GROWING UP IN SCOTLAND:
Parenting and the Neighbourhood Context Report

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Parenting and the Neighbourhood Context Report

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GROWING UP IN SCOTLAND:
Parenting and the Neighbourhood Context Report

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Introduction

This report uses data from the Growing Up in Scotland study (GUS) to explore families' experiences of living in Scotland's neighbourhoods, to examine parents' views on different aspects of their local area and to consider the relationship between area characteristics and parenting behaviours. The findings in this report are drawn mainly from data collected in the neighbourhood module which was run in the third wave of fieldwork (undertaken between April 2007 and May 2008) - when children in the birth cohort were aged just under 3 years old and those in the child cohort were just under 5 years old – although information from the first two waves of GUS is also used.

Satisfaction with local area and facilities

- Eighty-one percent of parents are very or fairly satisfied with the area where they live.
- Satisfaction levels varied according to area characteristics being higher amongst those parents living in areas of lower deprivation and those in rural areas, and lower amongst those living in areas of high deprivation and in urban locales.
- The facilities used most often by parents were GPs, community health services and playgrounds and parks.
- A majority (88%) of parents in both cohorts reported having a public park or playground within 10 minutes walk of their home. This varied significantly by area urban-rural characteristics from 95% in small accessible towns to only 57% in remote rural areas.
- Parents were asked whether they had access to a list of services and facilities. People living in rural areas were less likely to have access to other services including childcare, health and leisure facilities than were those in urban areas.
- Areas of higher deprivation also suffered from a lack of childcare, health and leisure facilities. This was most striking in relation to childcare services. However, these areas were more likely to benefit from other services such as Credit Unions and advice centres
- Satisfaction with local facilities was generally high. Overall, 31% of respondents were highly satisfied, 26% reported medium satisfaction and 44% of respondents had low satisfaction. Parents living in deprived areas, and those in social housing were most likely to report low area satisfaction.
- Local health and education services were rated highest by parents, whereas facilities for children and young people were rated lowest.
- Accordingly, facilities for young children were those seen as being most in need of improvement - selected by one-fifth of respondents. Housing and levels of crime were also identified as key local issues which required attention.

Social networks

- Three-quarters of parents in both cohorts had a satisfactory friendship network with a similar proportion having a satisfactory family network. A little over half (57%) had both satisfactory networks and only 10% in the birth cohort and 8% in the child cohort had neither.
- Older mothers were less likely to have satisfactory family networks than were younger mothers. Some of this difference may be accounted for by differences in the number of, and frequency of contact with, the child's grandparents amongst the older group.
- Generally speaking, more disadvantaged circumstances were associated with less satisfactory networks. Parents in lower-income households, those in socially-rented accommodation, and those living in area of high deprivation were less likely to have satisfactory networks than were parents in higher income households, owner-occupied accommodation or living in less deprived areas.
- Individual rather than area characteristics appeared to be more important. Maternal age, household income, and tenure were all significantly and independently associated with having a satisfactory friendship network.
- Maternal age was also significantly associated with having a satisfactory family network, as was tenure.

Area child-friendliness

- Overall, most parents said their local area was moderately or very child-friendly. Only 20% of parents in the birth cohort perceived their neighbourhood to have low child-friendliness
- More deprived areas were generally perceived by parents to be less child-friendly; 43% of parents living in the most deprived areas said their area had low child-friendliness compared with 5% in the least deprived areas.
- Parents in rural areas rated their neighbourhoods more highly in terms of child-friendliness than did parents in urban areas; 38% of parents in remote rural areas said their area had high child-friendliness compared with 14% in large urban areas.
- Ratings of neighbourhood satisfaction and of local facilities matched those of child-friendliness. Thus parents who were dissatisfied with their neighbourhood and who gave local facilities a poor rating were also negative about the area's child-friendliness.
- The multivariate analysis revealed that living in a rural area, higher levels of neighbourhood satisfaction, a positive rating of local facilities, having a satisfactory friendship network, and residing longer at the current address were all significantly and independently related to a higher perceived notion of area child-friendliness.

Area characteristics and parenting behaviours

- Area urban-rural characteristics were significantly associated with differences in parents' engagement in most of these behaviours. Rurality or remoteness was positively associated with a greater variety of parent-child activities, attendance at a parent-child group and willingness to seek help and support.
- The existence or not, of social networks is also key. Parents who reported more satisfactory networks engaged in more activities with their child, and were more open to seeking help and support as well as being more likely to do so than were parents with fewer satisfactory networks.
- Parents' perceptions of their local area in terms of neighbourhood satisfaction, ratings of local facilities and child-friendliness were generally not associated with variations in parenting behaviour. However, higher perceptions of the quality of local facilities were weakly related to a greater participation in parent-child activities and a willingness to seek parenting advice and support.

Conclusion

There is clear evidence that the differences and similarities between services in different types of neighbourhoods matter to parents. Parents in different neighbourhoods have very different objective conditions which impact on how they see their area. This is reflected in overall satisfaction with the area, and, in urban areas, parents' perceptions and use of services as well as their sense of its child-friendliness.

The findings here suggest that improvements to facilities for children and young people, particularly in more deprived areas, would seem to not only have benefits for child health through increased opportunity for outdoor play, but also for parents' satisfaction with their local area and it's child-friendliness. Furthermore, the consistently significant, and generally positive, impact of having satisfactory networks on parenting behaviours and perceptions of the local community would suggest that measures which seek to improve parents' informal networks through area-based programmes or interventions would have wider benefits on child outcomes.

chapter
1
INTRODUCTION

Creating communities that provide a supportive environment for children and families is a key aim of the Scottish Government Early Years Framework. In order to build stronger communities through improving the physical and social environment in which children and families live it is essential to understand how different groups of people in Scotland feel about the area they live in, and how they perceive and make use of the facilities and resources in their local area. Furthermore, in the context of the Early Years Framework, it is important to explore and understand the possible positive or negative impacts that living in communities with particular characteristics may have on children as they grow up.

This report uses data from the Growing Up in Scotland study (GUS) to explore families' experiences of living in Scotland's neighbourhoods, to examine parents' views on different aspects of their local area and to consider the relationship between area characteristics and parenting behaviours.

GUS is an important longitudinal research project aimed at tracking the lives of a cohort of Scottish children from the early years, through childhood and beyond. Its principal aim is to provide information to support policy-making, but it is also intended to be a broader resource that can be drawn on by academics, voluntary sector organisations and other interested parties. Focusing initially on a cohort of 5,217 children aged 0-1 years old (the birth cohort) and a cohort of 2,859 children aged 2-3 years old (the child cohort), the first wave of fieldwork began in April 2005 and annual data collection from both cohorts has been undertaken since that time.[1]

The findings in this report are drawn mainly from data collected in the neighbourhood module which was run in the third sweep of fieldwork (undertaken between April 2007 and May 2008) – when children in the birth cohort were aged just under 3 years old and those in the child cohort were just under 5 years old – although information from the first two sweeps of GUS is also used. The main source of data is a face-to-face computer-assisted personal interview (CAPI) with the cohort child's main carer, usually the child's mother.

This report starts by discussing the availability and use of local facilities amongst parents in the study and their perceptions of the quality of these services. The report will then go to explore respondent's general perceptions of the area where they live, in order to gauge how satisfied they are with their area. Perceptions of safety in their local area will also be discussed within this section. The availability of informal social networks and social support is also explored as are parental perceptions of how 'child-friendly' their local area is. Each of these domains allows a picture to be painted of local issues which are

1 Further information on the design, development and future of the project is available from the study website: www.growingupinscotland.org.uk

important to, and significant for, parents of young children in Scotland. The findings can contribute to the measurement of a number of the Scottish Government's national outcomes, as outlined in the Spending Review 2007 (Scottish Government, 2007), specifically in relation to families and children, namely:

- *We live in well designed, sustainable places where we are able to access the amenities and services we need*
- *We have strong, resilient and supportive communities where people take responsibility for their own actions and how they support others*
- *Our public services are high quality, continually improving, efficient and responsive to local people's needs*

Each domain is explored in relation to a number of key area and neighbourhood characteristics including, and in particular, area deprivation[2], urban-rural classification and tenure. Social housing has become concentrated in the most deprived areas since the introduction of the Right to Buy legislation in the UK in 1980 (Jones & Murie, 1999, 2006, Scottish Executive, 2006). Patterns of residential mobility and family formation are also related to housing tenure. The work of Boyle *et al*. suggests a pattern of would-be parents moving to owner occupied housing in areas beyond city centres in anticipation of having children. However, this is not a strategy available to all and since the residualisation of council housing there has been a strong association between high rates of social renting and relatively high rates of fertility (Boyle, Graham and Feng, 2007).

Whilst data from GUS does not support analysis at the local authority level, much of what is contained in this report, and collected elsewhere in the study, is of much relevance to local authorities and health boards.[3]

2 Area deprivation is measured using the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD). SIMD is based on 37 indicators across seven domains of Current Income, Employment, Health, Education Skills and Training, Geographic Access to Services, Housing and Crime. Further details on SIMD can be found on the Scottish Government website: www.scotland.gov.uk/topics/statistics/SIMD/overview

3 A paper outlining how GUS findings can be used to inform policy development and service planning at the local level is available from the study website: www.crfr.ac.uk/gus/guide%20for%20Loc%20Auths.pdf

The majority of text, figures and tables in this report are based on the birth cohort as some questions were asked of the birth cohort only and, unless otherwise stated, trends found in the birth cohort were also apparent in the child cohort. Analysis in this report, drawing mostly on data from a single wave of the study, refers to a single point in time. However, a repeat of the neighbourhood module in a future wave of GUS will allow examination of area-level change, for example in relation to reduced deprivation or improved local services, as well as consideration of the longer-term effects of area characteristics and changes in them on individual-level outcomes for children and families.

chapter 2

AREA SATISFACTION AND USE AND PERCEPTIONS OF LOCAL SERVICES AND FACILITIES

2.1 Key findings

- Eighty-one percent of parents are very or fairly satisfied with the area in which they live.
- Satisfaction levels varied according to area characteristics being higher amongst those parents living in areas of lower deprivation and those in rural areas, and lower amongst those living in areas of high deprivation and in urban locales.
- The facilities used most often by parents were GPs, community health services and playgrounds and parks.
- A majority (88%) of parents in both cohorts reported having a public park or playground within 10 minutes walk of their home. This varied significantly by area urban-rural characteristics from 95% in small accessible towns to only 57% in remote rural areas.
- People living in rural areas were also less likely to have access to other services including childcare, health and leisure facilities than were those in urban areas.
- Areas of higher deprivation also suffered from a lack of childcare, health and leisure facilities. This was most striking in relation to childcare services. However, these areas were more likely to benefit from other services such as Credit Unions and advice centres
- Satisfaction with local facilities was generally high. Overall, 31% of respondents were highly satisfied, 26% reported medium satisfaction and 44% of respondents had low satisfaction. Parents living in deprived areas, and those in social housing were most likely to report low area satisfaction.
- Local health and education services were rated highest by parents, whereas facilities for children and young people were rated lowest.
- Accordingly, facilities for young children were those seen as being most in need of improvement - selected by one-fifth of respondents. Housing and levels of crime were also identified as key local issues which required attention.

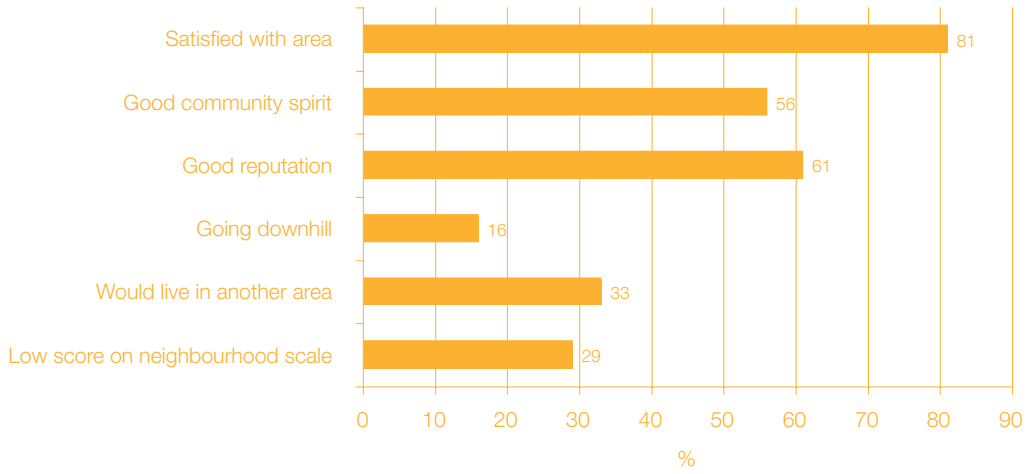
2.2 Overall satisfaction with area

A number of measures were used to gauge how satisfied parents are with the area in which they live:

- Whether satisfied with the area in which they live
- Whether the neighbourhood has a good community spirit
- Whether the area has a good reputation
- Whether the area is going downhill
- Whether they would live in another area if they could

Overall the majority of parents appear to be satisfied with the area where they live, with around 8 in 10 (81%) saying they are very or fairly satisfied; more than half (56%) agreeing that their neighbourhood has a good community spirit; and around 6 in 10 (61%) agreeing that their area has a good reputation. Only a minority (16%) felt their area was 'going downhill', and a third (33%) indicated that they would live in another area if they were able to. A neighbourhood satisfaction scale variable[4] was created to measure overall levels of satisfaction with area. This shows that less than 3 in 10 (29%) respondents gave their neighbourhoods a low overall satisfaction score (Figure 2-A).

Figure 2-A Overall levels of satisfaction with area – birth cohort



Unweighted base: 4146

4 This was constructed using the 4 agree/disagree statements: The neighbourhood has a good community spirit; This area has a good reputation; This area is going downhill; If I was able to I'd live in another neighbourhood. Answers to each of these were converted into scores, and respondents were divided into three groups depending on their combined scores (1 to 7=low satisfaction; 8 to 9=medium satisfaction; 10 to 16=high satisfaction).

Although this provides a fairly positive overall view, it is important to look at perceptions of different sub-groups of the population, in order to identify those areas or groups where perceptions are particularly positive or negative.

Not surprisingly, level of satisfaction varied by area deprivation. Parents living in the most deprived areas tend to report lower levels of area satisfaction on all the measures. For example, just over a third said their area was going downhill, compared with only 3% of those in the least deprived areas. Looking at the overall neighbourhood satisfaction scale, two-thirds (66%) of those in the most deprived areas fell into the 'low satisfaction' group; the equivalent figure for those living in the least deprived areas is 14%.

