952 and 1980; second, in terms of the criteria demonstrated by each individual's family. In reviewing changes in criteria between 1952 and 1980 it must be remembered that, although the criteria shown in 1980 will have been influenced by the characteristics of the Red Spot-spouse, he or she was likely to have come from a broadly similar family of origin (see Chapter 4).

#### **Measurement of change between 1952-80**

The data of Table 12.1 are derived from a comparison of the situation in the families of the Red Spot children in 1952 with that in their families as adults and parents in 1979-80. The 264 families are all those persons interviewed and contain some 20 persons who had never married, were one-parent families or were living alone after separating from their spouse. In the sense in which we are using it 'family' does not necessarily require the presence of children or of both spouses or partners.

Change is the dominant feature. Thus, of the sample of 62 children whose families did not show any deprivation in 1952, only 43.5 per cent of their families of formation remained non-deprived in 1980; 29 per cent had acquired one criterion (D1); 22.6 per cent two criteria (D2) and 4.8 per cent were in multiple deprivation (D3). The same degree of movement was apparent in multiply deprived families, for only 43.6 per cent remained in the same group in 1980 — remarkably, the same proportion as of the non-deprived; 12.8 per cent had moved free from all deprivation; 16.7 per

Table 12.1 *Change in deprivation: 1952-1979/80 in 264 families*

| Number of criteria   | Distribution in 1952 |    |        |     |    |        |    |        | Total |
|----------------------|----------------------|----|--------|-----|----|--------|----|--------|-------|
|                      | 0                    |    | D1     |     | D2 |        | M  |        |       |
|                      |                      | %  |        | %   |    | %      |    | %      |       |
| Distribution 1979-80 | 0                    | 27 | (43.5) | 24  | 14 | (30.6) | 10 | (12.8) | 75    |
|                      | D1                   | 18 | (29.0) | 28  | 15 | (34.7) | 21 | (26.9) | 82    |
|                      | D2                   | 14 | (22.6) | 17  | 3  | (16.1) | 13 | (16.7) | 47    |
|                      | M                    | 3  | (4.8)  | 16  | 7  | (18.5) | 34 | (43.6) | 60    |
| Total                |                      | 62 |        | 85  | 39 |        | 78 |        | 264   |
|                      |                      |    |        | 124 |    |        |    |        |       |

Notes: All 16 categories in this table are mutually exclusive  
 D1 = Single criterion of deprivation  
 D2 = Two criteria  
 M = Three or more criteria

cent had improved into D2; and 27 per cent had improved into D1. Movement from, or within, the D1 and D2 sample was the characteristic most frequent of most families; in D1 only 33 per cent of families remained unchanged while 28 per cent moved out of all deprivation and 39 per cent moved into deeper deprivation. Red Spots with two criteria at five years (D2) seemed very prone to change, for at age 33 only 8 per cent remained in that category whilst 18 per cent had entered multiple deprivation and 29 had improved, 36 per cent moving to the non-deprived and the other 38 per cent to D1.

Since the groups of non-deprived, deprived and multiply deprived were stratified samples of these categories from our population of 847, the changes occurring in the entire population of 847 families could be estimated. This was done by multiplying the data in each cell by the proportion of the sample to the whole of the group in 1952 (Table 12.2). The number of families without deprivation had decreased from 483 (57 per cent) to 301 (35.5 per cent); those with one or two criteria had increased from 246 (29 per cent) to 426 (50.3 per cent). Thus, from 1952-80, there was a decrease in the number of families without any criteria, an increase in those with one or two adverse criteria, but virtually no change in the number of families in multiple deprivation.

Table 12.2 *Estimate of the change in deprivation: 1952-1979/80*

Sample size  
 Factor  
 0  
 D1  
 D2  
 M  
 at 5 years

The position, the movement of another (Table 12.2) original 483 families so at 33 years; a families (D1 and families in multiple deprivation 45.7 per cent (33 per cent) in the same category in 1979/80 with 37.5 per cent (nearly half with 33 years) moving from, or into, D1.

Thus, in summary, the movement of families in the little, rather more changed category

**Analysis of group:** Having looked at the change in the number of individual families in each category, which criteria occurred, and the degree of change from generation to the next, who remained within the same category and the 34 families

Table 12.2 *Estimated changes in deprivation status in the families of 847 Red Spots from family of origin (1952) to family of formation (1980): calculated from Table 12.1*

|             | Families of Origin |           |              | Totals<br>Families of<br>Formation 1980 |
|-------------|--------------------|-----------|--------------|---|
|             | (0)                | (D1 + D2) | (D3 or more) |   |
| Sample size | 62                 | 124       | 78           | 264                                     |
| Factor      | 7.8                | 1.98      | 1.51         |   |
| 0           | 211                | 75        | 15           | 301                                     |
| D1          | 140                | 85        | 32           | 257                                     |
| D2          | 109                | 40        | 20           | 169                                     |
| M           | 23                 | 46        | 51           | 120                                     |
| at 5 years  | 483                | 246       | 118          | 847                                     |

The position, however, looks different when we consider the movement of individual families from one category to another (Table 12.2). Only 211 (43.7 per cent) of the original 483 families without deprivation in 1952 remained so at 33 years; and 125 (50.8 per cent) of the 246 deprived families (D1 and D2) and 51 (43.2 per cent) of the 118 families in multiple deprivation did likewise. In all, therefore, 45.7 per cent (387 of the 847) would have remained in the same category in the two periods and 54.3 per cent changed, with 37.5 per cent (318) moving into greater deprivation (nearly half with only one criterion) and 16.8 per cent (142) moving from, or reducing, their degree of deprivation.

Thus, in summary, whilst proportions changed relatively little, rather more than half of all families would have changed category between 1952 and 1980.

#### Analysis of groups and change 1952-80

Having looked at the change in degree of deprivation in terms of numbers of criteria it is necessary to consider the individual families represented in Table 12.1 and ascertain which criteria occurred in each group in 1952 and 1980, and the degree of continuity or otherwise from one generation to the next. Thus, for example, the 27 families who remained without deprivation in both 1952 and 1980, and the 34 families who were in multiple deprivation at both

periods both constitute 43.5 per cent of the samples of 62 and 78 families who were studied. These groups can therefore represent the features of these two extreme classes of family.

Families from the two degrees of deprivation who moved either out of or into deprivation can also be examined and a search made for differences between the groups of families; similarly, the few families originally not deprived who moved into multiple deprivation can be examined beside those who moved from multiple deprivation to no deprivation.

But the first stage was the examination of the criteria present in 1952 and 1979-80 in each of the 16 groups which make up Table 12.1 and which are represented in the grid in Table 12.2. From that examination it was possible to examine the continuity, or otherwise, of the same criteria from 1952 to 1979-80.

The numerical values in terms of 'Red Spot' families (264) have been given in Table 12.1. Using those figures, it was possible to estimate the addition or removal of each criterion experienced by the 'Red Spot' girl or boy as children in their family of origin and 33 years later in their family of formation. Since the groups of 0, D1 and D2 and M families were samples of the total number of the families in those categories in the 1952 study population of 847 families, this allowed comparison of families within, but not across, the 1952 categories. Thus one can attempt two operations: first, to examine the appearance and disappearance of criteria in a reconstituted population; and, second, to describe the characteristics of families in each cell in an attempt to compare the characteristics of families who changed, or did not change, their positions.

#### Criteria and change in criteria 1952-80 in 847 families

Here, by reference to Table 12.2, we demonstrate the number of criteria experienced, the change in criteria between 1952-80, and the degree of continuity of each criterion.

#### *Families without deprivation in 1952 (Table 12.3)*

- 1 Group 0-0: In 1980, 27 (45 per cent) of the 62 families

in the sample  
estimated 211

- 2 Group 0-D1: 1952 had on numbers being By definition 1952 to 1980 comprised ma educational ins
- 3 Group 0-D2: acquired two c Red Spots (23 prominent cri educational def
- 4 Group 0-M: O the 62 familie into multiple d number to mal histories are giv

All in all, Table  
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to educational insu  
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*Table 12.3 Families  
of crite*

| Estimated Criteria<br>in 1980  | No |
|--------------------------------|----|
| Marital disruption             |    |
| Parental illness               |    |
| Poor care                      |    |
| Social dependency              |    |
| Educational in-<br>sufficiency |    |
| Poor mothering                 |    |
| Total criteria                 |    |
| Sample size in 1952            |    |
| Mean per family in 1980        |    |

in the sample remained without any deprivation — an estimated 211 of the original 847 families.

- 2 Group 0-D1: Eighteen (29 per cent) of the 62 families in 1952 had one criterion of deprivation in 1980, the numbers being estimated as 140 (79 boys and 61 girls). By definition there was no continuity of criteria from 1952 to 1980. Three-quarters of the criteria in 1980 comprised marital disharmony, parental illness and educational insufficiency.
- 3 Group 0-D2: Fourteen (23 per cent) of the 62 had acquired two criteria by 1980. This was estimated as 109 Red Spots (23 boys and 86 girls). In this group the most prominent criteria in 1980 are social dependence, educational deficit and parental illness.
- 4 Group 0-M: Only three (5 per cent) of the children from the 62 families without deprivation in 1952 had fallen into multiple deprivation by 33 years. This is too small a number to make a reasonable estimate and detailed case histories are given on p. 190.

All in all, Table 12.3 suggests that movement into deprivation from non-deprivation from 1952-80 was chiefly due to educational insufficiency, marital disruption and parental illness.

