

Uneven family geographies in England & Wales: (Non)Traditionality & change between 2001 and 2011

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Aims

- To examine the **changing and / or enduring** patterns of family geographies using 2001 and 2011 Census data.
 - Analysis of census data at local authority district (LAD) level in England and Wales
- Employ the six measures from Duncan and Smith's (2002) analysis of family formations - to explore the divergence to and from the normative male breadwinner/female homemaker model.
 - Descriptive analyses of our mapping of the measures of family formations in 2011
 - Examine changes in family formations between 2001 and 2011.

The 'traditional family' in UK political discourses?

- *“For me, nothing matters more than family. It’s at the centre of my life and the heart of my politics. As a husband and a father I know how incredibly lucky I am to have a wonderful wife and to have had 4 amazing children.... It’s family that brings up children, teaches values, passes on knowledge, instils in us all the responsibility to be good citizens and to live in harmony with others. And so for someone from my political viewpoint who believes in building a stronger society from the bottom up, there is no better place to start than with family” (David Cameron, 18/08/2014).*

But ...

- *Media*
 - *“the stereotypical family image – mother, father and two children in a detached or semi-detached house – is fast becoming a myth”* (The Guardian, 27/03/11).
- 2011 census
 - Telegraph (11/12/2012) headline claimed that *“Census 2011 ‘shows the changing face of Britain’”*.
 - The Guardian (11/12/2012) stressed that *“the main story is surely that this country has undergone a radical transformation in this last decade”*
- Edwards and Gillies’ (2012) - ‘farewell to the family’

ESRC Centre on Population Change: some key themes of changing family formations

1. Postponement/rejection of formal (marriage) and informal (cohabiting) heterosexual partnership unions, and rise of solo /multi-person household living (Stone *et al.* 2012) = HMOs
2. De-formalisation of childrearing by co-residence partners (Berrington and McGowan 2014)
3. Increase of partnership dissolution and re-partnering practices (Demey *et al.* 2013)
4. Changing ideas of gendered role allocation about breadwinner and domesticity/homemaker responsibilities (Stone *et al.* 2015)
5. Changing normative ideas of motherhood and fatherhood and normative career/employment aspirations (Berrington and Pattaro 2014)
6. Decoupling of normative connections between marriage and childbirth (Berrington *et al.* 2015a)

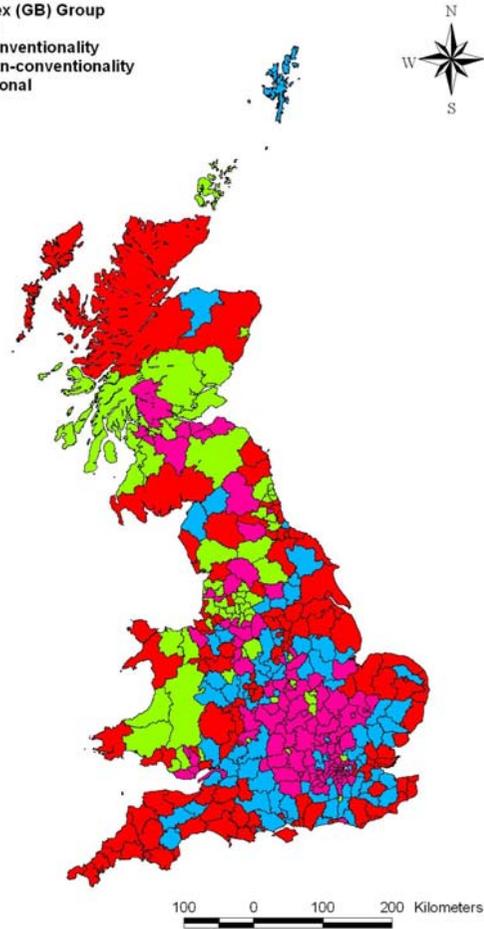
Changing families and changing places/neighbourhoods?

- Do migrants/migrant families with (non)traditional gendered structures gravitate/stay in places with relatively high concentrations of like-minded families, and vice versa?
 - People-like-us (Tim Butler)
 - Elective belonging (Mike Savage)
 - Segregated society (e.g. ethnicity - Stillwell, Rees, Dorling, Finney, Catney, Johnston, etc)
- Are there links between (in-)migration and statistically dominant family formations?

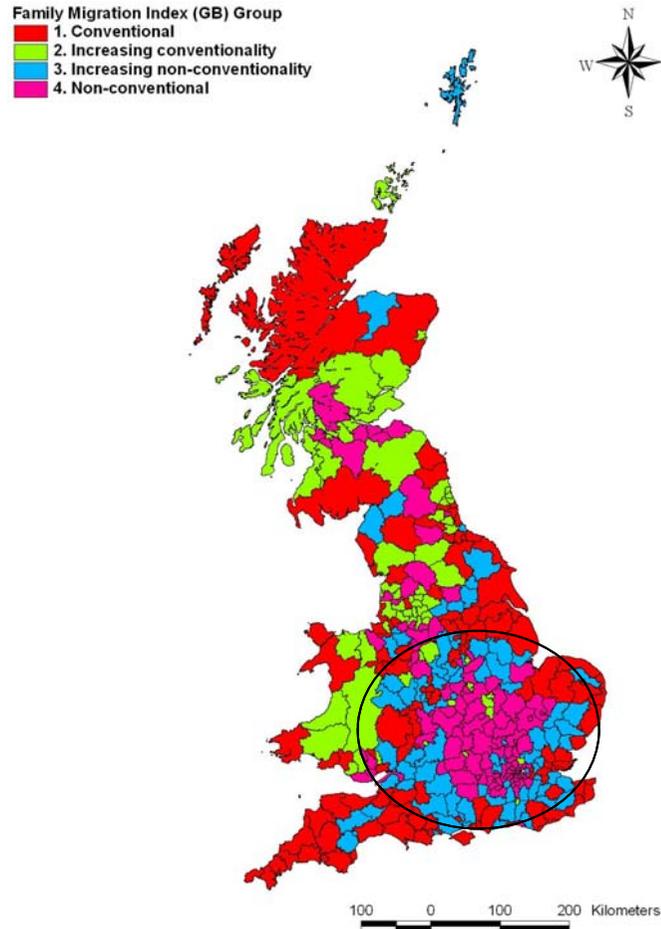
Family Migration Index (2001)

