

# A Qualitative Exploration of the Intergenerational Transmission of Fathers' Discipline Methods and Involvement in Child Rearing

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*Fathering behaviours such as discipline methods and involvement play a significant role in children's development. One way in which men learn to father is through intergenerational transmission. The majority of studies regarding intergenerational transmission have focused primarily on low-income fathers who experienced harsh discipline methods or neglect as a child. This study aimed to fill a gap by exploring intergenerational transmission among participants who have varying socio-economic backgrounds and had relatively positive fathering experiences. This study was guided by the research question, "how has the transmission of fathering behaviour between generations influenced fathers' discipline methods and involvement in child-rearing?" Implementing a qualitative approach, semi-structured interviews were conducted with ten fathers who were recruited through convenience sampling. Thematic analysis of the interview data resulted in three major themes: 1) contemporary and traditional fathering behaviours and involvement, 2) discipline methods and 3) changes during fatherhood. The findings indicated an intergenerational change toward more emotive, communicative and contemporary fathering involvement and a move toward constructive discipline methods. The findings also highlighted an unstudied area of intergenerational research, namely, the intergenerational influence on the changes in relationship between a father and their child as the child grows into adulthood. This study has implications for improving familial well-being. For example, by fostering necessary discourse about the generational influences that contribute to fathering behaviour and its subsequent effects on child development between generations.*

*Keywords:* intergenerational transmission, fatherhood, discipline, involvement

Our understanding of the multifaceted concept of fatherhood is continuously adapting. Over the last century, the role of fathers has changed in response to society's understanding of masculinity and, as a result, different models of fatherhood have emerged. During the era of industrialisation, a father was solely expected to financially provide for his family and a mother was considered the primary caregiver, subsequently giving rise to the breadwinner model of fatherhood (Pleck, 1984). Due to

the influence of World War Two, the Great Depression and the New Deal, fathers were expected to display personality traits of strength and courage (Pleck, 2018). As a result, their role became less traditional as they took on the responsibility of becoming role-models to their children, rather than just providing financially for them (Pleck, 2010). With the advent of increased interest in fatherhood and parenting generally in the 1960's, John Bowlby's seminal work on attachment fostered controversial discourse on the topic of fatherhood. In particular, Bowlby's original monotropic hypothesis of attachment, which focused solely on the mother's role and disregarded the father as a co-principle figure, acted as a catalyst for further research (Bowlby, 1958).

Upon the influx of new research in the 1970s, the nurturing model of fatherhood was propounded which established the father as an active co-parent of equal importance (Griswold, 1995). Studies of fatherhood began to acknowledge the psychological (Palkovitz, 2002), emotional (Lamb, 2002) and economic (Graham & Beller, 2002) contribution a father makes to the development of his child. With the awareness of the father as a co-parent, policy makers increased their focus on fathers' rights, establishing paid paternity leave and access to children after divorce ("Paternity pay and leave", 2020).

Much of the recent literature on fatherhood addresses four themes: differences between fathering and mothering, the father-infant relationship, the roles fathers play in the family and how men learn to father (Shears et al., 2006). One contribution of how men learn to father is known as intergenerational transmission, defined as learning from the family of origin (Cowan & Cowan, 1987). Intergenerational transmission from father to father has been demonstrated by a small number of studies as this field is still in its infancy. A study of Israeli fathers found a significant correlation between men's satisfaction as fathers and their past and current relationship with their fathers (Sagi, 1982). In addition, studies have shown that fathers imitate specific fathering skills and behaviours. For example, constructive discipline methods (Chen & Chaplin, 2001), warm fathering relationships (Coysh, 1984), and severe discipline strategies (Belsky, Conger & Capaldi, 2009; Niu, Liu & Wang, 2018). Furthermore, Shears and colleagues (2006) identified the remodeling of behaviour when fathers experienced the absence, either physically or emotionally, of their own fathers. Their findings suggested that fathers may model positive behaviour from a variety of sources, including peers and men in media if not experienced personally (Shears et al., 2006). This process of learning by observation and imitation is supported by social learning theory (SLT), which posits that humans' learning and behaviours are influenced by both environmental and cognitive factors (Bandura, 1977). SLT applies to this present study on intergenerational transmission by focusing on how fathers' behaviours, such as disciplining and involvement, are learnt from their own fathers and influenced by their environment as a child.