*Table 12.3 Families in 1952 and estimated number of criteria in 1980*

| Estimated Criteria in 1980 | Non-Deprived 1952 | One or Two Criteria 1952 | Three or More Criteria 1952 | Estimated Specific Continuity 1952-80 |
|----------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Marital disruption         | 93                | 62                       | 42                          | 36.0%                                 |
| Parental illness           | 93                | 52                       | 30                          | 21.9%                                 |
| Poor care                  | 47                | 38                       | 24                          | 21.9%                                 |
| Social dependency          | 62                | 40                       | 53                          | 31.1%                                 |
| Educational insufficiency  | 101               | 110                      | 77                          | —                                     |
| Poor mothering             | 47                | 40                       | 33                          | 26.2%                                 |
| Total criteria             | 443               | 342                      | 259                         |                                       |
| Sample size in 1952        | 483               | 249                      | 116                         |                                       |
| Mean per family in 1980    | 0.92              | 1.37                     | 2.23                        |                                       |

*Families with one criterion in 1952 (Table 12.3)*

- 1 Group D1-0: Twenty-four (21 per cent) of the 85 families with one criterion at five years were free from deprivation in 1980 – an estimated 48 of 847. In half of these the only adverse criterion in 1952 was that they were in overcrowded houses.
- 2 Group D1-D1: Twenty-eight (83 per cent) Red Spots were in the 85 families which showed one criterion, but not necessarily the same one in 1952 and 1980 (estimated 56). Again as with Group D1-0 the largest group in 1952 was 'overcrowding'. Only in four families were there any continuity of criteria from one generation to the next – two in marital disharmony and one each in parental illness and social dependency. In 1980, the most frequent criteria were educational insufficiency and marital disharmony.
- 3 Group D1-D2: This group of 17 (20 per cent) of 85 families – all male, except one girl who remained unmarried – increased from one to two criteria between 1952 to 1979-80 (estimated 34). In 1952 most of the criteria were equally divided between overcrowding and marital disruption. At 33 years the most common criterion was educational insufficiency. There was continuity of specific criteria only in three cases of marital disharmony and two of parental illness.
- 4 Group D1-M: Sixteen (19 per cent) of 85 families with only one criterion at five years had by 1980 become deeply involved in deprivation with at least three criteria (estimated at 32 individuals – 16 boys and 16 girls). Looking at this group, the marked increase of poor mothering, poor care and social dependence is very apparent, and all showed educational insufficiency. This is the picture of increasing social failure but little evidence of specific continuity of criteria.

Table 12.3 indicates that deprivation in 1980 in families who started with one criterion in 1952 was determined by educational insufficiency followed by marital disruption and parental illness. This is similar to the pattern of the families who started without deprivation.

*Families with two*

- 1 Group D2-0: with two criteria in 1952 (estimated 80) (estimated 80). Two boys remained free from deprivation. Social dependency was the most frequent criterion. Poor mothering, poor care and social dependency were also criteria. Group D1-0. seems associated with social dependency but substantial continuity of criteria and parental illness from one generation to the next.
- 2 Group D2-D1: 10 families (12 per cent) and 10 females showed a high level of mothering failure. One disappeared and was equally represented by educational insufficiency and educational specific criteria. Two of parental illness.
- 3 Group D2-D2: 10 families (12 per cent) in an estimated 34. Married each other.
- 4 Group D2-M: 10 families (12 per cent) Red Spots), increased to at least three criteria. They showed social dependency and social dependency. Continuity was a criterion, with the

Table 12.3 indicates that deprivation in 1980 in families who started with two criteria in 1952 was determined by social dependency and that social dependency and marital disruption all make a difference.

*Families with multiple*

- 1 Group M-0: 10 families (12 per cent) Red Spots), increased to at least three criteria. They showed social dependency and social dependency. Continuity was a criterion, with the

*Families with two criteria in 1952 (Table 12.3)*

- 1 Group D2-0: Fourteen (36 per cent) of the 39 families with two criteria in 1952 had no deprivation in 1979-80 (estimated at 28 Red Spots - 16 boys and 12 girls). Two boys remained unmarried. In 1952 social dependency was the most common criterion, and poor care and poor mothering were the least common. The pattern of poor care and poor mothering proved very similar to Group D1-0. Thus, recovery from D1 or D2 to 0 at 33 seems associated with low scores in family caring items but substantial scores in combined marital disharmony and parental illness which did not appear in the next generation.
- 2 Group D2-D1: This comprised 15 of 39 families (20 male and 10 female Red Spots). At age five, this group showed a high level of poor mothering but by 1980 all mothering failure, social dependency and poor care had disappeared and the remaining criteria were almost equally represented by marital disruption, parental illness and educational insufficiency. There was continuity of specific criteria in three cases of marital disruption and two of parental illness.
- 3 Group D2-D2: This group, which is too small to be used in an estimate, comprised only three Red Spots - two married each other and the third remained single.
- 4 Group D2-M: Only seven of the 39 families (14 Red Spots), increased their deprivation score from two to at least three criteria at 33 years. At 33 years, of the 26 criteria they displayed half were associated with social dependency and educational insufficiency. Specific continuity was also apparent particularly in social dependency, with three families and poor mothering with two.

Table 12.3 indicates that the increased deprivation in families in 1980 was largely due to educational insufficiency, and that social dependency, parental illness and marital disruption all make contributions.

*Families with multiple deprivation in 1952 (Table 12.3)*

- 1 Group M-0: Ten of 78 (13 per cent) multiply deprived



families (estimated at 15 families) lost all criteria and joined the non-deprived at 33 years. The distribution of the criteria within those families in 1952 was fairly equal. A more detailed account of these families is given in the description of movement to extremes.

- 2 Group M-D1: Twenty-one (27 per cent) of 78 families, multiply deprived at age five, had improved at 33 years (estimated at 32). In 1952 the criteria were fairly evenly distributed within the families. At 33 years half the families were handicapped by educational insufficiency, and each of the other criteria were sparsely represented. There was specific continuity of marital disruption in three families.
- 3 Group M-D2: Thirteen (17 per cent) families, multiply deprived at age five, were somewhat improved at 33 years (estimated at 20). By then, educational insufficiency was a criterion in three-quarters of the families and poor care was uncommon; indeed the latter had decreased. There was no specific continuity.
- 4 Group M-M: Thirty-four (44 per cent) of 78 Red Spots (an estimated 51 of the 847) were born into families with multiple deprivation at age five and remained in that category in their families of formation at 33 years. At five years, the variation was not great and poor care, social dependency and poor mothering were the most common criteria. At 33 years, while social dependency had increased, the other two criteria had been substantially reduced. Marital disharmony was present in half these families at age five and slightly more than that at 33 years, while parental illness was recorded in rather more than half at both assessments. Finally, in 1980 no less than 30 (about 90 per cent) of the families lacked any educational success or vocational training. Not surprisingly, this group showed the greatest continuity of specific criteria, particularly in social dependency in 21 families, poor mothering in 11, marital disruption in 10, poor care in 9 and parental illness in 5.

Table 12.3 has indicated that deprivation in 1980 in families who started with multiple criteria in 1952 was again primarily determined by educational insufficiency (30),

social dependency and other three criteria.

Overall, in 1980, without, or without, appeared to be followed by new levels of deprivation emerged as in educational insufficiency.

**Continuity from 1952 to 1980**  
Finally, from 1952 to 1980, in 1952 and 1980, six criteria and generation to of continuity of marital disruption (36 per cent). The remaining continuity.

These 1980 families was not deprived of marital disruption, parental illness, occurred in about half and poor mothering, the social dependency.

**Characteristics of families who moved into or out of deprivation**  
The previous section on the 'Red Spot' families showed that at five years, in degree of deprivation, believe, are indicated.

**Comparisons of families who were never deprived with those who were**  
To be without the prerogative of experienced multiple deprivation groups were, by of which they 211 and 51 re

social dependency (29) and marital disruption (20). The other three criteria made smaller contributions.

Overall, in 1980, deprivation in families who started without, or with only a low level of, deprivation in 1952 appeared to be determined by educational insufficiency followed by marital disruption and parental illness. As the levels of deprivation in 1952 increased, social dependency emerged as important and eventually was second only to educational insufficiency.

#### **Continuity from one generation to the next**

Finally, from the estimated distribution in the 847 families in 1952 and 1980 it is possible to give a total for each of the six criteria and to indicate the degree of continuity from one generation to the next (Table 12.3). The strongest evidence of continuity from 1952 to 1980 occurred with marital disruption (36 per cent) followed by social dependency (31 per cent). The remaining criteria all had rather over 20 per cent continuity.

These 1980 rates have to be compared with the group that was not deprived in 1952. In this latter group in 1980 marital disruption, parental illness and educational insufficiency occurred in about one in five, in one in ten of the poor care and poor mothering groups, and finally, in one in eight of the social dependency group.

#### **Characteristics of families with different entries into or out of deprivation from 1952-80**

The previous sections have demonstrated the way in which the 'Red Spot' child, in his or her development from childhood at five years of age to adult life at 33 years, fared both in degree of deprivation and in the various criteria which, we believe, are indications of family well-being or otherwise.

#### **Comparisons of extremes: never deprived-always deprived**

To be without deprivation at both five and 33 years was the prerogative of 27 Red Spots and their families, while 34 experienced multiple deprivation at both these times. These groups were, by chance, both 43.5 per cent of the samples of which they were a part and are estimated to represent 211 and 51 respectively of the groups of 483 and 118

non-deprived and multiply deprived families in 1952. That being so, it was likely that these two groups, although they were not large, did represent the conditions which accompanied stability of either 'good' or 'poor' quality of personal and family life. In this section we offer an analysis and comparison of the two groups: 0-0, the non-deprived; and M-M, the multiply deprived.

