

Chapter 1

FERTILITY, LIVING ARRANGEMENTS, CARE AND MOBILITY

Dylan Kneale¹, Ernestina Coast² and John Stillwell³

¹ *Centre for Longitudinal Studies, Institute of Education,
University of London, London, United Kingdom*

² *Department of Social Policy, London School of
Economics, Houghton Street, London, WC2A 2AE, United
Kingdom*

³ *School of Geography, University of Leeds, Leeds
LS2 9JT, United Kingdom*

Abstract: There are four main interconnecting themes around which the contributions in this book are based. This introductory chapter aims to establish the broad context for the chapters that follow by discussing each of the themes. It does so by setting these themes within the overarching demographic challenge of the twenty-first century – demographic ageing. Each chapter is introduced in the context of the specific theme to which it primarily relates and there is a summary of the data sets used by the contributors to illustrate the wide range of cross-sectional and longitudinal data analysed.

Keywords: fertility; living arrangements; care; mobility; data

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Demographic change constitutes one of the most important challenges of the twenty-first century. Population ageing has become the focus of attention for analysts seeking to establish its causes and consequences and policy makers charged with responsibility for responding to its implications. Despite the decline in fertility that has occurred in Europe since the 1960s, the number of older people is expanding dramatically due to declining mortality and improved life expectancy. The average age of the population is also increasing due to reduced

fertility rates and delayed child-bearing caused by a number of factors which reflect fundamental changes in the roles of women and the manner in which couples behave in society.

In this book we are concerned with understanding the trends and processes occurring, particularly but not exclusively, in the earlier rather than the later stages of the life course. By assembling a number of research studies on the processes surrounding *fertility* and the patterns of *living arrangements* that characterise society in the new millennium, we hope to provide new and detailed insights into socio-demographic change in the United Kingdom. However, the contents of the book also reflect two other key themes that have become increasingly important in recent years and are set to become even more so in the future. The first of these themes is that of *care* – not only that of the elderly by family members or those in public service, but also care of children, sometimes by elderly relatives, when mothers choose to return to work, for example. According to United Nations projections (United Nations, 2005), the ratio of people of working age to those of non-working age, currently just over two for Europe as a whole, is due to fall dramatically over the coming decades with severe implications for both the demand for care and care provision. The final theme is population *mobility*, a concept that embraces a series of behaviours at different spatial scales including international migration, residential mobility and daily commuting. International migration is clearly of fundamental significance on a global scale with major pressures mounting on Europe from the developing world (see Holzmann and Münz, 2004, for example). In this volume, the focus is much more localised, concentrating on the movement of different household types in the UK together with mobility of children between schools, topics which complement the chapters of the book on child-bearing and living arrangements.

This introductory chapter therefore aims to establish a context for the chapters which follow, discussing each of the major themes on which the book is based and underscoring some of the key conclusions of the projects reported by the contributing authors, all of which have been undertaken under the umbrella of the Economic and Social Research Council's programme on *Understanding Population Trends and Processes* (UPTAP). All the chapters of the book contain the results of analysis of secondary data, the methodological requirement of UPTAP, and therefore we end the chapter with a summary of the data sets that have been utilised by contributing authors. We begin, in the next section, with fertility.

1.2 FERTILITY

Striking patterns of low and late fertility are now firmly entrenched within British demography, and are replicated across most developed countries. While movement towards, and maintenance of, relatively

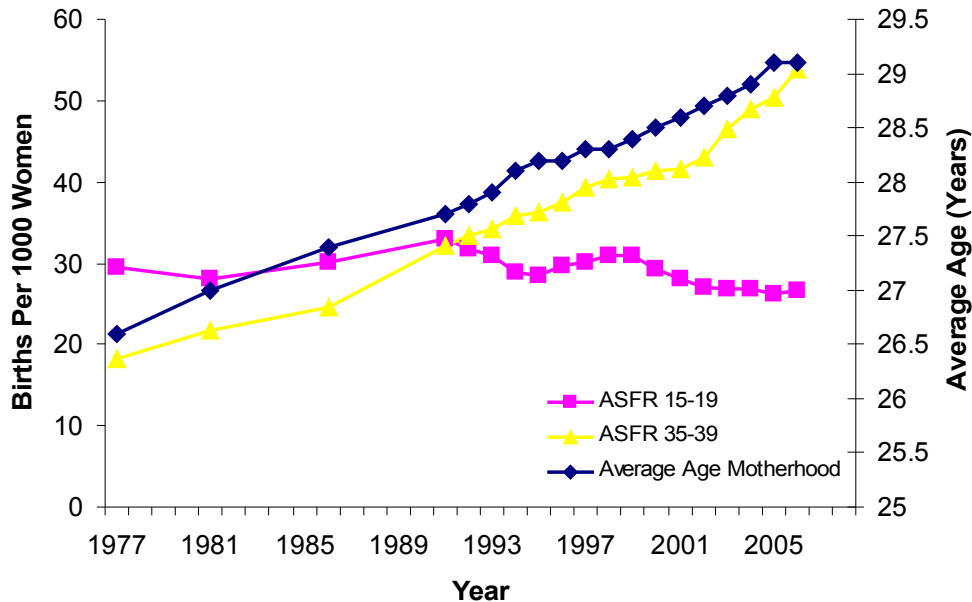
low fertility has been present since the turn of the twentieth century as a result of the first demographic transition (Jefferies, 2005), it is the change in the determinants of fertility that has been most noteworthy.