Family Migration Index (GB) Group

- 1. Conventional
- 2. Increasing conventionality
- 3. Increasing non-conventionality
- 4. Non-conventional



Family Migration Index (2001)



- Rightmove.com
 - Crawley
 - Hailsham
 - Lewes
 - Brighton and Hove

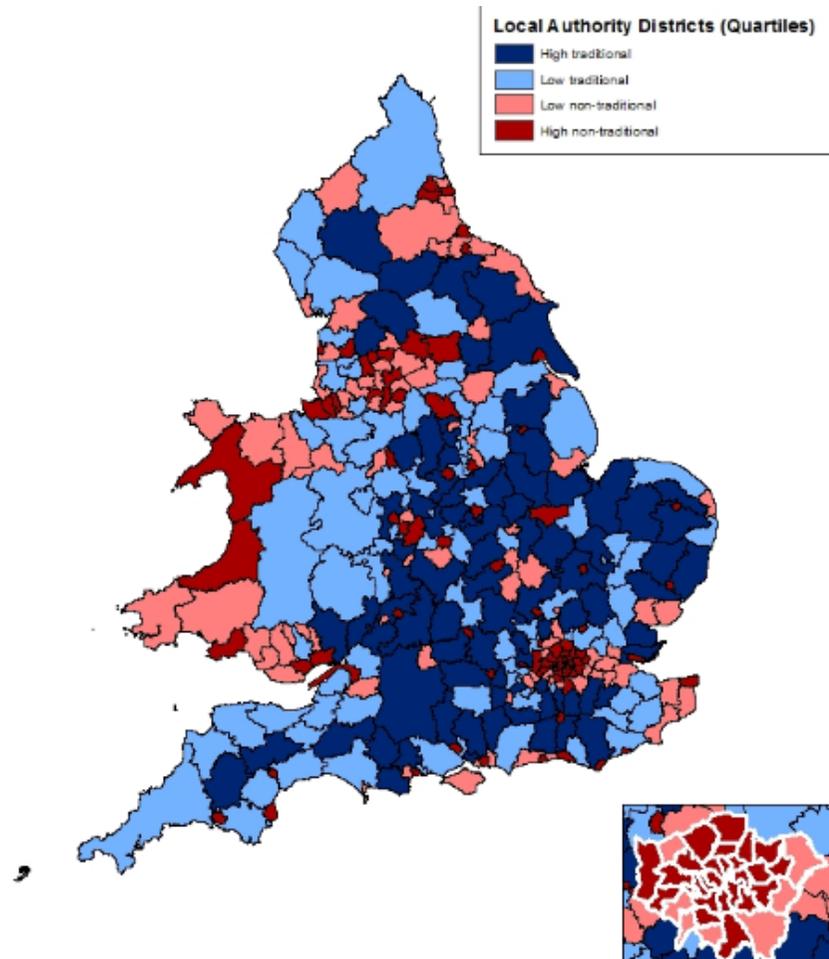
6 key measures

(Duncan and Smith, 2002, 2005)

1. An indication of the relative (re)alignment to the normative model of heterosexual partnership forming and living, and the adoption of alternative forms of partnership forming and living.

One person, multi-person or same-sex civil partnership households with dependent or no dependent children as a percentage of all households. The data were extracted from the Quick Statistics dataset (Table QS116EW: Household Type).

1. Single, multi-person or same sex households (2011)



- High non-traditional
 - University towns (studentification)
 - Coastal resorts (single person housing benefit recipients)
 - London boroughs
 - Lancashire/Merseyside
 - North-east (lone parents)
 - Wales (widowhood/divorce)
- High traditional (heartlands of heterosexual partnered couple/family)
 - Home Counties
 - South-west
 - Borders
 - Rural North/East of England