Perceptions of local area are also significantly associated with whether people live in urban or rural locales. Parents in rural areas were, on the whole, more positive about the area they live in. For example, good community spirit is perceived to be more common in rural neighbourhoods, as indicated by three-quarters of people living in these areas, compared with around half of those in urban areas (Table 2.1). Within both urban and rural areas, considerable variation in neighbourhood satisfaction was noted by household income. Respondents with higher incomes were significantly more positive about their neighbourhood irrespective of whether they lived in an urban or rural area. The differences were starker amongst those in urban areas.

Table 2.1 Satisfaction with area by area deprivation and urban-rural classification – birth cohort

	Area deprivation (%)		Urban-rural classification (%)		All (%)
	Least deprived	Most deprived	Urban	Rural	
Satisfied with area	96	61	79	89	81
Agree that neighbourhood has good community spirit	67	39	52	74	56
Agree that area has a good reputation	91	25	56	81	61
Agree that area is going downhill	3	35	18	8	16
Agree that would live in another area if was able	13	59	37	18	33
Low score on overall neighbourhood scale	14	66	42	19	38
Base (weighted)	*784*	*1019*	*3352*	*839*	*4192*
Base unweighted)	*905*	*833*	*3242*	*950*	*4192*

Note: base numbers differ slightly with each variable. Base numbers presented in this table are for the variable 'How satisfied are you with the area'.

Given the patterns found by area deprivation, it is perhaps not surprising that people living in social rented accommodation are less likely to be satisfied with their area than owner-occupiers or those living in private rented accommodation, given that social rented housing is more common in more deprived areas (64% compared with only 2% in the least deprived areas). More than half (54%) of those in social rented housing said that they would live in another area if they were able to, compared with a quarter (24%) of owner occupiers. (Table 2.2)

Table 2.2 Satisfaction with area by housing tenure – birth cohort

	Owner occupied	Social rented	Private rented	Other[5]	All
Satisfied with area	89	63	81	83	81
Agree that neighbourhood has good community spirit	63	42	58	57	56
Agree that area has a good reputation	73	32	67	71	61
Agree that area is going downhill	8	34	14	19	16
Agree that would live in another area if was able	24	54	31	27	33
Low score on overall neighbourhood scale	27	62	35	32	38
Base (weighted)	*2637*	*1185*	*255*	*112*	*4192*
Base (unweighted)	*2902*	*982*	*212*	*95*	*4102*

Note: base numbers differ slightly with each variable. Base numbers presented in this table are for the variable 'How satisfied are you with the area'.

Levels of satisfaction with the local area amongst GUS respondents, and the trends by key sub-groups, are similar to those reported in the report of the Scottish Household Survey 2007 (SHS). Whilst the specific measures used are slightly different, SHS found overall ratings of neighbourhoods to be high with 93% saying that their neighbourhood is a 'very' or 'fairly' good place to live (Scottish Government, 2008). As with GUS data, SHS respondents in rural areas and those in areas of low deprivation rated their neighbourhoods more highly than those in urban or more deprived areas.

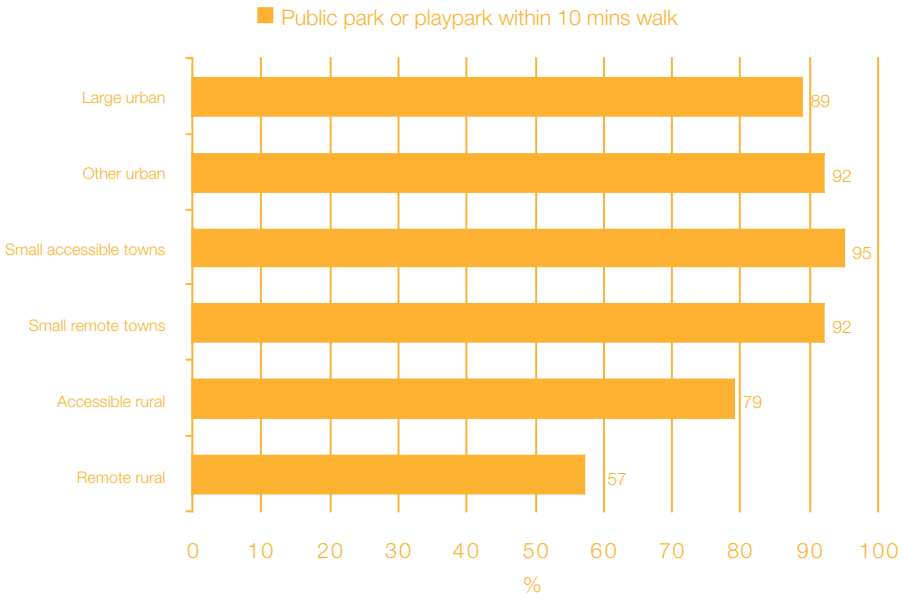
5 The 'other' category includes those renting from an employer, those renting with a non-specified arrangement, and those living rent-free (usually with the respondent's own parents/the child's grandparents)

2.3 Availability and use of local facilities and services

Respondents were asked about the availability of formal services, such as childcare, health services and leisure facilities, in their local area and whether they used them.

The debate surrounding the importance of play in a child's development has led to concerns about the provision of accessible play space in communities. Encouragingly, a majority (88%) of parents reported having a public park or playground within 10 minutes walk (figures were identical in child cohort). However, around one in ten (12%) did not have access to these kinds of play facilities, with those living in private rented accommodation least likely to have access to a park or playground (79% compared with 88% of those who owned their own home and 89% of those in social rented accommodation). Whilst there was little significant difference between play facilities in deprived and non deprived areas, the proportion having access to a playground or public park did vary with whether the respondent lived in an urban or rural area, ranging from 95% in small accessible towns to only 57% in remote rural areas (Figure 2-B). However, this is perhaps of little concern given that rural areas will usually present better opportunities for outdoor play than do urban areas.

Figure 2-B Public park or playpark within 10 mins walk, by urban/rural – birth cohort



Unweighted bases: Large urban 1527; Other urban 1341; Small, accessible towns 426; Small remote towns 111; Accessible rural 499; Remote rural 225;

In fact, when parents were asked whether or not certain services or facilities were available in their area, people living in rural areas were less likely overall to have access to childcare, health and leisure facilities in their local area than were those in urban areas. Twenty four percent of parents living in rural areas did not have access to a playgroup, 50% had no public swimming pool or leisure centre that catered for young children and almost one in five (18%) had no community health services such as health visitors or local clinics. In contrast, the figures for those living in urban areas were much smaller: 15% had no playgroup, 28% had no access to a swimming pool or leisure centre and only one in ten had no community health services (Table 2.3). Whilst 70% of those living in urban areas did not have a Credit Union, this figure rose to 94% in rural areas. Similarly the proportion in rural areas that did not have access to an advice centre such as a Citizens Advice Bureau was 71% compared with 52% in urban areas.

The facilities used most often by parents were GPs, community health services and playgrounds and parks. Patterns of usage did not differ much by urban or rural area. However, parents in rural areas were more likely to make use of parent and toddler groups and playgroups than were parents in urban areas.

Table 2.3 Local availability and use of facilities by area urban rural classification – birth cohort

	Availability, use and urban-rural classification (%)						*Bases (all who moved house in last year)*	
	None in area		In area but not used		In area used sometimes/often			
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	*Weighted*	*Unweighted*
Parent & toddler group	10	9	57	41	34	50	*510*	*482*
Registered childminder	14	12	76	73	10	14	*404*	*381*
Playgroup	15	24	72	58	13	18	*500*	*469*
Nursery	5	14	69	63	26	23	*559*	*524*
GP	9	17	11	6	80	78	*563*	*530*
Community health services	9	18	23	16	68	65	*544*	*512*
Library	11	11	34	39	55	49	*559*	*524*
Public swimming pool/ leisure centre	28	50	16	10	56	41	*557*	*524*
Playground or park	7	7	10	9	83	84	*569*	*534*
Credit Union	69	94	26	6	5	1	*372*	*349*
Advice centre	52	71	40	26	8	3	*476*	*444*

The level of deprivation in an area had a similar effect on the local availability of childcare, health and leisure facilities. This was most striking in relation to childcare services with around one in five (21%) of those living in the most deprived areas in Scotland not having a playgroup, compared with only 10% of those living in the most affluent areas. Similarly, 28% of parents in the most deprived areas did not have access to a registered childminder, in contrast to 5% of those in the least deprived areas. However, some services were more prevalent in deprived areas than affluent areas. For example, a higher proportion of parents in the most deprived areas reported having access to a Credit Union or advice centre than parents in the least deprived areas. Area deprivation also affected use of selected services by parents. For example, parents living in the most deprived areas were significantly less likely to use nurseries, and playgrounds or parks.

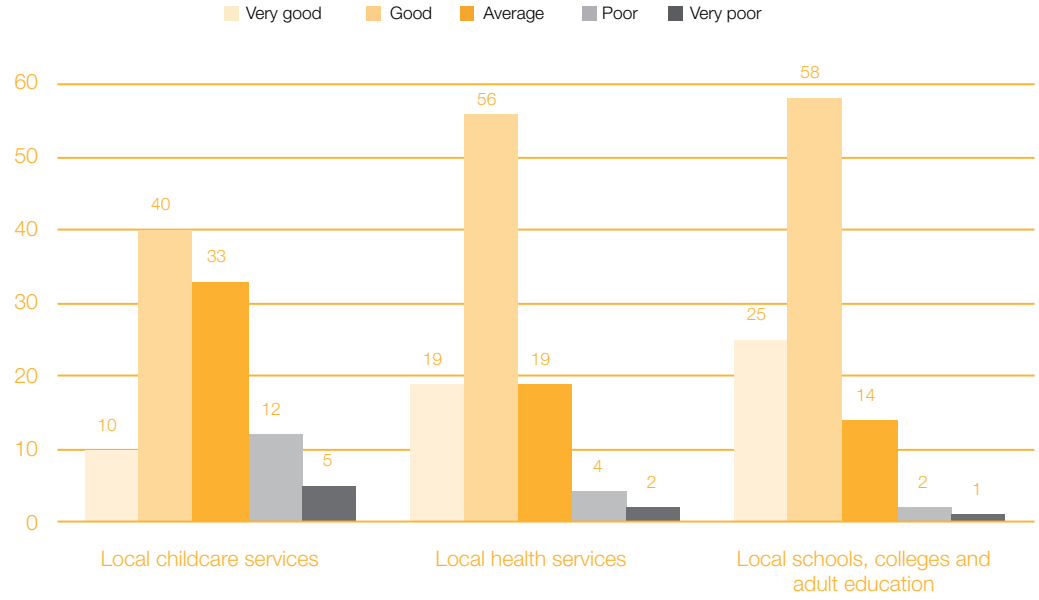
Table 2.4 Local availability and use of facilities by area deprivation – birth cohort

	Availability, use and deprivation (%)						*Bases (all who moved house in last year)*	
	None in area		In area but not used		In area used sometimes/often			
	Least	Most	Least	Most	Least	Most	*Weighted*	*Unweighted*
Parent & toddler group	4	16	52	59	44	25	*510*	*482*
Registered childminder	5	28	81	66	14	6	*404*	*381*
Playgroup	10	21	73	66	18	12	*500*	*469*
Nursery	6	6	63	73	31	21	*559*	*524*
GP	8	13	9	12	83	75	*563*	*530*
Community health services	9	12	24	22	68	66	*544*	*512*
Library	10	14	31	37	59	49	*559*	*524*
Public swimming pool/ leisure centre	27	34	17	16	56	50	*557*	*524*
Playground or park	4	10	5	17	91	73	*569*	*534*
Credit Union	89	52	10	39	1	9	*372*	*349*
Advice centre	66	42	32	46	2	12	*476*	*444*

2.4 Assessment of local facilities

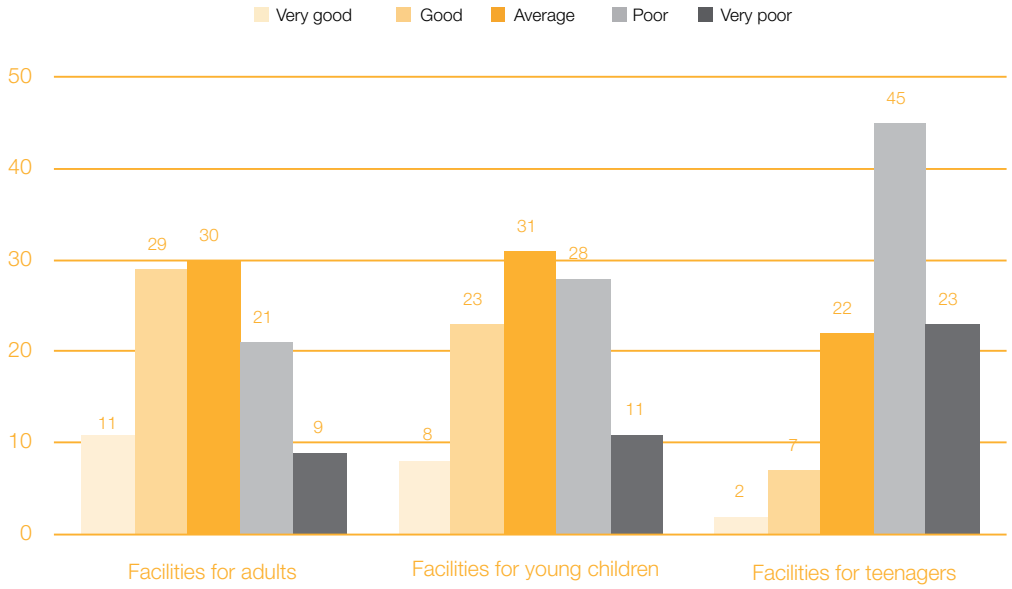
Parents were also asked to rate the services that were available in their area. Encouragingly, as many parents had an overall positive view of their local area, so did many have a positive view of the basic facilities available to them. Three-quarters of respondents in the birth cohort thought that local health services were either good or very good, rising to 83% for local schools, colleges and adult education (Figure 2-C). Figures in the child cohort were very similar at 76% and 86% respectively. Evaluations of local transport facilities were also high; over three-quarters of parents in each cohort (77% birth cohort, 78% child cohort) agreed that the public transport in their area was good.