Following the first demographic transition in which death rates and birth rates moved over time from high to low levels, the second demographic transition theory outlines the changes said to be representative of the continuation of falling fertility rates – below replacement level fertility, growing old-age dependency ratios and decreasing child-dependency ratios – as well as outlining the determinants of these changes (van de Kaa, 1987; Lesthaeghe and Neels, 2002). In particular, the notion of the second demographic transition describes a complement of social changes that lead to lower fertility including declining marriage rates, increasing divorce and cohabitation, pluralistic household structures and increased female participation in both higher education and the labour force (van de Kaa, 1987). One of the salient characteristics of this transition is increasing age at first parenthood (Lesthaeghe and Neels, 2002) which is both predicted by the determinants of the transition, and in itself is a marker of lower fertility. Much attention in the chapters examining fertility in this book is focussed upon age at first parenthood, both in terms of focusing on the predictors of age at family formation, as well as on the effects that parental age and other indicators of the second demographic transition, such as changing family structures and increasing mother's employment, have on children.

Statistics to evidence lower and later fertility in the UK are in no short supply. Since the 1970s, fertility has remained below replacement level (Smallwood and Chamberlain, 2005) and the total fertility rate has deviated little from around 1.7 children per woman in the past two decades up to 2006. While the level of fertility has largely remained constant over this time, the age at first parenthood has continued to rise since the mid 1970s, from an average of 26.5 years in 1976 to almost 29 years in 2006 (Office for National Statistics, 2007). Such a rise has not been observed uniformly across fertility schedules and represents some divergence for different groups of women.

Most of this rise in age at first motherhood can be seen to originate from the decreasing rates of entry into motherhood in the twenties and rises in older age fertility. There is an overall 'flight from parenthood' in the twenties, with many women postponing motherhood until their mid thirties. However, while later motherhood has become the trend for the majority of women; early and teenage motherhood persists for the minority (Hadfield *et al.*, 2007). Figure 1.1 shows the maintenance of teenage age-specific fertility rates **since the late 1970s** despite several recent interventions (Social Exclusion Unit, 1999), with the UK identified as having the highest rates of teenage motherhood in western Europe (UNICEF, 2001). The average age at first motherhood has also been increasing consistently since the late 1970s on a similar

trajectory to that of the age-specific birth rate for women aged 35-39 years. Recently, the effects of postponement and rising age at first birth have been cause for concern for policy makers; although it is early motherhood that has remained as a prime concern where fertility is in question.



Source: Office for National Statistics (2007).

Figure 1.1: Age-specific fertility rates (ASFR) for women aged 15-19 and 35-39 and average age at first motherhood

In this case, it is not the young age of the mother *per se* that is of concern to policy makers and academics, but the differences in the characteristics of women having children early and the outcomes of their children, particularly when compared to older women. This has been described as a process of social polarisation in entry to parenthood (Joshi, 2007) and is addressed in this volume by describing the characteristics, extent and effects of social polarisation in the time to first birth. Education has been identified as a key driver of postponement. Highly educated women are found to be those delaying family formation the most, having most to lose from time out of the labour market (Berrington, 2004; Gonzalez and Jurado-Guerrero, 2006; Rendall *et al.*, 2005; Rendall and Smallwood, 2003); and educational class is perhaps the most important marker of this social polarization. Polarization in age of first motherhood and the relationship with education represent an overarching theme in all the chapters that examine fertility in this volume.

Postponement and childlessness are examined in *Roona Simpson's* analysis of differences across two British birth cohorts reported in Chapter 2. Here, the characteristics of those remaining childless are

compared with those who have entered parenthood. Simpson's research indicates that while both men and women are increasingly delaying transition to parenthood, men in particular are postponing transition to fatherhood. She also confirms the findings of other studies that show that women from lower social class backgrounds and those who hold lower educational qualifications are also those entering parenthood first. This work represents one of a growing number of works that seek to redress the gender imbalance in the majority of studies examining the determinants and markers of fertility, through examining patterns for both men and women. However, she also finds the same result among men and her chapter describes some of the polarised patterns of entry into fatherhood.

