

This item was submitted to [Loughborough's Research Repository](#) by the author.
Items in Figshare are protected by copyright, with all rights reserved, unless otherwise indicated.

Uneven family geographies in England and Wales

PLEASE CITE THE PUBLISHED VERSION

<https://www.routledge.com/The-Routledge-Handbook-of-Census-Resources-Methods-and-Applications-Unlocking/Stillwell/p/book/9781472475886>

PUBLISHER

© Taylor & Francis (Routledge)

VERSION

AM (Accepted Manuscript)

PUBLISHER STATEMENT

This work is made available according to the conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0) licence. Full details of this licence are available at:
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

LICENCE

CC BY-NC-ND 4.0

REPOSITORY RECORD

Smith, Darren P., and Andreas Culora. 2019. "Uneven Family Geographies in England and Wales". figshare.
<https://hdl.handle.net/2134/25250>.

Chapter 18

Uneven Family Geographies in England and Wales: (Non)Traditionality and Change between 2001 and 2011

Darren Smith and Andreas Culora

Abstract

This chapter uses 2001 and 2011 census data for England and Wales to explore how family formations at local authority district level have been reproduced and / or transformed during the 2000s. Using six variables drawn from Duncan and Smith's (2002) earlier study of geographies of family formations, the chapter shows that regional patterns have become more entrenched, and divisions within England and Wales would appear to have become more intense. It is argued that some local authorities have seemingly joined 'regional clubs' of traditionality and non-traditionality, with the effects of urban-rural, coastal and university towns being a key factor in the differentials of family formations. These spatial differences will have major bearings on diverse demands for social welfare and public policy in England and Wales.

18.1 Introduction

The first release of 2011 Census data for England and Wales sparked the national mainstream media to widely report dramatic population changes, and pose challenging questions about the salience of current social policy and ongoing welfare reforms. For example, a Telegraph (11/12/2012) headline claimed that *"Census 2011 'shows the changing face of Britain'"*. Likewise, The Guardian (11/12/2012) stressed that *"the main story is surely that this country has undergone a radical transformation in this last decade"*, citing, for instance, the effects of unprecedented immigration, changing household and living arrangements, and the proliferation of mixed-ethnicity households in a more multi-cultural Britain. Comparatively, the release of the 2001 Census data, one decade earlier, did not herald such extreme articulations from the national media (Boyle and Dorling, 2004) or create entrenched representations of a profoundly altered British population, despite widening polarisation and marginalisation within British society between 1991 and 2001 (Dorling and Rees, 2003, 2004; Dorling and Thomas, 2004).

Surprisingly, given the relative high profile within the media of emerging demographic trends (e.g. rising birth rates and ageing society) from the 2011 Census, as well as the flagging-up of ethnic and racial, housing, and labour market-related restructuring (which have been substantiated by recent academic studies, e.g. Stillwell and Dennett, 2012), there has been a general lack of attention to how family formations have changed between 2001-2011. This is despite assertions just before the launch of the 2011 Census, that *"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). Such views are in close alignment with prominent academic debates, such as Edwards and Gillies' (2012) treatise of 'farewell to the family', and in line with common understandings of the growing diverse make-up of family life in twenty-first century Britain (Williams, 2004).

Contrarily, narrow representations of the 'family' and 'family life' have recently become even more highly politicised in Britain, with the virtues of the 'traditional family' widely espoused by the previous Prime Minister, David Cameron, such as: *"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"* (Cameron, 18/08/2014).

These statements are paradoxically delivered against the backdrop of academic scholarship which identifies that modern families are increasingly deviating away from this ideal of the traditional family (e.g. Wilkinson, 2013), and that there is a spatial unevenness to family geographies in Britain (McDowell *et al.*, 2014). Although knowledge of the social, economic, cultural and political processes (e.g. civil partnerships, dual-residence couples, changing benefits) that are reshaping family formations in the UK (e.g. Chambers, 2012) is advancing, complete understanding of the different sub-national geographies of family formations is seriously lacking. Indeed, it can be argued that sub-national family geographies are under-researched, and there is a current paucity of empirical studies of the geographic distribution of different types of family.

The main aim of this chapter is thus to map some different dimensions of family geographies in England and Wales, and to examine the changing and enduring patterns of family geographies using 2001 and 2011 Census data. We analyse census data at local authority district (LAD) level in England and Wales, and our methodology adopts six measures from Duncan and Smith's (2002) indices of family formations, to explore the divergence to and from the normative male breadwinner/female homemaker model. The chapter is divided into four main sections. The next two sections briefly outline some key findings from relevant recent academic scholarship on family and population change, and then describe the methods to directly explore the uneven spatiality of six themes of family change. Sections 18.4 and 18.5 provide descriptive analyses of our mapping of the measures of family formations in 2011, and then examine changes in family formations between 2001 and 2011. Section 18.6 provides some brief concluding remarks.

18.2 Changing family formations in the United Kingdom

There is a substantial and well-established social science scholarship documenting the ways that family formations have changed during the last few decades (e.g. Weston, 2013), which provides theoretical, conceptual and empirical groundings to our understanding in this field of study (Cannan, 2014). One exemplar here is the current flagship ESRC Research Centre for Population Change which, during the last decade, has delivered an impressive stream of outputs on contemporary family life in the UK. This work serves to demonstrate some of the key ways in which family formations are being reconfigured, revealing both how and why notions of the traditional family are increasingly disrupted, and complicated by more diverse and dynamic forms of family formation. This work consolidates earlier original findings from the ESRC CAVA Research Project on Care, Values and the Future of Welfare (e.g. Williams, 2004). Six key themes are particularly important for this chapter (see Table 18.1), and are emblematic of the changing context of family formations; they form the focus of our investigations in the following sections.