Figure 2-C Perceptions of local services – birth cohort



Unweighted base: 3711

Figure 2-D Perceptions of local services – birth cohort



Unweighted base: 3711

However, only half of respondents (child – 52%) thought that childcare services in the local area were good or very good, and assessments of social and leisure facilities were less positive still, particularly those for children and teenagers. Just under a third of

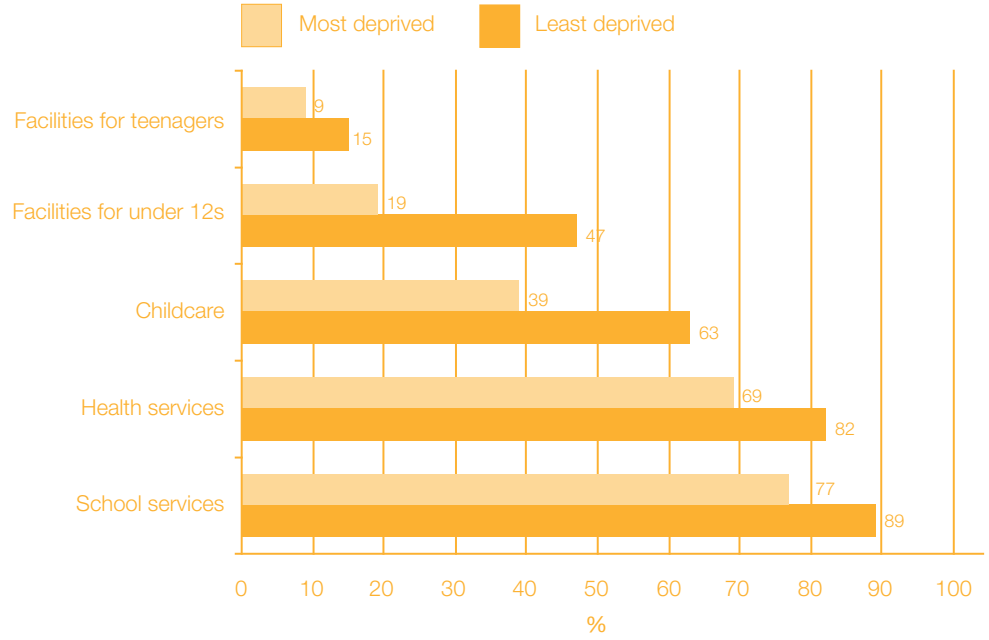
parents in the birth cohort (31%) thought that social and leisure facilities for children up to the age of 12 were good or very good, falling dramatically to only 9% (10% in the child cohort) for services for teenagers (Figure 2-D). In contrast, 69% rated facilities for teenagers as poor or very poor. Findings from the child cohort were very similar, with the exception that those with children aged 4-5 years had a more negative view of social and leisure facilities for children aged under 12 than those with children aged 2-3 years (only 26% of parents in the child cohort rated these facilities as good or very good compared with 31% in the birth cohort).

Comparison of GUS data with findings from the Scottish Household Survey 2007 shows some differences between the two surveys both in questions asked and results obtained. Whereas GUS asked respondents how good they thought local services were, SHS asked respondents how satisfied they were specifically with local health and transport services and local schools. SHS data shows that respondents were most satisfied with health services (82% very or fairly satisfied), followed by schools (79%) and transport (70%). In contrast, GUS respondents rated local education services highest (83% good or very good), followed by transport (78%) and then health (75%).

Ratings of community services varied significantly by a number of socio-demographic factors. Similar to the patterns already discussed in relation to levels of satisfaction with their local area, respondents living in the most deprived areas of Scotland were much less likely to have a positive perception of the facilities in their area. This was especially true in relation to childcare services and facilities for children aged 12 and under. Almost half (47%, child – 53%) of those living in the most affluent areas thought that services for under 12s were good or very good, compared with only 19% of those living in the most deprived areas (Figure 2-E). These negative perceptions are likely to reflect the lack of facilities in deprived areas (as discussed above) as well as the quality of facilities provided.

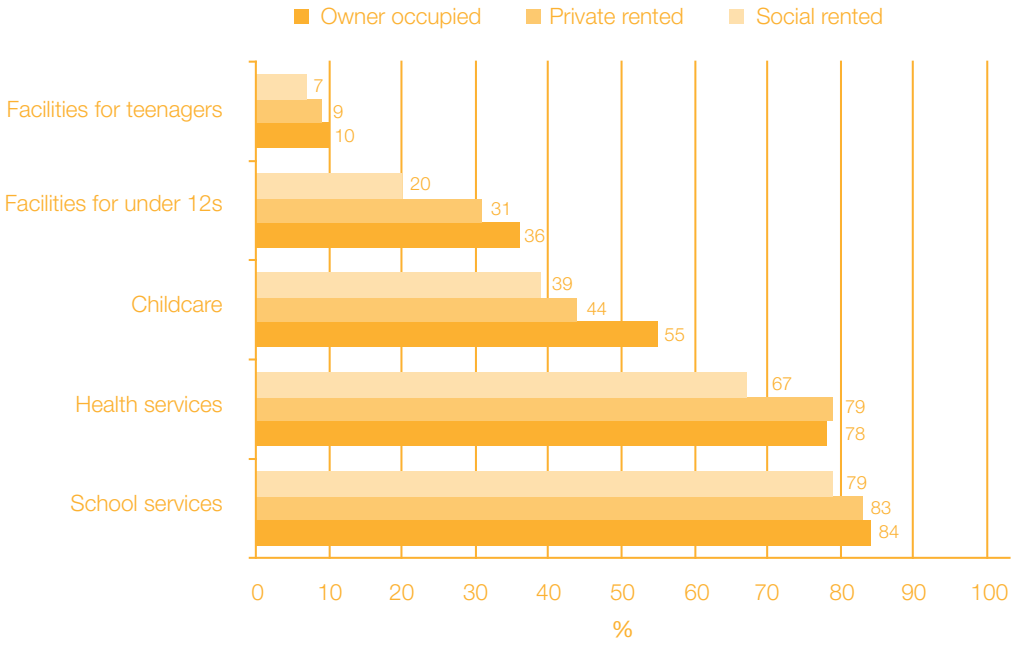
Perhaps surprisingly, this pattern was reversed when respondents were asked whether their local area had good transport facilities. Whilst just over three-quarters (76% child – 77%) of respondents in affluent areas replied yes to this question, this rose to 84% (child – 87%) in the most deprived areas. This is likely to reflect a divergence in use, with lower rates of car ownership in deprived areas necessitating in greater use of public transport facilities (97% of respondents living in the least deprived areas had access to a car, compared with only 54% in the most deprived areas).

Figure 2-E Percentage rating services as good or very good, by deprivation – birth cohort



Unweighted bases: Least deprived 818; Most deprived 733

Figure 2-F Percentage rating services as good or very good, by housing tenure – birth cohort



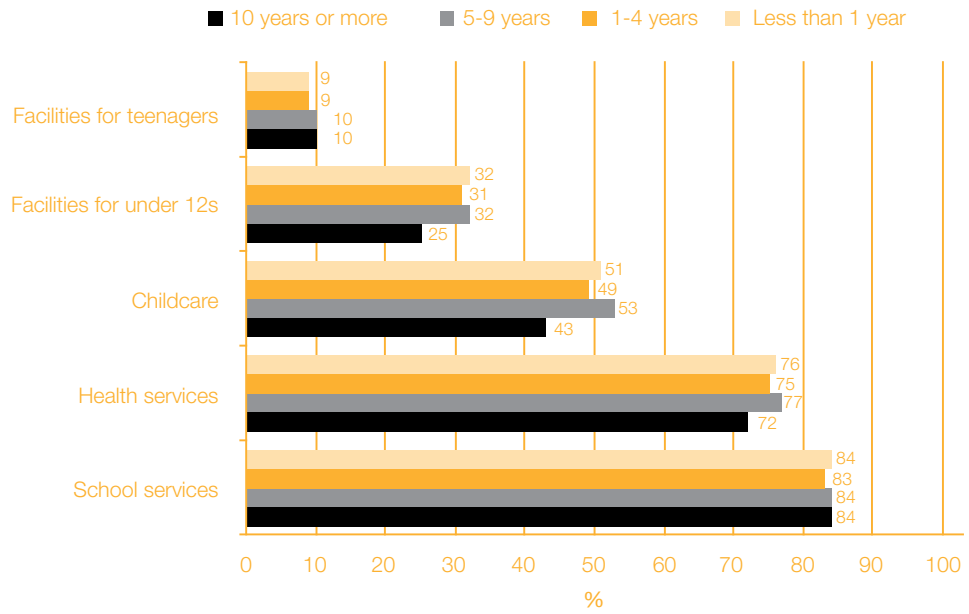
Unweighted bases: Owner occupied 2578; Social rented 863; Private rented 180

Housing tenure was similarly related to perceptions of local facilities, with those living in social rented housing less likely to rate their community services highly than those who either rented privately or owned their property. Again this was most striking in ratings of childcare and facilities for under 12s. In the birth cohort, only 39% of those living in social rented housing thought that childcare facilities in their area were good or very good, compared with over half of those who owned their house (Figure 2-F).

The length of time a respondent had lived in the area also appeared to be a significant factor related to viewing local services positively. Those who had lived in the area for 10 years or more were less likely to rate certain services highly than those who had lived in the area for 9 years or less. In the birth cohort, over half (53%) of those who had lived in the area for 5-9 years thought that childcare services were good or very good, compared with 43% of those who had lived in the area for ten years or longer (Figure 2-G).

Whether an area was urban or rural appeared to only have an effect for ratings of childcare and transport services. Over half (52%, child – 55%) of parents living in urban areas of Scotland thought that childcare services were good or very good, compared with 42% (child – 41%) of parents in rural areas. Perhaps unsurprisingly ratings of public transport were even more divided. The number of respondents in remote rural areas who said that public transport facilities in their area were good or very good was less than half that of respondents in large urban areas (43% and 88% respectively, child – 46% and 88%).

Figure 2-G Percentage rating services as good or very good, by length of residence in area – birth cohort



Unweighted bases: Less than 1 year 403; 1-4 years 1747; 5-9 years 1352; 10 years or more 208;

2.5 Satisfaction with facilities overall

In order to gain an overall picture of the level of satisfaction with facilities across different groups in Scotland a scale was created by averaging respondent answers across the six questions. Respondents were grouped into high, medium or low satisfaction groups based on their average score. Overall 44% of respondents had low satisfaction with the facilities in their local area, 26% had medium satisfaction and 31% were highly satisfied.

Despite the variations across services described above, parents living in the most deprived areas of Scotland and those in social rented housing were significantly more likely to have low overall satisfaction with local facilities, compared with those in the least deprived areas and those who owned their house. Fifty nine percent of parents living in the most deprived areas had a low overall satisfaction score, compared with only 23% of those in the most affluent areas (Figure 2-H). Respondents living in rural areas were only slightly more likely to have a low satisfaction score than were respondents in urban areas. However, within both urban and rural areas, levels of satisfaction varied with household income. In the birth cohort, for example, amongst only those parents living in rural areas, just 15% in the lowest income group were highly satisfied compared with 43% in the highest income group. The length of a respondent's tenure in the area also had an effect. The proportion of parents with a low satisfaction score who had lived in the area for 5 years or less was lower than that for parents who had lived in the area for 10 years or longer (45% compared with 49%).

Figure 2-H Percentage with low satisfaction with facilities score – birth cohort

Unweighted bases: Least deprived 614; Most deprived 650; Owner occupied 2065; Social rented 799; Urban 2356; Rural 727; 1-5 years 1422; 10 years or more 190

2.6 Service/issue most in need of improvement

Parents were also asked to select which community related service or issue they felt was most in need of improvement in their local area. Whilst facilities for teenagers were rated the lowest overall, it was facilities for young children that were seen as being most in need of improvement by one-fifth (20%) of respondents, perhaps reflecting the immediacy of need for parents in the birth cohort (Table 2.5). Whilst facilities for young children were a priority for all parents this was particularly true for parents in the most deprived areas. Almost a quarter (24%) living in the most deprived areas highlighted facilities for under 12s as their main concern, compared with 16% living in the most affluent areas. The second key area identified for improvement by almost all groups across Scotland was the development of good quality affordable housing. Fifteen percent of those living in rural areas highlighted housing as a key area for improvement. The exception was in deprived areas, where concern about the level of crime took precedence. Nineteen percent of parents in the most deprived areas and 12% of parents in urban areas highlighted the level of crime as in need of improvement, compared with only 4% of parents in affluent areas and 3% living in rural areas. Those living in affluent areas were more likely to be worried about the amount of traffic and dangerous drivers than the level of crime in their area. Another clear divergence was in the need for access to good public transport, which was a top priority for 10% of those living in rural areas, compared with only 3% in urban areas.

Table 2.5 Services and issues most in need of improvement in local area by area urban rural and deprivation classification – birth

Service or issue	Area Urban Rural Classification (%)		Area Deprivation		
	Urban	Rural	Least deprived	Most deprived	All
Access to GPs and local health services	3	5	3	3	3
Good quality affordable housing	14	15	11	15	14
Good shopping facilities nearby	8	9	9	7	8
Access to good public transport	3	10	6	2	4
Quality of schools	5	3	5	4	4
Level of crime	12	2	4	19	10
Quality of jobs	2	2	1	2	2
Facilities for young children	20	21	16	24	20
Sense of community spirit	2	2	3	1	2
Cleanliness of local environment	5	1	2	6	4
Condition of public spaces	7	5	9	5	6
Family and friends close by	3	3	5	1	3
Facilities for older children	7	9	10	5	8
Access to good quality affordable childcare	2	3	3	1	2
Amount of traffic/dangerous drivers	6	7	10	4	6
Other answer	*	1	*	*	*
Improve nothing	1	3	3	1	2
Bases					
Weighted	*3353*	*840*	*784*	*1018*	*4193*
Unweighted	*3243*	*950*	*905*	*833*	*4193*

2.7 Perceptions of safety in local area

Respondents were also asked about their perceptions of safety in the local area, specifically:

- Whether they feel safe when out alone in their neighbourhood during the day
- Whether they feel safe when out alone in their neighbourhood after dark

Overall, most (94%) respondents said they felt safe when out alone in their neighbourhood during the day, and 61% felt safe out alone after dark. However, the figures vary significantly according to level of area deprivation, housing tenure and urban rural classification. People living in the most deprived areas, those living in social rented housing, those in urban area and those resident in their current address for under five years are least likely to feel safe when out alone in their neighbourhoods.

Again, amongst those living in urban areas, responses varied according to level of household income, particularly in relation to perceived safety after dark, with parents in lower income households living in urban areas less likely to feel safe than those in higher income households (46% in the lowest income quintile compared with 69% in the highest income quintile). These variations were not evident amongst parents living in rural areas.

The Scottish Household Survey also asks respondents how safe they feel when out alone in their neighbourhood after dark. Overall, SHS respondents reported higher perceived safety than did GUS respondents; 72% of SHS respondents said they feel safe or very safe compared with 61% in GUS (Scottish Government, 2008). The differences are most likely a result of the quite different samples used in either survey. Whilst the individual proportions differ, trends in these data are very much the same. Both surveys found that perceptions of safety decrease as levels of deprivation increase.