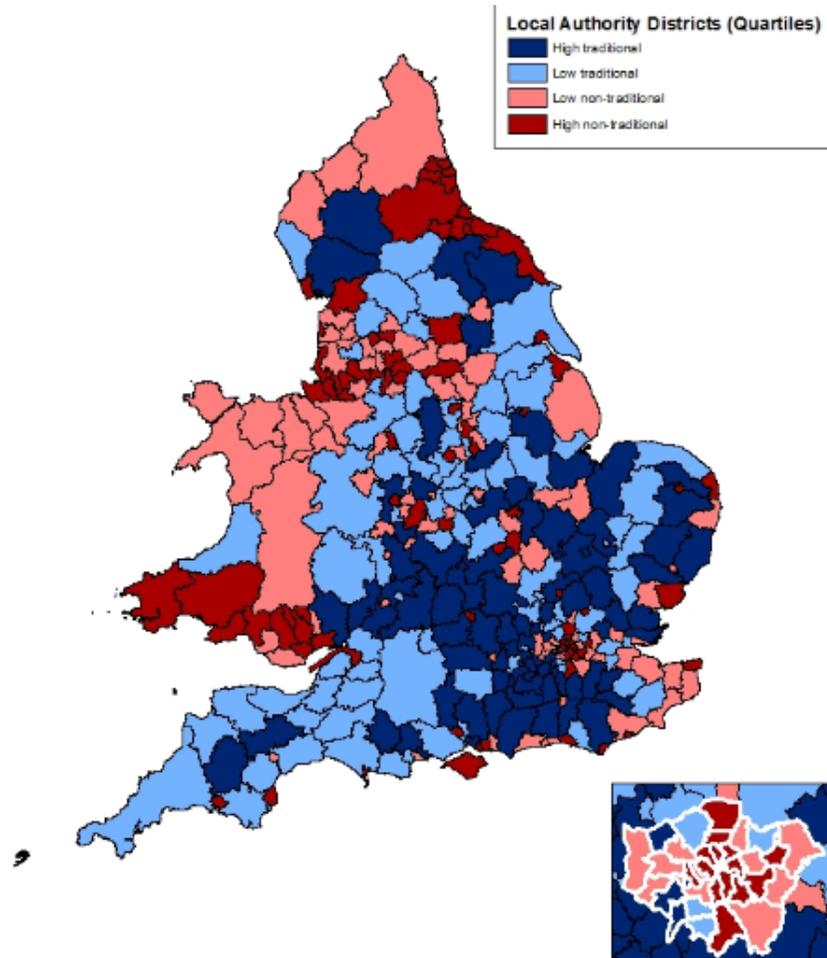
6 key measures

(Duncan and Smith, 2002, 2005)

2. Adherence to childrearing and co-residence of partners.

Lone parent families (aged 16-74) with dependent children as a percentage of all families with one or more dependent children. The data were extracted from the Key Statistics dataset (Table KS107EW: Lone Parent Households with Dependent Children).

2. Lone parents with dependent children (2011)



- High non-traditional
 - London boroughs
 - South Wales
 - North-East England (traditional?)
 - Lancashire/Merseyside
 - North-east
- High traditional
 - See previous map (divided Britain)

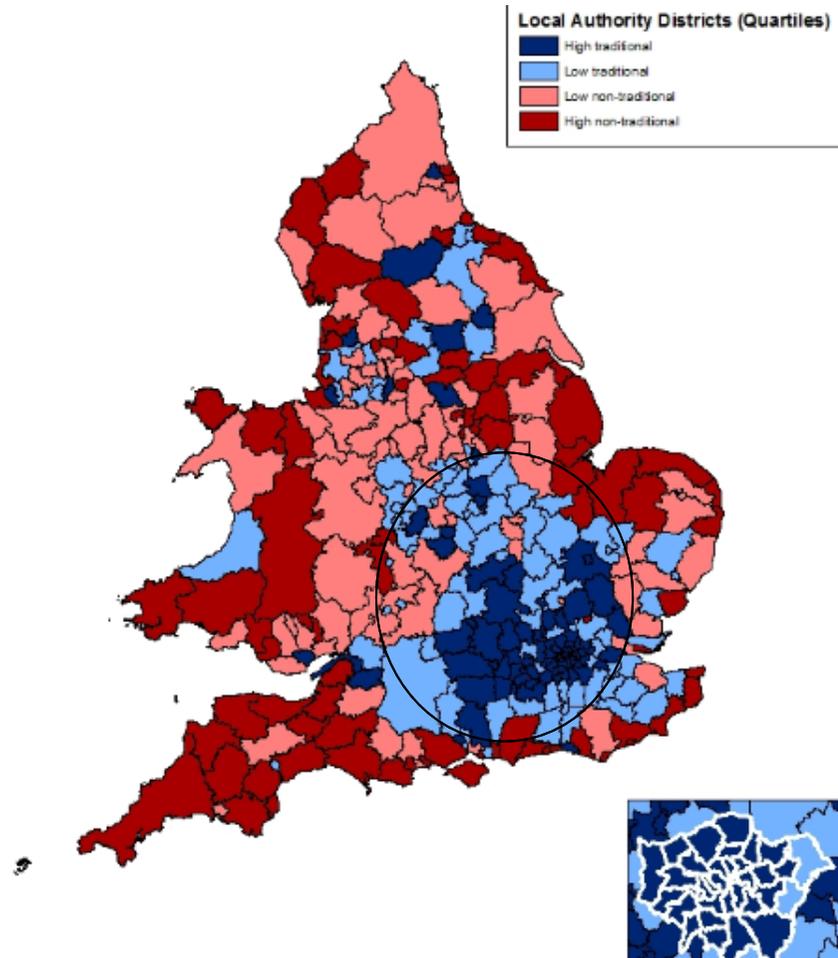
6 key measures

(Duncan and Smith, 2002, 2005)

3. An indication of the de-alignment of marriage and lifelong partnership connections.

All usual residents (aged 16 and over) who are divorced and widowed as a percentage of total usual residents (aged 16 and over). These data were extracted from the Key Statistics dataset (Table KS103EW: Marital and Civil Partnership Status).

3. Total adults divorced and widowed by LAD, England and Wales (2011)



- High traditional (blue)
 - London
 - Global city region
- High non-traditional (red)
 - Coastal (retirement)
 - Coastal (escape areas)
 - Rural (ageing)