Table 18.1 Changing family formations and findings from ESRC Research Centre for Population Change

Themes of changing family formations	Evidence from ESRC Research Centre for Population Change
1. Postponement/rejection of formal (marriage) and informal (cohabiting) heterosexual partnership unions, and rise of solo/multi-person household living	Stone <i>et al.</i> (2012) draw attention to the increasing ‘boomeranging’ returns of young people to their parental homes following university study, dissolution of partnerships, and/or more precarious employment conditions (Berrington <i>et al.</i> , 2014), and influenced by the lack of affordable housing for young adults (Berrington and Stone, 2014). The implications of this trend on the rate and speed of the formation of new families and reshaping established families (i.e. reduction of empty-nest households) is noteworthy.
2. De-formalisation of childrearing by co-residence partners	Berrington and McGowan (2014, p.32) contend that “ <i>the likelihood of becoming a lone mother, either through experiencing a birth prior to any coresidential partnership, or through the experience of partnership dissolution, may have slowed</i> ”. Although it is noted that this may not reduce the total numbers of lone parents in the UK.
3. Increase of partnership dissolution and re-partnering practices	Demey <i>et al.</i> (2013) stress that the overall increase of solo living is associated with both young adults and mid-life adults (see also Falkingham <i>et al.</i> , 2012; Dieter <i>et al.</i> , 2013; Demey <i>et al.</i> , 2014a). Demey <i>et al.</i> (2014b, p.1) also note that, for both relatively large numbers of adults in childbearing and mid-life phases of their lifecourse, “ <i>repartnering is steadily turning into a common life experience for many as more and more enter a second or higher-order co-residential union</i> ”. This clearly disrupts the boundaries of the conventional uni-residential family unit, and demonstrates one of the key ways that contemporary family units straddle multiple household and home spaces. The CAVA work of Duncan and colleagues on the growth of couples living apart together (LATs), estimated to represent 10% of adults in the UK (Duncan <i>et al.</i> , 2012), may be pertinent to this last point (Duncan <i>et al.</i> , 2013, 2014; Duncan, 2015).

4. Changing ideas of gendered role allocation about breadwinner and domesticity/homemaker responsibilities	Stone <i>et al.</i> (2015) construct a novel taxonomy of women's life-course economic activity trajectories based on their experiences between ages 16 and 64 years, to identify the diverse combinations of ways that women balance different gendered paid work/employment and domestic roles (see also Roberts <i>et al.</i> , 2014).
5. Changing normative ideas of motherhood and fatherhood and normative career/employment aspirations	Berrington and Pattaro (2014) assert that the traditional relationships between fertility intentions/outcomes are changing, which cross-cut with changing partnership, educational attainment and employment practices. Key factors here are linked to changing flows and rates of immigration into the UK (see Waller <i>et al.</i> , 2014; Robards and Berrington, 2015), as well as the postponement of childrearing by well educated women (Berrington <i>et al.</i> , 2015b, 2015c).
6. Decoupling of normative connections between marriage and childbirth	Berrington <i>et al.</i> (2015a) describe the rise of a 'de-standardized life course', with the rising postponement of marriage and growth of cohabitation (see also Perelli-Harris <i>et al.</i> , 2014). Tied to these trends is the weakening of ties between childbearing and marriage, particularly in light of new meanings of cohabitation and public displays of personal commitment via cohabitation (e.g. shared mortgages and childrearing). Also influential here are re-envisioned meanings and symbolisms of weddings (for example, see Carter and Duncan, 2016) within society.

18.3 Methods

To explore the effects of the above changing processes of family formation, and to consider how these facets of change are expressed spatially within family geographies in England and Wales at a sub-national level in 2001 and 2011, the six emblematic themes from Table 18.1 are directly matched to six comparative measures of family formations drawn from Duncan and Smith's (2002) earlier study of family formations.

First, aggregated 2011 Census datasets were accessed from the Office for National Statistics (ONS) to extract census data to reconstruct four measures of family formation that Duncan and Smith used to examine the first four themes outlined in Table 18.1. These include:

- One person, multi-person (more than two unrelated people living together) 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). The measure represents 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.
- 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). The measure indicates adherence to childrearing and non co-residence of partners.
- 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). The measure is an indication of the de-alignment of marriage and lifelong partnership connections.
- Married women that are economically inactive in the formal labour market as a percentage of total married women. Duncan and Smith (2002) referred to these females as 'married domestic workers', which represents an indication of traditionality in households and the marriage contract, and gendered role allocations of caring, domestic work and household reproduction.

Second, we reconstructed the Motherhood Employment Effect (MEE), which 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. Here we are exploring 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). Although this is not ideal, it does allow some crude indications to be drawn.

Third, we replicated the construction of the Family Conventionality Index (FCI), 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. Here we capture 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).

18.4 Uneven family geographies in 2011

In analyses of 2001 Census data, Duncan and Smith (2002) argued that the well-known North-South and urban-rural divides, deeply embedded in the national consciousness, do not wholly explain the uneven geographies of family formations in Britain. Instead, it was argued that *“different areas show different norms in terms of their relative adherence to the male breadwinner family”* (p. 490), which are influenced by: a cross-cutting gamut of localised and regional histories of gendered household and work-place divisions of labour; diverse geographies of social class, religion and ethnicity/race; and local and regional normative ideas of good partnering and parenting. Duncan and Smith thus conclude that *“there has never been a standard geographical family at any one time”* (*ibid*). In other words, this can be interpreted as the geography of families has been and will always be plural – more effectively captured by the term ‘uneven family geographies’. To some degree, Figures 18.1-18.4 concur with this need to more fully recognise the unevenness of

family formations in the UK which, as we illustrate, is particularly pertinent to family geographies in 2011.

First, both the maps in Figure 18.1 show the distribution, in quartiles, of less-conventional households (single, multi-person and civil partnership same-sex couples) and lone parents with dependent children, respectively. Strikingly, there are some similarities between the patterns of these phenomena in England and Wales at LAD level, with particularly high concentrations in the inner boroughs of London (see map inset), in part, likely to be influenced by the in-migration of young adults stepping on to the metaphorical escalator for employment/career opportunities and upward social mobility (see Champion, 2012; Gordon *et al.*, 2015). This is in contrast to the outer suburban boroughs of London, where there are much lower levels of less-conventional households.