*Composition of Groups 0-0 and M-M*

The group in 0-0 consisted of 16 men and 11 women Red Spots. In 1980 all but two, who remained single, were living with their spouses. One female Red Spot from a family without deprivation married another Red Spot from a family who showed two criteria (parental illness and social dependency), but in 1980 at the time of the interview the new family did not manifest any criteria and also remained in 0-0, the husband having improved from D2. Two others, one man and one woman, had not married but had made successful careers for themselves, and certainly neither had any evidence of material deprivation. Interestingly, the man had not been successful or happy at school and not until he was engaged in an occupation which aroused his interest did he take advantage of opportunities to acquire technical training; but the will was certainly evident. The woman was described as a lively and sociable person who, after appropriate training, was also successful in her career.

In the M-M group there were 19 men and 15 women. Two of the latter had never married; in each there were two individuals who had remarried after divorce, and several were cohabiting, having been separated or divorced from previous partners.

The occupational class distribution was assessed at both five and 33 years, and Table 12.4 indicates that, at both times, at least four-fifths of Group 0-0 families were in social groups I-III; in 1980 there was even a higher proportion. Group M-M was very different. At five years two-thirds were in social classes IV and V, and the other third in social class III. By 1980 the category of semi-skilled and unskilled workers had been greatly reduced and, while the category of the non-skilled workers had virtually disappeared, the unemployed and not classifiable had increased. (Unemployed

Table 12.4

| Group | So         |
|-------|------------|
| 0-0   | { 19<br>19 |
| M-M   | { 19<br>19 |

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Table 12.4 Occupational class (Registrar General)

| Group | Social Class | I + II | III | IV + V | Unemployed | NC | Total |
|-------|--------------|--------|-----|--------|------------|----|-------|
| O-0   | 1952         | 6      | 16  | 5      | 0          | 0  | 27    |
|       | 1979-80      | 7      | 19  | 1      | 0          | 0  | 27    |
| M-M   | 1952         | 0      | 10  | 22     | 0          | 2  | 34    |
|       | 1979-80      | 2      | 8   | 5      | 14         | 5  | 34    |

in that context meant at least one year without work in the previous five.)

Other differences were apparent. In 1947 the average number of children in the never deprived families had been 1.6, and 3.35 in the always deprived. By 1952 the children in O-0 families had experienced little loss of parental care, and all the mothers except one were described as coping with the family organization; two fathers had been temporarily absent from the family but there had not been any permanent loss. Only two mothers had worked outside the home. No serious psychological problems were noted in the parents. Nearly two-thirds of the group were first-born children and none were fifth or later-born.

The situation of the children in the other group was very different. Thirty per cent were sixth or later-born; only six (18 per cent) of the mothers were thought to be coping with the family while 17 (50 per cent) were unable to manage. One parent had died, five fathers had 'disappeared' and four had been temporarily absent, while four mothers were working full-time and five part-time. Seven parents seemed to have severe psychological problems associated with epilepsy (4) and behaviour difficulties (3).

In 1952 about a third of each group were living in local authority council housing and a further quarter of Group O-0 were owner-occupiers, but that was rare in Group M-M.

*Family and child care recorded in 1962 (15th year)*

In making this comparison it must be remembered that, in 1980, the families in the groups were revisited whether or not they were still domiciled in Newcastle. This had not been possible in the original study and therefore, in a few families,

information regarding the school years was not available for the fifteenth-year analysis. This applied to four families in Group 0-0 but to only one family in Group M-M — so the general picture of the comparison was not distorted.

*Families without deprivation (0-0)* Information on 23 families was available in 1962. These families were characterized by the continued presence of both parents and a normal pattern of child care. Twenty of the fathers and 21 of the mothers had always been present and had given good support to the family. During the 10 years (5-15) one divorce had taken place, one father had had a chronic illness, one had had psychological care, and one had been away from home by the nature of his work for a total of four of the 15 years. One mother had had a chronic illness, and one had died. Half of the mothers and fathers were rated as being effective and kind.

In 19 of the 23 families the pattern of child care could be described as normal for the modern nuclear family. Paternal provision for the home during these 15 years was described as constant and full in over two-thirds; and three-quarters helped with domestic tasks. Only six of these 23 mothers had worked full-time outside the home, one for less than one year, another for less than two years and the remaining four for more than five years. Paternal interest in the child or children was rated as good in 17 of the families, average in five, and one was not assessed.

*Families with multiple deprivation (M-M)* Similar information was available in 1962 for most of the parents in the group of 34 families. Three fathers and four mothers died between 1947 and 1962; 28 (84 per cent) mothers but only 19 (57 per cent) fathers were continuously present; and four had been divorced or had deserted. Three had been intermittently present. In only 21 (63 per cent) families was the child care pattern assessed as normal — in four, the children lived in more than one family, one child was with grandparents, and some were in residential schools. Only three of the fathers were said to be constant and full providers (Table 12.5); during the 15 years, nine had been dismissed from, or demoted within, jobs and 11 had more than three changes of jobs without improvement in situation.

Table 12.5 P  
an

|                         |
|-------------------------|
| Paternal Provision:     |
| Constant and full       |
| Constant but in         |
| Domestic Participation: |
| Good/Average            |
| Interest in Child:      |
| Good/Average            |
| Poor                    |

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Table 12.5 *Paternal provision, participation in the home and interest in the Red Spot child 5-15 years*

|                         | 0-0    | M-M |
|-------------------------|--------|-----|
| Paternal Provision:     | n = 26 | 34  |
| Constant and full       | 17     | 3   |
| Constant but inadequate | 4      | 11  |
| Domestic Participation: | n = 27 | 32  |
| Good/Average            | 20     | 6   |
| Interest in Child:      | n = 26 | 32  |
| Good/Average            | 23     | 13  |
| Poor                    | —      | 14  |

Paternal interest in the children was described as poor in 14 cases (42 per cent). Only one father was described as effective, kind and considerate; four as ineffectual but well meaning; two as ineffectual and apathetic; and no less than 14 (of the 24 rated) as aggressive and inconsiderate. Only a minority seemed to help with domestic tasks. Three were known to be criminal and two alcoholic. Nine mothers had worked full-time, six of these for more than five years, nine mothers had had psychiatric disturbances or received psychiatric care, four complained of chronic fatigue and two suffered from depression. None of the mothers had been rated as effective and kind and 10 (40 per cent of the 26 rated) were considered ineffective.

These comparisons indicate that the quality of the home and family life was very different in the two groups throughout the early and school years of the Red Spot children.

There are few indications of the children's behaviour within their families, but 14 of the Red Spot children in Group 0-0 were recorded as helping in the house but none of those in Group M-M. In half of the 0-0 families where there were older children they had been to selective schools, whereas in only three of 27 deprived children had that occurred.

*Comparisons of the children in the school years*

Not all the children in each group were measured on each

occasion, but at five years Group M-M were on average 2.6 lb lighter and 1.3 inches shorter than those in Group O-O; at nine, they were 5.5 lb lighter and 1.5 inches shorter. Thus, at both ages, there was a significant difference in physical growth between the groups (Table 12.6).

Table 12.6 *Physical growth at age 5*

| Groups | n  | Weight (lbs) | Height (ins) |
|--------|----|--------------|--------------|
| M-O    | 10 | 42.0         | 42.9         |
| O-O    | 24 | 43.3         | 43.1         |
| M-M    | 29 | 40.7         | 41.8         |

*Children's attitude to leaving school*

An attempt was made to describe the attitude of the children of both groups to school, but the numbers were small, and for about one-third of Group M-M information had not been recorded. This in itself was perhaps significant. All that can be said is that, whereas most children in both groups thought they would like to leave school at 15 or 16 years, more were willing to stay on in Group O-O than in Group M-M, and in Group M-M there were many who wished to leave even before 14 years.

*Results of the 11-plus examination*

All the children, apart from two in Group O-O in private schools, took their 11-plus examination. The results showed wide and highly significant differences in measured intelligence and in arithmetic and English assessments. Indeed, it can be seen that the distribution of intelligence was so wide that the groups hardly overlapped (Table 12.7).