Table 2.6 Perceptions of safety in local neighbourhood – birth cohort

	Feel safe when out alone in neighbourhood during the day	Feel safe when out alone in neighbourhood after dark	*Base (weighted)*	*Base (unweighted)*
Area deprivation:				
Least deprived	99	72	*784*	*905*
Most deprived	85	42	*1017*	*832*
Housing tenure:				
Owner occupied	97	66	*2637*	*2902*
Social rented	85	49	*1183*	*981*
Private rented	95	62	*255*	*212*
Other	94	61	*112*	*95*
Urban rural classification:				
Urban	92	56	*3351*	*3241*
Rural	98	81	*839*	*950*
Length of time at current address:				
Less than 5 years	93	59	*2522*	*2433*
5 to 9 years	95	63	*1424*	*1,516*
10 years or longer	94	65	*244*	*241*
All	94	61	*4190*	*4191*

Note: base numbers differ slightly with each variable. Base numbers presented in this table are for the variable 'Feel safe when out alone during the day'.

CHAPTER 2

Area satisfaction and use and perceptions of local services and facilities

chapter 3

SOCIAL NETWORKS

Social networks have been examined extensively as an area of research in their own right, particularly in relation to health. They are defined as the personal relationships which are accumulated when people interact with each other in families, neighbourhoods and elsewhere.

A range of questions have been asked at various waves of GUS which allow the exploration of the variation in access to, strength and characteristics of social networks and social support across parents in the study. Some of these questions have a specific focus on the networks and support that are most relevant to parents with young children and include frequency of visits to or visits from friends or family members who also have children, attendance at parent and baby or parent and toddler groups, involvement in local groups set-up for the benefit of children and parents, contact with and support from the child's grandparents, the ease at which parents could organise short-notice childcare and who they would most likely use in those circumstances. Many of these questions are repeated at each sweep. A second group of questions, asked at sweep 2, explored the respondent's perceptions of their broader informal social network including how many close relationships they had, their closeness to family and friends, and their perceived level of support from family and friends.

Descriptive analysis of the differences in much of this social network and social support data according to key sample characteristics such as maternal age, household income, family type and maternal education has already been explored in previous GUS publications (Anderson *et al,* 2007; Bradshaw *et al,* 2008; Bradshaw, 2008). Furthermore, analysis in the main report on sweep 2 data examined the relationship between strength of informal social networks and emotional wellbeing suggesting a link between weaker informal networks and negative emotional wellbeing (see Bradshaw *et al*, 2008, chapter 8). However, to date no systematic consideration has been given to variation in social networks by area characteristics.

To explore variations in social networks three summary indicators were created – one focused on satisfactory friendship networks, one focused on satisfactory family networks and the final one identified those people who had neither a satisfactory friendship nor family network. The constituent variables used to create the summaries are detailed in Table 3.1. These variables are drawn from the sweep 2 and sweep 3 datasets.

Table 3.1 Constituent variables indicating satisfactory friendship and family networks

Satisfactory friendship network	Satisfactory family network
The respondent's friendship network was considered to be satisfactory if:	The respondent's family network was considered to be satisfactory if:
• They agreed with the statement "My friends take notice of my opinions" • And, they reported any one of the following: • Visited by friends with children once a fortnight or more often • Visits friends with children once a fortnight or more often • Attends a parent and toddler group • Uses friends for childcare support in the first instance	• They agreed with the statement "I feel close to my family" • And, they reported any one of the following: • Any set of the child's grandparents see the child at least once a week • Uses a relative for childcare support in the first instance

By including agreement to the attitudinal variable as mandatory to meet the 'satisfactory' criteria we hope to capture some measure of the quality of relationships that respondents have with their family and friends as well as simply the frequency and nature of contact with them. The criterion for inclusion in the category was set at a fairly low level. This means that, at the lowest extreme, someone only needed to agree (strongly or otherwise) with the attitudinal statement and attend a parent and toddler group and they would be described as having a 'satisfactory friendship network'.

3.1 Key findings

- Three-quarters of parents in both cohorts had a satisfactory friendship network with a similar proportion having a satisfactory family network. A little over half (57%) had both satisfactory networks and only 10% in the birth cohort and 8% in the child cohort had neither.
- Older mothers were less likely to have satisfactory family networks than were younger mothers. Some of this difference may be accounted for by differences in the number of, and frequency of contact with, the child's grandparents amongst the older group.
- Generally speaking, more disadvantaged circumstances were associated with less satisfactory networks. Parents in lower-income households, those in socially-rented accommodation, and those living in area of high deprivation were less likely to have satisfactory networks than were parents in higher income households, owner-occupied accommodation or living in less deprived areas.

- Individual rather than area characteristics appeared to be more important. Maternal age and household income were both significantly and independently associated with having a satisfactory friendship network.
- Maternal age was also significantly associated with having a satisfactory family network, as was income, family type and tenure.

3.2 Variations in social networks

Around three-quarters of parents in each cohort had a satisfactory friendship network and similar proportions also reported a satisfactory family network. There were no statistically significant differences by cohort in prevalence of either network. Nine out of ten parents reported having at least one satisfactory network, including 57% for whom both networks were satisfactory. One in 6 had only a satisfactory friendship network (14% birth cohort, 17% in the child cohort), and around one in five had only a satisfactory family network (19% in the birth cohort, 17% in the child cohort). Only 10% of parents in the birth cohort, and 8% in the child cohort had neither.

3.2.1 Variation by selected individual or household characteristics

Before moving onto examination of social networks by area characteristics, differences by key individual and household factors were considered.

Table 3.2 details the variation in social networks by maternal age at the child's birth, family type and household income.

There was little significant variation in social networks by family type. However, some notable differences were evident by maternal age, household income and tenure. Mothers who were aged 40 or older at the time of the child's birth are less likely to have satisfactory social networks than are mothers who were younger. Fifty-five percent of mothers in the oldest age group had satisfactory family networks compared with 74% and 79% in the younger age groups, and 14% of mothers aged 40 or older had no satisfactory networks compared with 8% to 10% in the other age groups. The difference in family networks is not unexpected; contact with the child's grandparents is a constituent variable of this measure and previous analysis of GUS data has indicated that children with older mothers have older grandparents or fewer alive and thus have less frequent, or no contact with them which will explain much of this variance.

Table 3.2 Variation in social networks by selected individual and household characteristics – birth cohort

	% with satisfactory friendship network	% with satisfactory family network	% with no satisfactory network	*Bases*	
				Weighted	*Unweighted*
Maternal age at cohort child's birth	*NS*	***	***		
Under 20	74	79	7	*337*	*262*
20 to 29	75	79	10	*1839*	*1723*
30 to 39	76	74	8	*2126*	*2304*
40 or older	70	55	12	*149*	*162*
Annual household income	***	*NS*	**		
Up to £14,999 per year	69	75	12	*1184*	*1020*
From £15,000 to £25,999 per year	74	74	10	*975*	*967*
From £26,000 to £43,999	79	78	7	*1196*	*1278*
£44,000 and above	82	77	5	*891*	*996*
Family type	*NS*	*NS*	**		
Lone parent	72	77	10	*895*	*747*
Couple family	76	75	9	*3616*	*3764*
Tenure	***	**	**		
Owner occupied	79	78	7	*2822*	*3033*
Social rented	69	72	14	*1258*	*1092*
Private rented	70	74	14	*292*	*262*
Other	74	58	11	*136*	*122*

***Differences significant at less than .001
** Differences significant at less than .01
NS Not significant

Variations by household income are slightly different; here the principle difference is in friendship networks, where parents from lower income households are less likely to have satisfactory friendship networks than are parents in higher income households. Differences in prevalence of satisfactory family networks are not statistically significant. However, parents in lower income households are more likely to have no satisfactory networks than those in higher income households.

Tenure was the only attribute where variations were statistically significant across each of the network variables. Parents in owner-occupied accommodation were more likely to have satisfactory friendship and family networks than were those in other tenure types. Those in the 'other' category were least likely to have a satisfactory family network whereas social and private renters were least likely to have satisfactory friendship networks and most likely to have no satisfactory networks.

3.2.2 Variation by area deprivation and urban-rural characteristics

Social network data was further analysed to identify any notable variations by area deprivation and area urban-rural characteristics. Generally speaking, parents living in all area types reported satisfactory friendship and family networks, a finding which is consistent with research elsewhere indicating that deprived areas are not necessarily deprived of social capital and strong social networks (Fitzpatrick, 2005). However, respondents living in areas with lower deprivation were slightly more likely to have satisfactory friendship networks than were those living in areas of high deprivation (79% in the least deprived quintile compared with 70% in the most deprived quintile). Parents living in more deprived areas were also more likely to have no satisfactory networks than were those in less deprived areas (Table 3.3).

Much of this variation is accounted for by differences in the specific behaviours included in the measure of friendship networks, particularly attendance at parent and child groups which is significantly lower in more deprived areas than in less deprived areas (Bradshaw *et al,* 2008). Whereas in the least deprived areas 59% of parents reported attending such a group in the last year, the same was true of only 37% of parents in the most deprived areas. Notably, the 'quality' of friendships, as measured by response to the attitudinal measures, does not vary significantly by area deprivation.

Table 3.3 Variation in social networks by area deprivation and urban-rural classification – birth cohort

	% with satisfactory friendship network	% with satisfactory family network	% with no satisfactory network	*Bases*	
				Weighted	*Unweighted*
Area deprivation	***	*NS*	**		
Least deprived	79	77	6	*809*	*916*
2	81	75	7	*873*	*946*
3	76	73	9	*862*	*915*
5	72	78	10	*814*	*759*
Most deprived	70	76	11	*1116*	*937*
Area urban-rural classification	*NS*	**	***		
Large urban	74	76	9	*1721*	*1625*
Other urban	74	77	10	*1412*	*1382*
Small, accessible towns	77	76	7	*435*	*444*
Small remote towns	82	74	7	*126*	*138*
Accessible rural	79	75	8	*610*	*683*
Remote rural	75	65	11	*193*	*224*

***Differences significant at less than .001
** Differences significant at less than .01
NS Not significant

The data suggest that a remote location does not necessarily equate with a lack of satisfactory social networks. Only differences in the prevalence of satisfactory family networks were statistically significant and notable, being lower in remote rural areas than in other area types. Differences in prevalence of no networks, whilst statistically significant, are only small.

Only prevalence of satisfactory friendship networks differed significantly by household income within urban and rural areas. In each area type, parents in higher income households were more likely to report satisfactory friendship networks than were those in

lower income households. In rural areas, for example, 65% of respondents in the lowest income group had a satisfactory friendship network compared with 78% in the highest income group.

3.2.3 Variation by length of residence and neighbourhood satisfaction

The nature of the relationship between length of residence in an area and social networks is perhaps unexpected. Whilst we may expect those people who have lived longer in an area to have stronger social networks, the data in Table 3.4 suggest something closer to the opposite. Parents who had lived in an area for 10 years or more were less likely to have satisfactory friendship networks than were those who had lived at their current address for less than 10 years. This group is fairly small, and unusual as a result – the vast majority of parents in the birth cohort have lived at their current address for less than five years. There may, therefore, be some specific characteristics about those respondents which are also related to decreased likelihood of having a satisfactory friendship network. For example, initial brief analysis indicates that those in the 10 years or more group are disproportionately aged 40 or older a factor which was shown to be related to lack of satisfactory friendship network in section 3.2.1.

Table 3.4 Variation in social networks by levels of neighbourhood satisfaction and length of residence in area – birth cohort

	% with satisfactory friendship network	% with satisfactory family network	% with no satisfactory network	*Bases*	
				Weighted	*Unweighted*
Neighbourhood satisfaction	*NS*	*	*NS*		
Low	77	75	8	*1196*	*1211*
Medium	75	78	9	*2156*	*2174*
High	75	77	9	*724*	*692*
Length of residence in area	*	*NS*	*NS*		
Less than 5 years	76	75	9	*3423*	*3389*
5 to 9 years	76	77	8	*789*	*831*
10 years or more	68	77	11	*298*	*290*

***Differences significant at less than .001
* Differences significant at less than .05
NS Not significant

Level of neighbourhood satisfaction is only significantly related to having a satisfactory family networks, but the differences are too small to be notable.

3.3 The relative effects of area and individual characteristics on having satisfactory networks

Logistic regression was undertaken to explore the independent effects of each of the variables considered on having a satisfactory friendship network, and, separately, a satisfactory family network.

In relation to satisfactory friendship networks, maternal age was found to have the strongest independent association with having a satisfactory friendship network[6] although household income had very similar results. The odds of mothers aged 40 or older at the child's birth having a satisfactory friendship network were half of those for mothers aged under 20. Whilst the odds increased as maternal age decreased only mothers in the oldest age group appeared distinctly different from those in the youngest group. Household income was also statistically significant. Parents in higher income households had greater odds of having satisfactory friendship networks than did those in lower income households. Indeed, the odds of parents in the highest income group having a satisfactory friendship network were twice those of parents in the lowest income group. Few of the area-related variables remained significant in the model; both area deprivation and urban-rural classification are shown to have no independent association along with neighbourhood satisfaction and length of residence. Similarly, tenure does not remain significant after the various individual factors have been taken into account.

Maternal age also has the strongest independent association with having a satisfactory family network[7]. In this case, the effect of age is much larger than the effect of household income, as initially suggested by the bivariate analysis above. Mothers in the youngest age group had odds of having a satisfactory family network which were five times higher than those in the oldest age group. Tenure also remained significant in this model with social and private renting, and other arrangements being negatively associated with having satisfactory family networks. In contrast to the model for friendship networks, family type was significant; the odds of parents in couple families having a satisfactory family network were lower than those of lone parents. Again, many of the key area variables such as area deprivation were not significant, including neighbourhood satisfaction. Length of residence did remain significant however – those parents who had lived in an area longer were more likely to have satisfactory family networks than those with shorter periods of residence.

The quite different results in each of the models suggest that whether a parent has a satisfactory friendship network and whether they have a satisfactory family network is dependent on complex combinations of individual characteristics and situations reflecting the different needs of, and informal resources available to, different parents.

6 Table A.1, Appendix A

7 Table A.2, Appendix A

chapter

4

CHILD-FRIENDLINESS OF LOCAL AREA

Thus far the report has considered a range of factors which contribute to making a local community a good place in which to live such as having access to a range of good quality services and facilities. Respondents' general perceptions of their local area have also been considered along with broader social aspects of parenting through the exploration of the prevalence of satisfactory social networks. In order to combine these two spheres of community and social parenting, respondents were asked a series of attitudinal questions which explored their perceptions of the extent to which supporting parents was a local priority or, in other words, how 'child-friendly' they believed their local area to be.