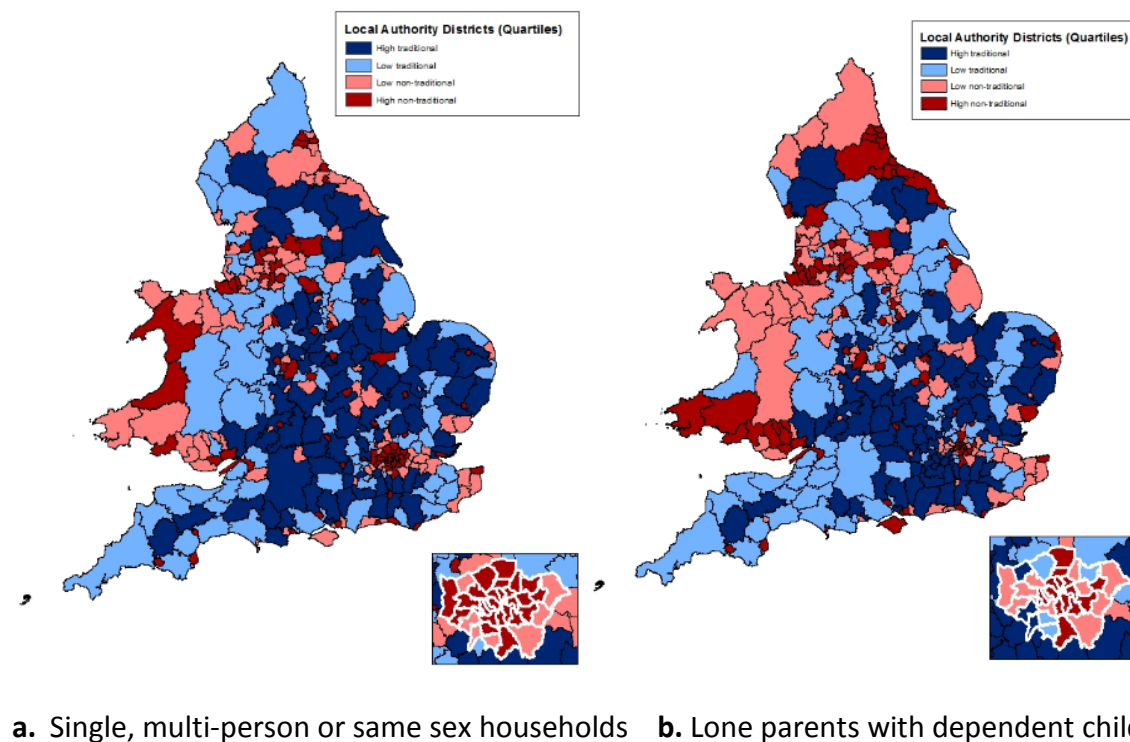


Figure 18.1 Distribution of less conventional households and lone parents with dependent children by LAD, England and Wales, 2011

Concentrations of less-conventional households are also relatively high in university towns and cities, expressing the high number of young single adults attending higher education institutions and living within intensifying studentified neighbourhoods (Smith and

Hubbard, 2014) and graduates staying after graduation, as well as less-conventional households living in so-called 'alternative' neighbourhoods of university towns and cities (such as Jericho in Oxford). It is also notable that there are high concentrations of less-conventional households in many coastal resorts (e.g. Margate, Kent), probably tied to the high supply of private sector housing for benefit recipients (Smith, 2012; Ward, 2015) and single adults seeking 'escape' areas.

A noteworthy difference between the two maps in Figures 18.1 is the high number of lone parents with dependent children in South Wales, North East, and South Manchester/Merseyside, pointing to an alignment between high levels of socio-economic deprivation and lone parenthood in these locations. The maps in Figure 18.1 also serve to demonstrate swathes of high traditionality (i.e. low levels of less-conventional households) in the South East (Hampshire, Sussex), South West (Mid Devon, Mid Dorset), Surrey/Buckinghamshire, M11 corridor (Cambridgeshire up to North Norfolk), Suffolk, Cotswolds and North Yorkshire. This is in line with the findings of Duncan and Smith (2002) and may be influenced by the out-migration of family forming couples from London, seeking more rural and semi-rural locations for childrearing and high-quality education for their children (Smith and Higley, 2013).

Figure 18.2 maps the distribution of the percentage of widowed and divorced adults in England and Wales. On the whole, it can be seen that there is a general 'donut effect' to the mapping of this measure in England and Wales, with a concentrated core of high traditionality in the South East and Midlands (i.e. low levels of divorce and widowhood). The areas of less-traditionality may conflate different social processes using this measure. For instance, previous flows of (pre-)retirement migration to the South East coast (e.g. Eastbourne and Bournemouth) and Devon/Cornwall may have influenced the relative high number of widowed individuals within established retirement hotspots. In a different way, the appeal of some coastal towns (such as Blackpool) as 'escape areas' may have influenced the relatively high number of divorced individuals in some coastal areas.

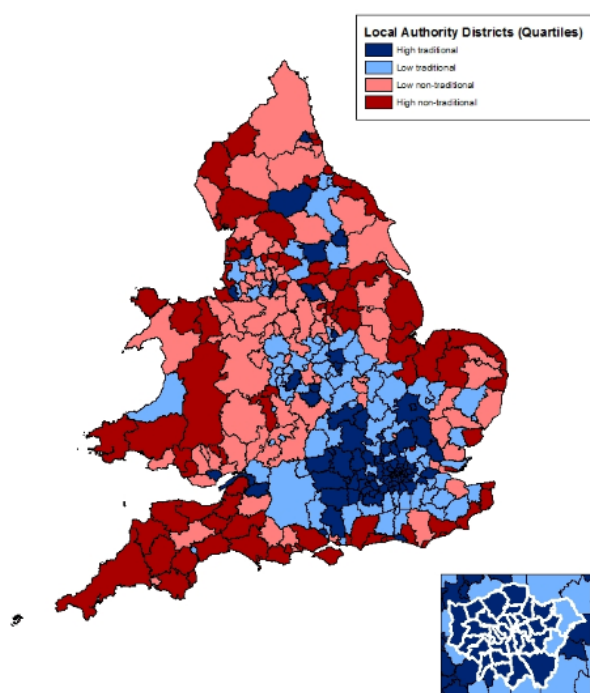


Figure 18.2 Total adults divorced and widowed by LAD, England and Wales, 2011

Figure 18.3a presents the mapping of the percentage of married domestic workers (i.e. married women who are economically inactive). Strikingly, this map generally divides England and Wales along an imaginary line from the Wash to the Severn Estuary, with some additional contrast between urban-rural in the North. In the vast majority of South East and East England, non-traditionality predominates with married women having a higher propensity to be economically active when compared to their northern counterparts, probably influenced by higher numbers of dual-earning couples in the South East *per se*, and possibly higher labour market opportunities for female workers in the South East. Clearly, the exception to this rule is Devon and Cornwall, where high traditionality would appear to be prevalent (with higher numbers of married domestic workers), perhaps influenced by the more rural labour markets of Devon and Cornwall. In contrast to the south of England, the more northerly regions of England and Wales are characterised by traditionality (i.e. high numbers of economically inactive married women), with the notable exception of Lancashire and Birmingham. This latter finding concurs with Duncan and Smith's (2002) view of enduring and historically 'independent women' in the former cotton towns of Lancashire who have a high propensity to work in the formal labour market.