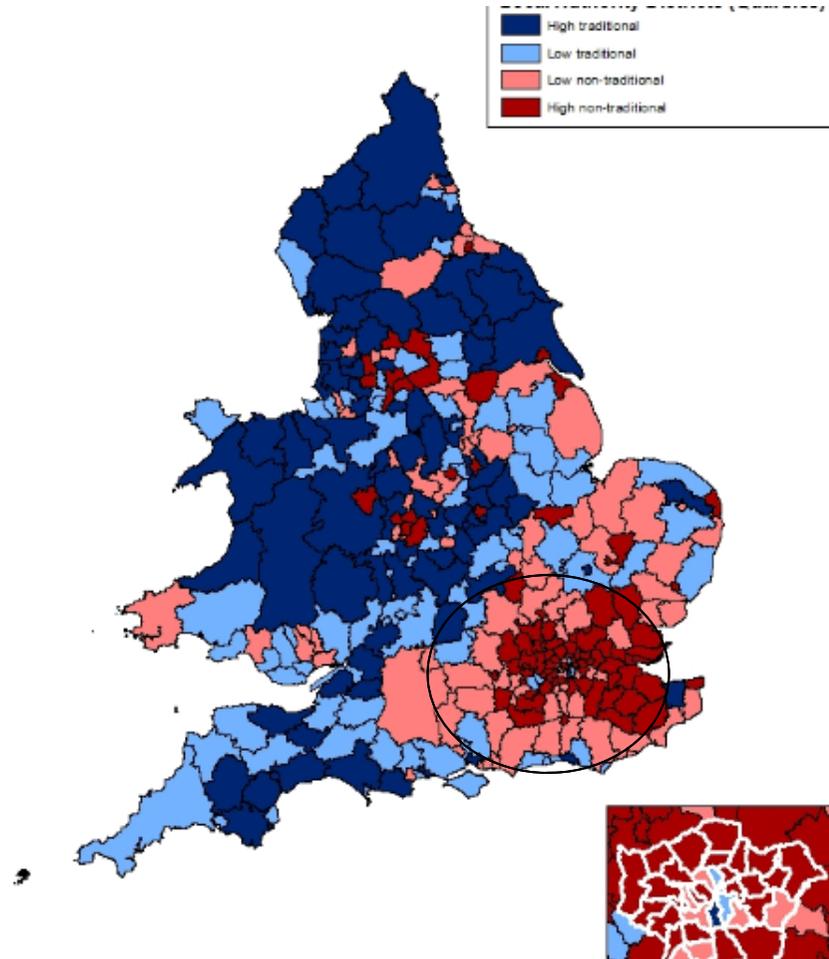
6 key measures

(Duncan and Smith, 2002, 2005)

4. An indication of traditionality in households and the marriage contract, and gendered roles allocations of caring, domestic work and household reproduction (Married Domestic Workers)

Married women that are economically inactive in the formal labour market as a percentage of total married women

4. Married Domestic Workers (2011)

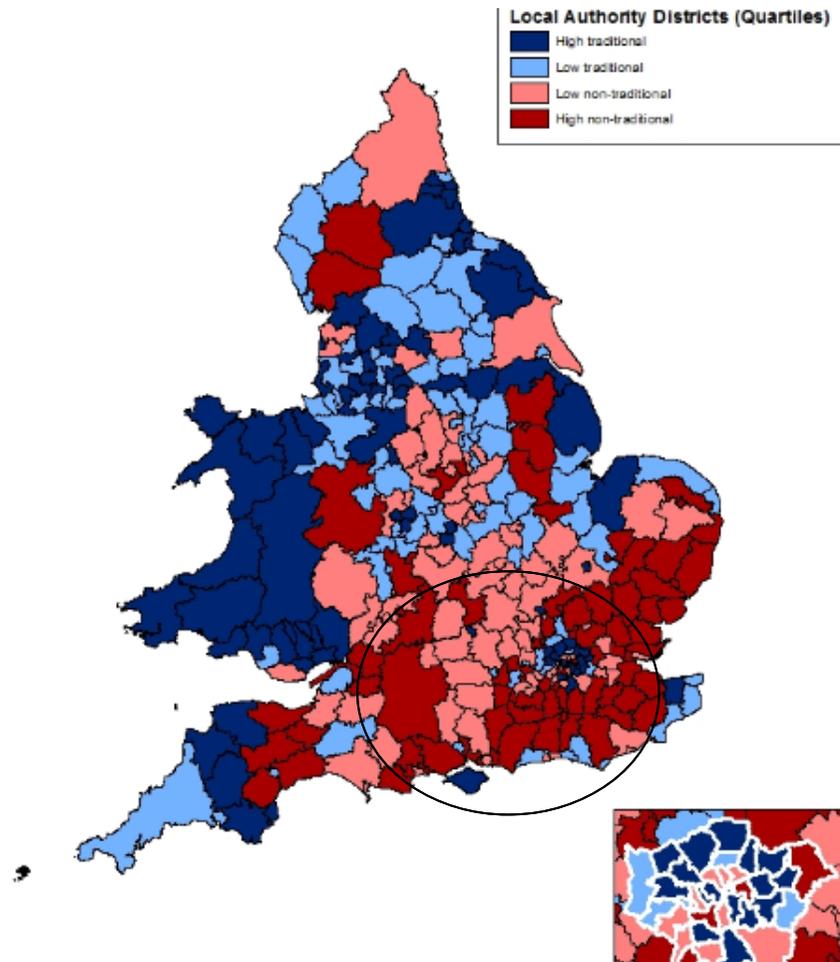


- High traditional (married women stay at home)
 - Wales/Midlands/South-west
 - North of England
- High non-traditional (married women work – dual earners)
 - Global City Region
 - West Norfolk (commuting to London?)
 - M62 corridor
- Rural vs. Urban?