The questions employed were originally designed for and used as part of the independent evaluation of the Starting Well Health Demonstration Project (Mackenzie *et al*, 2004). Starting Well was focussed on child health and ran in several deprived areas in Glasgow between 2000 and 2003. A key aim of the project was to demonstrate that child health could be improved by, amongst other things, enhancing community-based resources for parents and their children. Part of the evaluation was concerned with providing a contextual description of the study areas and exploring the social context in which study children were being raised, aspects of which could be hypothesised to influence child well-being directly or indirectly (e.g. by impacting on parents or carers). The questions, which are listed below, formed a measure of this social context.

- "People around here look out for each other's children"
- "Most people around here can be trusted with children"
- "People around here hold shop doors open for parents with pushchairs"
- "Bringing up children well is a priority for people in this area"
- "This is a good area to bring children up in"

Each item was scored 0-4 on a five-point Likert-type strength of agreement scale ('strongly disagree' = 0 to 'strongly agree = 4' with 'neither agree nor disagree as '2) resulting in a measure with a possible range of 0 to 20.

4.1 Key findings

- Overall, most parents said their local area was moderately or very child-friendly. Only 20% of parents in the birth cohort perceived their neighbourhood to have low child-friendliness.
- More deprived areas were generally perceived by parents to be less child-friendly; 43% of parents living in the most deprived areas said their area had low child-friendliness compared with 5% in the least deprived areas.
- Parents in rural areas rated their neighbourhoods more highly in terms of child-friendliness than did parents in urban areas; 38% of parents in remote rural areas said their area had high child-friendliness compared with 14% in large urban areas.
- Ratings of neighbourhood satisfaction and of local facilities matched those of child-friendliness. Thus parents who were dissatisfied with their neighbourhood and who gave local facilities a poor rating were also negative about the area's child-friendliness.
- The multivariate analysis revealed that living in a rural area, higher levels of neighbourhood satisfaction, a positive rating of local facilities, having a satisfactory friendship network, and residing longer at the current address were all significantly and independently related to a higher perceived notion of area child-friendliness.

4.2 Responses to the individual statements

The data in Table 4.1 provide an initial illustration of responses to each of the statements across all parents in the birth cohort. There is little variation in levels of agreement and disagreement between the various statements. Parents were most likely to agree that their area was a good place to bring children up, and least likely to agree with how trustworthy local people were towards children although there was a high amount of indecision attached to this statement.

Table 4.1 Responses to area child-friendly statements – birth cohort

	Agree/ strongly agree (%)	Neither (%)	Disagree/ strongly disagree (%)	*Bases*	
				Weighted	*Unweighted*
People around here look out for each other's children	63	22	15	*4098*	*4099*
Most people around here can be trusted with children	57	32	11	*3974*	*3978*
People around here hold shop doors open for parents with pushchairs	66	20	14	*4138*	*4136*
Bringing up children well is a priority for people in this area	64	26	10	*4089*	*4092*
This is a good area to bring children up in	70	16	13	*4184*	*4183*

4.3 Variations in perceived child-friendliness

To allow easier comparisons of child-friendliness by various area characteristics, responses on the scale were grouped into three categories indicating a perceived high, medium and low-level of child-friendliness. Twenty percent of parents in the birth cohort were in the low group, 63% in the medium group and 17% in the high group.

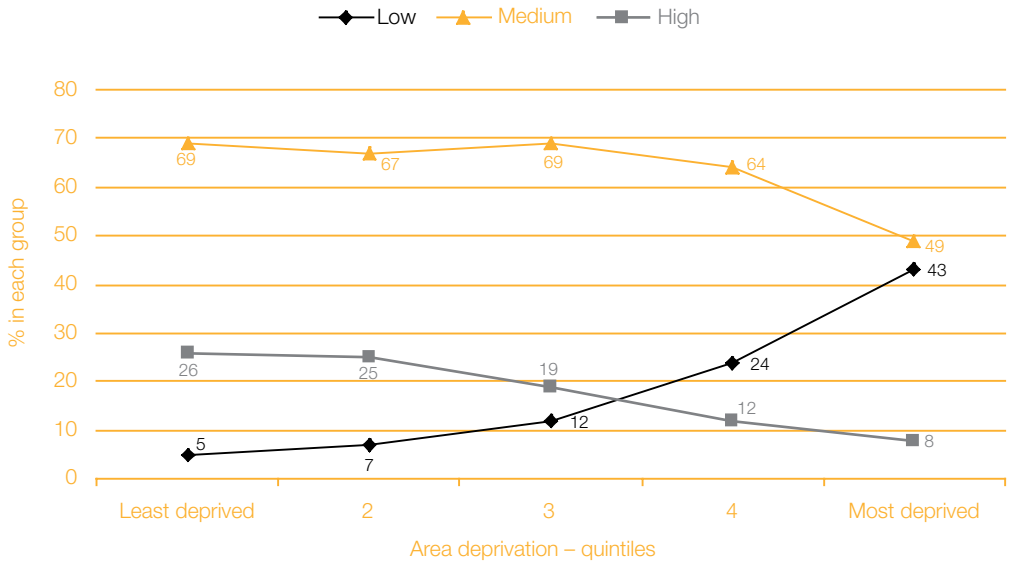
4.3.1 Variations by area deprivation and urban-rural characteristics

Perceptions of child-friendliness were compared initially according to area deprivation and urban-rural characteristics. Figure 4-A illustrates very clearly the variance in perceived child-friendliness by area deprivation. As deprivation increases, levels of child-friendliness decrease. Forty-three percent of parents living in areas in the most deprived quintile fell into the low child-friendly group compared with just 5% of parents living in areas in the least deprived quintile.

Rurality appeared to be strongly related to parental perceptions of child-friendliness. Parents living in rural areas were significantly more likely than those living in urban areas or small towns to fall into the high child-friendliness category with those in remote rural areas most likely to be in this group (Figure 4-B). Thirty-eight percent of respondents living in rural areas were in the high group compared with 14% in large urban areas. In contrast, 25% of parents in large urban areas fell into the low group compared just 6% in

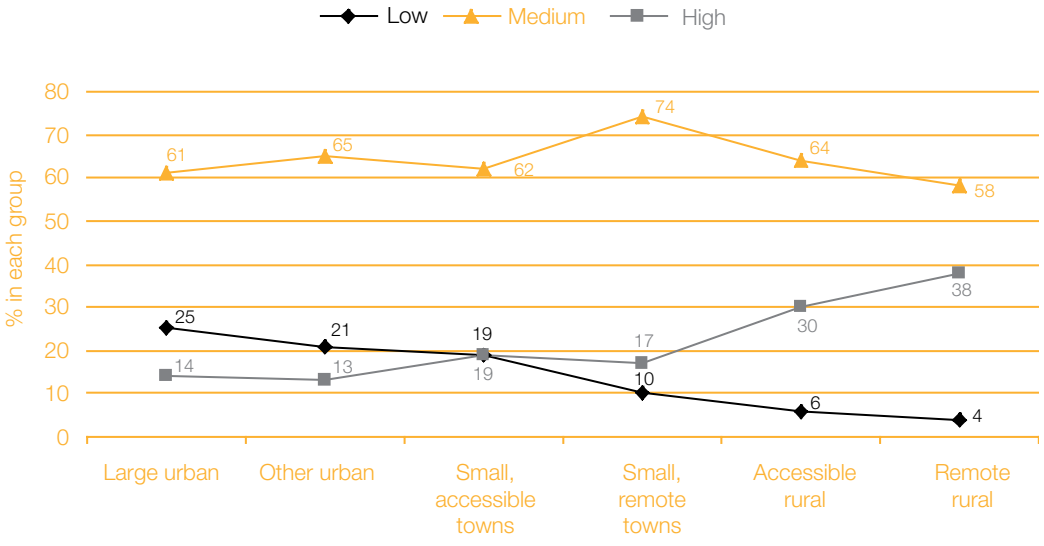
accessible rural areas and 4% in remote rural areas. No statistically significant variation in perceived child-friendliness by household income existed within urban or rural areas.

Figure 4-A Variation in perceived child-friendliness by area deprivation – birth cohort



Unweighted bases: Least deprived 827; 2nd 820; 3rd 810; 4th 645; Most deprived 774

Figure 4-B Variation in perceived child-friendliness by urban-rural characteristics – birth cohort



Unweighted bases: Large urban 1351; Other urban 1228; Small, accessible towns 411; Small, remote towns 113; Accessible rural 526; Remote rural 247

4.3.2 Variation by length of residence, neighbourhood satisfaction and rating of local facilities

As may be expected, levels of perceived child-friendliness and ratings of local facilities varied in line with levels of neighbourhood satisfaction; parents who were highly satisfied with their local area and who were more positive about local facilities were more likely to fall into the high child-friendliness group than were those who were less satisfied or who rated local facilities negatively (Table 4.2). For example, 52% of respondents who were highly satisfied with their neighbourhood also categorised it as highly child-friendly. In contrast, only 4% of those in the low child-friendliness group reported being highly satisfied with their neighbourhood generally.

Patterns by length of residence are less clear-cut. Respondents who had lived at their current address for 10 years or more were most likely to perceive their area as having low child-friendliness, although their responses were similar to those amongst parents who had lived at their current address for less than 5 years (25% compared with 21%).

Table 4.2 Variation in social networks by levels of neighbourhood satisfaction and length of residence in area – birth cohort

	Level of area child-friendliness			*Bases*	
	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	*Weighted*	*Unweighted*
Neighbourhood satisfaction					
Low	43	54	4	*1446*	*1315*
Medium	9	80	12	*1586*	*1636*
High	1	47	52	*824*	*902*
Rating of local facilities					
Low	32	56	12		
Medium	16	68	16		
High	8	66	26		
Length of residence in area					
Less than 5 years	21	64	15	*2298*	*2211*
5 to 9 years	16	63	21	*1356*	*1443*
10 years or more	25	58	18	*225*	*221*

***Differences significant at less than .001

* Differences significant at less than .05

NS Not significant

4.4 Factors independently associated with perceived levels of child-friendliness

Regression analysis was undertaken to explore the independent associations of key area variables with the respondent's perception of the child-friendliness of the local area whilst controlling for the effect of other factors[8]. Living in a rural area, a positive rating of local facilities and higher levels of neighbourhood satisfaction were each significantly and positively related to a higher perceived notion of area child-friendliness with rurality having, by far, the strongest association. On the other hand, higher deprivation, a lack of social networks and living in social rented accommodation were associated with lower perceived child-friendliness. Explanatory power of was good – the R square value of the model was 0.29 indicating that the variables included in the model explained a little over one-quarter of the variance in perceived child-friendliness.

4.5 What makes an area 'child-friendly'?

Respondents were asked what they thought made an area a good place in which to bring up children. Responses were chosen from a list of 15 items and parents were asked to nominate first and second choice. The most important issue by far was considered to be good schools which 38% of parents selected as their first choice and 15% selected as their second choice – overall around half of parents believed this to be important. A low level of crime was also principal in parents' minds with around a third (32%) choosing this as were facilities for young children, a feature which is obviously particularly relevant to the GUS sample. Social aspects of the community were also considered important – 16% of parents selected a 'strong sense of community spirit' as something which made an area a good place in which to bring up children, and similarly, 16% suggested it was important to have friends and family close by. Access to services such as childcare, health services and housing were deemed less important, as were public transport and shopping facilities. Low levels of traffic and a clean local environment however were more prominent, each being selected by around 10% of respondents.

8 Table A.3, Appendix A

Table 4.3 What do you think makes somewhere a good place to bring up children? – birth cohort

Feature	1st choice (%)	2nd choice (%)	Either choice (%)
Access to GPs and local health services	4.7	3.1	7.8
Good quality affordable family housing	5.0	3.9	8.9
Good shopping facilities nearby	0.8	1.6	2.4
Access to good public transport	0.6	0.7	1.3
Good schools	37.9	14.7	52.6
Low level of crime	17.5	14.9	32.4
Good jobs	0.4	1.5	1.9
Facilities for young children	11.4	16.4	27.8
Strong sense of community spirit	5.6	10.5	16.1
Clean local environment	3.1	6.8	9.9
Public spaces in good condition (e.g. pavements, parks, roads)	2.3	5.5	7.8
Family and friends close by	6.2	9.6	15.8
Facilities for older children	0.6	2.8	3.4
Not much traffic or dangerous driving	3.0	6.2	9.2
Good quality affordable childcare	0.4	1.2	1.6
Other answer	0.3	0.3	0.6
(None of these)	0.2	0.1	0.3
Bases			
Weighted	*4193*	*4193*	*4193*
Unweighted	*4191*	*4191*	*4191*

chapter

ARE AREA CHARACTERISTICS RELATED TO PARENTING BEHAVIOUR?

5

The previous sections of this report have explored the variable characteristics of the neighbourhoods in which children in Scotland are being raised, and how parental perceptions of, and social networks within, these neighbourhoods vary according to those characteristics. But why is it important to have an understanding of how families' neighbourhood situations vary? Research across a range of disciplines in social science has claimed or demonstrated the independent effects of area characteristics on the quality of life and the life chances of individuals and households living in different areas. These effects are often attributed to differences in the objective conditions – standard of housing, quality of services, physical environment or distance from employment opportunities. More controversially, area effects are sometimes attributed to 'local cultures', the suggested transmission of distinctive social norms and values, ambitions and expectations (Fitzpatrick, 2004). While the social relationships within the area may not always generate a distinctive culture, it is the combination of the quality of a neighbourhood's physical and social environment which determine its housing values and status. This in turn affects who can afford to live there and their quality of life (Power, 2004).

A number of authors have documented how difficult it is to statistically demonstrate area or neighbourhood effects (Lupton, 2003) even those vividly demonstrated by qualitative research (Fitzpatrick, 2004). There is also considerable debate about when and if neighbourhood are the most appropriate level for policy interventions (Burrows, Bradshaw, 2001). In the context of parenting, we assume that key objective neighbourhood conditions and parental perceptions of their local area may have some association with key parenting behaviours such as the types and frequency of parent-child activities and levels of attendance at groups aimed at parents and children. Such a conjecture is supported in recent findings from the National Evaluation of Sure Start which examined the impact of local Sure Start programmes on three-year olds and their families (National Evaluation of Sure Start Team, 2008). This research found that living in a Sure Start Local Programme (SSLP) area had a variety of beneficial effects for children and families when compared with groups in non-SSLP areas, including more positive social behaviour amongst the children, and less negative parenting amongst the parents. Importantly, the research suggests that the beneficial parenting effects appeared to be responsible for the higher level of positive social behaviour in children.