*Parent's attitude to the 11-plus examination*

In the last term at the junior school the parents of all the survey children were asked their preference with regard to the type of school they wished their child to attend (Miller

Table 12.7 *Dis...*

Intelligence Quotient  
O-O  
M-M

Arithmetic Quotient  
O-O  
M-M

English Quotient  
O-O  
M-M

<sup>1</sup> Numbers of children

Table 12.8 *Edi...*

Grammar or Technical School

Comprehensive/Secondary Modern

Approved/Maladjusted  
Other

Total

Table 12.7 *Distribution of scores at 11-plus examination*<sup>1</sup>

|                       | -85 | 86-99 | 100-115 | 115+ | mean  | SD    |
|-----------------------|-----|-------|---------|------|-------|-------|
| Intelligence Quotient |     |       |         |      |       |       |
| O-O                   | 1   | 6     | 8       | 6    | 106.2 | 13.09 |
| M-M                   | 21  | 7     | 2       | 0    | 84.5  | 6.7   |
| Arithmetic Quotient   |     |       |         |      |       |       |
| O-O                   | 0   | 3     | 9       | 8    | 112.8 | 12.28 |
| M-M                   | 9   | 18    | 3       | 0    | 88.4  | 7.97  |
| English Quotient      |     |       |         |      |       |       |
| O-O                   | 0   | 7     | 7       | 7    | 109.2 | 12.89 |
| M-M                   | 19  | 9     | 2       | 0    | 84.4  | 9.69  |

<sup>1</sup>Numbers of children: Group O-O = 21; Group M-M = 30Table 12.8 *Education of parents in families of formation 1980*

|                                | Group O-O |         |       | Group M-M |         |       |
|--------------------------------|-----------|---------|-------|-----------|---------|-------|
|                                | Wife      | Husband | Total | Wife      | Husband | Total |
| Grammar or Technical School    | 10        | 11      | 21    | 0         | 0       | 0     |
| Comprehensive/Secondary Modern | 15        | 15      | 30    | 33        | 27      | 60    |
| Approved/Maladjusted           | 0         | 0       | 0     | 0         | 1       | 1     |
| Other                          | 1         | —       | 1     | 1         | 2       | 3     |
| Total                          | 26        | 26      | 52    | 34        | 30      | 64    |



*et al.*, 1974). In Group 0-0 69 per cent chose grammar schools, 8 per cent chose technical or commercial, and 4 per cent chose secondary modern. In Group M-M the corresponding percentages were 44, 25 and 22 respectively. However, the schools the Red Spot children attended were very different from the parents' preferences: 35 per cent of Group 0-0 went to grammar or technical schools, 54 per cent to secondary modern and 8 per cent to private schools, but none of Group M-M went to a selective school and almost all went to comprehensive or secondary modern schools.

Thus in 1980 40 per cent of parents in the 0-0 families had been to grammar or technical schools and the mothers and fathers were almost equally represented (although not necessarily in the same families) while none of the parents of Group M-M had been to a selective school (Table 12.8).

#### *Red Spot children in senior schools*

In the senior schools, the teachers assessed the personal attributes of the children on five-point scales, and each child was given the Raven's Progressive Matrices and Mill Hill Vocabulary Test at both 12 and 14 years. The results of the Matrices and the Vocabulary Tests at both ages showed similar differences to those of the 11-plus examination in their previous schools.

#### *Personal attributes*

The scores for initiative, ability to mix, self-confidence, assertiveness, sensitivity and emotional stability did not reveal any significant difference between the groups, but those for concentration and persistence did, with the children in Group 0-0 showing greater ability to concentrate and more persistence in the classroom than those in Group M-M. The children in Group M-M also showed a more hostile attitude towards school which fitted with their declared wish to leave school earlier than Group 0-0.

#### *School attendance in the last year*

The record of school attendance showed that two-thirds of the M-M children during the final year at school attended less than 85 per cent of possible days and only 12.5 per cent attended more than 95 per cent. This was compatible with other measurements of attitudes to school and of the

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valuation of education displayed by both children and parents. Group 0-0, on the other hand, showed much better attendance.

*Appearance in juvenile courts*

Before 1963 only two boys of the 0-0 children had been charged with an offence; one had a conditional discharge and the other was fined. However, no less than eight of the 19 boys in Group M-M had appeared at the juvenile court: five were on probation, one was in an approved school, one had been fined, and one had been given a conditional discharge; one girl was in care of the social services.

*Families of formation in 1980: Red Spots as adults*

Only two of the 27 0-0 Red Spots had not married; all the others were living with their spouses and families. Only three couples did not have any children, four had one child, 15 had two and three had three children, making 43 in all. Of the 34 Red Spots in Group M-M, two women had never married, one still lived with her mother and the other, deserted by her partner, was also alone except for her infant with Down's Syndrome; one woman was widowed but had been separated from her husband before he was killed; three men were divorced and cohabiting, while four other men and two women were cohabiting with a partner. The marital situation was therefore very different in the groups. There were 88 children in 31 families or partnerships in Group M-M in contrast to 43 in 25 families in Group 0-0. The mean numbers of children in the families were 2.84 and 1.72 respectively.

In Group M-M, when families had split up the children usually stayed with the mother; seven women had children from previous marriages and three did not appear to have any from the current marriage or partnership; it seemed that only 56 of the 88 children in the families at the time of the interview were living with both natural parents. No child had died in Group 0-0 and one had died in Group M-M.

The men and women in Group M-M had left their childhood homes earlier than those in Group 0-0, but in both groups girls left earlier than boys. Thus in Group 0-0, only two of 24 men and seven of 26 women had left by their 20th birthdays, whilst in Group M-M the figures were 17 of

30 men and 22 of 33 women. Most of the remainder in both groups left between 20 and 25 years. It is known that the age of partners at marriage is a strong predictor of later family well-being. In Group 0-0 the wife's age at first marriage was 22.2 years on average and the husband's 23.3 years, whereas those in the M-M families were 18.1 and 20.1 years respectively. Certainly this difference was reflected in the stability of the marriages.

Differences in the types of houses occupied were not so illuminating as differences in the ownership of the dwellings occupied in 1980, with 20 of the 0-0 families owning their own homes as compared to merely three of the M-M group.

#### *Lifestyles*

Since education and training for adult life significantly affect future lifestyle and attitudes, we should examine the lifestyles of parents in the families of formation.

An individual's consumption of tobacco or alcohol is important in two respects; first in its implications for health and second in its cost, so an attempt was made to quantify the use of tobacco and to ascertain if any of the parents were conscious that they might have an alcohol problem. In Group 0-0 nearly half the men and three-quarters of the women did not smoke, but in four families the consumption of cigarettes may have been as many as 40 per day while 11 men and five women smoked more than ten per day. No man admitted any awareness of a problem with alcohol, but one wife was dubious about herself. The situation seemed very different in the M-M families where only four of 29 men and nine of 34 women claimed to be non-smokers. Twenty men and women said they smoked more than 10 cigarettes a day; another 25 (13 men and 12 women) more than 20 each day, and 14 claimed more than 40 cigarettes per day. We had no means of checking that claim but, if true, it represented an expenditure of more than £2 per day in each of those families – a substantial proportion of their budget. Four of the men and one woman also had definite drink problems. While none of the 0-0 families was on supplementary benefit, 21 in the M-M families were receiving that aid, including six of the families where tobacco consumption was heaviest.

#### *Employment*

Of the 26 women the home during worked part-time not worked while employment. The fore very similar. I been made for the and five M-M fami we looked at the the two groups we in Group 0-0 were their current job fi been without wor previous five years in employment, ei more than five yea been out of work i been unemployed varying periods up

Thus the groups types of employme came differences in

*Vocabulary quotien*  
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Table 12.9 *Mill Hi*  
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|------|---|
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| Mean |   |

*Employment*

Of the 26 women in Group 0-0, 12 had not worked outside the home during the previous six months, while 10 had worked part-time and four full-time. In Group M-M 18 had not worked while 12 had part-time and four full-time employment. The work records of the women were therefore very similar. In most cases no special arrangements had been made for the care of children but in two 0-0 families and five M-M families relatives were helping. However, when we looked at the employment of the men, the positions of the two groups were very different. In 1980 26 of the men in Group 0-0 were known to be in employment, 22 had held their current job for more than five years and only one had been without work for as long as three months in the previous five years. Of the 30 in Group M-M only 13 were in employment, eight of whom had held the same job for more than five years. Furthermore, only seven of 30 had not been out of work in that time and, of the other 23, six had been unemployed for periods up to two years and eight for varying periods up to five years.

Thus the groups exhibited very different patterns as well as types of employment. From unemployment in Group M-M came differences in dependence on social services.

*Vocabulary quotients*

The Mill Hill Vocabulary Test scores, expressed as quotients, are given in Table 12.9. The difference between the total groups was not as great as when the Red Spots were children, but, if only the Red Spots are included, the difference increased to approach that found in the 11-plus scores and became statistically significant.

Table 12.9 *Mill Hill Vocabulary quotients in 0-0 and M-M groups*

|      | Group 0-0 |       | Group M-M |      |
|------|-----------|-------|-----------|------|
|      | Women     | Men   | Women     | Men  |
| 'n'  | 26        | 25    | 32        | 28   |
| Mean | 98.65     | 103.9 | 89.33     | 92.7 |

*Previous schooling and vocational training (Table 12.10)*

Notable points about the educational comparisons were the large number of men and women in Group M-M who recalled an active dislike of school (39 per cent), who left at the first opportunity without attempting any examinations (97 per cent against 28 per cent), and who did not thereafter gain any qualifications by further vocational training (85 per cent against 37 per cent).

*Table 12.10 Schooling and vocational training:  
family of formation*

|                  | Group 0-0<br>Men and Women | Group M-M<br>Men and Women |
|------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Age at leaving:  |                            |                            |
| 15               | 26 (50%)                   | 58 (91%)                   |
| 16               | 15                         | 6                          |
| 17 or later      | 11                         | 0                          |
| Examinations:    |                            |                            |
| None             | 13 (28%)                   | 62 (97%)                   |
| CSE              | 14                         | 2                          |
| O/A Level        | 20                         | 0                          |
| Qualifications:  |                            |                            |
| Yes              | 33 (63%)                   | 10 (15%)                   |
| Disliked School? |                            |                            |
| Yes              | 9 (17%)                    | 25 (39%)                   |

*Family income*

To this point there has been no consideration of family income, although it was noted that the gross declared income of more than half (56 per cent) the M-M families was below that of the lowest group of 0-0 families.

*Health of parents*

Enquiries were made regarding the health and emotional state of each parent.