As discussed previously, postponement (and childlessness) is usually associated with high levels of education and strong ties to the labour market. A key issue that is addressed in this volume is how this attachment to the labour market has changed over time and its impact on entering motherhood. The analyses presented not only look at educational level and labour market participation as a predictor of entry into motherhood, but also at patterns after motherhood. Labour market participation is increasingly compatible with motherhood (Joshi, 2002; Edwards, 2002) and in fact, a growing number of mothers do find themselves working, either by choice or through necessity. However, working mothers have traditionally returned to work on a part-time basis, and have been concentrated in low paid, gender segregated work (Joshi, 2002; Dex *et al.*, 1998; Neuburger, Submitted; Coyle, 2005). Recent years have seen the introduction of family friendly workplace environments and policies, such as maternity leave allowance (Dex *et al.*, 1998; Lewis and Campbell, 2007; Neuburger, Submitted) and paternity leave (Neuburger, Submitted), which may facilitate balancing work and motherhood. The analyses presented in this volume present a detailed description of working practices of mothers and in some ways, are a reflection of the success of such policies. The implication of such increases in the numbers of working mothers is that childcare moves out of the sole domain of the mother; and for those who re/enter the labour market a range of childcare options growing in availability and diversity are available (Lewis and Campbell, 2007). Despite this growth, not all options may be available to every woman; and it is again, highly educated women with strong ties to the labour market, who are also those able to negotiate childcare arrangements with partners and relatives and who are able to purchase childcare elsewhere (Coyle, 2005). This, again suggests a slightly cyclical pattern whereby highly educated women have initially stronger ties to the workplace leading to the postponement of births; but are also those correspondingly who are able to reengage with the labour market, more often than not on a full-time basis.

In Chapter 3 on the effect of women's education on time to first motherhood, *Sarah Smith* and *Anita Ratcliffe* address the issue of polarised entry into motherhood but also consider in more detail the effect of this polarisation on mothers' employment and childcare practices. They examine the literature on the links between education and entry into motherhood, showing a negative correlation generally, but they also demonstrate that the welfare state can buffer this association, and narrow the discrepancy between births among highly educated and less educated women. Differentials by educational level also extend into child care, where highly qualified women are also those most likely to rely upon formal childcare. Their results distinguish between those who left education at the minimum age, those who left at age 18 and those who left at 18 and went on to higher education, indicating that experience of any higher education appears to be particularly associated with postponement and childlessness.

In Chapter 4, *Kirstine Hansen*, *Denise Hawkes* and *Heather Joshi* begin by examining the age at first motherhood, finding that this increased between all three cohorts they use and that educational level remained the strongest predictor of transition to first parenthood. However, they also note the importance of childhood disadvantage as a predictor, with disadvantage propelling younger women into motherhood. Having established the link between education and timing of motherhood, and how educational level will influence labour market participation and advantage, Hansen *et al.* move to examine labour market participation among mothers specifically. As with Smith and Ratcliffe, they find an increased propensity among more recent cohorts of mothers to be employed. They also similarly find that higher qualified mothers are more likely to enter employment. However, they also find that previous engagement in the labour market to be a strong predictor. Finally, after illuminating the links between the age of the mother, her education, and her labour market participation, they move on to examine childcare. They introduce analyses that highlight differences between modes of childcare, educational class and labour market participation. In addition the analysis goes one step further by assessing the quality of this childcare in terms of child outcomes, giving an indication of the implications of both maternal employment and maternal choices in childcare.

Polarised pathways to motherhood are explored further in this volume by examining the other end of the fertility spectrum – early parenthood. Teenage motherhood has long been associated with a range of negative characteristics including poor educational background, poverty and welfare dependence, and an unstable family life (summarised, for example, in Imamura *et al.*, 2007; Harden *et al.*, 2006). While teenage mothers are associated with these disadvantaged characteristics; a body of evidence suggests that there are negligible benefits for these mothers in delaying parenthood (Hotz *et al.*, 2004;

Goodman *et al.*, 2004). This is mainly due to teenage motherhood being a marker, as opposed to a cause, of disadvantage; and concentrating childbearing at earlier points may actually be a beneficial strategy in terms of labour market opportunities for this specific group of women. But despite the questionable evidence as to teenage parenthood's status as a cause, as opposed to a marker, of poverty; this group has been the focus of several policy interventions. In Chapter 5, *Dylan Kneale* offers a short discussion on the politicisation of the term 'teenage' parents and questions why the under 20 and over 20 years cut-off has remained such a pervasive term for a diminishing group of parents. In acknowledging that some of the focus may be justified in terms of outcomes for children, Kneale sets about examining the pre-existing characteristics of early parents to examine continuities between early parents into their early twenties and those aged under twenty. Continuities in terms of known and hypothesised predictors of the timing to young parenthood found in the literature are examined. Kneale highlights the strength of tenure over social class as a predictor of both early motherhood and fatherhood. Results on the effect of dislike of school and family building preferences as predictors of early parenthood are also presented. The chapter concludes that while there is not structural break in the characteristics of teenage mothers compared to mothers in their early twenties; there is sufficient evidence to speculate that teenage fathers do actually represent a distinct group away from other fathers in their early twenties.

A key issue addressed in all of the chapters on fertility, and significant for policy makers and academics alike, is whether the socially polarised divide in reproductive timing is growing. Each of the chapters on fertility is able to inform on this issue specifically by analysing the reproductive behaviour of different cohorts of women, as opposed to taking a period approach. Most of the research takes a longitudinal, lifecourse approach through either examining childhood factors as predictors of later life fertility or through examining detailed occupational, educational and partnership histories of women. This gives much of the research on fertility contained within the volume a degree of insight that is absent from many other studies, through including information that would otherwise be impossible to obtain because of bias or recall error. This approach also allows for links to be made between individuals under study and the historical context and social structure present (Elliott, 2005). Individuals included in these analyses would have been subject to some major changes in terms of education with the raising of the school age participation in higher education (Power and Elliott, 2006), increasing equality in the workplace through legislation such as the Equal Pay Act (Dex *et al.*, 1998; Neuburger, Submitted), a move towards family friendly policies such as maternity leave (Dex *et al.*, 1998), but also policies proscribing

right and wrong pathways to motherhood (for example, Social Exclusion Unit, 1999).