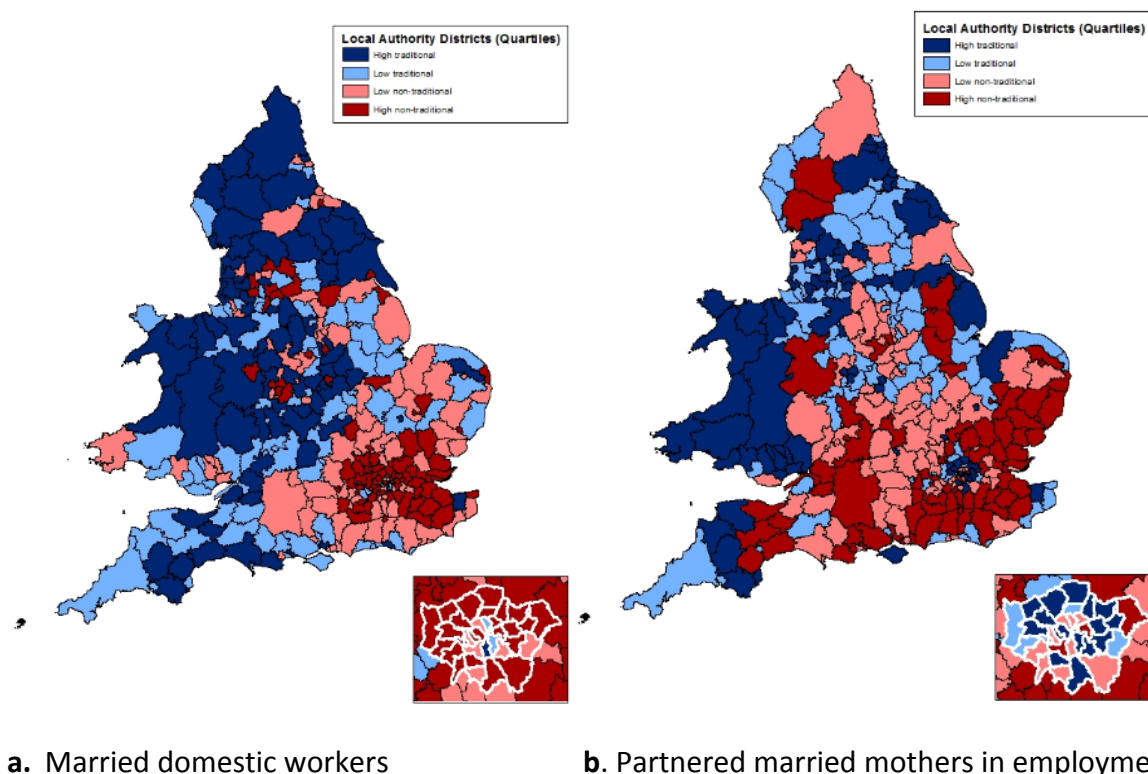


Figure 18.3 Distribution of married domestic workers and partnered married mothers in employment by local authority district, England and Wales, 2011

To some degree, the map in Figure 18.3b, which presents findings from the motherhood employment effect, is in general alignment with Figure 18.3a. However, representations of traditionality versus non-traditionality are not as marked, although there is a noteworthy North-South dividing line, again. The main differences between the two maps are the areas of less-traditionality (i.e. high numbers of partnered mothers with dependent children in paid work) in the M5 corridor (Devon, Somerset), parts of Shropshire, the East Midlands, and the Birmingham City Region. This may point to the effects of commuting to larger metropolitan centres (i.e. Bristol, Leicester, Nottingham and Birmingham) by partnered mothers that reside in more rural and semi-rural locations (see Brown *et al.*, 2015), and may point to the relative high uptake of childcare. On the other hand, it is also noteworthy that there are pockets of traditionality (i.e. high numbers of partnered mothers with dependent children that are not in paid work) along the North Norfolk coast, East Kent, and parts of the South East coast. This may be influenced by the rural and coastal labour markets in these locations.

There is also some general alignment between the map in Figure 18.4 and those in Figure 18.3. Again, the line of division from the Wash to the Severn estuary is notable. South of the line of division is marked by areas of less-traditionality, characterised by relatively high levels of births outside marriage, including the M5 corridor in Somerset and Devon. The main divergences here include Norfolk (with the exception of Norwich), parts of Suffolk, North and East Kent, and most of the South East coast. In these more rural and coastal parts of the margins of the South East, there is a relatively high proportion of births to married couples. This is in line with the vast majority of LADs to the north of the line of division, which are characterised by traditionality. The exceptions to this rule include areas of less-traditionality in the metropolitan labour market areas of the Leeds City Region extending into North Yorkshire, Manchester/South Manchester, and South Birmingham City Region.

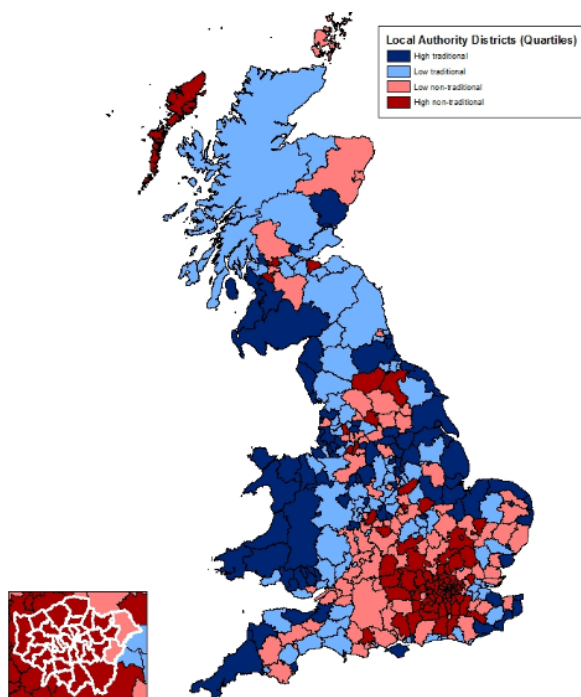
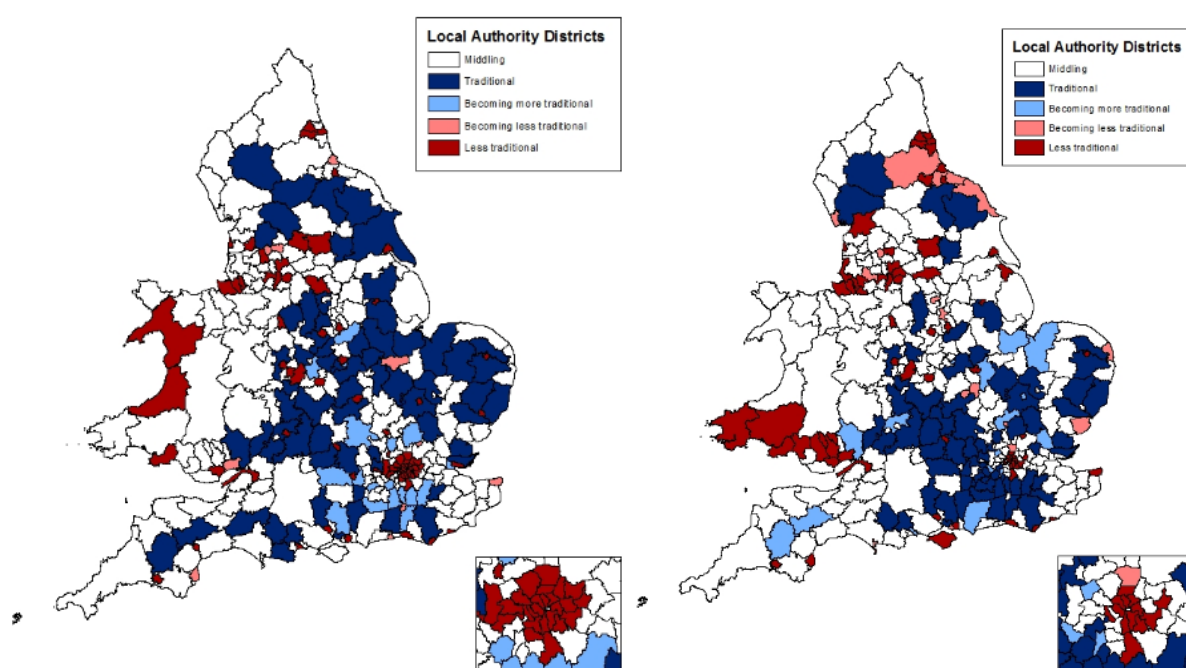