To explore this relationship in relation to GUS data, analysis was undertaken to determine the independent association between key objective and subjective area characteristics and a number of parenting behaviours whilst controlling for individual and household-level measures. The parenting behaviours considered were:

- The number of different activities in which parents engaged with the cohort child at age 2-3 (birth cohort) or 4-5 year (child cohort)

- The extent to which the respondent had attended a group aimed at parents and children (i.e. a parent and toddler group)
- The total number of sources used by the respondent to obtain information or advice on child health issues between ages 0-3 (birth cohort) and 2-5 (child cohort)
- An attitudinal scale measuring the extent to which the respondent was comfortable seeking help and support, and felt they knew who to ask.

5.1 Key findings

- Area urban-rural characteristics were significantly associated with differences in parents' engagement in most of these behaviours. Rurality or remoteness was positively associated with a greater variety of parent-child activities, attendance at a parent-child group and willingness to seek help and support.
- The existence or not, of social networks is also key. Parents who reported more satisfactory networks engaged in more activities with their child, and were more open to seeking help and support as well as being more likely to do so than were parents with fewer satisfactory networks.
- Parents' perceptions of their local area in terms of neighbourhood satisfaction, ratings of local facilities and child-friendliness were generally not associated with variations in parenting behaviour. However, higher perceptions of the quality of local facilities were weakly related to a greater participation in parent-child activities and a willingness to seek parenting advice and support.

5.2 Variety of parent-child activities

To explore the association between area characteristics and parent-child activities, a scale was constructed using data from sweep 3 which indicated how many of the following activities the cohort child had participated in with a parent in the previous week:

- Looked at books or read stories
- Painting or drawing
- Recited nursery rhymes or sung songs
- Played at recognising letters, words, numbers or shapes
- Used a computer or games console to play games, draw or look for information (child cohort only).

In the birth cohort, the analysis found that the number of activities varied according to area urban-rural characteristics, rating of local facilities and the existence of satisfactory social networks as well as tenure, household income and the respondent's level of

education[9]. When compared with parents in large urban areas, those living in areas classed as small, remote towns or remote rural were more likely to have engaged in a higher number of parent-child activities in the last week. Lacking social networks had a negative effect on activities with those parents having only a satisfactory family network and those with no satisfactory networks likely to report lower levels of parent-child activities. Whilst only weak, there was a negative relationship between parents' perceptions of the quality of local facilities and the variety of activities in which they participated in the last week. Having higher educational qualifications and higher income were each also related to a greater variety of activities.

Overall fewer variables remained significant in the child cohort model[10] including area urban-rural classification and household income. Social networks, and respondent education both affected the variety of activities in the same manner as with the birth cohort. None of the subjective assessments of the local area – child-friendliness, neighbourhood satisfaction, or rating of local facilities were significantly related to variety of parent-child activities[11].

5.3 Attendance at parent-baby/parent-toddler groups

At each sweep of fieldwork, until the child reaches age 4, respondents are asked whether in the last year they have attended any parent and child groups with the cohort child. Information from across all three sweeps was combined to create a variable indicating whether or not the respondent had ever attended any such group. The analysis explored the relationship between the selected variables and attendance[12].

Urban-rural classification and the respondent's level of education were the only factors statistically significantly associated with attendance at parent and child groups amongst parents in the birth cohort[13]. Compared with parents living in large urban areas, those living in other area types, particularly remote towns and remote rural areas, had greater odds of having attended a parent and child group. The odds of parents in small remote towns having attended such a group were almost 6 times higher than for those in large urban areas. For parents in remote rural areas the odds were 4 times higher. Parents

9 Table A.4, Appendix A

10 Table A.5, Appendix A

11 Regression models for the child cohort in each of the four domains being considered in this section tend to produce fewer statistically significant variables compared with the models for the birth cohort. This is likely due, at least in part, to the smaller sample size of the child cohort. The number of cases included in each model is detailed alongside the regression tables in Appendix A.

12 The existence of social networks was excluded from this analysis as attendance at a parent-child group is used as one of the constituent measures of a satisfactory friendship network.

13 Table A.6, Appendix A

whose highest qualification was at vocational level or standard grade and those who had no qualifications were less likely to have attended a group compared with parents with degrees. Income was also significant although higher income did not necessarily denote a higher likelihood of attendance. Those parents in households in the second income quintile had the highest odds ratio.

Level of deprivation was significantly associated with attendance in the child cohort[14]; parents in more deprived areas were less likely to have attended. Like the birth cohort, urban-rural classification and household income were also significant, with similar trends in the results, whereas level of education was not.

5.4 Attitudes towards seeking help and advice

At sweep 1, parents in both cohorts were asked to what extent they agreed or disagreed (on a five-point scale) with two statements measuring their attitudes towards seeking advice and support with parenting:

- "It's difficult to ask people for help or advice about parenting unless you know them really well"
- "It's hard to know who to ask for help or advice about parenting".

Responses to both questions were combined to create a scale indicating to extent to which the respondent was comfortable seeking parenting advice. The analysis explored factors associated with a higher or lower score on the scale.

Urban-rural classification and existence of networks again proved important for parents in the birth cohort[15]; area deprivation was also significant. Living in a remote or rural area was associated with a higher score on the scale when compared with living in a large urban area. Whilst the effect is small, this does suggest that parents in the former areas are more comfortable with asking for help. As may be expected, a lack of satisfactory family and/or friendship networks was associated with lower scores on the scale. Higher area deprivation was associated with less comfort in seeking help and advice amongst parents. The respondent's perception of the quality of local facilities was positively associated with their attitudes towards help-seeking, although only very weakly. The association between help-seeking and household income was also positive but weak. Having no qualifications was associated with lower scores on the scale.

14 Table A.7, Appendix A

15 Table A.8, Appendix A

Whilst urban-rural classification was not significant for the child cohort, the existence of social networks, and the respondent's perceptions of their local areas were[16]. Indeed, higher perceived child-friendliness of the local neighbourhood and a higher opinion of the quality of local facilities were each associated with being at greater ease when looking for parenting help or advice. As with the birth cohort, amongst parents in the child cohort a lack of social networks suggested more difficulty with seeking support. Household income and respondent education level also had results similar to the birth cohort.

5.5 Number of sources used for information and advice on child health

Assessing use of formal services amongst parents alongside the extent to which they draw on informal support is a key intention of GUS. At each sweep, parents are asked where they have gone or who they have consulted for help or advice when they have had concerns about the cohort child's health. The options presented include both formal and informal sources of support and encompass personal contact as well as information supplied via paper literature or the internet. The number of sources consulted by parents over the period 0-3 years for the birth cohort, and 2-5 years for the child cohort was calculated using this data. The analysis explored associations between the selected variables and use of a higher or lower number of sources.

In the birth cohort, the respondent's perception of area child-friendliness was negatively associated with the number of sources they had used, although the relationship is fairly weak[17]. That is, high child-friendliness was associated with use of fewer sources of advice. Having neither a satisfactory friendship nor family network was also associated with using fewer sources, a finding which mirrors the less positive help-seeking attitudes of parents in these groups seen above. Similarly, being a mother aged 40 or older, having a lower household income and having qualifications below degree level were all associated with use of fewer sources. Level of education was more strongly associated with number of sources used than was perceived area child-friendliness or lack of social networks.

Again, fewer variables remained significant in the child cohort model[18]. Only being a mother aged 30 or older and having an equivalised household income above £25,000 per year were significantly associated with the number of sources used. Older mothers used fewer sources than younger mothers and those with higher incomes used more than those with lower incomes.

16 Table A.9, Appendix A

17 Table A.10, Appendix A

18 Table A.11, Appendix A

chapter
Conclusion

6

There is clear evidence that the differences and similarities between services in different types of neighbourhoods matter to parents. In general, parents in rural areas are more satisfied than those in urban areas despite less access to some services. Parents in the most and least deprived urban and rural neighbourhoods have very different objective conditions, and these impact on how they see their area. This is reflected in overall satisfaction with the area, and, in urban areas, parents' perceptions and use of services as well as their sense of its child-friendliness. Of particular note are the findings around parents' poor ratings of local facilities for children and young people and their identification of these facilities as foremost for improvement. Indeed, the lower use of parks and playgrounds by parents and children in deprived areas may reflect the poorer condition of these areas rather than a general reluctance to use them by local parents. Findings from other studies support this conclusion. Research by the Child Poverty Action Group of some of the most and least deprived areas in London and York highlighted the poor condition of local affordable facilities as a reason for not using them (Hooper *et al,* 2007). Furthermore, a recent YouGov survey of parents in England (James and Gibson, 2007) found a clear decline in access to 'a green space that is well maintained and pleasant' by household income. They recommended that access to well-maintained green spaces be increased for poorer families, a finding which may mean exploring ways of keeping space safe and free from vandalism. Such improvements would seem to not only have benefits for child health through increased opportunity for outdoor play, but also for parents' satisfaction with their local area and it's child-friendliness.

The different levels of concern about crime between rural and urban areas, and between least and most deprived areas, reflect both different objective conditions and associated different perceptions which will in turn impact on parenting. The strategies that parents and, as they grow, children themselves adopt for keeping children safe are necessarily shaped by the perceived dangers of the place in which they grow up (Hill *et al,* 2004, Turner *et al,* 2006). Areas with high levels of crime are also areas with high levels of drug and alcohol abuse and violence. While these problems are not wholly absent from rural areas, they are not how such areas are known or stigmatised and are not the top safety concerns of parents of young children.

Whether parents feel very satisfied with their area and whether they see their area as child-friendly or not is likely to be of significance to them in their parenting, even if this not always easy to measure. One measurable constituent of the different environments provided by different types of neighbourhood is the social networks that parents can draw on for support. While the majority of parents across all types of areas have satisfactory friendship and family networks, we have shown that those living in the most deprived areas are most likely to lack satisfactory friendship networks and those living in remote rural areas are the most likely to lack satisfactory networks overall. In urban areas,

those who lack satisfactory social networks are generally both less positive about their area, its child-friendliness and, on the measures used here, less actively engaged as parents. The relationship may be less clear in remote rural areas because sparse population is a feature of these areas. The lower rate of satisfactory friendship networks in areas of high deprivation are consistent with some long standing findings in the literature on friendship suggesting lack of resources inhibits friendship networks (Allan, 2005). While places of poverty can become densely connected communities, this takes particular circumstances and a sense of loyalty so that poor neighbourhoods do not always reflect extensive networks of relationships (Crow, 2002). The consistently significant, and generally positive, impact of having satisfactory networks on parenting behaviours and perceptions of the local community would suggest that measures which seek to improve parents' informal networks through area-based programmes or interventions would have wider benefits on child outcomes. The positive effects of encouraging positive parenting behaviours on child outcomes have been aptly demonstrated recently through the results of the Sure Start programme evaluation referenced above (National Evaluation of Sure Start, 2008).

It was noted that greater length of residence in an area is not automatically associated with greater satisfaction or with more likelihood of satisfactory friendships. Within most deprived areas, the former is not surprising because a higher proportion of people regard themselves as trapped in a place that is not where they wish to be. The concentration of social housing in the most deprived areas has contributed the stigmatisation of both and the difficulty of moving out of stigmatised areas within this housing sector. A persistent proportion of parents with low satisfaction can be expected in the most deprived areas, even if those who are moderately satisfied may become more satisfied overtime. This is indeed what the data show. The data are also consistent with the possibility that circumstances which inhibit satisfactory networks persist over time. This is the case for remote rural areas where it is the remoteness itself that inhibits satisfactory social networks. All but a very small proportion of those who live in remote rural areas have a sense of choosing to live there. A much higher proportion of those who live in deprived urban areas have a sense of entrapment. If lack of resources are what inhibit satisfactory friendship relationships in the most deprived areas, then this is likely to be felt most acutely by those who are also the most likely to feel trapped.

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Appendix A Regression Tables

Table A.1 Logistic regression detailing factors associated with having a satisfactory friendship network – birth cohort

Variable	Category	Odds Ratio	Significance	95% C.I.	
Mother's age at child's birth	(Under 20)				
	20 to 29	0.84	0.34	0.59	1.20
	30 to 39	0.71	0.06	0.50	1.02
	40 or older	0.48	0.01	0.27	0.82
	Testparm[19]		*0.03*		
Equivalised annual household income	(Bottom quintile (< £11,250)				
	2nd quintile (>=£11,250 < £17,916)	1.27	0.09	0.96	1.67
	3rd quintile (>=£17,916 < £25,000)	1.66	< 0.01	1.24	2.22
	4th quintile (>=£25,000 < £37,500)	1.87	< 0.01	1.29	2.69
	5th quintile (>=£37,500)	1.98	< 0.01	1.42	2.76
	Testparm		*< 0.01*		
Family type	(Lone parent)				
	Couple family	0.79	0.12	0.59	1.06
	Testparm		*0.12*		
Tenure	(Owner-occupied)				
	Social rented	0.78	0.07	0.59	1.02
	Private rented	0.69	0.09	0.45	1.05
	Other	0.91	0.69	0.55	1.48
	Testparm		*0.19*		
Area deprivation	(Least deprived)				
	2nd quintile	1.22	0.23	0.88	1.70
	3rd quintile	1.08	0.61	0.80	1.45
	4th quintile	0.93	0.67	0.67	1.30
	Most deprived	0.94	0.72	0.67	1.32
	Testparm		*0.39*		

Variable	Category	Odds Ratio	Significance	95% C.I.	
Urban-rural classification	(Large urban)				
	Other urban	1.00	0.97	0.82	1.21
	Small, accessible towns	1.12	0.51	0.79	1.59
	Small remote towns	1.71	0.09	0.92	3.16
	Accessible rural	1.19	0.21	0.90	1.56
	Remote rural	1.07	0.74	0.71	1.61
	Testparm		*0.37*		
Neighbourhood satisfaction	(High)				
	Medium	0.88	0.17	0.73	1.06
	Low	1.04	0.72	0.84	1.29
	Testparm		*0.17*		
Length of residence at address	(Less than 5 years)				
	5 to 9 years	1.08	0.47	0.87	1.35
	10 years or more	0.75	0.09	0.54	1.05
	Testparm		*0.18*		

Dependent variable: 1 = satisfactory friendship network, 0 = no satisfactory friendship network

Number of cases included = 3786

19 The testparm command tests the association of the overall categorical variable with the outcome measure. It tests the deviation from the null hypothesis, i.e. how much all the differences deviate from 0 in a single test. If $p<0.05$ then we can say the predictor variable is significantly associated with the outcome variable

Table A.2 Logistic regression detailing factors associated with having a satisfactory family network – birth cohort