The effect of discipline on a child is a strong predictor of how the child will subsequently develop (Fisher & Fagot, 1993; Durrant, 2020). Discipline is the primary topic of research in this field, and has been conducted predominantly on low-income, working-class families, typically with negligent father role-models (Belsky, Conger & Capaldi, 2009; Niu, Liu & Wang, 2018; Pears & Capaldi, 2007; Pears, Capaldi & Owen, 2007). The main objective of these studies was to investigate the mechanisms of intergenerational harsh or abusive discipline in order to prevent the recurring pattern between generations. Harsh or abusive discipline strategies are associated with causing emotional and physical harm to the child, often on a long-term basis. The child can suffer harm to their dignity, their self-respect and esteem, and lose their positive sense of self (Fisher & Fagot, 1993). The alternative, positive discipline, understood

as an approach to explaining desired behaviour to the child through open and clear communication (Okorn et al., 2021), paints a vastly different image of child development. Positive discipline has been associated with developmental outcomes such as emotional regulation, self-control, and positive social behaviours (Durrant, 2020). Yet despite its importance on child development, how fathers learn positive discipline is neglected in the literature. Instead, research so far has elucidated valuable insights into harsh intergenerational discipline in low-income families. This study sought to explore an overlooked aspect of intergenerational discipline, notably, fathers' experiences of discipline that was positive or mild in nature, and whether or not it continued between generations.

In addition to discipline, fathering involvement has been shown to be a strong predictor of child development (Mischel, Shoda, & Peake, 1988). In an era where middle-class fathers' involvement is changing between generations, due to increased numbers of mothers in the workforce and divorce rates, fathers may be adopting new skills and behaviours to adapt to this shift (Shears et al., 2006). Research to date has focused on the effect of negligent fathering on the next generations' fathering involvement. While the pool of studies is small, the findings provide initial support for the idea that lack of paternal involvement results in increased involvement in the next generation (Shears et al., 2006; Wilkinson, Khurana & Magora, 2013). These studies provide much needed insight into the attitude of fathers who experienced neglect as a child and how this led them to be more involved with their children. However, they do not address the behaviours associated with increased involvement. Therefore, two primary gaps in the literature prevail. Firstly, how fathers' involvement is influenced generationally having had a positive fathering experience, and secondly, what behaviours are then adopted or adapted by these fathers as a result. Ample studies have demonstrated that involved fathering contributes to the development of children with greater tolerance to stress (Mischel, Shoda, & Peake, 1988), with greater ability to solve problems and adapt in situations (Biller, 1993) and a host of other necessary life skills. Thus, understanding how intergenerational transmission influences fathering involvement is vital for bettering the father-child relationship.

This study sought to fill a gap, in light of the aforementioned literature, by exploring the intergenerational transmissions of fathering behaviour and how this influences discipline methods and involvement. Given the effects that discipline strategies and fathering involvement has on a child's development, researching the intergenerational transmission of these areas is paramount. Furthermore, encouraging men to reflect on their experiences with their fathers and educating men on the influence this has had on their fathering lives may result in increased positive involvement. Subsequently, this could lead to improving the child's potential for optimal development. This positive relationship has been shown to repeat between generations, improving the well-being of families (Brown et al., 2017), justifying the validity and necessity of conducting this research. This study was guided by the research question: how has the transmission of fathering behaviour between generations influenced fathers' discipline methods and involvement in child-rearing?

## **Method**

### *Design*

Following ethical approval by the Queen's University Belfast Faculty of Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Ethics Committee, a qualitative methodology was employed. Ten semi-structured interviews were conducted with fathers. Themes were generated from this data using thematic analysis. This explorative study was not bound to any particular pre-existing theoretical or epistemological framework, hence thematic analysis appeared appropriate and accessible.

### ***Participants***

A total of ten participants with at least one child participated in this study. This sample size was chosen so data would be collected until the point of data saturation, which was reached during analysis. Recruitment took place in the form of convenience sampling, with each researcher recruiting and interviewing two participants. Participants were known friends and family of the researchers and received no compensation for taking part. The research explored various perspectives, so did not specify demographic traits including age, marital status or ethnicity. As such, participants' demographic traits were moderately varied (Table 1.) with participant's ages between the ages of 27 and 68 (Mean age = 51.9., SD = 12.92).