The M-M parents appeared to have a much higher incidence of both physical (11 of 29 men and 15 of 33 women) and emotional problems (11 of 29 men and 20 of 33 women) than those in Group 0-0 (physical: two of 26

men and none of 33 women), and four of 26 women reported physical and emotional problems which prevented further study.

*Health and development*

*Mother's attitude*  
The 25 0-0 families had no reservations about their children, whereas in M-M families 10 were reported to have reservations and this sentiment was reported in the third or fourth year of life rather than planned prenatally.

We have already noted that in Group 0-0 32 of 88 mothers had reported divorce because their own divorce. Some of these (7) but in four families. One mother had relatives.

*The children at birth*  
The available concern for the 25 0-0 families was that one child's weight was three ounces at birth, and the perinatal period was months in walking ears.

Altogether five children were underweight. One, who was two years of age, was manifesting difficulties. Another child had care in the perinatal period toward incident. A marked contrast were 'late' in walking.

men and none of 25 women; emotional: one of 25 men and four of 26 women). The complex relationship between physical and emotional illness and deprivation requires further study.

#### *Health and development of children*

*Mother's attitude to pregnancy and 'completed families'* In the 25 O-O families only one mother appeared to have had any reservations about either her first or second pregnancy, whereas in M-M families no less than 11 of 26 women were reported to have had reservations about their first pregnancy, and this sentiment was found also in those who had second, third or fourth pregnancies. This suggests unplanned rather than planned pregnancies.

We have already noted that, whereas all the 43 children in Group O-O were living with both their natural parents, 36 per cent (32 of 88) of Group M-M were not doing so, largely because their original family had split up by separation or divorce. Some of these were with their natural mothers alone (7) but in four families a stepfather or cohabitor was present. One mother had died and the children lived with her relatives.

*The children at birth and the time of walking* The data available concerned only children of school age — some 29 in the 25 O-O families and 78 in 28 M-M families. In Group O-O one child's birthweight fell below 5lb 8oz, but only by three ounces and without ill-effects; none had required oxygen at birth, but in six some incident was recorded in the perinatal period; only one child was as late as 16-18 months in walking and none had had trouble with eyes or ears.

Altogether five of the 78 M-M children had low birthweights. One, whose weight was 4lb 9oz, did not walk until two years of age and, at the time of the interview in 1980, was manifesting both educational and behavioural difficulties. Another had required oxygen at birth and special care in the perinatal period. In 13 (16.7 per cent) some untoward incident had been noted in the perinatal period. In marked contrast to the non-deprived families, 10 children were 'late' in walking (after 16 months); 12 had received

attention for eyes and seven for ears; again the same families, although not necessarily the same children, had been involved in difficulties at birth.

*Hospital attendances or admissions* The use of hospital in-patient facilities was also unequal. About half the children in each group had attended hospital as outpatients, but only 3 of Group 0-0 had been admitted for operation and none had been in hospital for more than seven days. In contrast, 34 (43.6 per cent) of Group M-M had been inpatients and 24 had had operations. None of the 0-0 children, but three of the M-M children, had attended psychiatric clinics.

The Rutter Behaviour Scale had been completed by teachers at school and the usual cut-off point (score 9) used to indicate those children likely to be disturbed. The percentages were broadly similar in both the 0-0 and M-M groups.

*Separation from parents in first five years* For Group 0-0 no separation from mother for more than a month was recorded and only one separation of 3-6 months from a father. In Group M-M four separations from mothers were recorded for an equivalent period. Separations from fathers were much more frequent and affected 13 of the 78 children for more than three months. Thus there is no doubt that a substantial proportion of children in the families with continued deprivation had experienced family disruption before they were five years of age.

*Home provision* The interview and the school visit also provided an opportunity to obtain information on certain aspects of home provision and home management. Thus, in a situation when overcrowding in houses to the extent seen in 1952 had vanished, enquiry was made into the sleeping accommodation provided for the school-age children. In Group 0-0 all but five of the 29 children had their own bedroom and all had their own bed. In Group M-M, of 78 children 21 had their own room, 40 shared a room but had their own bed, nine slept with a sibling and, in one family, two children shared a bed in the parents' room.

All children watch television as part of normal home life and all families in both groups seemed to have sets available, but the duration of viewing varied widely between families

in the two groups more time watching television than those in the

*Child management* feelings of irritation are also signs of emotional control. This was studied in the frequency of children and their

The question obviously began with the element — whether it ended whether it ended affecting others as 'wrong'. Then on the parents' inappropriate attempt to try to children of

There were physical blows the previous children had more than one in Group M-M said to be space referred to the same number largely used to sending the children in the 0-0 families be used more talking to the used method group and, it appeared to be

*Education and nursery school* approximately three

in the two groups, with Group M-M reported as spending more time watching. However, many in that group were older than those in the O-O families.

*Child management* The response of parents concerning feelings of irritation and the use of physical 'punishment' are also signs which have bearing on the parents' own emotional control and their feeling towards their children. This was studied and mothers and fathers were asked about the frequency with which they showed irritation with the children and how often they had used physical punishment.

The questions related only to the previous six months and obviously begged the problem of the reasons for punishment — whether it was something which irritated the parents, whether it endangered the child, or whether it was behaviour affecting others of which the parent disapproved or regarded as 'wrong'. The answers therefore seem to throw more light on the parents' reaction to what was thought to be the child's inappropriate or annoying behaviour rather than to any attempt to train or educate the child. The data referred only to children of school age.

There were four questions. The first related to the use of physical blows such as 'slaps' or 'spanking' as practised during the previous six months. In both groups about one-third of children had been spanked, but frequent spankings — that is, more than once a month — were apparently more common in Group M-M, and two children, both aged six years, were said to be spanked several times weekly. The second question referred to the withdrawal of privileges which affected about the same number of children as 'smacking' and seemed to be largely used by the same families. The third method, that of sending the child out of the room, was used relatively more in the O-O families than in the M-M, but in both was said to be used more than either of the other two methods. Finally, talking to the child was claimed to be the most frequently used method and much more so in the M-M than in the O-O group and, in fact, most children in both groups were, or appeared to be, managed in that manner.

*Education and 'social behaviour'* Pre-school playgroups and nursery schools are now accepted as the norm. Approximately three-quarters of Group O-O and one-half of the M-M



children had attended before going to school at five years. All but two of the parents in Group 0-0 had been to school to see the teacher (90 per cent), but only in two cases had a special appointment been requested. Not surprisingly, fewer of the parents in Group M-M had seen the teacher, but 25 had done so once and 19 more than once.

The mean ability quotients of the 0-0 and M-M children, as measured by Raven's Matrices and Mill Hill Vocabulary Tests, are shown in Table 12.11. There were very significant differences between the mean scores both for first children and for all schoolchildren in the two groups of families, and the gap was rather wider for the vocabulary test than for the non-verbal ability test.

One in five of the children in Group M-M and one in 10 in Group 0-0 were said to be experiencing educational difficulties, behavioural difficulties or trouble with other children. None of the latter had been in contact with the social services nor with the police, whereas in Group M-M five families had had voluntary, and four families compulsory, contact with the social services.

*Table 12.11 Mean quotients of first-born schoolchildren*

|                           | Group 0-0 (n=18) | Group M-M (n=26) |
|---------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Raven's Matrices          | 115.5 (10.7) SD  | 96.8 (13.6) SD   |
| Mill Hill Vocabulary Test | 115.5 (14.1) SD  | 93.6 (13.2) SD   |

#### *Movement to and from extremes 0-M and M-0*

We next looked at those who, on the one hand, changed from no deprivation at age five to multiple deprivation at 33 years, and, on the other, those who escaped from multiple deprivation at five and by 33 years had established themselves as non-deprived.

#### *Movement into multiple deprivation: Group 0-M*

In the 264 families visited, only three Red Spots who spent their childhood in non-deprived families were, at 33 years, parents in families rated with three or more criteria of deprivation. These three families represented only 5 per cent

of the sample of families from the area. These are too few to trace their personal histories.

The 'group' was from an occupational background of unskilled and semi-skilled families. Both her father and mother were described as being in the lower end of the social scale. Her parents themselves had not had a good marriage. The father was an eventful, and after a period of unemployment, with an above-average income, which she accepted. Her teachers thought she had no confidence. She started at a Certificate, but left at age 17. Then, during her training, she left home, but did not finish her training. She remembered frequent disagreements, clothes and staying at home. She married at 17 and soon married. She ended in divorce. In the thirties she was living with three children, working. She appeared to be a family manager. She was a family and claimed to have admitted that her husband was generally fallen short. In her history she was a social dependency. She thought that this unhappy relationships in adulthood. The scope of this study.

The two men were born into a stable family. He had a full early childhood, well above average intelligence, which he enjoyed.

of the sample of non-deprived families or an estimated 23 families from the 483 non-deprived families in 1952. They are too few to treat as a group and are best considered by their personal histories, detailed below.

The 'group' was one woman and two men, the former from an occupational class I home and the men from skilled and semi-skilled homes. The woman was from a stable family. Both her father and mother were good managers and were described as effective, kind and considerate parents. Her parents themselves did not quarrel and appeared to enjoy a good marriage. The woman's early childhood seemed uneventful, and after scoring well in the 11-plus examination with an above-average IQ, she went to a commercial school which she accepted rather than positively liked. Her school-teachers thought her highly strung and lacking in self-confidence. She stayed at school to take the School Leaving Certificate, but left immediately afterwards at 16 years of age. Then, during the next year, despite her parents' objections, she left home to move into lodgings. She did further training but did not get any formal qualifications. In adult life she remembered that, before leaving home, she had had frequent disagreements with her mother about friends, clothes and staying out at night. She was a single parent at 17 and soon married, but in a couple of years her marriage ended in divorce after two more children. By her early thirties she was living in council accommodation with her three children, working and receiving supplementary benefit. She appeared to have emotional problems and was a poor family manager. She remained in regular contact with her family and claimed a good relationship with them, but admitted that her life and her personal relationships had generally fallen short of her expectations. On the basis of her history she was rated on marital disharmony, ill-health, social dependency and poor mothering. We could speculate that this unhappy story appeared to originate in child-parent relationships in adolescence, but the precise cause is beyond the scope of this study.