5. Motherhood Employment Effect (MEE)

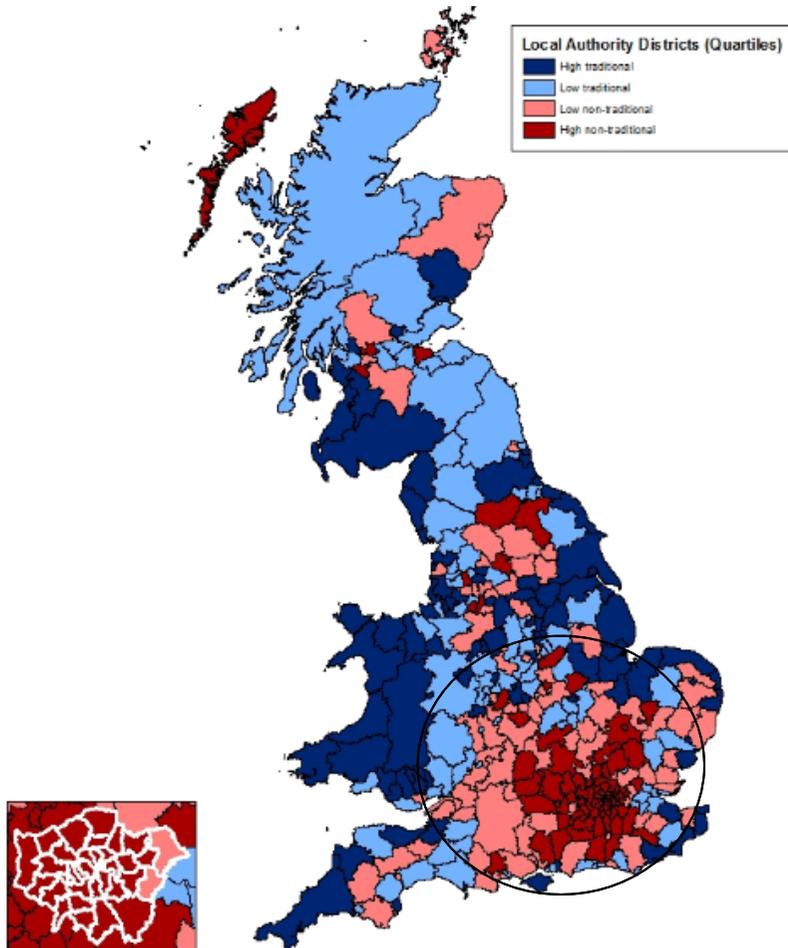
- Provides a standardised measure of the relative adherence to the so-called traditional male breadwinner and female homemaker family model (using individual person records from the 2011 Census microdata).
- The relativity of the withdrawal of mothers from full-time and part-time paid employment in the formal labour market (termed economic inactivity in the census).
- This is an index of the difference between the full-time employment rates of partnered mothers with one or more dependent children and partnered non-mothers.
- Unfortunately, the age range bands between the 2001 Individual Sample of Anonymised Records (SARs) and the 2011 non-regional safeguarded Individual file (5% sample) are broken-down in different ways, and we have to compare different so-called 'prime motherhood' ages of 20-45 years in 2001 and 24-49 years in 2011 respectively (see Duncan and Smith (2002) for discussion of some weaknesses of this index).

5. Partnered married mothers in employment ('mothers going back to work') (2011)



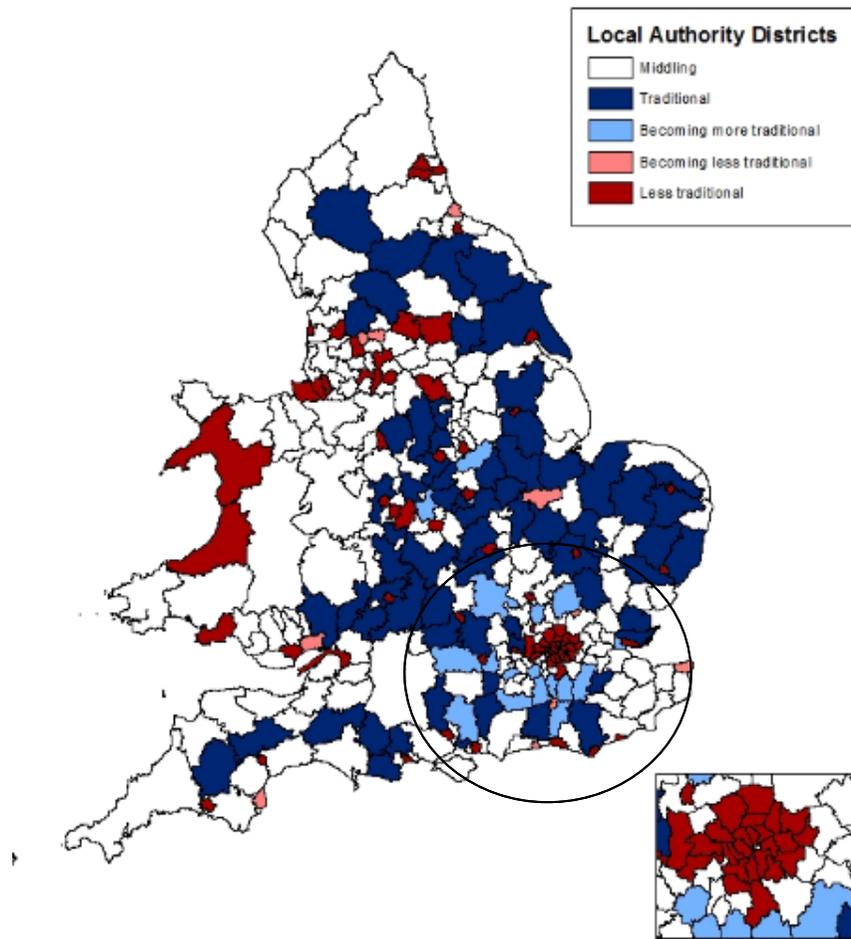
- Red [non-traditional] (dual earners; mothers go back to work)
 - Global city region – outside London boroughs
- Blue [traditional] High (stay at home with kids)
 - Rural Wales/Cornwall
 - North of England
 - North suburban London (affluence/cultural notions of motherhood?)