### ***Measures***

Data was collected through one-to-one, semi-structured interviews. Interviews consisted of ten pre-set questions (Appendix 1). These questions were chosen and appropriately adapted by the researchers from a reputable qualitative study examining the intergenerational transmission of fathering styles (Shears et al., 2006). The researchers all used the same semi-structured schedule (Appendix 1).

### ***Procedure***

Having expressed interest in participating, interviewees were given an information sheet conveying the study's purpose and requirements. Before the interviews took place, informed written consent was obtained from each participant. One-to-one, in-person interviews lasting approximately 20-25 minutes were conducted at a time and location convenient to the participant. Participants were interviewed by the researcher that recruited them as it was felt this may allow participants to feel more comfortable sharing their experiences. Notably however, all interviewers were female, and were not parents themselves, which may have limited their rapport with participants. The interview schedule (Appendix 1) was semi-structured, primarily utilising open-ended questions about experiences and perceptions of fatherhood. Researchers used prompts and reflection to clarify the content of responses. All ten interviews were conducted during the same two-month period. Interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. By including repetition, false starts, laughter and incomplete sentences, no spoken material was lost. Following the interview, participants received a debrief sheet thanking them for participating and listing researchers' contact details and relevant organisations should they need support.

### ***Data Analysis***

Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis model was employed to analyse the data. Researchers analysed data from the participant that they had recruited and subsequently interviewed, meaning each researcher transcribed and coded two interviews. Researchers transcribed the respective audio-recording verbatim, ensuring anonymity by assigning identification numbers (e.g., P1) and reducing identifiable names to a single initial. Interviews were then read whilst listening to the audio, allowing checks for 'accuracy' and familiarisation with the data. Researchers then conducted three primary stages of analyses; initial code generation, searching for themes, and reviewing themes.

Initial code generation used a combination of in-vivo and descriptive coding to code each interview, line-by-line. Initial codes from the entire data set were collated in an Excel file, before being searched for significant patterns or 'themes', which were all generated inductively. An initial table of codes and themes was then generated. These themes were reviewed by checking against the original data set, subsequently splitting, combining, or discarding some initial themes such as 'communication'. A final table containing three

core themes was then generated. This process was iterative, not linear, with earlier steps being returned to at multiple points during analyses.

## **Results**

The major themes that emerged from the data analysis were the following: contemporary and traditional fathering behaviours and involvement, discipline methods and changes in fatherhood.

### ***Contemporary and Traditional Fathering Behaviours and Involvement***

For most participants, their fathering involvement consisted of behaviours deemed contemporary. Fathers acknowledged the influence their experiences with their fathers had on their subsequent behaviour with the majority reporting a discontinuation of paternal behaviours perceived as more traditional in nature. These traditional behaviours, in this case referring to societal expectations of the role of the father as the breadwinner, disengaged from and with limited involvement in child rearing, were experienced by all of the fathers as children. Fathers consciously were more involved in child rearing as a result and the following contemporary behaviours were identified: play and emotional guidance.

#### ***Play***

Play took form in adult-lead and non-directed play with the objective of both being to spend additional quality time with their children. One father reported the absence of his own father in the evenings and his desire to avoid this behaviour by engaging in play. He reported "never [having] that much time with him" or seeing "him in the evening". This absent behaviour was discontinued with his children as they "always did something in the evening, like playing board games". He stated, "we spent so much time together" (P1). Another father reported similar absences with his father due to him "working six days a week" and engaged in non-directed play to discontinue this behaviour and increase his involvement with child rearing. He also spoke about adapting the nature of his involvement to accommodate his son's changing interests, reporting: "I took them out, took them to play areas, little bit later in my life, well, my son's life, I took him to sporting occasions" (P2).

#### ***Emotional Guidance and Communication***

Fathers reported a lack of emotional guidance from their fathers and their desire to discontinue this traditional behaviour. One father reported his experience of emotional and physical distance from his parents due to being educated in a boarding school, stating he "felt that [boarding school] created a distance because you're away from your parents for months at a time" (P5) and subsequently avoiding emotional distance by ensuring emotional involvement in contemporary behaviours such as "being there for your children when they need you. Being able to offer advice. Sharing your experiences. Being able to provide security and showing them the right path as far as you can" (P5). Another father reported his desire to provide his daughter with non-judgemental support through open communication stating he "want[s] to make sure she feels she can tell [him] anything without judgement so [he] can help her where [he] can because it wasn't done with [him]" (P4).