Finally in this section, it is important to recognise that men have often been neglected in studies of fertility. In most cases, this has been because of either a lack of data or because of questionable reliability of male accounts of fertility (Rendall *et al.*, 1999; Darroch *et al.*, 1999; Greene and Biddlecom, 2000). This comparative lack of research, both on an intuitively and evidential level, does not reflect the importance of fatherhood (see for example, Pleck, 2007, Sarkadi *et al.*, 2008). It is hoped that the results presented in this volume can make a contribution to family planning policies and knowledge, said to have suffered thus far from the lack of input of male fertility histories (Flood, 2007). The results from Chapters 2-5 will also make an important contribution to knowledge on recent polarisations in reproduction and the multifaceted effects on age at first birth, labour market participation, childcare patterns and child outcomes. In the next section, issues relating specifically to changing household and family structures are discussed as we move from discussing who has children and when, to living arrangements in which children also play a significant role.

1.3 LIVING ARRANGEMENTS

The ways in which people organise their living arrangements are both causes and consequences of social and societal change. Living arrangements encompass a series of interlocking concepts, including family and household, and frequently form the basis of data collection, analyses and theorising. Broadly speaking, there are two linked questions. What are the types of and changes in living arrangements? What causes living arrangement change and variation?

The meanings associated with households and families continue to change, both at the individual level and at the normative or societal level. Such change is observed throughout history (Gillis, 2004; Jamieson *et al.*, 2002; Elizabeth, 2000; Scott, 1999; Manting, 1996). In part changes in meanings, attitudes, values and beliefs are a function of generational change (Manning *et al.*, 2007; Hall, 2006; Axinn and Thornton, 2000; Lewis, 2001(a or b?); Lewis, 1999). Normative views on living arrangements, especially marriage have always shifted (Coontz, 2004; Smock and Manning, 2004; Thornton *et al.*, 2007). For example, there is greater acceptance of non-marital relationships (Thornton and Young-DeMarco, 1999 or 2001?), explained in part by greater experience of new forms of living arrangements by greater proportions of the population as a whole. Barlow (2005), however, makes the important distinction between accepting and tolerating new(er) forms of living arrangements, such as non-marital cohabitation and parenting, and argues that acceptance is replacing tolerance.

Much effort – both academic and political – has been expended into better understanding the decline in ‘traditional’ family arrangements and associated challenges to our understanding of the ways in which people live together. At the heart of this endeavour is better understanding relationships and living arrangements. The challenge is not only to capture and describe these trends in living arrangements, but also to better understand the processes that explain this change (Seltzer *et al.*, 2005). It is worth considering what is meant by this traditional family, not least because its construction is time and space-specific, at its core childbearing and rearing and sexual intimacy. It might be perceived as involving notions of social and legal recognition, combined with concepts of obligations and rights for the couple, all of which are rapidly shifting in the western world, mediated by gender, ethnicity (MacLean and Eekelaar, 2004), culture and religion (Eekelaar and Maclean, 2004; Lehrer, 2004). The picture is further complicated by heterogeneity across (Heuveline and Timberlake, 2004; Kiernan, 2001; Raley, 2001; Seltzer, 2004; Wagner and Weib, 2006) and within countries (Liefbroer and Dourleijn, 2006). In sum, across a range of settings, men and women might be described as being less dependent on marriage and the family for the fulfilment of a range of needs, including nurture, companionship and happiness.

Perspectives about whether change is beneficial or otherwise to society can be highly polarised. Ranging from constructs of the selfish individual (Morgan, 2000) to an outcome of the pursuit of democratic and consensual relationships (Bauman, 2001; Giddens, XXXX). Interestingly, and perhaps unsurprisingly, the latter perspective is most likely to be reported by cohabitantes (Lewis, 2001(a or b?)) and unmarried young people (White, 2003).

Legal systems have grappled for decades with how to best accommodate the multiple and changing forms of living arrangements (Probert, 2004; Therborn, 2007). Across Europe the development of statutory regulation of non-marital cohabitation has begun, for example, French PACS and Dutch ‘Registered Partnerships’ (Bradley, 2001). Theorising about the causes driving these changes in living arrangements covers a broad spectrum, underpinned by demographic change, most notably declining fertility and population ageing. Theorists have argued that living arrangement changes are a response to, and at times a cause of, processes of individualisation (Alders and Manting, 2001), secularisation (Lesthaeghe and Neels, 2002?) and risk identification and avoidance.