The two men were very different from each other. One was born into a stable artisan family and had had an uneventful early childhood. At the 11-plus examination he scored well above average on IQ tests and went to grammar school which he enjoyed, staying to do 'O' and 'A' Levels and

leaving at 18 years. He left home with his parents' agreement and, after vocational training, entered the employment which he still had in 1980. He married in his early twenties when his wife was in her late teens. She also had been to a selective school but disliked it and left at 16 after taking 'O' Levels. She did not have any further vocational training but obtained and held full-time employment for 10 years. The couple lived in a comfortable, but poorly kept, house and the wife was depressed and taking tranquillizers. Both had a drink most days but denied any alcohol problem. At the time of the interview the couple were having frequent major disagreements, although both denied these were severe. Husband and wife viewed their own parents' relationships very differently; the former thought his parents had been happy in their marriage and he got on well with them, whereas the wife remembered that her parents argued a great deal and that she did not get on with them, although she 'took to' her mother rather than her father. They also viewed their own lives differently, for the husband thought he had achieved more than he could have expected, while the wife thought she had not done as well as she hoped. This family, therefore, had adverse scores on marital disharmony, poor care of the home and maternal illness.

The third Red Spot's father was a semi-skilled worker. The mother also worked, but there were no family difficulties or major problems. Like the Red Spots in the other two families his childhood seemed uneventful and his physical growth was satisfactory. He claimed to have liked school but was said to lack self-confidence, show poor initiative and be hostile to schoolwork. His home conditions were good, his father was considered to be kind and effective but his mother, although her housekeeping was said to be good, was anxious and had received psychiatric care. In the 11-plus examination his test scores were average. He then went to a secondary modern school which he disliked, and left at 15 years without taking any examinations. He did not have further vocational training. At 19, with his parents' agreement, he left home in order to marry, but that marriage lasted only seven years and there were four children before divorce was initiated by his wife. By the age of 33 in 1980 he had remarried; his second wife also had one child whom she brought into this marriage. At the time of the interview, this marriage was of almost three

years' standing. He had been taken into care and was tidy. Although since leaving school he made redundant, he had many worries and worry about his very troubled and own ability to be mildly depressed.

His wife had she disliked and examinations. A work full-time. herself as chronic also worried about had bouts of with husband did not the marriage. on marital disharmony, insufficiency, mothercraft.

*Movement into*  
This group consisted of which four in 1980 after special deprivation. The families), marital handicap (severe and poor care (1)

Eleven of the were artisan or professional (1) owned their own landlords. In (porarily; the progressed well and weight as those in Group IQ of the Red assessed in the

years' standing and all four children of the first marriage had been taken into care. Their council house was well-equipped and tidy. Although the father had changed jobs seven times since leaving school, either because the job was lost or he was made redundant, he was satisfied with his current job. Yet he had many worries and complained of sleeplessness because of worry about his wife's health, about their marriage which was very troubled and beset with physical aggression, about his own ability to cope with life in general; he seemed indeed to be mildly depressed and to have definite emotional problems.

His wife had also gone to secondary modern school which she disliked and had left, aged 15, without having taken any examinations. Although without any further training, she did work full-time. At the time of the interview she regarded herself as chronically ill and had been in hospital. She was also worried about her child's health and was depressed and had bouts of weeping. She denied drinking but said that her husband did and that it was regarded as a problem affecting the marriage. Thus, this unhappy family was categorized on marital disharmony, parental ill-health and educational insufficiency, and finally there was evidence of poor mothercraft.

*Movement into deprivation: Group 0-D2*

This group consisted of 14 families, the Red Spot members of which found themselves two steps into deprivation in 1980 after spending their early years in families free from deprivation. The pattern of deprivation includes illness (six families), marital disharmony (four families), educational handicap (seven families), social dependency (five families) and poor care (four families).

Eleven of these 14 Red Spots were girls. Eleven families were artisan with fathers skilled workers, the others were professional (1) and semi-skilled (2). In 1952 only one family owned their own house and all the others rented from private landlords. In only one family was the father away temporarily; the parents' health was good and the children progressed well having the same order of growth in height and weight as the children in Group 0-D1 but not so good as those in Group 0-0. At the 11-plus examination the mean IQ of the Red Spots was 98.4. When personal attributes were assessed in the secondary school the main characteristic was

that four of the nine assessed were extremely inattentive. Parental interest in their schoolchildren was rated as good in half and average in the rest, but parental provision to the home was described as inadequate in four families.

At the time of the interview in 1980 there were 13 families, including 29 children. Only one man had not married and was a 'drop-out' living in poor conditions. In four of the families one or both parents had had previous marriages. Eight families either owned, or were buying, their houses, five were in council-owned property, and one rented from a private landlord. All the couples claimed to have known each other for more than two years before the present marriage. Of the 11 women interviewed in 1980, only three had stayed at school until 16, two women had taken CSEs and two 'O' Levels; three of those had had further training. The men, nine of whom were Red Spot spouses and the other three single Red Spots, had fared rather better. Eight had gone to secondary modern schools, four to selective grammar schools or to private schools; only four seemed to have a liking for school and eight were either indifferent or hostile; six left at 15 without taking any examinations, two took CSE examinations but left as soon as possible. Eight then went on to occupational training but one of these, who had taken 'A' Levels and seemed to have the greatest potential, did only one year of his university course.

Two families admitted to rows at least once a month and one had considered separation; none admitted fighting. Altogether 16 of the 26 parents did not smoke. There were no problems over alcohol. Six women had worked in the previous six months, but only one full-time; however, as many as six claimed to have chronic or recurrent illnesses (five physical, one emotional) and two had been in hospital. Only one wife thought her husband, who had been in hospital, chronically ill, and this family was one of three on supplementary benefit.

Four women could remember times when their mothers were too ill or too upset to take care of them properly but only two thought their parents had looked after them less well than they should have done; four remembered parental arguments most of their childhood, although at five years of age no marital disharmony had been recorded.

Turning now to the men, all except three were Red Spot

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spouses. One of the three Red Spots, of good education, had psychological difficulties and had 'dropped out'. Both the others were rated on illness and social criteria but neither had been out of work in the previous five years. Altogether, seven had experienced some period of unemployment in the last five years — four for over six months.

Seven of the men remembered arguments between their parents and nearly half were critical of care they received from their father or mother or both; only half thought their parents' marriage satisfactory to each parent.

From the adult vocabulary test, the mean quotient for the women was 94.3 and for the men was 99.9. The 10 families had 22 schoolchildren between them, and their results in the reading test gave a mean quotient of 98.0, and non-verbal and verbal ability quotients of 103.8 and 103.9 respectively.

#### *Movement into deprivation 0-D1*

Here we look at the 18 Red Spots whose families had no adverse scores in 1952 and yet had one criterion of deprivation at 33 years. The sexes were almost equally divided with 10 males and eight females. Three were single and one woman had been divorced. There were three chief causes of deprivation in 1980: marital disharmony (5), parental illness (4), and educational insufficiency (5). Thus the families in this group were more affected by illness, difficulty in marital relationships or with the all too frequent failure of education and occupational training, the criteria associated with social and family disintegration. At the 11-plus examination the mean IQ was 102.7. The personal attributes of 15 children as rated by teachers showed that only three children had good initiative and only three high persistence, while seven showed poor concentration. Only two children were rated as very interested in school. Most lacked self-confidence and assertiveness but none was emotionally unstable.

Seven of the 10 Red Spot men went to secondary modern schools and three attended grammar schools; only three of the eight women went to grammar or to private schools. While four of the women had liked their school, three did not and the other was indifferent. With that mixture of reactions it is not surprising that four of the women had not taken any examinations and had left at 15. Three of the eight women did occupational training. Of the 10 men, two of the

three at selective schools took 'O' Levels and one at a secondary modern school also took 'O' Levels. Five had further occupational training. Of the seven male Red Spot spouses, three went to a selective grammar or technical school. Again antipathy to school was marked and only two had any examination success and only two had any occupational training. Four of the eight female Red Spot spouses went to grammar schools but only two took any school-leaving examinations; four went on to occupational training. In this group of Red Spots and their spouses, there was evidence of school underachievement, and only 14 from the 34 people had had any occupational training.

In 1980, at the time of the interview, only two of the Red Spots had not married, and four men and one woman had made previous marriages. Most families were buying their houses; three rented from the council and one from a private landlord, whilst two were living in tied property. Of 16 families where we had information, 10 adults did not smoke; one man had a definite alcohol problem; no men had been in hospital; no less than 11 of the 16 women had left home by 20 years of age.

In 1980 five of the women were working full-time and three part-time. All the men were in work, only one had been in his present occupation less than one year, and many had been in their present jobs for more than five years. However, in the previous five years four had been without work for a cumulative period of less than six months and three others for more than six months. Only one had been unemployed during the preceding twelve months. Half had had a maximum of three job changes since leaving school, but many had changed more than 10 times. Yet only four had lost a job or had been made redundant, so most of the changes must have been self-initiated.