6. Ratio of births inside marriage to births outside marriage by LAD, England and Wales (2011)



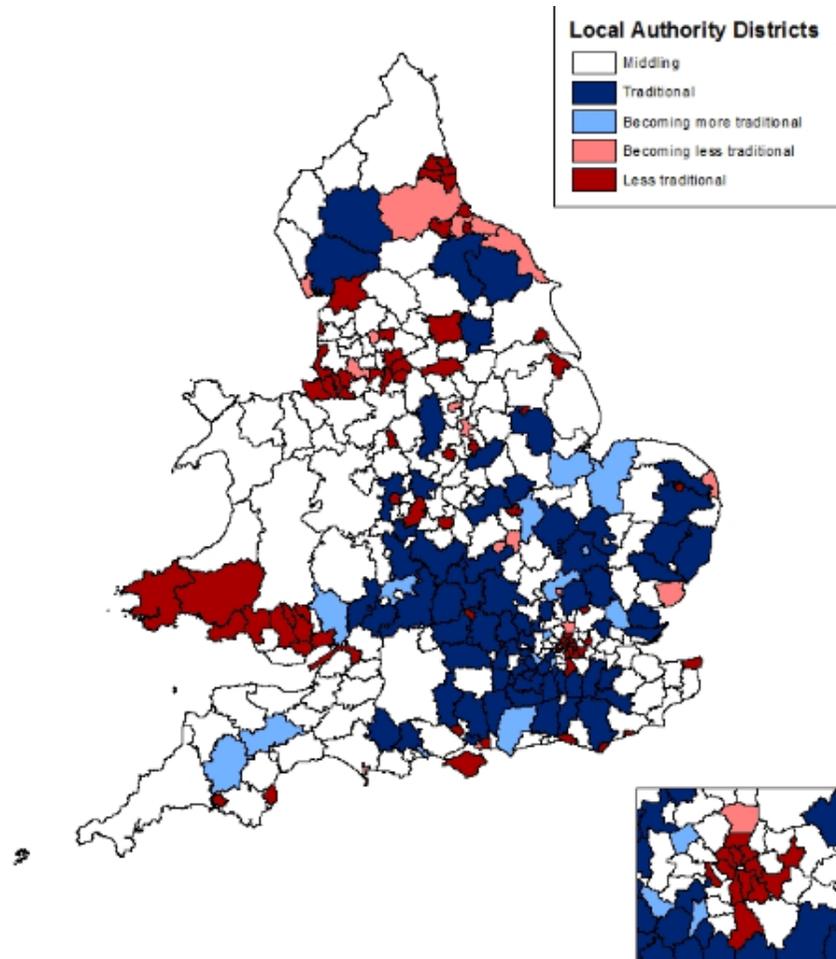
- High non-traditional
 - London and Global City region (decline of marriage contract?)
- High traditional
 - Rural Wales/Cornwall
 - Wash to Welsh borders belt (rural?)
 - North of England

Single, multi-person and same sex households (2001-2011)



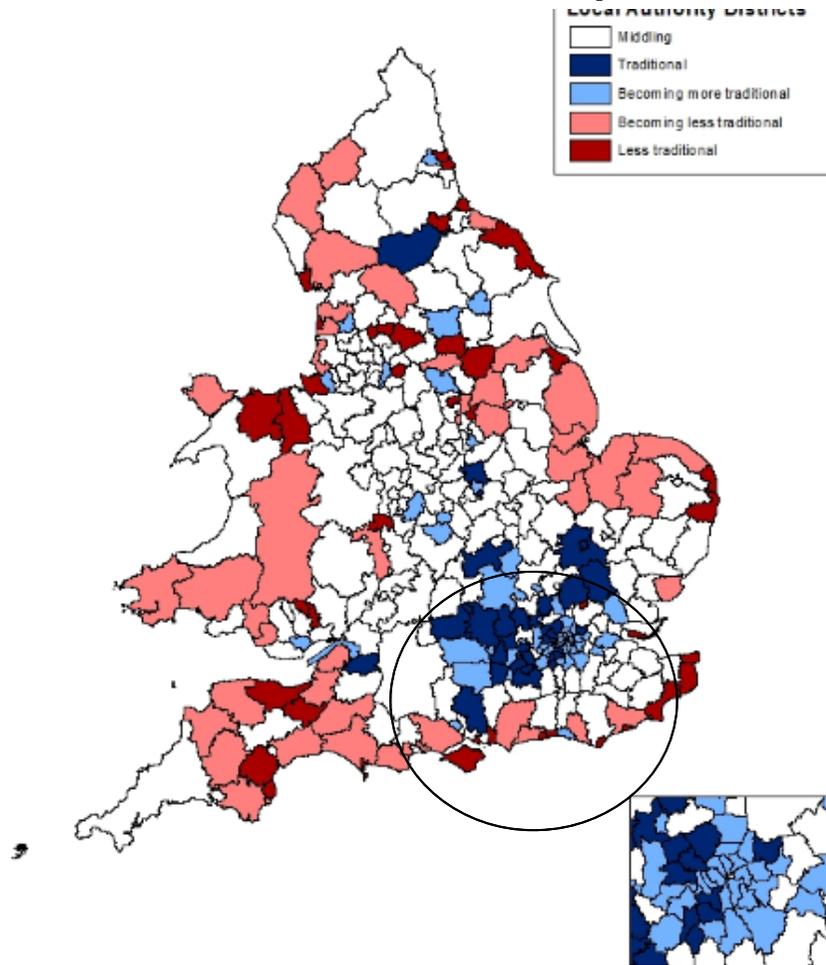
- Not much change
- Becoming more traditional
 - commuter ring into London?

Lone parents with dependent children (2001-2011)



- Minimal change?
- Becoming less traditional
 - North-east of England
- Becoming more traditional
 - West Norfolk?