Living arrangements are becoming increasingly diverse (Allan (or Allen?) *et al.*, 2001), complex (ESRC, 2006), and multi-directional. They include: a rise in post-marital cohabitation relative to higher order marriages; reconciliations and multiple separations (Binstock and Thornton, 2003); multiple union creation and dissolution, described as ‘sequential marital monogamy’ (De Graaf, 2003); non-co-

resident step-parenting relationships and childrearing (Ermisch and Francesconi, 2000; Bumpass *et al.*, 1995); same sex unions; complex carer relationships (familial and commercial); a proliferation of childrearing arrangements (Seltzer, 2000); growing rates of non-marital relationships for older populations post-marriage or bereavement (De Jong Gierveld, 2004; Mahay and Lewin, 2007); and, living-apart-together (LAT) relationships (Levin, 2004). Processes of globalisation and population mobility further add to the heterogeneity of living arrangements. Bledsoe (2006) has identified, for example, new forms of family creation among African migrant communities in Europe.

In moving from the perceived 'traditional' to the contemporary, as some of the emergent forms of living arrangement imply, there are complex inter-relationships above and beyond the dyad. Indeed, dyad relationship formation can result in many different forms of family structure (MacLean, 2004). These relationships extend above and beyond simply who co-resides with whom. For example, Eggebeen (2005) finds that dyad relationship type was significantly associated with levels of support provided to parents. Cohabiting young adults were significantly less likely to exchange support with their parents than their married or single counterparts. Trends and processes in living arrangements do not operate in a vacuum from other processes of social change. There are complex inter-relationships, for example, between union transitions and other major life course transitions, including: (un)employment, education, geographic mobility, property ownership, fertility (Berrington and Diamond, 2000; Haskey, 2001; Oppenheimer, 2003; Flowerdew and Hamad, 2004; Osborne, 2005; Guzzo, 2006; Lauster, 2006; Musick, 2007).

This very complexity has implications for how we study, and the data we use to study, peoples' living arrangements. The processes of dynamics in living arrangements continue to be less well understood than the trends, which tend to be more amenable to secondary analysis of quantitative datasets. If we are to better understand the factors that affect changes in living arrangements, then we need to better understand what these living arrangements mean to those involved, whether they are a childless couple, an elderly parent and their middle-aged child, or a complex step-family with non-co-residential children. How do people respond to survey-based questions and categorise themselves and what might the implications be for analyses of contemporary living arrangements? (Glaser *et al.*, 2005; Hunter, 2005; Knab and McLanahan, 2004; Murphy, 2000). In Chapter 6, *Ernestina Coast* uses prospective data from the British Household Panel Survey to analyse individuals' relationship expectations and subsequent outcomes between 1998 and 2005 and to investigate how attitudes towards cohabitation differ by age, sex, previous relationship history and parenthood.

As social scientists we need to consider data, and the way in which collect and use them to understand the processes at work behind changing living arrangements. To illustrate this point, two examples are drawn from the body of evidence for non-marital cohabitation. De Vaus *et al.* (2005) note that the timing of evidence is crucial for our understanding of demographic processes. Much of the data used to theorise about, for example, the influence of pre-marital cohabitation on subsequent divorce, has been based on evidence from couples who cohabited in the 1970s and 1980s when cohabitation was much less commonplace in the general population. Secondly, living arrangements can be increasingly commonplace in society whilst being 'statistically invisible', viz cohabitation prior to the 1970s (Kiernan, 2000).

Mixed methods and qualitative approaches to studying living arrangements are relatively under-developed compared to quantitative approaches (Lewis, 2001(a or b?); Lampard and Peggs, 1999). There is an emerging body of qualitative research into the meanings of living arrangements (MacLean and Eekelaar, 2004; Manning and Smock, 2005), with specific focus on the inter-relationship between parenthood and union type (Reed, 2006; Gibson-Davis *et al.*, 2005, Porter *et al.*, 2004, Sassler, 2004; Smock *et al.*, 2005).

Establishing good living arrangements are of primary importance in creating a good life style for the individuals involved but living arrangements may also be responsible for negative attributes such as loneliness, stress and intolerance that may lead to ill-health and unhappiness. In fact, living arrangements are closely associated with multiple aspects of well-being (Kline *et al.*, 2004; Dush and Amato, 2005), happiness (Zimmermann and Easterlin, 2006), risk behaviours (Duncan *et al.*, 2006), domestic violence (Kenney and McLanahan, 2006) and mental health (Marcussen, 2005; Mastekaasa, 2006). There are two chapters in this volume that are concerned with exploring the relationship between living arrangements and health and well-being of particular groups. In Chapter 7, *Harriet Young* and *Emily Grundy* focus on the possible consequences of different types of living arrangements for the health and well-being of older people. Using data from longitudinal studies, they show that older people living with a spouse had the highest levels of health and well-being in England and Wales, except for older women living alone who rated their health as better than those living with a spouse. Among the unmarried, on the other hand, those living alone considered themselves healthier than those living with others but more likely to be depressed and lonely than those living with others. They found some interesting variations in these associations across Europe, due to differences in culture and welfare regimes.