Figure 18.4 Ratio of births inside marriage to births outside marriage by LAD, England and Wales, 2011

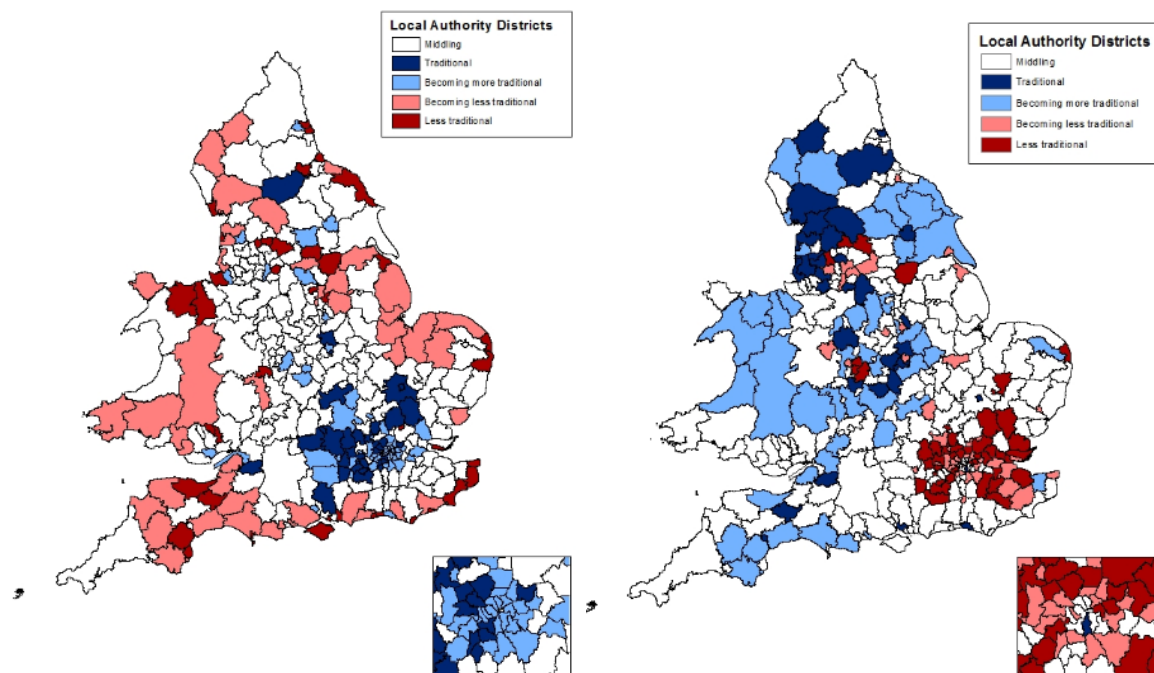
18.5 Change between 2001 and 2011

The maps in Figure 8.5 show how the six measures of family change between 2001 and 2011. We focus here on LADs that were in either the top or bottom quartile in both 2001 and 2011, and that have moved into the top and bottom quartile between 2001 and 2011 respectively. We do not focus on the 'middling' locations that were not in the top or bottom quartiles in 2011.

Figure 18.5a, expressing LADs with relatively high and low proportions of less-conventional family structures, identifies that concentrations are highest in university towns and cities (single students), deprived coastal towns (housing benefit recipients), and coastal Wales (perhaps influenced by university towns of Aberystwyth and Bangor). By contrast, less-conventional family structures are low in more semi-rural, small town and suburban locations in Surrey, Sussex, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire and the West/East Midlands. This may point to important lifecourse differentials with family forming and rearing households more likely to reside in these locations, when compared to the dominance of solo, multi-person households living within university and coastal towns. These different population dynamics will clearly have a bearing on the patterns of (non)traditionality outlined in Figure 18.1.

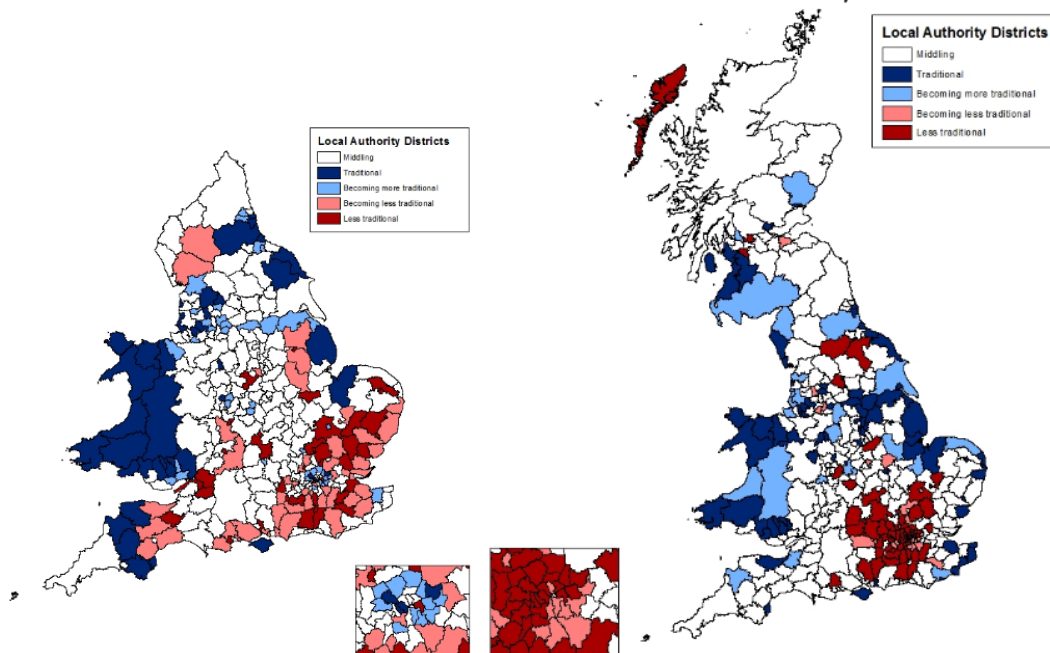


a. Single, multi-person and same sex households b. Lone parents with dependent children



c. Adults divorced and widowed

d. Married domestic workers



e. Motherhood employment effect

f. Ratio of births inside marriage to outside marriage

Figure 18.5 Changes in measures of family formation by LADs in England and Wales, 2001-2011