The mean vocabulary quotients of men and women were 99, with little in the way of variation between sub-groups. There were 16 children of school age from 10 families, and the mean scores were: non-verbal ability 108.6; verbal ability 107.4 and reading quotient 102.1.

#### *Movement from deprivation M-O*

In contrast to the three Red Spots who moved into multiple deprivation, there were ten Red Spots (five men and five

women) brought the age of five score. This represented families from that year, seven four and two had social dependence harmony or poor

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women) brought up in families with multiple deprivation at the age of five years, who at the age of 33 had no adverse score. This represented 13 per cent of the sample of 78 families from the 118 in multiple deprivation in 1952. In that year, seven of these families had three criteria, one had four and two had five; in five families, parental illness and social dependence were linked with either marital disharmony or poor mothering or with both.

Within this group, three sub-groups could be recognized:

- 1 Three families where the Red Spot in 1952 was deprived by marital disharmony and social dependence; two families also had parental illness and poor care and the other also had poor mothering.
- 2 Four families all without marital disharmony, but with parental illness and social dependence, also had poor care, poor mothering and overcrowding.
- 3 Three single persons. At five years all their families showed marital disharmony, two had parental illness, two social dependency and two poor mothering, and one each poor care and overcrowding.

Only in four of those 10 families was the father always present; in two others the parents had divorced, in one they were separated, in two the father was intermittently present, and in one he was always absent. In five families the father failed to provide for as long as a year, and in three the provision was constant but inadequate. Only one was described as giving full provision but even then it was irregular. Only one father in the seven whose personalities were assessed was thought to be kind and effective. Six mothers were always present, three others were present but chronically ill, and one died. Their personality assessments were very varied, only one being described as kind and effective, three kind but ineffective, two kind but aggressive and the other three were characterized by anxiety. Five mothers worked full-time for more than five years. It is not surprising therefore that the standard of child care was rated as good only in one family; four were considered average, two poor and two variable. A similar pattern occurred with housekeeping standards. Two fathers and one mother had received psychiatric care.



Throughout early childhood, however, the physical growth of these 10 children was better than that of Group M-M although not as good as the children in the non-deprived families (Table 12.6, p. 180). The children took part in the 11-plus examination and in the assessments conducted as part of the '1,000 Family Study'. The results of the former may be compared with those of Groups O-O and M-M in Table 12.7 (p. 181), and show that, although only one child went to a selective school, Group M-O had a mean intelligence (94) and arithmetic quotient (100) some 10 points higher than those in Group M-M, but lower than Group O-O by the same margin.

Within this group of 10 children there were two sub-groups — three children with IQ, English and arithmetic scores of less than 90, and the other six with considerably higher scores which were sufficient to raise the mean score for the whole group.

At age 12, only one pupil wished to leave school before 15 years and five wished to stay on until 16 or 17 years. These are indications of greater interest and application at school than in Group M-M and were supported by the scores for personal attributes which approximated much more closely to the children of Group O-O than to Group M-M. Nevertheless, only two stayed at school after the age of 15 or achieved any examination success — the girl at the selective school who got more than six 'O' Levels but left at 16 years, and one other who took the Northern Counties examination.

In 1980 three of the 10 were still single, but four of the girls and three of the men had married. The mean age of the girls at marriage was 20 and of the men 23; in only one family were both partners under 20. There were 13 children in seven families and all the marriages seemed stable and secure; none admitted rows or disturbances. All the husbands and wives said that they had known their spouses for more than two years before marriage. One family lived in rented furnished accommodation, one in a house tied to occupation and the other eight were buying their own houses which were in good areas, well kept, with ample accommodation.

Of the women interviewed (three of whom were Red Spot spouses), four had liked school, two had been indifferent and two, including the only Red Spot girl to go to a selective school, claimed to have actively disliked school. Three had

taken CSE examinations at O' Levels, but all except four obtained full-time in the advisory jobs. No disturbances. T problems.

We had information from Spots and the other one spouse were O' Levels, while the after fifteen years employment at jobs for more employed for as Only one man at all except two of their parents were

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taken CSE examinations, one 'O' Levels and one spouse 'A' Levels, but all except the last two had left at 15 years. Only four obtained vocational qualifications. Two had worked full-time in the previous six months and both had held supervisory jobs. None had any chronic illnesses or emotional disturbances. There did not appear to be any drinking problems.

We had information on 10 men, five of whom were Red Spots and the others spouses of the five Red Spot girls. Only one spouse went to a selective school and he reached 'A' Levels, while three others took CSE; two stayed at school after fifteen years. All did vocational training and were in employment at the time of interview, most having held their jobs for more than five years. Only one had been unemployed for as long as six months in the previous five years. Only one man appeared to have any emotional problems, and all except two thought they came from happy homes where their parents were happy and contented.

Life stories are always complex and difficult to describe but the following short histories may help to indicate something of the difference between these families and those who remained in double deprivation. The first was a male Red Spot from an overcrowded home where there was poor care and mothering. His father worked in a semi-skilled capacity, but was described as a poor provider. His mother was rated as aggressive. The Red Spot was of dull average intelligence and had attended a secondary modern school which he had left at the earliest opportunity, without having taken examinations. Nonetheless, he reported that he liked school and indeed, he went on to obtain vocational training. When interviewed at 33 he had only been out of work for one month in the last five years. His wife had attended a grammar school and had taken public examinations. They had married in their twenties, and neither was described as a drinker or a smoker. They had two children, and lived in their own house which was in a good neighbourhood.

The second was a female Red Spot also from an overcrowded council home, where there was chronic parental illness and dependency on the social services. Her father was unemployed in 1952 and later changed jobs many times. The family remained united, however. The girl was of above-average intelligence, attended a grammar school which she

disliked, but did take 'O' Level examinations. Her husband had attended a secondary modern school, which he too disliked but he did have vocational training afterwards. He had not been unemployed in the previous five years. They had two children and owned their house. The striking thing about these families was the steadiness and balance of their lives.

Table 12.12 gives the mean vocabulary quotient scores at 33 for all 10 of the Red Spots and the seven spouses of those who were married; it suggests the mean was rather higher at 33 than when at school, but this was based on different tests. The mean of the four male spouses was higher than that of the Red Spots themselves, suggesting that four girls had married men with higher abilities than their own.

Table 12.12 *Mean Mill Hill quotients at 33 years:  
10 Red Spots and 7 spouses*

| Moving out of Deprivation: M-0 |      |                  |       |
|--------------------------------|------|------------------|-------|
| Red Spots                      |      | Red Spot Spouses |       |
| 5 Men                          | 97.8 | 4 Men            | 107.5 |
| 5 Women                        | 96.6 | 3 Women          | 95.3  |

These 10 Red Spots had therefore succeeded in moving from multiple deprivation in childhood to a family situation at the age of 33 years which displayed no adverse criteria. We have shown that, collectively, they had better school careers than those who were brought up in deprivation and remained there. Three — one woman and two men — remained unmarried at 33 years of age, but had their own careers, and the others seem to have achieved both stable marriages and settled employment.

We also looked at the 14 children of the seven marriages, all living with their natural parents and 11 being of school age. None of the children had been in hospital in the previous year, and none had had any significant separation from their parents. All the children slept in their own rooms. Eight had attended playgroup or nursery school and all were then attending local education authority schools. Only two

parents had not all but one child educational or Raven's Matrices the mean quotient of these 10 would days of the 11-pl

*Movement out of*  
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parents had not seen the teachers. School was well liked by all but one child, who seemed indifferent, and there were no educational or behavioural problems. The scores for the Raven's Matrices and Mill Hill Vocabulary Tests were high, the mean quotient for the Matrices being 111. Probably half of these 10 would have qualified for selective schools in the days of the 11-plus examination.

*Movement out of deprivation: Group M-D1*

This substantial group of 21 Red Spots were all members of families with at least three or more criteria of deprivation at five years of age (only one had as many as six criteria), yet they all 'lost' at least two criteria (eight losing three or more criteria) in their family of formation, so that at 33 years each had only one adverse criterion. In no less than 11 families that criterion was educational disadvantage; marital disharmony occurred in another four. By 1980, 76 criteria in those 21 families had reduced to 21 with a marked increase in family well-being and social occupational status. There was, in fact, little transmission of criteria from five to 33 years and, in three instances, marital discord was the only criterion to be present at both times.

In 1952 only two of the fathers were artisans, and none of the families owned their own homes, 18 were living in rented, privately owned dwellings and only three in council-owned property. More than half the marriages were undergoing stress. Only in eight of these families was the father always present throughout the first 15 years; five fathers had left permanently. The situation regarding mothers was quite different — all except one, who died, were present throughout the 15 years. In two families the mother's housekeeping was good and in 11, average.

The group's mean 11-plus scores (90), whilst higher than those of Group M-M (84), were substantially lower than Group 0-0 (106). Assessments of personal attributes at school showed that many of the children had low powers of concentration and initiative, poor persistence and a hostile attitude to school; only three seemed to show initiative, concentration, persistence at tasks and a good attitude to schoolwork.

In 1980 there were 21 female Red Spots or female spouses and all except one left school at 15 years of age. The

exception had attended a selective school. Only seven liked school and six actively disliked it. Of the 19 male Red Spots or male spouses, five had been to selective or technical schools and had taken 'O' Levels, but only one stayed to take 'A' Levels. Only two of the 19 liked school whilst 12 were indifferent or showed positive dislike. Ten did not have any further training. Lack of training of both men and women was found in 11 families who in 1980 were categorized as having educational handicap as the sole criterion of disadvantage.