One increasingly common forms of living arrangement is that associated with stepparenting and in Chapter 8, *Paul Boyle*, *Peteke*

Feijten, Zhiqiang Feng, Vernon Gayle and Elspeth Graham report on their study that attempts to assess the impact that stepparenthood has on the mental health of stepparents or their partners. In this case, they use another longitudinal study, the National Child Development Study (NCDS) to investigate a series of hypotheses which suggest adults living in stepfamilies have a higher risk of having poor mental health than comparable adults in conventional families, although this effect may partly be due to selection of respondents with prior mental health problems into stepfamilies.

The household as a unit of analysis might be perceived as becoming less complex and smaller, not least through the rise in single person households and stepparenting arrangements. However, this means that we will need to shift our focus away from household-based sources of information and analyses, and acknowledge the growing importance of non-co-residential rights, obligations and networks. This is relevant across all stages of the lifecycle, and is becoming increasingly important at older ages.

1.4 CARE

There are significant care implications arising from the research on living arrangements for older people reported in Chapter 6 and on stepparenting presented in Chapter 7. On a more general global level, demographic ageing poses huge challenges for societies since it will affect pension and social security systems, health care provision and the needs of both dependent children and particularly, the infirm elderly for family, social and state care. The medium variant of the United Nations world population projections (United Nations, 2005) indicates that in western and central Europe, the so-called EU25+ (25 EU members plus another 3 EEA members plus Switzerland), the size of the working age population (age 15-64) which in 2005 was 317 million, will start to decline after 2015 reaching 302 millions in 2025 and 261 million in 2050, a decline of 18%. On the other hand, due to increasing life expectancy and the ageing of the baby boom generation, the 65+ age group will grow from 79 million in 2005 to 133 million in 2050, an increase of 68%, with the largest increases occurring for those people over 80 years of age. These figures are staggering; the old age dependency ratio in EU25 which, in 2005, was approximately 25 people aged over 65 to every 100 in the working age range, will more than double to almost 53 people in the age group 65+ per 100 of working age. Dependency ratios for a selection of countries in EU25 from Eurostat (2004) illustrate the extent of the challenge. Whilst the UK has to consider a lower than average 86% increase in the dependency ratio, Ireland and the Czech Republic are both set to experience an increase of around 175% and Slovakia's projected increase exceeds 200%.

Table 1.1: Old age dependency ratio, 2005-2050, selected countries

Country	2005	2025	2050	Percentage change 2005-2050
Belgium	26.3	36.5	48.1	82.9
Czech Republic	19.8	35.0	54.8	176.8
Finland	23.7	41.4	46.7	97.0
France	25.3	36.9	47.9	89.3
Germany	27.8	39.3	55.8	100.7
Ireland	16.5	25.2	45.3	174.5
Italy	29.4	39.7	66.0	124.5
Slovakia	16.3	28.1	50.6	210.4
Sweden	26.4	36.5	40.9	54.9
United Kingdom	24.4	33.2	45.3	85.9
EU 25 average	24.9	35.7	52.8	112.0

Source: Eurostat (2004) based on the assumption that net immigration will amount to almost 40 million between 2005 and 2050.

These changes will have a profound influence not only on the demand for care for the elderly but also on the complete state of intergenerational relations. We should not forget that Britain's welfare state was founded on an implicit intergenerational contract based on a principle of reciprocity, such that each generation, during its productive years, supports both younger and older generations in anticipation that when reaching a time of dependency itself, it can expect to receive support from subsequent generations. It is a contract that has been characterised as being based on duty, national collectivity and intergenerational solidarity (Walker, 1996; Phillipson, 1998). This intergenerational contract is already under pressure due to changing social attitudes rather than numbers. In Chapter 7, Harriet Young and Emily Grundy identify substantial changes in the living arrangements of older people, who are now more likely to live alone and less likely to live with relatives in multi-generational households. Low fertility and low mortality are altering intergenerational patterns within families such that it will become more and more common for families to have two generations of retirees, putting an increased burden of care on the middle 'productive' or 'pivot' generation who, at the same time, may experience delayed or indeed loss of inherited wealth due to their parents' care needs (Bengston *et al.*, 1991).

As the generational contract has also been predicated on a gender contract (based on men's economic and women's caring contributions), the increased duration and intensity of caring activities will impact particularly on women but also increasingly on men. Women are playing an increasingly significant role in the labour market without any enhanced provision of state childcare, at a time

when other caring demands are increasing, and men are becoming significant contributors of unpaid caring labour too (Buckner and Yeandle, 2006(a or b?); 2007), although men's demographic behaviour has received little attention relative to women. These developments raise a set of challenges about how the work/care conundrum can be resolved for the productive generation; how organisational cultures/structures might need to change to accommodate this; and how gender and caring roles and relations might be transformed in the process (Williams, 2004; Yeandle, 2007). In Chapter 9, *Alison Smith's* review of current literature confirms that in most western European countries, grandparents have become a very important source of childcare, particularly for infants.

There are major questions about how care will be provided in the context of rising life expectancy, divorce rates and higher dependency ratios. Historically, unpaid and family care for sick, frail or disabled family members, and dependent children, usually delivered in the home, was provided mainly by women. However, the erosion of the 'male breadwinner', together with other changes, means that more women are active in the paid labour force – while men have begun to be drawn into family caring roles in larger numbers, especially in middle and later life in support of very aged parents, or of sick or disabled wives; nevertheless, gendered assumptions about responsibility for care, within and outside the family, remain strong and persistent.