The distribution shown in Figure 18.5b will have some connection to the interpretation of map a. It can be seen that locations with the highest proportions of lone

parents with dependent children are found in deprived coastal areas such as Margate in Kent, and Hastings in Sussex; and in relatively deprived locations in Lancashire and South Wales, and some inner boroughs of London. It is noteworthy that high proportions of lone parents with dependent children have become more entrenched in the North East of England between 2001 and 2011. Concentrations of high proportions of lone parents with dependent children are also high in the majority of urban provincial towns and cities (e.g. Bristol), perpetuated between 2001 and 2011.

Expectedly, proportions of divorced and widowed individuals (map c) are relatively low in the more conventional family-oriented semi-rural, small town and suburban locations in Surrey, Sussex, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire and the West/East Midlands. Figure 18.5c reveals that the geography of divorced and widowed adults tends to be a coastal phenomenon in England and Wales, associated with 'escape areas' such as Blackpool. Between 2001 and 2001 there has been a marked amplification of this geography, with growing patterns along the South East coast, South Wales, Devon/Somerset/Cornwall, Norfolk, Lake District, and to a lesser extent, Yorkshire. This trend may be tied to an ageing of previous flows of retirement in-migrants, with one partner perhaps subsequently passing away in the place of retirement. Thus, it is possible that map c may conflate different geographies of widowhood and divorce. Nevertheless, geographies of widowhood and/or divorce have become more widespread between 2001 and 2011. By contrast, widowhood and/or divorce are relatively absent from the more conventional family-oriented semi-rural, small town and suburban locations in Surrey, Sussex, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire and the West/East Midlands. These patterns of the absence of divorced and widowed individuals in semi-rural, small town and suburban have endured between 2001 and 2011.

Figure 18.5d shows that areas becoming more traditional, as identified by the measure of married domestic workers, are evident in large swathes of North Yorkshire and Northumbria, the Lake District, North/Mid Wales, West Midlands, South Devon and the Dorset coast. These areas may be experiencing processes of rural gentrification, and witnessing the in-migration of childrearing couples, where the female partner is perhaps stepping-out of the labour market in line with dominant representations of family life and the rural idyll. By contrast, Figure 8.15d reveals that clustered parts of South Manchester and

large areas of the South East are becoming less traditional, perhaps pointing to the increase of more dual-career couples commuting into the metropolitan centres for work from the margins of labour market city regions.

Figure 18.5e identifies the perpetuation of high and low scoring MEEs between 2001 and 2011, although caution needs to be noted here given the measures are not directly comparable due to changing age band ranges between the censuses. The region with the highest MEE scores is the Greater South East, particularly in locations encircling the M25. This pattern has become more intensified between 2001 and 2011, within MEE scores becoming more entrenched in Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, Essex and Suffolk. In essence, the wider Greater South East has become a hot-spot of high MEE scores between 2001 and 2011, with the higher proportions of mothers not withdrawing from the formal labour market. There would also appear to be an increasing pattern of high MEE scores in the provinces, with increases in Bristol and Bath, the Cotswolds and South West M5 corridor, and the East Midlands. This suggests that the phenomena of mothers not withdrawing from the formal labour market is tied to metropolitan areas and university towns (Cambridge and Oxford), perhaps due to a combination of choice (e.g. changing expectations of motherhood, employment and parenting; affordable childcare relative to income) and constraint (i.e. mortgage repayments, financial commitments), as well as the possible rolling-out of more family-friendly working practices of employers (i.e. flexitime, shared posts) and the wider uptake of technological developments (e.g. potential for home-working and more mobile employment practices, e.g. skype/facetime).

By contrast, Figure 18.5e reveals the reproduction of regions with low MEE scores between 2001 and 2011. This pattern is dominated by rural Wales, and rural parts of Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Northumbria and North Yorkshire. Traditional familial and gender relations within agricultural households and communities may be important here. It is also notable that there is a growing prominence of locations across the North West with low MEE scores, likely to be tied to the traditional familial cultures of Muslim populations in locations such as Oldham, Rochdale and Bury. This may also explain the growing pattern of low MEE scores in some outer suburban London boroughs, which have witnessed the immigration of second or third generation of Muslim families between 2001 and 2011 (Stillwell and Dennett, 2012).

Map f in Figure 18.5 illuminates some general overlaps with map e, in terms of (non)traditionality, yet there are some important subtle differences which are noteworthy. Alignment to traditionality (i.e. high proportions of births within marriage) is prominent and becoming more entrenched in rural Wales (contrary to urban locations of Swansea and Cardiff), North West and Lake District, Norfolk and Lincolnshire. The high concentration of locations with relatively low levels of births outside marriage in South Yorkshire is also notable, perhaps reflecting entrenched notions of traditional partnering and parenting practices within former industrial and mining communities. It is also interesting here to compare this interpretation to rural Kent in the South East, and past associations with the coal mining industry (e.g. Aylesham). Kent clearly contrasts with the majority of the rest of the South East, where births outside marriage are relatively high in London, and the commuting corridors of Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, and the ring of the M25 (Hertfordshire, Surrey, Sussex, Kent). These patterns have been amplified between 2001 and 2011.

At the same time, the growing trend of non-traditionality towards non-withdrawal of mothers from the formal labour market (outlined above in Figure 18.5e) in the provinces of Bristol and Bath, the Cotswolds and South West M5 corridor, and the East Midlands, is not matched by non-traditionality of births outside marriage. This may suggest that the withdrawal of mothers from the formal labour market in these provincial locations may not be emblematic of a growing propensity towards non-traditional familial and gender relations. Rather, it may represent rational economic household decision-making, and negotiations including relationships between female income and childcare costs.