Variable	Category	Odds Ratio	Significance	95% C.I.	
Mother's age at child's birth	(Under 20)				
	20 to 29	0.78	0.17	0.55	1.12
	30 to 39	0.49	< 0.01	0.33	0.72
	40 or older	0.18	< 0.01	0.11	0.31
	Testparm		*< 0.01*		
Annual equivalised household income	(Bottom quintile (< £11,250)				
	2nd quintile (>=£11,250 < £17,916)	1.17	0.26	0.89	1.54
	3rd quintile (>=£17,916 < £25,000)	1.52	0.01	1.11	2.09
	4th quintile (>=£25,000 < £37,500)	1.31	0.10	0.95	1.80
	5th quintile (>=£37,500)	1.63	0.00	1.18	2.26
	Testparm		*0.05*		
Family type	(Lone parent)				
	Couple family	0.67	0.02	0.49	0.93
	Testparm		*0.02*		
Tenure	(Owner-occupied)				
	Social rented	0.61	0.00	0.45	0.82
	Private rented	0.64	0.03	0.43	0.96
	Other	0.36	0.00	0.20	0.65
	Testparm		*< 0.01*		
Area deprivation	(Least deprived)				
	2nd quintile	1.01	0.96	0.75	1.36
	3rd quintile	0.93	0.60	0.70	1.23
	4th quintile	1.17	0.35	0.84	1.63
	Most deprived	1.04	0.80	0.75	1.44
	Testparm		*< 0.63*		

Variable	Category	Odds Ratio	Significance	95% C.I.	
Urban-rural classification	(Large urban)				
	Other urban	1.12	0.36	0.87	1.44
	Small, accessible towns	0.97	0.83	0.73	1.29
	Small remote towns	0.83	0.57	0.43	1.61
	Accessible rural	1.03	0.87	0.74	1.42
	Remote rural	0.67	0.07	0.44	1.03
	Testparm		*0.21*		
Neighbourhood satisfaction	(High)				
	Medium	1.06	0.64	0.83	1.35
	Low	1.06	0.70	0.78	1.43
	Testparm		*0.89*		
Length of residence at address	(Less than 5 years)				
	5 to 9 years	1.20	0.14	0.94	1.52
	10 years or more	1.49	0.03	1.04	2.15
	Testparm		*0.04*		

Dependent variable: 1 = satisfactory family network, 0 = no satisfactory family network

Number of cases included = 3786

Table A.3 Linear regression model exploring the association between selected area and individual characteristics and perceived level of area child-friendliness – birth cohort

Variable	Category	Co-efficient	Significance	95% C.I.	
Area deprivation	(Least deprived)				
	2nd quintile	-0.14	0.41	-0.49	0.20
	3rd quintile	-0.49	0.02	-0.88	-0.10
	4th quintile	-0.90	< 0.01	-1.30	-0.49
	Most deprived	-1.74	< 0.01	-2.24	-1.24
	Testparm		*< 0.01*		
Urban-rural classification	(Large urban)				
	Other urban	0.00	0.99	-0.36	0.36
	Small accessible town	0.51	0.02	0.07	0.94
	Small remote town	0.63	0.24	-0.43	1.69
	Accessible rural	1.72	< 0.01	1.24	2.20
	Remote rural	2.62	< 0.01	1.91	3.34
	Testparm		*< 0.01*		
Neighbourhood satisfaction (Scale)		0.10	0.01	0.02	0.19
Rating of local facilities (Scale)		0.21	< 0.01	0.18	0.25
Social networks	(Both satisfactory networks)				
	Only satisfactory friendship	-0.40	0.02	-0.74	-0.06
	Only satisfactory family	-0.70	< 0.01	-1.04	-0.36
	Neither satisfactory network	-1.10	< 0.01	-1.61	-0.59
	Testparm		*< 0.01*		
Tenure	(Owner-occupied)				
	Social housing	-0.98	< 0.01	-1.41	-0.55
	Rent private	-0.33	0.27	-0.93	0.27
	Other	-1.03	0.02	-1.87	-0.20
	Testparm		*< 0.01*		

Variable	Category	Co-efficient	Significance	95% C.I.	
Length of residence	(Less than 1 year)				
	1 to 5 years	-0.05	0.85	-0.52	0.43
	5 to 10 years	0.04	0.87	-0.45	0.53
	10 years or more	0.15	0.68	-0.56	0.86
	Testparm		*0.89*		
Mother's age at child's birth	(Under 20 yrs)				
	20 to 29	-0.16	0.64	-0.84	0.52
	30 to 39	0.04	0.91	-0.67	0.76
	40 or older	0.23	0.59	-0.61	1.07
	Testparm		*0.38*		
Annual equivalised household income	(Bottom quintile (< £11,250)				
	2nd quintile (>=£11,250 < £17,916)	0.05	0.82	-0.36	0.45
	3rd quintile (>=£17,916 < £25,000)	-0.22	0.31	-0.64	0.20
	4th quintile (>=£25,000 < £37,500)	-0.17	0.40	-0.56	0.23
	5th quintile (>=£37,500)	0.22	0.41	-0.31	0.75
	Testparm		*0.10*		
Respondent – Highest educational qualification	(Degree or equivalent)				
	Vocational	-0.29	0.06	-0.58	0.01
	Higher grade	-0.17	0.49	-0.66	0.32
	Standard grad	-0.22	0.30	-0.65	0.20
	No qualifications	0.98	0.01	0.23	1.73
	Testparm		*0.03*		
				R square	0.29

Number of cases included = 2789

Table A.4 Linear regression model exploring the association between selected area and individual characteristics and variety of parent-child activities – birth cohort

Variable	Category	Co-efficient	Significance	95% C.I.	
Area deprivation	(Least deprived)				
	2nd quintile	0.00	0.95	-0.12	0.11
	3rd quintile	-0.14	0.03	-0.25	-0.02
	4th quintile	-0.11	0.11	-0.24	0.02
	Most deprived	-0.11	0.17	-0.26	0.05
	Testparm		*0.04*		
Urban-rural classification	(Large urban)				
	Other urban	0.03	0.54	-0.08	0.14
	Small accessible town	0.05	0.54	-0.12	0.22
	Small remote town	0.40	0.00	0.27	0.53
	Accessible rural	-0.06	0.43	-0.20	0.08
	Remote rural	0.16	0.02	0.02	0.30
	Testparm		*< 0.01*		
Area child-friendliness (Scale)		0.00	0.79	-0.01	0.02
Neighbourhood satisfaction (Scale)		0.01	0.71	-0.02	0.03
Rating of local facilities (Scale)		-0.01	0.04	-0.02	0.00
Social networks	(Both satisfactory networks)				
	Only satisfactory friendship	-0.03	0.61	-0.15	0.09
	Only satisfactory family	-0.14	0.01	-0.25	-0.03
	Neither satisfactory network	-0.32	< 0.01	-0.51	-0.12
	Testparm		*< 0.01*		
Tenure	(Owner-occupied)				
	Social housing	-0.07	0.32	-0.20	0.07
	Rent private	0.06	0.54	-0.14	0.27
	Other	0.33	0.01	0.09	0.57
	Testparm		*0.01*		

Variable	Category	Co-efficient	Significance	95% C.I.	
Length of residence	(Less than 1 year)				
	1 to 5 years	-0.03	0.75	-0.18	0.13
	5 to 10 years	-0.02	0.84	-0.16	0.13
	10 years or more	-0.22	0.06	-0.46	0.01
	Testparm		*0.22*		
Mother's age at child's birth	(Under 20 yrs)				
	20 to 29	-0.15	0.11	-0.34	0.04
	30 to 39	-0.19	0.05	-0.38	0.00
	40 or older	0.02	0.88	-0.23	0.26
	Testparm		*0.09*		
Annual equivalised household income	(Bottom quintile (< £11,250)				
	2nd quintile (>=£11,250 < £17,916)	0.14	0.02	0.02	0.26
	3rd quintile (>=£17,916 < £25,000)	0.18	< 0.01	0.06	0.31
	4th quintile (>=£25,000 < £37,500)	0.27	< 0.01	0.13	0.42
	5th quintile (>=£37,500)	0.35	< 0.01	0.19	0.51
	Testparm		*< 0.01*		
Respondent – Highest educational qualification	(Degree or equivalent)				
	Vocational	-0.11	0.03	-0.21	-0.01
	Higher grade	-0.11	0.19	-0.26	0.05
	Standard grad	-0.24	< 0.01	-0.37	-0.11
	No qualifications	-0.40	0.48	-1.52	0.72
	Testparm		*< 0.01*		
				R square	0.08

Number of cases included = 2686

Table A.5 Linear regression model exploring the association between selected area and individual characteristics and variety of parent-child activities – child cohort

Variable	Category	Co-efficient	Significance	95% C.I.	
Area deprivation	(Least deprived)				
	2nd quintile	0.05	0.50	-0.11	0.22
	3rd quintile	0.02	0.79	-0.15	0.19
	4th quintile	-0.07	0.51	-0.30	0.15
	Most deprived	-0.09	0.46	-0.35	0.16
	Testparm		*0.57*		
Urban-rural classification	(Large urban)				
	Other urban	-0.09	0.27	-0.26	0.07
	Small accessible town	-0.04	0.69	-0.24	0.16
	Small remote town	0.14	0.50	-0.27	0.54
	Accessible rural	-0.03	0.76	-0.20	0.15
	Remote rural	-0.06	0.60	-0.28	0.16
	Testparm		*0.79*		
Area child-friendliness (Scale)		-0.01	0.46	-0.03	0.01
Neighbourhood satisfaction (Scale)		0.02	0.28	-0.02	0.07
Rating of local facilities (Scale)		0.01	0.34	-0.01	0.03
Social networks	(Both satisfactory networks)				
	Only satisfactory friendship	-0.07	0.38	-0.22	0.08
	Only satisfactory family	-0.36	< 0.01	-0.56	-0.15
	Neither satisfactory network	-0.21	0.13	-0.49	0.06
	Testparm		*< 0.01*		
Tenure	(Owner-occupied)				
	Social housing	-0.20	0.10	-0.44	0.04
	Rent private	-0.05	0.66	-0.28	0.18
	Other	0.20	0.30	-0.18	0.59
	Testparm		*0.23*		

Variable	Category	Co-efficient	Significance	95% C.I.	
Length of residence	(Less than 1 year)				
	1 to 5 years	-0.16	0.27	-0.44	0.13
	5 to 10 years	-0.12	0.42	-0.43	0.18
	10 years or more	-0.14	0.46	-0.50	0.23
	Testparm		*0.74*		
Mother's age at child's birth	(Under 20 yrs)				
	20 to 29	-0.15	0.34	-0.45	0.16
	30 to 39	-0.13	0.42	-0.46	0.19
	40 or older	-0.32	0.17	-0.80	0.15
	Testparm		*0.56*		
Annual equivalised household income	(Bottom quintile (< £11,250)				
	2nd quintile (>=£11,250 < £17,916)	0.03	0.80	-0.18	0.23
	3rd quintile (>=£17,916 < £25,000)	0.14	0.25	-0.10	0.37
	4th quintile (>=£25,000 < £37,500)	0.18	0.13	-0.05	0.40
	5th quintile (>=£37,500)	0.27	0.02	0.04	0.49
	Testparm		*0.19*		
Respondent – Highest educational qualification	(Degree or equivalent)				
	Vocational	-0.03	0.72	-0.16	0.11
	Higher grade	-0.08	0.58	-0.35	0.20
	Standard grad	-0.23	0.03	-0.43	-0.02
	No qualifications	-0.54	< 0.01	-0.82	-0.25
	Testparm		*< 0.01*		
				R square	

Number of cases included = 1484

Table A.6 Logistic regression model exploring the association between selected area and individual characteristics and attendance at parent-child groups – birth cohort

Variable	Category	Odds ratio	Significance	95% C.I.	
Area deprivation	(Least deprived)				
	2nd quintile	0.91	0.57	0.64	1.27
	3rd quintile	1.02	0.88	0.77	1.36
	4th quintile	0.72	0.06	0.51	1.01
	Most deprived	0.88	0.50	0.61	1.27
	Testparm		*0.10*		
Urban-rural classification	(Large urban)				
	Other urban	1.30	0.03	1.03	1.63
	Small accessible town	1.75	< 0.01	1.35	2.27
	Small remote town	6.28	< 0.01	2.92	13.54
	Accessible rural	2.32	< 0.01	1.68	3.19
	Remote rural	4.05	< 0.01	2.33	7.04
	Testparm		*< 0.01*		
Area child-friendliness (Scale)		1.02	0.24	0.99	1.05
Neighbourhood satisfaction (Scale)		0.99	0.78	0.92	1.06
Rating of local facilities (Scale)		1.02	0.09	1.00	1.05
Tenure	(Owner-occupied)				
	Social housing	0.81	0.20	0.59	1.12
	Rent private	0.81	0.33	0.53	1.25
	Other	0.64	0.16	0.34	1.20
	Testparm		*0.37*		
Length of residence	(Less than 1 year)				
	1 to 5 years	0.95	0.76	0.69	1.31
	5 to 10 years	1.03	0.88	0.73	1.45
	10 years or more	0.77	0.31	0.47	1.28
	Testparm		*0.59*		
Mother's age at child's birth	(Under 20 yrs)				
	20 to 29	0.86	0.47	0.57	1.30
	30 to 39	0.91	0.67	0.60	1.39
	40 or older	0.99	0.97	0.52	1.87
	Testparm		*0.86*		

Variable	Category	Odds ratio	Significance	95% C.I.	
Annual equivalised household income	(Bottom quintile (< £11,250)				
	2nd quintile (>=£11,250 < £17,916)	1.17	0.28	0.88	1.56
	3rd quintile (>=£17,916 < £25,000)	1.60	< 0.01	1.22	2.08
	4th quintile (>=£25,000 < £37,500)	1.23	0.21	0.89	1.71
	5th quintile (>=£37,500)	1.45	0.05	1.01	2.09
	Testparm		*0.02*		
Respondent – Highest educational qualification	(Degree or equivalent)				
	Vocational	0.75	0.01	0.60	0.93
	Higher grade	0.85	0.43	0.56	1.28
	Standard grad	0.60	< 0.01	0.45	0.78
	No qualifications	0.51	< 0.01	0.35	0.74
	Testparm		*< 0.01*		

Dependent variable: 1 = attended a parent/child group with cohort child between sweeps 1 and 3, 0 = did not attend

Number of cases included = 2687

Table A.7 Logistic regression model exploring the association between selected area and individual characteristics, and attendance at parent-child groups – child cohort