The 2001 Census included, for the first time, a question on the provision of unpaid care: 'Do you look after or give any help or support to family members, friends or neighbours or others because of: long-term physical or mental ill-health or disability or problems related to old age?'. This revealed that, across England and Wales, 10% of the population – almost 5.2 million people – provide unpaid care, and almost 3.9 million carers are of working age of whom 1.5 million combine full-time paid employment with unpaid care. Of these working carers, 58% are men (Buckner and Yeandle, 2006(a or b?)). Moreover, the longer lives of disabled children and the increased longevity of sick and older people mean unpaid caring roles can last for many years – sometimes for decades. Shortages of labour in health and social care already pose problems for the delivery of formal care services, where recruiting and retaining staff and expanding the pool of potential recruits has proved very challenging in recent decades (Yeandle *et al.*, 2006(a or b?)). Most older people express a preference for independence and care at home and hospital discharge policies promote additional domiciliary care. Yet, the traditional source of domiciliary care workers (unqualified, middle aged female returned to the labour market) is shrinking fast. Migrant workers are often cited as a source of extra caring labour but how sustainable this is in the longer term is open to question (Ungerson and Yeandle 2007). Migration

brings the challenges of transnational care, with carers living and caring in different countries.

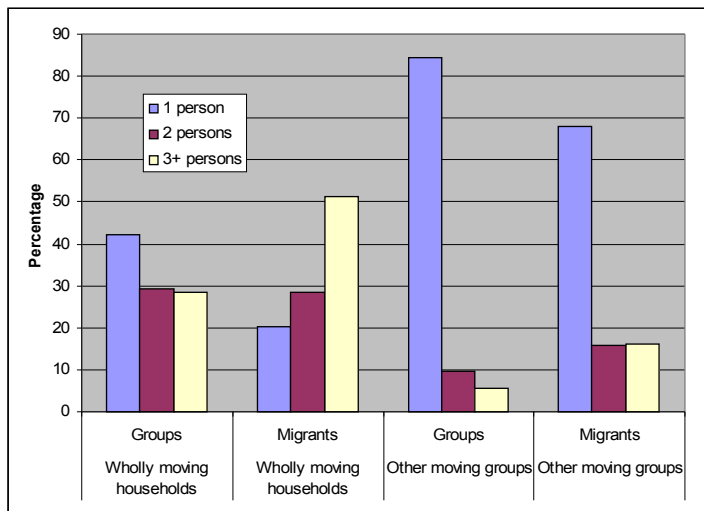
1.5 MOBILITY

International migration has received considerable attention in the academic and policy-oriented literature (e.g. Tamas and Münz, 2006). Some scholars have reviewed migration dynamics in various world regions (Appleyard, 1998); others have focused on theories within particular disciplines (Massey *et al.*, 1998; Poot *et al.*, 1998). Skeldon (1997) draws attention to the lack of clarity in the linkages between migration and poverty whilst a host of commentators have considered the effects of immigration on destination countries (such as Dustman *et al.*, 2003; Borjas, 2004), the effects of emigration on source countries (such as Fischer *et al.*, 1997; Collyer, 2004), the role of remittances (such as Terry and Wilson, 2005), migration and the brain drain (such as Kapur and McHale, 2005), and the role of diasporas in development (such as Levitt, 2006).

Whilst international migration tends to grab the headlines, we should recognise that the flows of immigrants are relatively small compared with the volume of movement taking place within the UK and permanent changes of usual residence are themselves relatively small compared with the level of daily mobility, much of which is associated with the journey to work or to study. The 2001 Census tells us that just under 400,000 immigrants arrived in Great Britain in the 12 month period before the Census compared with over 6 million people out of the total population of 57.1 million moving internally. These are underestimates because we know that a further 450,000 people migrated but the Census has no record of their usual address at the start of the period. In contrast to these volumes, consider the daily journey to work in Great Britain involving 25.7 million trips of those of working age. These selected statistics, extracted online using the Web-based Interface to Interaction Data (WICID) (Stillwell and Duke-Williams, 2003), exemplify the extent of migration and commuting but tell us nothing about all the other interaction behaviour that we engage in. Census data underpins much of the migration and commuting research in the UK (such as Champion, 2005; Dennett and Stillwell, 2008; Frost and Shepherd, 2004; Coombes and Raybould, 2001), focusing in most cases on flows of individual migrants or commuters.

There are important associations between migration, commuting and living arrangements and in Chapter 10, *Oliver Duke-Williams* attempts to look more closely at the different units of migration. The household has always been a key unit in the decision-making process relevant to residential mobility (Rossi, 1955). Whilst many households consist of singletons, the decision to move for families is frequently the result of a combination of factors – many related to the life cycle – impacting on different members of the group. Precise numbers of

individuals involved in moving usual residence are available from successive censuses but the use of moving groups in the 2001 Census enabled some insights to be gained into the relative proportions of those moving together. Figure 1.2 illustrates the proportions of groups and migrants in one, two and three or more person households moving internally in the United Kingdom in the year before the Census either in wholly moving households and in other moving groups. Amongst the wholly moving households, single person groups dominate but over half the migrants are moving as families in households of three or more persons. Single migrants dominate the other moving groups to a much greater extent with a similar proportion of migrants in the 2 person and 3+ person households.