18.6 Conclusion

The starting point for this chapter was recognition of the national media stressing the profound population changes identified by 2011 Census data, when first released in late 2012. Overall, the findings presented in this chapter suggest that there may be some resonance to this viewpoint in the context of changing patterns of family formation. However, we would argue that equally, if not more, important are the enduring regional patterns of family formations that we have identified between 2001 and 2011. In Duncan and Smith's (2002) analyses of 1991 and 2001 Census data, distinct sub-national

geographies of family formations were mapped that revealed an uneven, and, arguably, divided UK. In part, it was asserted that this 'geographical difference' was tied to a combination of: regional (gender) cultures and different socio-economic and gendered work and domestic histories; contemporary geographic contingencies and spatial divisions of labour; and different normative expectations of partnering, parenting, motherhood and fatherhood.

Our main findings generally concur with this interpretation, yet we would argue that these socio-spatial divisions would appear to have become more entrenched and amplified between 2001 and 2011. The unevenness of family geographies, often based on important regional differences, have become more intense, with adjoining LADs seemingly becoming members of regional clubs of (non)traditionality between 2001 and 2011. What would appear to be happening is a sub-national divergence of family geographies in England and Wales, including some notable internal anomalies within the two general parts of the widening duality. For instance, Devon and Cornwall seems to have more in common with Wales and Northern England, than its Southern England counterparts. Equally, the metropolitan centres of Manchester, Leeds and Birmingham, seems to have some commonalities with the non-traditional swathes of Southern England.

Although there is clearly an underlying North-South and urban-rural influence to the lines of division, this factor only provides a partial understanding of the widening divergence between more high traditional and non-traditional parts of England and Wales. As previously noted, the uneven patterns of family formations are shaped by the effects of different gendered cultures of motherhood, female partnering and female employment practices. Lifecourse effects would also appear to be a major influential factor in the distribution of different family formations, with particular types of location such as university towns and cities perpetuating such geographies through the expansion of higher education and processes of studentification. Likewise, coastal towns would appear to be a magnet for less-conventional family formations, and individuals at stages of their lifecourse which are often characterised by single or solo living (i.e. higher education or post-student lifestyles), and relatively high levels of divorce and widowhood are prevalent in coastal locations for different reasons.

At the same time, it would appear that there are well-established hot-spots for heterosexual couples to raise children, and these bastions of traditionality would appear to have been extended into adjacent neighbouring LADs between 2001-2011, perhaps pointing to the spread of semi-rural and rural gentrification in middle England (Smith and Higley, 2012).

All of these diverse geographies of family formation will have important implications for social policies, welfare budgets, and demands on public and private services, for instance different needs for childcare, marriage counselling, nurseries and schools and health services. Different normative ideas about what constitutes the 'right family' and the 'right familial relations' will also impact on personal senses of belonging and attachment, quality of life, stresses and strains, and the accepted routines of everyday life. More fully understanding the uneven geographies of family formation is therefore important for the wider well-being of society, and will have resource implications for public and voluntary sector organisations.

It is also important to stress, in conclusion, that our descriptive analyses are based on numerical statistical aggregates at relatively broad geographical units using cross-sectional data. Although these broad representations of families and family life in particular localities and regions may undoubtedly act as powerful structural conditions that shape perceptions of what constitutes good partnering, parenting, motherhood, fatherhood and so on, we have not explored how more micro-level geographies of family formations are hidden within the broader geographical resolution of LADs. Analyses at the levels of output area, lower super output area, middle super output areas or census wards, for example, may have borne very different results, and perhaps captured the tangible effects of neighbourhoods and/or streets on local geographies of family formation. At the same time, our analyses has sought to shed light on the 'where' questions of family formation, and we have not been able to grapple with the 'why' and 'how' questions that underpin the formation, perpetuation and / or transformation of family formation.

Finally, it is valuable to emphasise that the enduring and changing family geographies identified in this chapter have unfolded during a decade that was marked by a severe global economic recession, and the slowing-down of internal migration flows in Britain (Smith and Sage, 2014; Champion and Shuttleworth, 2015). Given sub-national

migration flows, both short- and long-distance, are arguably fundamental to the replenishment and/or reconfiguration of spatial aggregations of distinct family formations within specific places and regions (Smith, 2011), it is possible that the geographic patterns of families that we have mapped and analysed may have been more pronounced if the global economic recession of the 2000s had not acted as a brake on sub-national population redistribution. At the same time, some of the changing patterns of family geographies may be influenced by recent immigration flows and losses of population due to emigration. There is an urgent need to more effectively connect together the demographic and migratory components of population change to geographies of family formations in Britain, particularly at a time of flux and uncertainty.

References

- Berrington, A.M. and Stone, J. (2014) Young adults' transitions to residential independence in Britain: The role of social and housing policy. In Antonucci, L., Hamilton, M. and Roberts, S. (Eds) *Young People and Social Policy in Europe: Dealing with Risk, Inequality and Precarity in Times of Crisis*. Palgrave MacMillan, London, pp. 210-235.
- Berrington, A. and Pattaro, S. (2014) Educational differences in fertility desires, intentions and behaviour: A life course perspective. *Advances in life course research*, 21(1), 10-27.
- Berrington, A. and McGowan, T. (eds.) (2014) The changing demography of lone parenthood in the UK. *Working Paper Series 48*, ESRC Centre for Population Change, Southampton.
- Berrington, A., Tammes, P., Roberts, S., McGowan, T. and West, G. (2014) Measuring economic precarity among UK youth during the recession. *Working Paper Series 22*, ESRC Centre for Population Change, Southampton.
- Berrington, A., Perelli-Harris, B. and Trevena, P. (2015a) Commitment and the changing sequence of cohabitation, childbearing and marriage: Insights from qualitative research in the UK. *Demographic Research*, 1(1): 1-46.
- Berrington, A., Stone, J. and Beaujouan, E. (2015b) Educational differences in timing and quantum of childbearing in Britain: A study of cohorts born 1940-1969. *Demographic Research*, 33(1), 733.

Berrington, A., Stone, J., Beaujouan, E., McGowan, T. and Henderson, S. (2015c) Educational differences in childbearing widen in Britain. *Working Paper Series 29*, ESRC Centre for Population Change, Southampton.

Boyle, P. and Dorling, D. (2004). Guest editorial: the 2001 UK census: Remarkable resource or bygone legacy of the 'pencil and paper era'? *Area*, 36(2): 101-110.

Brown, D.L., Champion, T., Coombes, M. and Wymer, C. (2015) The migration-commuting nexus in rural England: A longitudinal analysis. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 41(1): 118-128.

Cameron, D. (2014) David Cameron on families. Speech at the Relationships Alliance Summit, held at the Royal College of GPs, on putting families at the centre of domestic policy-making, 18 August. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/david-cameron-on-families>.

Cannan, C. (2014) *Changing Families*. Routledge, London.