Adults divorced and widowed (2001-2011)

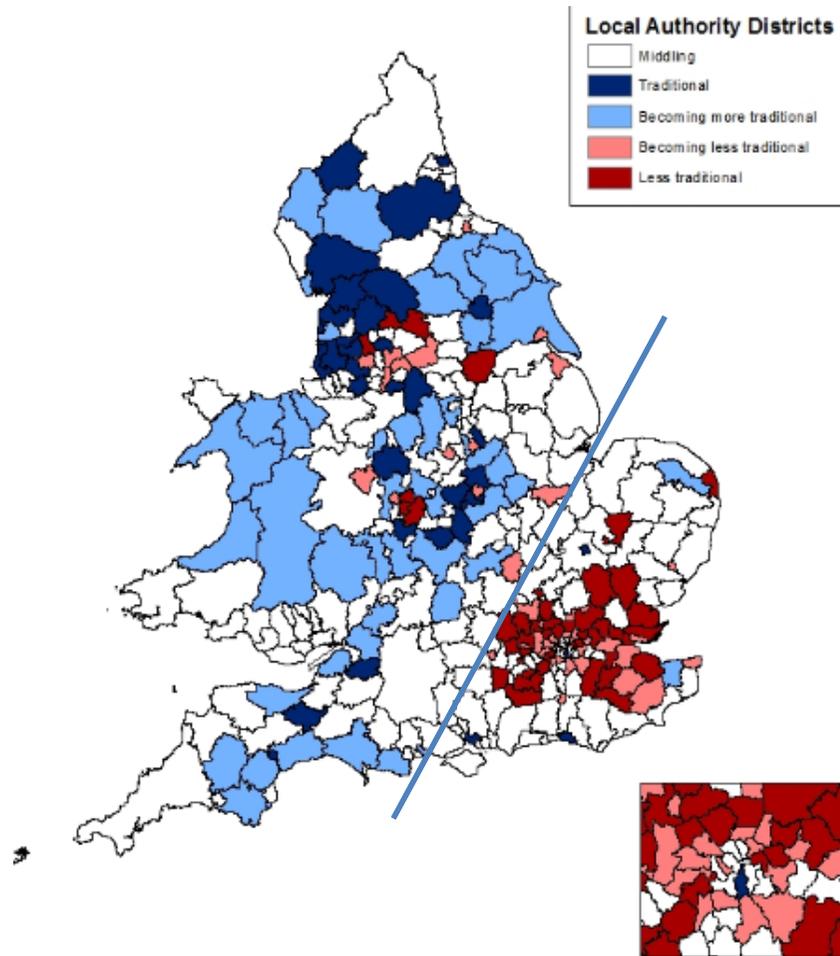


- Becoming less traditional (widowhood)

- Lincolnshire
- South coast
- Wales
- Lake District
- Devon

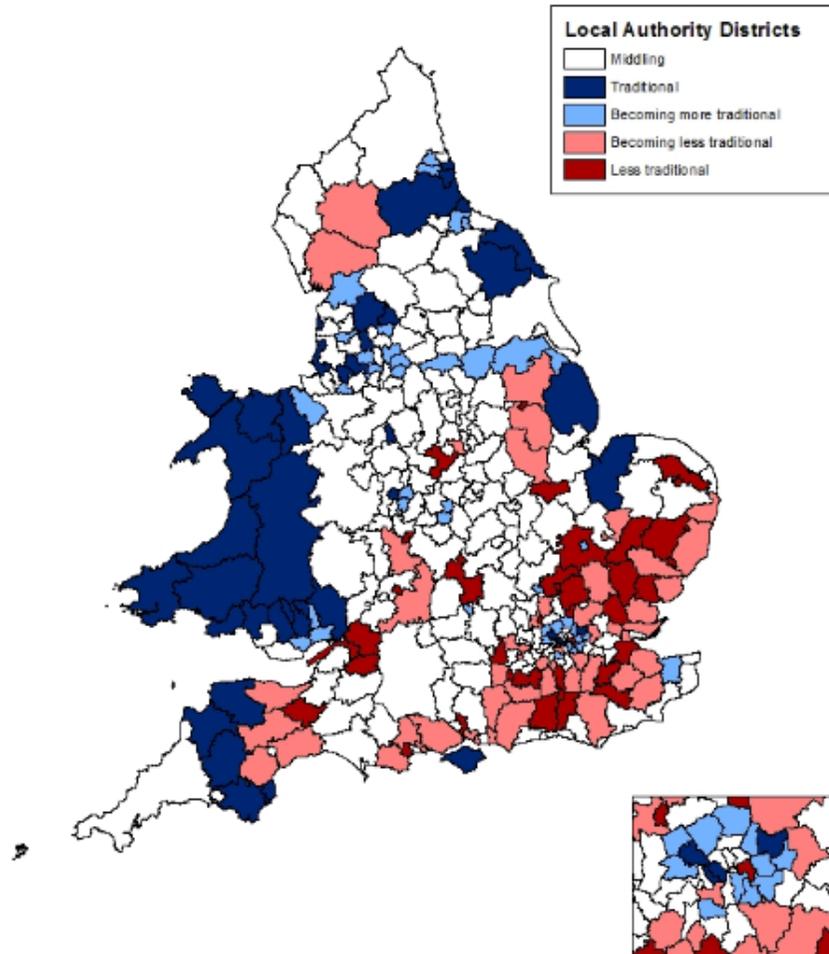
- Retirement migration?
- Natural change of previous waves of retired migrants?
- Widowhood is a form of traditionality

Married Domestic Workers (2001-2011) – Divided Britain?