The findings indicated the majority of fathers discontinued traditional fathering and became more involved in child rearing than their fathers, especially through play, communication and emotional guidance. However, one father interestingly noted the continuation of one traditional fathering behaviour: lack of touch. He reported touch in the form of hugging was "something [his] father didn't really do to [him]" nor was it

“something [he does] now either as [his] whole family is like that now” (P4).

### ***Discipline Methods***

The findings indicated fathers' methods of discipline were influenced intergenerationally. This occurred in three ways: the continuation of positive discipline methods and strategies, the adoption of constructive discipline and open communication if this was not experienced by the fathers as children, and lastly, the continuation of physical discipline.

### ***Continuation of Positive Discipline Methods and Strategies***

Fathers that had experienced positive discipline reported their desire to continue this approach with their children. One father reported having an “Easy-going dad (in relation to discipline)” who “left me to my own devices” (P9). This trusting relationship inspired his approach with his own child, “I then did that with my own daughter” (P9). Constructive discipline strategies were also continued from father to father as reported by one participant, “I would use the same discipline methods my parents did. Like take phones, send to room...” (P3).

### ***The Adoption of Constructive Discipline and Open Communication***

Discipline methods were influenced intergenerationally by the adoption of constructive discipline and open communication if this was not experienced by the fathers as children. One participant noted the lack of communication between him and his father regarding disciplinary consequences of his actions and adopted a “completely different” approach with his children. He noted: “I don't think it was ever clear to me what I was supposed to do. It was kind of murky and foggy expectations [...] In comparison, we spoke before we went about what we wanted to do, everybody knew what they were supposed to do, everybody was always happy” (P1).

### ***The Continuation of Physical Discipline***

Physical discipline was found to be intergenerationally influenced. Some fathers that experienced physical discipline as children reported their dislike of using physical reprimands as fathers but acknowledged the effectiveness of this method. One father reported, “the way my parents disciplined me was very harsh and firm. They were usually physical [...]. I did tell myself when I was younger that I would never use physical discipline and I don't necessarily agree with it, but I have used it” (P3). Another participant reported not using physical discipline with his daughter but reported hypothetically using this approach if “[he] had a son and if circumstances lead to it”. I don't think it's right to do but it may be effective” (P4). Two fathers reported experiencing this approach as children and only resorting to using this as adults on rare occasions, followed by feelings of regret. One father reported “my dad would occasionally hit one of us [...] Physical reprimands was something I did not want to do other than one exemption that I highly regretted” (P9). This feeling of regret was mirrored by a second father who stated, “I do remember slapping one of my kids on one occasion and never doing it again” (P2).

### ***Changes During Fatherhood***

During childhood, paternal roles were characterised as practical and physical. For example, one father stated that key tasks included “feeding, homework and school runs” (P5), whilst another father described “taking the children out walking and riding bikes” (P7). However, fathers reported a shift in the paternal role with the onset of adolescence. One father described being able to “reason with the teenagers more” (P7), whilst another reported an increase in time spent talking, stating that they “read and discussed things together” (P2). However, this change also appeared to generate increased conflict. One

participant described interactions characterised by “tempers and turmoil” (P7) and another father reported their relationship with their teenage son as being “more challenging of late” due to his frequent “challenges to authority” (P5). In response to this, the paternal role became primarily characterised by attempts to align discipline alongside, what one father described, their child’s developing “expectation of fairness and consistency” (P7).

This transition appeared to be intergenerationally consistent, with fathers reporting that during childhood, the majority of time spent with their fathers was engaged in physical activities. For example, one participant described how their father ‘would have played football with [him]’ (P7). During their teenage years, however, this shifted as a larger emphasis was put on discipline and conflict. One father noted that during adolescence, he and his father “disagreed on a lot of things” (P8) whilst another described “arguing” to the extent that it led to “physical discipline” (P3).

Another shift is then observed with the child’s transition into adulthood. One father reported that the aforementioned “turmoil between us [them] settled down” (P7). What was previously characterised by conflict, became defined by emotional support and friendship. One father reported that “as they got older, it’s more of an emotionally protective role” (P9). Two participants stated that as the child becomes an adult, fathering is characterised by friendship, with one participant stating that “you become more of a friend, if you’re lucky” (P7).