At the time of the interview in 1980 there were 17 couples with children: two families had three children and two one child, all the others having two. Eight couples were buying their own houses and 12 (including the single people) were living in council-owned property and had been settled there for more than two years. The marriages seemed stable; 11 couples had known each other for more than two years and only one admitted 'rows' about once a month, none admitted physical aggression and none had considered separation. Six couples said they got out together less than once a month and the same number that they managed once weekly.

Only three of the women had some significant emotional problems. Six men and six women claimed to smoke more than 20 cigarettes per day. One husband had a definite drink problem which affected his health and another had a problem sufficient to give rise to some social disruption. Only two men were unemployed at the time of the interview.

Only 10 of the men thought their mothers had looked after them very well during their childhood; seven thought the same of their fathers. All except five remembered frequent arguments between their parents, and only five thought both their parents were happy in their own marriages. Despite their poor origins, only three thought that their mothers had failed in their care.

In 1980 the women had a mean vocabulary quotient of 98.9 and the men 93.4. In the third generation, 26 children from 14 families had a mean reading quotient of 95.7; mean non-verbal IQ of 104.5; and vocabulary quotient of 99.5.

*Movement out of deprivation: Group M-D2*

These 13 Red Spots spent their early childhood in multiple deprivation and, at 33 in their new families of formation, had

moved out of the

At five years three of these with parental illness, dependency, over associated with families were over educational handicap. Only marital disharmony had been a significant and social dependency of formation at those from which little continuity fathers were in no home owners temporarily absent fifth birthday.

Only two children years of age, and attributes was revealed hostile to school emotional stability any other group, school at 15, as three male Red two took 'O' or further training, u

In 1980, of the had previous marriage showed more than two children had been 20.8 years groups who had family was buying having any rows, women claimed been in hospital; Only six women no family in which did not seem to problems. Five

moved out of that category, albeit retaining two criteria.

At five years the families of the Red Spots had 49 criteria, three of these were due to marital disharmony and five to parental illness, and 41 were grouped as poor care, social dependency, overcrowding and poor mothering – all criteria associated with family and social failure. At 33 none of these families were overcrowded, but then 10 families showed educational handicap, and 16 other criteria in 13 families. Only marital disharmony had shown any increase and there had been a significant reduction in poor care and mothering and social dependency, all being indications that the families of formation at 33 years had better social organization than those from which one of the parents had come. There was little continuity of specific criteria. In 1952 most of the fathers were in semi-skilled or unskilled work and there was no home ownership. One father had disappeared, one was temporarily absent, and one mother died before the child's fifth birthday.

Only two children wished to stay on at school after 15 years of age, and the secondary school assessment of personal attributes was revealing. No less than 10 of the children were hostile to school and the ratings on self-confidence, emotional stability and self-regard were lower than those in any other group, except Group M-M. The Red Spots all left school at 15, as did the majority of their spouses. However, three male Red Spot spouses went to selective schools and two took 'O' or 'A' Levels. All three spouses went on to further training, unlike all of the Red Spots.

In 1980, of the 13 families, two women and two men had had previous marriages and, in two of these, the present marriage showed signs of stress. Only three families had more than two children. The mean age of women at marriage had been 20.8 years and of men 24.3. Unlike most other groups who had less deprivation at 33 than at five, only one family was buying their home. Only six families denied having any rows, but none admitted physical fights. Three women claimed chronic physical illness, but only one had been in hospital; six women had severe emotional problems. Only six women and two men did not smoke and there was no family in which at least one partner did not smoke. There did not seem to be any serious alcohol-related health problems. Five wives reported that their husbands had

recurring or chronic health problems, but none had been in hospital during the previous year.

Only five men were satisfied with their jobs, and most had changed jobs several times; half had experienced redundancy or had lost a job at least once. Nevertheless, all except two thought that society had been quite fair and that there were fewer poor people than ten years previously. Only three did not think they had a chance of improving their circumstances.

The mean vocabulary quotient of the adult males was 106 and of the females 95. The Red Spots scored higher than at the 11-plus examination. In 1980 there were 23 children of school age in 10 families: they showed a mean reading quotient of 91.4, almost the lowest of any group, a non-verbal quotient of 101.6 and a vocabulary quotient of 98.6.

#### **Change across generations**

This was an attempt to show the change or otherwise of the Red Spots as they established their own families. By so doing, the movement of families by degree of deprivation could be determined, and we compared two groups of families — one group never-deprived and the other always multiply deprived. During childhood, the first group showed superior intellectual and scholastic performance, whether in selective or non-selective schooling. Those who left school at the age of 15 were more likely to learn a skill which could command a stable occupation later. Their adult life was stable and, although not free from adverse chance events, they showed powers of adaptability and resilience in forming and rearing their own families. Their offspring, in turn, proved scholastically competent.

The families with multiple deprivation presented a very different picture of homes, which were often incomplete, or where parents might be absent. About half, when confronted with chronic social and family adversity, appeared bereft of problem-solving skills or retreated into a state of apathy and helplessness. Further, they were unable to produce the conditions in which children can develop to the best of their capacity. The reasons are undoubtedly complex and it may be asked how far can adults who have never themselves experienced a caring, organized and secure childhood and who may not possess sufficient intellectual capacity or

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motivation to change, be expected to regulate, organize and stimulate their children to acquire a scale of values different from their own? To what extent does a cycle of deprivation have foundations in constitutional factors, such as intelligence, and how much in learned values from one generation to the next? If it is the latter, then how is it to be changed — a change which requires emotional as well as intellectual strengths?

From information collected during the 15 years of the first study, together with that from the 1980 interview, it is possible to construct brief group profiles to show the factors involved in the maintenance or breaking of the cycle.

In comparing the two groups of families who continued over the generations either without deprivation or with multiple deprivation, we have seen the wide gap which exists between them on almost every indicator. In every respect, Group M-M were at a disadvantage both in their family of origin and in their family of formation: as children they did not experience a normal family life where parental care and support were manifest; in many, even physical needs were not met; and both home and neighbourhood effects mitigated against a desire to learn in the type of education provided. School was often abandoned as soon as possible, and too few had any incentives to learn skills or trades.

We have demonstrated continuity of multiple deprivation in 34 of the 78 families in the stratified sample which represents 45.5 per cent (an estimated 57 of the 118 families in the 1952 population of 847). At 33 years neither the men nor the women in 28 of the 34 families had achieved any educational success or training in occupational skills. This was linked with social dependency in no less than 26 families, reflecting the virtual disappearance of unskilled occupations for men, and it was not surprising to find this linked with marital disharmony in 12 families. Therefore, at 33 years, the most important associations were with social dependency, lack of mothercraft skills and with the intrafamilial disturbance caused by marital disharmony, or with combinations of these factors. These factors are operating in individuals whose family environment did not ensure them an adequate milieu in which to grow up and learn to cope with the world.

Short histories of the three Red Spots from non-deprived



backgrounds who fell into multiple deprivation in adulthood illustrate clearly the importance of personality in both sides of marriage and the formation of a stable relationship. The causes of deprivation in these families were not primarily financial or intellectual, but were bound up with the personal difficulties and relationships and possible inadequate career motivation and success and, in two of the three families, with larger than average family size.

Many of these themes recur when we examine the families who moved into less severe grades of deprivation. They reinforce the importance of factors of personal relationships, illness and lack of educational/vocational training after good family beginnings.

The characteristics of the group of 10 Red Spots who escaped from multiple deprivation were that they had longer courtships, made stable satisfactory marriages and that one or both members of the family of formation received adequate vocational training and thereafter steady employment. They had higher intelligence and more successful school careers, including scholastic achievements, than the always deprived. Three had remained single and they also had responsible employment. In women, we again noted the trend to marry upwards — that is, to spouses of higher intelligence. Numerically they represent one in eight of those who were living in multiple deprivation in 1952.

#### **Life cycle changes in deprivation in the same generation**

Study of change from 1952-57 illustrated the important fact that change, or its possibility, is always present in family life and is not only a generational phenomenon. Families deprived in 1952 moved out of deprivation, as we had defined it, by escape from overcrowding and ill-health, whereas marital unhappiness, poor care and social dependence remained more resistant to change. But change was not all improvement, for there were families who moved into deprivation during the same few years. Children remain vulnerable to adverse influences throughout childhood (Rutter, 1981a) and it is important to know if the effects of inimical influences are transient or more permanent (Kagan, 1980b). We found that moving into deprivation during the primary school years had effects in terms of intelligence and

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behaviour in the secondary school period, entry to employment and continued education. Elsewhere we described adverse experiences which created an impact in the pre-school years and showed that deprivation then had an enduring impact in the school years and in adult life (Kolvin *et al.*, 1983a, 1983b; Kolvin *et al.*, 1988a; Miller *et al.*, 1985). This is not to say that all children who experience these circumstances will have a poor outcome, but rather that the risks are substantially greater (Rutter, 1981).

Reduction of deprivation may also attenuate the effects on physical development, cognition and behaviour provided that previous adversities were mild (Chapter 11). If the adversities were severe, there was little improvement and even that may soon disappear. These effects are not merely a reflection of the persistence of environmental influences (Rutter, 1983). Our evidence also supports the view that the effects of adverse experiences in later childhood and adolescence are not as noxious or enduring as those of earlier childhood. Thus, early childhood experiences appear to be more critical than later ones, or putting it another way, children appear more resilient to life stresses and chronic adverse experiences from 5-10 years of age than before five.