Carter, J. and Duncan, S. (2016) Wedding paradoxes: individualized conformity and the 'perfect day'. *The Sociological Review*. DOI: 10.1111/1467-954X.12366

Chambers, D. (2012) *A Sociology of Family Life*. Polity, Cambridge.

Champion, T. (2012) Testing the return migration element of the 'escalator region' model: An analysis of migration into and out of South-East England, 1966–2001. *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, 5(2): 255-270.

Champion, T. and Shuttleworth, I. (2015) Are people moving home less? An analysis of address changing in England and Wales, 1971-2011, using the ONS Longitudinal Study. SERC discussion papers, SERCDP0177. Spatial Economics Research Centre, London.

Dieter, D., Berrington, A., Evandrou, M. and Falkingham, J. (2013) Who is living alone in mid-life and why does it matter?. *Understanding Society News*. Available at: www.understandingsociety.ac.uk/2013/12/09/who-is-living-alone-in-mid-life-and-why-does-it-matter?

Demey, D., Berrington, A., Evandrou, M. and Falkingham, J. (2013) Pathways into living alone in mid-life: Diversity and policy implications. *Advances in Life Course Research*, 18(3): 161-174.

- Demey, D., Berrington, A., Evandrou, M. and Falkingham, J. (2014a) Living alone and psychological well-being in mid-life: Does partnership history matter? *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 68(5): 403-410.
- Demey, D., Berrington, A., Evandrou, M. and Falkingham, J. (2014b) The determinants of repartnering in mid-life in the United Kingdom. European Population Conference, Budapest, Hungary, 25-28 June.
- Dorling, D. and Rees, P. (2003) A nation still dividing: The British census and social polarisation 1971–2001. *Environment and Planning A*, 35(7): 1287-1313.
- Dorling, D. and Rees, P. (2004). A nation dividing? Some interpretations of the question. *Environment and Planning A*, 36(2): 369-374.
- Dorling, D. and Thomas, B. (2004). *People and Places: A 2001 Census Atlas of the UK*. Policy Press, Bristol.
- Duncan, S. and Smith, D. (2002) Geographies of family formations: Spatial differences and gender cultures in Britain. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 27(4): 471-493.
- Duncan, S., Carter, J., Phillips, M., Roseneil, S. and Stoilova, M. (2012) Legal rights for people who 'Live Apart Together'. *Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law*, 34(4): 443-458.
- Duncan, S., Carter, J., Phillips, M., Roseneil, S. and Stoilova, M. (2013) Why do people live apart together? *Families, Relationships and Societies*, 2(3): 323-338.
- Duncan, S., Phillips, M., Carter, J., Roseneil, S. and Stoilova, M. (2014) Practices and perceptions of living apart together. *Family Science*, 5(1): 1-10.
- Duncan, S. (2015) Women's agency in living apart together: Constraint, strategy and vulnerability. *The Sociological Review*, 63(3): 589-607.
- Edwards, R. and Gillies, V. (2012). Farewell to family? Notes on an argument for retaining the concept. *Families, Relationships and Societies*, 1(1), 63-69.
- Falkingham, J., Demey, D., Berrington, A. and Evandrou, M. (2012) The demography of living alone in mid-life: A typology of solo-living in the United Kingdom. European Population Conference, Stockholm, Sweden, 13-16 June.

- Gordon, I., Champion, T. and Coombes, M. (2015) Urban escalators and interregional elevators: The difference that location, mobility, and sectoral specialisation make to occupational progression. *Environment and Planning A*, 47(3): 588-606.
- Perelli-Harris, B., Mynarska, M., Berghammer, C., Berrington, A., Evans, A., Isupova, O. and Vignoli, D. (2014) Towards a deeper understanding of cohabitation: Insights from focus group research across Europe and Australia. *Demographic Research*, 31(4): 1043-1078.
- McDowell, L., Rootham, E. and Hardgrove, A. (2014) Precarious work, protest masculinity and communal regulation: South Asian young men in Luton, UK. *Work, Employment & Society*, 28(6): 847-864.
- Roberts, S., Berrington, A., Tammes, P., McGowan, T. and West, G. (2014) Educational aspirations among UK young teenagers: exploring the role of gender, class and ethnicity. *Working Paper Series 21*, ESRC Centre for Population Change, Southampton.
- Robards, J. and Berrington, A. (2015) The fertility of recent migrants to England and Wales: interrelationships between migration and birth timing. *Demographic Research*, 34(4): 1037-1052.
- Smith, D.P. (2011) Geographies of long-distance family migration: Moving to a 'spatial turn'. *Progress in Human Geography*, 35(5): 652-668.
- Smith, D.P. (2012) The social and economic consequences of housing in multiple occupation (HMO) in UK coastal towns: geographies of segregation. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 37(3): 461-476.
- Smith, D.P. and Higley, R. (2012) Circuits of education, rural gentrification, and family migration from the global city. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 28(1): 49-55.
- Smith, D.P. and Hubbard, P. (2014) The segregation of educated youth and dynamic geographies of studentification. *Area*, 46(1): 92-100.
- Smith, D. P. and Sage, J. (2014) The regional migration of young adults in England and Wales (2002–2008): A 'conveyor-belt' of population redistribution? *Children's Geographies*, 12(1): 102-117.

- Stillwell, J. and Dennett, A. (2012) A comparison of internal migration by ethnic group in Great Britain using a district classification. *Journal of Population Research*, 29(1): 23-44.
- Stone, J., Berrington, A. and Falkingham, J. (2014) Gender, turning points, and boomerangs: Returning home in young adulthood in Great Britain. *Demography*, 51(1): 257-276.
- Stone, J., Evandrou, M., Falkingham, J. and Vlachantoni, A. (2015) Women's economic activity trajectories over the life course: Implications for the self-rated health of women aged 64+ in England. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 69(1): 873-879.
- The Guardian (2012) Census shows a changing of the guard in Britain. 11 December. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/dec/11/census-2011-england-wales>
- The Guardian (2011) Census 2011: the typical family is not what it used to be. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2011/mar/27/census-family-housing-ageing-population>
- The Telegraph (2012) Census 2011 'shows the changing face of Britain'. 11 December. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/9737874/Census-2011-shows-the-changing-face-of-Britain.html>
- Waller, L., Berrington, A. and Raymer, J. (2014) New insights into the fertility patterns of recent Polish migrants in the United Kingdom. *Journal of Population Research*, 31(2): 131-150.
- Ward, K.J. (2015) Geographies of exclusion: Seaside towns and houses in multiple occupancy. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 37(1): 96-107.
- Weston, K. (2013) *Families We Choose: Lesbians, Gays, Kinship*. Columbia University Press, New York.
- Wilkinson, E. (2013) Learning to love again: 'Broken families', citizenship and the state promotion of coupledness. *Geoforum*, 49(1): 206-213.