The nature of this shift appears intergenerationally inconsistent, as whilst participants noted changes in their relationships with their fathers at the onset of adulthood, these changes were not characterised by emotional support and friendship, but rather by distance. For example, one father described “a separation between [himself and his father]” (P7), whilst another noted that as they grew older, their father “was never around” and that their relationship became characterised by “distance” (P10). This suggests that in previous generations, upon the child reaching adulthood, the paternal role diminished rather than evolved.

## **Discussion**

The findings of this study demonstrated that the participants believe it is important to be involved in rearing their children. Their involvement indicated an intergenerational change toward more emotive, communicative, and contemporary fathering. Other studies have supported this perceptual shift in involvement between generations because of the absence of positive fathering behaviour (Shears, Summers, Boller & Barclay-McLaughlin, 2006; Wilkinson, Khurana & Magora, 2013). However, it is important to note that in these studies, the lack of fathering was often characterised by negligence. In the current study, the participants’ fathers were generally physically available, but not involved in active parenting. Yet, in both instances, the participants grew up desiring more involvement than was given. This subsequently informed their attitudes to fathering. In the current study, fathers adopted contemporary behaviours such as play, emotional guidance and communication to be present with their children. These findings indicated a strong shift in perception regarding the adoption of roles historically associated with mothering, increasing father involvement in child-rearing (Wilkee, 1993).

The findings showed a continuation of positive discipline methods between generations. The participants adopted constructive strategies that they did not experience as children. Sagi (1982) suggests that this process of behavioural remodelling may occur by observation and imitation of other male role models, such as peers. Unlike previous

studies investigating physical reprimanding discipline methods (Belsky, Conger & Capaldi, 2009; Niu, Liu & Wang, 2018; Pears & Capaldi, 2007; Pears, Capaldi & Owen, 2007), the findings indicated that the participants did not employ these strategies with their children, thus the breaking the pattern. However, some participants showed a propensity for physical discipline, regretting it immediately after it is employed. Importantly, the discipline methods in other studies were severe and those fathers often had negligent role models, unlike the conditions experienced by the participants in this study. These findings suggest that when men experience mild physical discipline with fathers that present as generally positive role models, the influence inspires a remodelling to more constructive strategies. Research investigating this phenomenon has not been studied before, subsequently, it is an area of future research.

The relationship changes that occur between father and offspring as the child becomes an adult is an unstudied aspect of intergenerational transmission. Findings indicated that the participants felt that they offered more emotional guidance as their child aged, bringing their relationship closer, shifting their role from father and child to friends. This was unlike that of the previous generation, where the participants had experienced increasing emotional distance from their own fathers as they got older. Thus, it appears that fathers' increased involvement in child-rearing from infancy contributes to a nurturing relationship in adulthood.

### ***Limitations***

Due to the cross-sectional study design and small sample size, caution should be taken regarding the generalisability of the findings. As the population was 90% white European, greater diversification is needed to understand positive role modelling and its generational influence on fathering in different cultures and ethnicities. Nevertheless, this study furthered current literature in that it utilised a middle-class population sample with generally positive fathering role models. A second limitation is that interviews were conducted and analysed by different researchers. While the same semi-structured schedules were used, there may have been inconsistencies in questioning styles (i.e., probes, prompts) which may have elicited different types of responses. Lastly, this study relied upon participants' memories of their childhood. The retrospective nature of asking participants about how they were treated by their fathers may have resulted in memory errors such as misremembering or not remembering (Belsky, Conger & Capaldi, 2009).

### ***Implications***

The findings suggested that some participants who experienced mild physical discipline as children showed a propensity for this behaviour yet regretted employing it. Accordingly, a short-term program on constructive discipline could be beneficial to educate these fathers and prevent that discipline strategy generationally. Furthermore, the findings support the utility of policies that encourage involved fathering, such as paternal leave after birth ("Paternity pay and leave", 2020). As evidenced in this study, boys desire an involved, active relationship with their fathers. Thus, programs regarding involved fathering behaviours and strategies are also highly encouraged, especially as the benefits of attending could be passed onto generations to come. Additionally, this study provides preliminary research on the influence of intergenerational transmission on the changing relationship between father and child. The findings indicated that more emotional and involved fathering when children are young, leads to closer relationships and friendship in the long run. Research has yet to be done on the influence of the relationship between an elderly father and his adult child, and how this effects future generations. The implications of which would provide rich new insights into this adult relationship while elucidating attitudes and behaviours in caring for elderly parents.