Variable	Category	Odds ratio	Significance	95% C.I.	
Area deprivation	(Least deprived)				
	2nd quintile	0.82	0.29	0.57	1.19
	3rd quintile	0.78	0.16	0.55	1.11
	4th quintile	0.64	0.03	0.43	0.95
	Most deprived	0.44	< 0.01	0.31	0.65
	Testparm		*< 0.01*		
Urban-rural classification	(Large urban)				
	Other urban	1.21	0.16	0.93	1.59
	Small accessible town	1.09	0.62	0.77	1.55
	Small remote town	2.67	0.01	1.23	5.77
	Accessible rural	1.15	0.49	0.77	1.73
	Remote rural	2.32	< 0.01	1.37	3.92
	Testparm		*0.03*		
Area child-friendliness (Scale)		1.03	0.20	0.98	1.08
Neighbourhood satisfaction (Scale)		1.00	0.99	0.93	1.08
Rating of local facilities (Scale)		1.01	0.56	0.98	1.04
Tenure	(Owner-occupied)				
	Social housing	0.82	0.31	0.56	1.20
	Rent private	0.72	0.22	0.42	1.22
	Other	0.66	0.41	0.25	1.77
	Testparm				
Length of residence	(Less than 1 year)				
	1 to 5 years	1.22	0.37	0.78	1.89
	5 to 10 years	1.20	0.44	0.75	1.91
	10 years or more	1.34	0.33	0.74	2.43
	Testparm		*0.8*		

Variable	Category	Odds ratio	Significance	95% C.I.	
Mother's age at child's birth	(Under 20 yrs)				
	20 to 29	1.49	0.12	0.90	2.45
	30 to 39	1.54	0.11	0.90	2.65
	40 or older	1.13	0.78	0.46	2.76
	Testparm		*0.35*		
Annual equivalised household income	(Bottom quintile (< £11,250)				
	2nd quintile (>=£11,250 < £17,916)	1.14	0.52	0.75	1.73
	3rd quintile (>=£17,916 < £25,000)	0.99	0.98	0.65	1.53
	4th quintile (>=£25,000 < £37,500)	0.85	0.48	0.55	1.33
	5th quintile (>=£37,500)	0.58	0.04	0.35	0.98
	Testparm				
Respondent – Highest educational qualification	(Degree or equivalent)				
	Vocational	0.81	0.11	0.62	1.05
	Higher grade	1.03	0.92	0.60	1.75
	Standard grad	0.66	0.02	0.47	0.92
	No qualifications	0.60	0.04	0.37	0.97
	Testparm		*0.11*		

Dependent variable: 1 = attended a parent/child group with cohort child between sweeps 1 and 3, 0 = did not attend

Number of cases included = 1482

Table A.8 Linear regression model exploring the association between selected area and individual characteristics and attitudes towards help-seeking – birth cohort

Variable	Category	Co-efficient	Significance	95% C.I.	
Area deprivation	(Least deprived)				
	2nd quintile	-0.09	0.33	-0.28	0.09
	3rd quintile	-0.04	0.68	-0.25	0.16
	4th quintile	-0.30	0.01	-0.52	-0.07
	Most deprived	-0.21	0.07	-0.44	0.01
	Testparm		*0.05*		
Urban-rural classification	(Large urban)				
	Other urban	0.19	0.03	0.02	0.36
	Small accessible town	0.16	0.19	-0.08	0.39
	Small remote town	0.26	0.09	-0.04	0.56
	Accessible rural	0.26	0.01	0.06	0.46
	Remote rural	0.32	< 0.01	0.10	0.54
	Testparm		*0.05*		
Area child-friendliness (Scale)		0.01	0.29	-0.01	0.04
Neighbourhood satisfaction (Scale)		0.04	0.13	-0.01	0.08
Rating of local facilities (Scale)		0.02	0.02	0.00	0.04
Social networks	(Both satisfactory networks)				
	Only satisfactory friendship	-0.29	0.01	-0.48	-0.09
	Only satisfactory family	-0.36	< 0.01	-0.53	-0.18
	Neither satisfactory network	-0.48	< 0.01	-0.78	-0.19
	Testparm		*< 0.01*		
Tenure	(Owner-occupied)				
	Social housing	-0.02	0.87	-0.23	0.19
	Rent private	-0.16	0.30	-0.47	0.14
	Other	0.01	0.95	-0.35	0.37
	Testparm		*0.74*		

Variable	Category	Co-efficient	Significance	95% C.I.	
Length of residence	(Less than 1 year)				
	1 to 5 years	0.06	0.58	-0.15	0.27
	5 to 10 years	0.01	0.93	-0.23	0.25
	10 years or more	0.10	0.46	-0.17	0.38
	Testparm		*0.78*		
Mother's age at child's birth	(Under 20 yrs)				
	20 to 29	0.03	0.87	-0.28	0.33
	30 to 39	0.17	0.32	-0.17	0.52
	40 or older	-0.05	0.83	-0.55	0.45
	Testparm		*0.17*		
Annual equivalised household income	(Bottom quintile (< £11,250)				
	2nd quintile (>=£11,250 < £17,916)	0.28	0.02	0.05	0.50
	3rd quintile (>=£17,916 < £25,000)	0.44	< 0.01	0.17	0.71
	4th quintile (>=£25,000 < £37,500)	0.50	< 0.01	0.23	0.78
	5th quintile (>=£37,500)	0.72	< 0.01	0.42	1.01
	Testparm		*< 0.01*		
Respondent – Highest educational qualification	(Degree or equivalent)				
	Vocational	-0.05	0.52	-0.22	0.11
	Higher grade	0.18	0.08	-0.02	0.37
	Standard grad	-0.19	0.13	-0.44	0.06
	No qualifications	-0.42	0.01	-0.72	-0.12
	Testparm		*0.02*		
				R square	0.12

Number of cases included = 2586

Table A.9 Linear regression model exploring the association between selected area and individual characteristics and attitudes towards help-seeking – child cohort

Variable	Category	Co-efficient	Significance	95% C.I.	
Area deprivation	(Least deprived)				
	2nd quintile	0.04	0.74	-0.21	0.29
	3rd quintile	0.11	0.38	-0.13	0.35
	4th quintile	-0.04	0.83	-0.38	0.31
	Most deprived	0.19	0.18	-0.09	0.48
	Testparm		*0.44*		
Urban-rural classification	(Large urban)				
	Other urban	0.07	0.49	-0.13	0.26
	Small accessible town	0.13	0.40	-0.18	0.44
	Small remote town	-0.20	0.17	-0.49	0.09
	Accessible rural	0.14	0.21	-0.08	0.35
	Remote rural	0.19	0.20	-0.10	0.48
	Testparm		*0.04*		
Area child-friendliness (Scale)		0.03	0.05	0.00	0.06
Neighbourhood satisfaction (Scale)		-0.02	0.51	-0.08	0.04
Rating of local facilities (Scale)		0.04	0.00	0.01	0.06
Social networks	(Both satisfactory networks)				
	Only satisfactory friendship	-0.26	0.03	-0.50	-0.02
	Only satisfactory family	-0.18	0.13	-0.42	0.05
	Neither satisfactory network	-0.77	< 0.01	-1.09	-0.46
	Testparm		*< 0.01*		
Tenure	(Owner-occupied)				
	Social housing	-0.20	0.13	-0.46	0.06
	Rent private	-0.01	0.97	-0.35	0.33
	Other	0.26	0.39	-0.34	0.87
	Testparm		*0.37*		

Variable	Category	Co-efficient	Significance	95% C.I.	
Length of residence	(Less than 1 year)				
	1 to 5 years	0.10	0.50	-0.19	0.39
	5 to 10 years	-0.09	0.57	-0.38	0.21
	10 years or more	0.01	0.95	-0.38	0.40
	Testparm		*0.15*		
Mother's age at child's birth	(Under 20 yrs)				
	20 to 29	-0.02	0.91	-0.45	0.40
	30 to 39	-0.03	0.89	-0.41	0.36
	40 or older	-0.30	0.37	-0.96	0.36
	Testparm		*0.83*		
Annual equivalised household income	(Bottom quintile (< £11,250)				
	2nd quintile (>=£11,250 < £17,916)	0.38	0.02	0.07	0.68
	3rd quintile (>=£17,916 < £25,000)	0.37	0.04	0.03	0.72
	4th quintile (>=£25,000 < £37,500)	0.34	0.07	-0.02	0.71
	5th quintile (>=£37,500)	0.60	< 0.01	0.21	0.99
	Testparm		*0.03*		
Respondent – Highest educational qualification	(Degree or equivalent)				
	Vocational	-0.25	0.02	-0.46	-0.04
	Higher grade	0.03	0.84	-0.31	0.38
	Standard grad	-0.21	0.15	-0.49	0.07
	No qualifications	-0.65	0.01	-1.10	-0.19
	Testparm		*0.04*		
				R square	0.11

Number of cases included = 1452

Table A.10 Linear regression model exploring the association between selected area and individual characteristics and number of sources used for information and advice on child health concerns – birth cohort

Variable	Category	Co-efficient	Significance	95% C.I.	
Area deprivation	(Least deprived)				
	2nd quintile	-0.33	0.19	-0.82	0.17
	3rd quintile	-0.31	0.28	-0.89	0.26
	4th quintile	-0.30	0.20	-0.77	0.16
	Most deprived	-0.49	0.09	-1.05	0.07
	Testparm		*0.51*		
Urban-rural classification	(Large urban)				
	Other urban	-0.33	0.11	-0.74	0.07
	Small accessible town	-0.36	0.17	-0.89	0.16
	Small remote town	-0.58	0.35	-1.81	0.65
	Accessible rural	0.03	0.92	-0.69	0.76
	Remote rural	0.02	0.96	-0.72	0.76
	Testparm		*0.49*		
Area child-friendliness (Scale)		-0.06	0.03	-0.12	-0.01
Neighbourhood satisfaction (Scale)		0.02	0.71	-0.08	0.12
Rating of local facilities (Scale)		0.01	0.45	-0.02	0.05
Social networks	(Both satisfactory networks)				
	Only satisfactory friendship	-0.04	0.84	-0.45	0.37
	Only satisfactory family	-0.43	0.06	-0.87	0.02
	Neither satisfactory network	-0.79	< 0.01	-1.26	-0.32
	Testparm		*0.07*		
Tenure	(Owner-occupied)				
	Social housing	-0.48	0.05	-0.95	-0.01
	Rent private	0.44	0.16	-0.17	1.05
	Other	-0.41	0.49	-1.60	0.77
	Testparm		*0.08*		

Variable	Category	Co-efficient	Significance	95% C.I.	
Length of residence	(Less than 1 year)				
	1 to 5 years	-0.17	0.57	-0.76	0.42
	5 to 10 years	-0.48	0.13	-1.10	0.15
	10 years or more	-0.83	0.05	-1.65	-0.01
	Testparm		*0.01*		
Mother's age at child's birth	(Under 20 yrs)				
	20 to 29	0.19	0.46	-0.32	0.71
	30 to 39	-0.23	0.43	-0.81	0.35
	40 or older	-1.02	0.03	-1.94	-0.11
	Testparm		*< 0.01*		
Annual equivalised household income	(Bottom quintile (< £11,250)				
	2nd quintile (>=£11,250 < £17,916)	0.85	< 0.01	0.48	1.22
	3rd quintile (>=£17,916 < £25,000)	0.95	< 0.01	0.46	1.45
	4th quintile (>=£25,000 < £37,500)	0.65	0.01	0.18	1.12
	5th quintile (>=£37,500)	1.63	< 0.01	0.97	2.30
	Testparm		*< 0.01*		
Respondent – Highest educational qualification	(Degree or equivalent)				
	Vocational	-0.90	< 0.01	-1.34	-0.46
	Higher grade	-0.86	< 0.01	-1.50	-0.23
	Standard grad	-1.36	< 0.01	-1.93	-0.80
	No qualifications	-2.17	< 0.01	-2.81	-1.52
	Testparm		*< 0.01*		
				R square	0.09

Number of cases included = 2686

Table A.11 Linear regression model exploring the association between selected area and individual characteristics and number of sources used for information and advice on child health concerns – child cohort

Variable	Category	Co-efficient	Significance	95% C.I.	
Area deprivation	(Least deprived)				
	2nd quintile	-0.22	0.51	-0.90	0.45
	3rd quintile	-0.63	0.06	-1.30	0.03
	4th quintile	-0.54	0.14	-1.25	0.17
	Most deprived	-0.13	0.73	-0.90	0.64
	Testparm		*0.22*		
Urban-rural classification	(Large urban)				
	Other urban	-0.45	0.06	-0.92	0.02
	Small accessible town	0.12	0.73	-0.59	0.84
	Small remote town	-0.47	0.50	-1.85	0.91
	Accessible rural	-0.37	0.30	-1.09	0.34
	Remote rural	-0.21	0.62	-1.07	0.65
	Testparm		*0.48*		
Area child-friendliness (Scale)		0.05	0.11	-0.01	0.12
Neighbourhood satisfaction (Scale)		0.06	0.34	-0.06	0.18
Rating of local facilities (Scale)		0.02	0.53	-0.04	0.07
Social networks	(Both satisfactory networks)				
	Only satisfactory friendship	0.12	0.65	-0.39	0.62
	Only satisfactory family	0.07	0.81	-0.52	0.66
	Neither satisfactory network	-0.16	0.66	-0.87	0.55
	Testparm		*0.91*		
Tenure	(Owner-occupied)				
	Social housing	0.42	0.14	-0.14	0.99
	Rent private	0.48	0.30	-0.43	1.39
	Other	0.41	0.54	-0.91	1.72
	Testparm		*0.48*		

Variable	Category	Co-efficient	Significance	95% C.I.	
Length of residence	(Less than 1 year)				
	1 to 5 years	-0.15	0.69	-0.89	0.59
	5 to 10 years	-0.19	0.64	-0.99	0.61
	10 years or more	-0.60	0.21	-1.54	0.35
	Testparm		*0.62*		
Mother's age at child's birth	(Under 20 yrs)				
	20 to 29	-0.79	0.09	-1.71	0.12
	30 to 39	-1.13	0.02	-2.09	-0.17
	40 or older	-2.17	0.00	-3.46	-0.89
	Testparm		*0.01*		
Annual equivalised household income	(Bottom quintile (< £11,250)				
	2nd quintile (>=£11,250 < £17,916)	0.24	0.34	-0.26	0.74
	3rd quintile (>=£17,916 < £25,000)	0.52	0.11	-0.12	1.16
	4th quintile (>=£25,000 < £37,500)	0.88	0.02	0.15	1.62
	5th quintile (>=£37,500)	1.24	< 0.01	0.41	2.07
	Testparm		*0.05*		
Respondent – Highest educational qualification	(Degree or equivalent)				
	Vocational	0.03	0.92	-0.50	0.56
	Higher grade	0.26	0.53	-0.57	1.09
	Standard grad	-0.18	0.58	-0.81	0.46
	No qualifications	-0.54	0.20	-1.35	0.28
	Testparm		*0.01*		
				R square	0.05

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