Source: Census 2001 Special Migration Statistics.

Figure 1.2: Proportions of migrants moving as wholly moving households or other groups by type of household, 2000-01

One key limitation with UK Census migration data is the absence of any question about motivation and yet it is this attribute which has captured the attention of migration analysts for many years seeking to distinguish those who move for economic or job reasons from those who keep the same job but change house, for example. Duke-Williams turns to the British Household Panel Survey in Chapter 10 to find answers to questions about motivation and demonstrates how motivations vary according to the type of household under consideration. In the case of lone parents, the move is motivated by the split from a partner, whereas single elderly people tend to move for health reasons.

In a recent audit of interaction data, Dennett *et al.* (2007) have drawn attention to the need for more research on different types of mobility using secondary data sets that exist but have not been used

hitherto to their full capacity. These data sets include those based on administrative records and involve the collection of records arising from some transaction, registration or as a record of service delivery. They are collected for administrative rather than purely research purposes and many of these data sets are collected by Government departments (Jones and Elias, 2006). These data sources include variables that provide information about either the migration or the commuting characteristics of NHS patients, school pupils, university students, asylum seekers, new migrant workers or those attending hospital. In some cases, registration data have much simpler structure than census data and are only available at a relatively aggregate spatial scale but are particularly valuable because they are produced on a regular temporal basis. In other cases, the information on migration or mobility has to be generated from the primary unit data using time-consuming data matching and manipulation algorithms.

One of these relatively new and unexplored administrative data sets, the Pupil Level Annual School Census (PLASC), is the focus for Joan Wilson's research reported in the last chapter of the book. Whilst the Census in Scotland provides details of the daily travel to study for students and children, similar data are not produced for England and Wales or Northern Ireland. However, the PLASC does collect data from each education authority in England and Wales on the location of pupils and the schools that they attend, potentially providing an extremely useful data set on the journey to school. Various data sets are collected and held by the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) within a centralised 'data warehouse', including the National Pupil Database (NPD), local authority data, school level data, school workforce data and geographical data (Ewens, 2005; Jones and Elias, 2006). The NPD was established in 2002 and contains linked individual pupil records for all children in the state school system which is updated annually. Each pupil is given a unique pupil number (UPN) and has an associated set of attributes: age, gender, ethnicity, special educational needs, free school meal entitlement, key stage assessments, public exam results, home postcode and school attended. It is the availability of the last two attributes which gives the possibility of identifying various mobility characteristics.

The linking of pupils from one year to the next using the UPN means that a longitudinal profile of each pupil is available whose extent depends on how long the pupil has been in the education system. Potentially, this means that pupils can be tracked over time and their transitions through the education system can be identified, including their movements between schools and between different home addresses (Harland and Stillwell, 2007a; 2007b). PLASC data are therefore a potential source of data on commuting to school, on child migration from one usual residence to another on pupil mobility between schools. In Chapter 11, *Joan Wilson* reports on her attempt to

estimate the latter type of mobility – so-called ‘pure’ pupil mobility between schools – from the PLASC, as distinguished from ‘school-home moves’ where the move between schools is accompanied by a change of residence.

It is perhaps not surprising that these introductory comments on the content of the book which also attempt to provide some context to what follows, have come to and end with a discussion about data. The *Understanding Population Trends and Processes* programme, is, after all, about the analysis of secondary data sets. So, in completing this chapter, we provide a final summary (Table 1.2) of the data sources that the contributors to this volume have used.

Table 1.2: Main data sets used

Chap	Author(s)	Data sources
2	Simpson	National Child Development Study (NCDS); British Cohort Study (BCS70)
3	Smith and Ratcliffe	British Household Panel Survey (BHPS); Family Expenditure Survey (FES); Family Resources Survey (FRS)
4	Hansen <i>et al.</i>	British Birth Cohort Study (BCS70) ies; Millennium Cohort Study (MCS); National Child Development Study (NCDS)
5	Kneale	British Birth Cohort Studies; National Child Development Study (NCDS); British Cohort Survey (BCS70)
6	Coast	British Household Panel Survey (BHPS)
7	Young and Grundy	English Longitudinal Study of Ageing (ELSA); Office for National Statistics (ONS) Longitudinal Study (LS); European Social Survey (ESS)
8	Boyle <i>et al.</i>	National Child Development Study (NCDS)
9	Smith	Survey of the European Community Household Panel (ECHP); the European Social Survey (ESS); Growing up in Scotland (GUS); Millennium Cohort Study (MCS)
10	Duke-Williams	2001 Census Origin-Destination Statistics; British Household Panel Study (BHPS)
11	Wilson	Pupil Level Annual School Census (PLASC)

Table 1.2 indicates that a variety of different longitudinal and cross-sectional survey and census data sets have been used. No further explanation of these data sources is attempted here since each will be introduced in the corresponding chapter.

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