Positive relationships between father and child have been shown to repeat between generations, improving the well-being of families (Brown et al., 2017), and lives of children. This positive relationship could be fostered on a societal level by encouraging men to reflect on their experiences with their fathers and educating men on the influence this has had on their fathering lives. Doing so would allow men to gain a deeper understanding of the importance of fathering which may motivate fathers to contribute more to the lives of their children. An increase in positive involvement will subsequently improve children's potential for optimal development.

### ***Conclusion***

The purpose of this study was to explore the intergenerational transmission of behaviour and how this influences fathers' discipline methods and involvement in child rearing. Thematic analysis of ten semi-structured interviews indicated an intergenerational change toward more emotive, communicative, and contemporary fathering involvement and constructive discipline methods. An unanticipated finding emerged indicating the relationship between father and child became closer with age, unlike that of the previous generation which experienced emotional distance.

Findings from this study could be used to inform further quantitative research, regarding participants with generally positive fathering experiences, to elicit more generalisable results. Future research could investigate whether fathers who have experienced certain behaviours as children, such as mild physical discipline or play, have chosen to continue or discontinue these behaviours between generations. Findings from this research could highlight whether a man's experience with his father is a strong predictor of his future fathering style, and if not, it raises the question of what other source of education fathers model their behaviour on. Future quantitative research could also utilize surveys to examine whether involved fathering behaviour, such as play, between a father and his infant is a predictor of relationship satisfaction between an elderly father and his adult child. The results of which could inform clinical interventions that aim to teach fathers activities which enhance engagement between a father and his infant.

There are a host of parenting programs for fathers that experienced adversity, a population that undoubtedly should be prioritized. However, there is a lack of programs for fathers without this background. While targeting this population might seem unnecessary, this study has highlighted that even within generally positive relationships, negative aspects can form behavioural patterns between generations. This was particularly the case regarding mild physical discipline. Additionally, within a generally positive relationship, the level of fathering involvement might not be optimal for the child's development. This was demonstrated through statements of participants that lacked emotional involvement. Therefore, programs that teach strategies in involved fathering such as play, emotional guidance and communication, and also in constructive discipline methods should be considered for fathers of all socio-economic standings and experience with adversity. As crucially, no matter the socio-economic background, fathers' discipline methods and involvement play an integral role in the development and wellbeing of a child.

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## **Appendix**

### **Appendix 1**

#### *Interview Questions*

1. What age did you become a father, and can you remember how you felt in the first couple of months?
2. Can you tell me a little bit about your children? How many do you have and what ages are they?
3. Could you describe the relationship with your children now and specifically how has that relationship changed over time?
4. Can you tell me how you and your wife parented your children, for example the responsibilities you may have shared or delegated, or the difficulties of co-parenting or your experience of doing it generally?

5. Can you tell me about any of the similarities or differences in the way that you disciplined your children and how you were disciplined by your parents?
6. Can you describe your fathers parenting style? What kind of father was he?
7. Can you describe any similarities or differences in his fathering style and yours?
8. Do you think your relationship with him influenced how you wanted to be as a father?
9. What does being a father mean to you?
10. What are you proudest of about yourself, in your experience of being a father?

**Table 1**  
*Codes and Themes*

<b>Codes</b>	<b>Themes</b>
Play Emotional Guidance Touch	Contemporary and Traditional
Constructive Communication Physical	Discipline Methods
Practical Responsibilities Emotional Guidance Communication Discipline	Changes in Fatherhood

**Table 2**  
*Participant Information*

<b>Participant ID</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Marital Status</b>	<b>No. of Children</b>	<b>Location</b>
1	59	Married	2	Republic of Ireland
2	68	Married	4	Republic of Ireland
3	54	Married	4	Republic of Ireland
4	28	Single	1	Republic of Ireland
5	61	Widowed	3	England
6	43	Married	3	England
7	62	Second Marriage	5 (3 step children)	Northern Ireland
8	31	Married	2 (1 step child)	Northern Ireland
9	56	Married	3	Republic of Ireland
10	58	Married	1	Republic of Ireland