- Rural Wales/Borders / East Riding / South Devon becoming more traditional (married women economically in active)
- Choice/constraint? Rural labour markets rural gentrification

Motherhood employment effect (2001-2011)

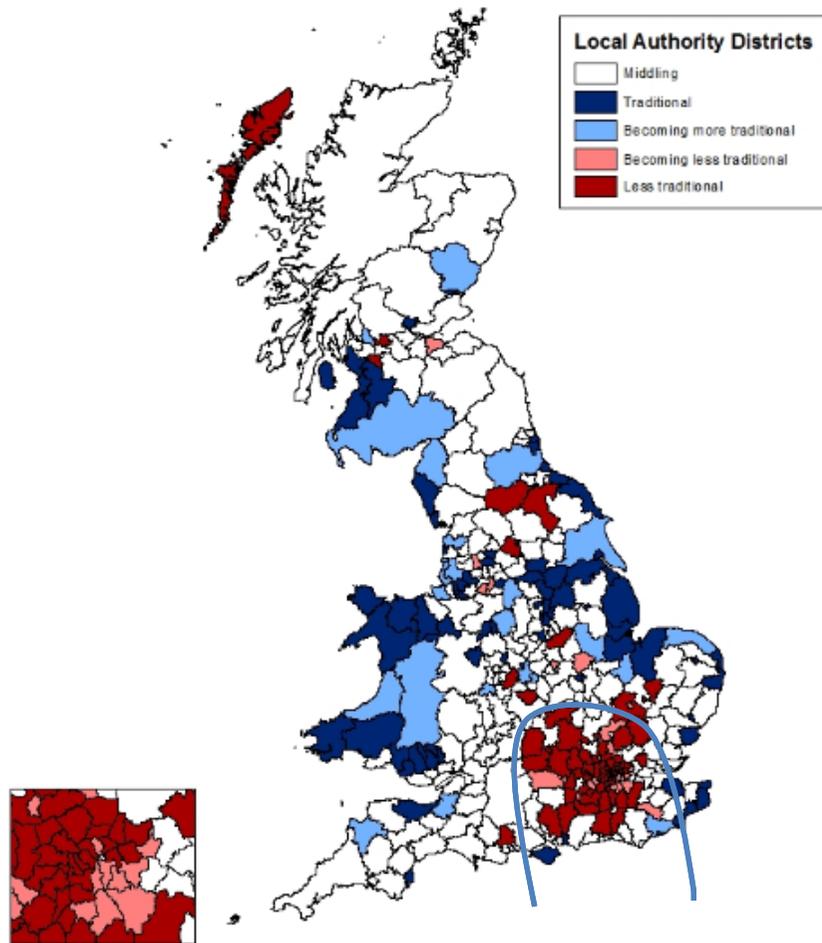


- Becoming less traditional (mothers in labour market: 'dual earners')
 - South-East & East of England joining the regional club of less traditionality?
 - Rural gentrification
 - Lake District
 - Grantham/Newark
 - Cotswolds
 - Devon
 - Dorset
- Becoming more traditional (mothers not in labour market)
 - Trans-Pennine corridor/M62
 - London boroughs
 - Rural
 - Wales/Devon
 - Lincs/West Norfolk/North-East

6. Family Conventionality Index

- Drawing upon birth registration datasets from population and vital statistics (and accessed from the ONS).
- Duncan and Smith used data for 1997; we use comparative data for 2014.
- The ratio of births to married couples (including within marriage and civil partnerships in 2014) and births to non-married (cohabiting) couples (joint registrations at same address in 2014).
- This is an indication of (less)conventionality of parenting practices. We exclude births to lone parents given the geographic clustering of this phenomenon (see below).

Ratio of births inside marriage to outside marriage (2001-2011)



- Divided Britain
- Greater London vs. Rest?

Conclusion

- We need to more fully understand the spatial context of 'gender cultures' – ideas of parenting, partnering, working in formal labour market, domestic work
- We need to more fully problematise the notion of 'the family' and modern family life
- We need to understand how migration can reproduce and transform places and demographic/population structures

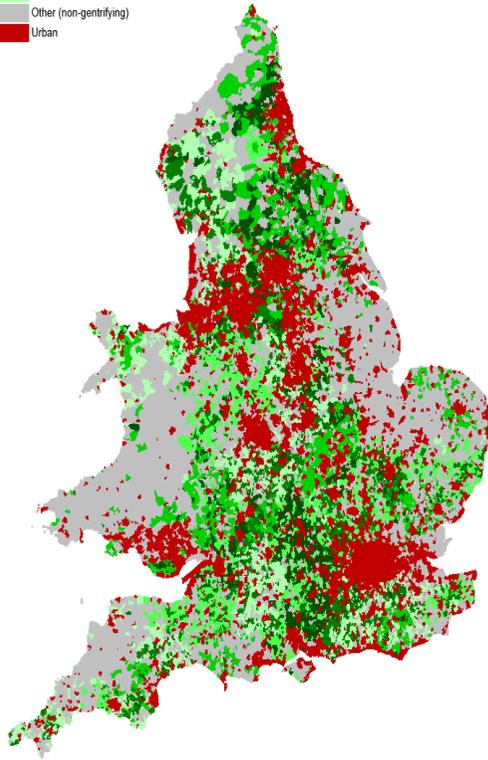
Geographies of family / migration?

- What about the differential effects of:
 - Local labour markets
 - Local employment/career opportunities
 - Regional/local work cultures
 - Schooling provision and league tables
 - Services (nurseries, creches, au pairs)
 - Public transport / infrastructures
 - Presence of extended family/friends/social networks (Mulder, Thomas)

iRGENT (ESRC)

Cheese Classification

- Vintage
- Extra Mature
- Mature
- Medium
- Mild
- Other (non-gentrifying)
- Urban



Local Authority Districts

- Middling
- Traditional
- Becoming more traditional
- Becoming less traditional
- Less traditional

