

Families and households

Strand organizer: Alice Goisis, London School of Economics

Marriage & fertility patterns in less developed countries – Monday 10 September 1.30pm

Family formation in conflict: Exploring fertility and marital Change in post-Soviet Azerbaijan and Tajikistan *Orsola Torrisi, London School of Economics*

Within the literature on family formation dynamics in the post-Soviet world, fertility and marriage changes in Central Asia and the Caucasus have been poorly documented, particularly in conflict-ridden Azerbaijan and Tajikistan. This study provides a detailed account of trends and patterns in family formation and structure from independence to recent years in the two countries, with a focus on the changes associated with conflict events. Collating evidence from various sources, including birth and marital histories from Demographic and Health Surveys, Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys and Living Standards Surveys, census and vital registration data, this study first establishes the temporal pattern in TFR. Then, it retraces patterns in fertility by age, child sex, conflict-related variables and parity using the synthetic cohort method. Third, it investigates the contribution of changing marriage on fertility. Survey estimates indicate that the Tajik fertility transition has been modest. Period declines are associated with the onset and development of conflict and other national crises. Marriage rates dropped considerably in conjunction with conflict years and recovered only in the early 2000s. Between 2006-2011, fertility increased by 13 percent, mainly due to rising childbearing at young ages. In Azerbaijan, the decline is more visible: fertility dropped by 0.8 child per woman during the peak conflict years (1991-1994), effected through a decline in high-order births. Reductions were primarily driven by declining TFR among young conflict-affected women, suggesting immediate disruptive effects of processes like forced displacement. This was followed by birth recuperation for affected women, so that in 2005, they had approximately 1 child more than unaffected women. These findings have important implications for women's status and empowerment in in-transition and conflict-ridden zones.

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Patrilineal fertility and marital bargaining power in Egypt *Mariam Abouelenin, Yang Hu, Karen Broadhurst; Lancaster University*

The majority of research on conjugal power relations has been informed by Blood and Wolfe's (1960) resource theory. The basic premise of resource theory is that, within marital relationships, spousal decision making power is dependent upon the amount of resources each spouse contributes to the marriage. In this paper, we explore power differentials between husband and wife, imposed by the Egyptian patrilineal kinship structure and expressed in conjugal decision making. Using the nationally representative Egypt labour market panel surveys (2006-2012) along with multilevel modeling, we look at the way(s) in which women in Egypt attempt to maximize their bargaining power and contribution to the decision making process in the household. However, instead of the traditional sources of bargaining power analysed in the literature; we suggest a novel channel through which women may increase their autonomy and participation in household decision making, namely by using the birth of a son as a prop to their bargaining status. Examining relations within the household and identifying the drivers of bargaining power will have crucial implications for understanding how resources (material and symbolic) are distributed within the family, in terms of major dimensions of family decisions. This study aims to highlight the fact that symbolic resources may be at least as important as material resources in determining conjugal power in patrilineal family systems.

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Missing marriage? Changing marriage patterns in the context of rapid fertility decline in Myanmar
Anne Schuster, Sabu Padmadas, Andrew Hinde; Department of Social Statistics and Demography, University of Southampton

The increasing trend in proportions of never marrying may contribute to fertility decline across Asia. In Myanmar, where the total fertility rate fell from 4.7 to 2.3 children per woman between 1983 and 2014 without widespread use of family planning, changing marriage patterns are particularly important. Data from the 2015-2016 Myanmar Demographic and Health Survey are used to investigate associations between education, socioeconomic status and postponement of marriage/never marriage for men and women in Myanmar. Groups are compared according to their current status. Compared to ever married women, never married women are more likely to live in urban areas, be more educated, work, and fall into a higher wealth quintile. Patterns were similar among men, although relationships were not statistically significant. There is evidence of delayed marriage among men with higher education, but nearly all men eventually marry. Nearly one-third (32.8%) of women with secondary or higher education never marry. These results are consistent with a scenario in which improvements in women's education and economic standing led to a new group of higher educated and wealthier women who are unable to find partners of similar status in Myanmar. This trend is exacerbated by a marriage squeeze caused by heavier mortality among young adult males, which may be associated with conflict and civil unrest. Additional current status analysis is planned to provide further insight into how these trends have changed across different generations and how changing marriage patterns contribute to falling fertility in the country.

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Unpacking the differential impact of family planning policies in China: Analysis of parity progression ratios from retrospective birth history data, 1971-2005.

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Although China's family planning programme is often referred to in the singular, most notably the One-Child policy, in reality there have been a number of different policies in place simultaneously, targeted at different subpopulations characterized by region and socioeconomic conditions. This study attempted to systematically assess the differential impact of China's family planning programmes over the past 40 years. The contribution of Parity Progression Ratios to fertility change among different sub-populations exposed to various family planning policies over time was assessed. Cross-sectional birth history data from six consecutive rounds of nationally representative population and family planning surveys from the early 1970s until the mid-2000s were used, covering all geographical regions of China. Four sub-populations exposed to differential family planning regimes were identified. The analyses provide compelling evidence of the influential role of family planning policies in reducing higher Parity Progression Ratios across different sub-populations, particularly in urban China where fertility dropped to replacement level even before the implementation of the One-Child policy. The prevailing socio-economic conditions, in turn, have been instrumental in adapting and accelerating family planning policy responses to reducing fertility levels across China.

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Housing & demographic processes – Monday 10 September 4.45pm

Getting back on the housing ladder? Separation and homeownership in Britain
Hill Kulu & Julia Mikolaj, University of St. Andrews

Divorce and separation have become common life events in Britain. Previous research shows that separated individuals move from homeownership to (private) renting and experience a period of residential instability. However, little is known about whether and when separated individuals return to homeownership. This paper investigates homeownership levels among separated individuals in Britain. We use data from the British Household Panel Study and apply multilevel logistic

regression models. Our preliminary analysis shows that separated individuals are much less likely to own a home than those who are married or cohabit. Interestingly, homeownership levels increase over time since separation; however, the levels increase among those individuals who repartner, whereas homeownership rates remain low among non-partnered separated individuals. The study supports that separation has a long-term effect on individuals' housing careers. Our further analysis will investigate patterns by gender and across socio-economic groups.

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The transition to parenthood among Britain's 'Generation Rent': Examining the changing role of housing tenure

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A positive link between homeownership and fertility is usually presumed. Nevertheless, couples' preferences to become homeowners before having their first child has been undermined by the dramatic changes in the UK housing market over recent decades. In Britain in particular, home-ownership rates have fallen dramatically among young adults as a result of low wages, precarious employment, reductions in the availability of mortgage credit, lack of affordable homes, and rising house prices. Using prospective longitudinal data from the eighteen wave of British Household Panel Survey (1991-2008) and the first seven waves of United Kingdom Household Longitudinal Survey (2009-2016) on a sample of women aged 18-42 and applying multilevel discrete-time event-history techniques, we investigate whether and how the link between housing tenure and timing of first births has changed over recent decades in Britain, and whether the link is moderated by local area characteristics including housing markets. We find that, in comparison to the 1990s, private renters are nowadays more similar to those in owner occupation in terms of their likelihood of entering parenthood. By including a contextual variable on house prices, the predicted probability of conceiving a first child remains higher for homeowners compared to private tenants, but the context plays a role in shaping the propensity to childbearing. Increasingly, young people remain in insecure private rented accommodation even during the process of family formation and parenthood.

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Generational geographies and housing inequalities in England and Wales

Albert Sabater, Elspeth Graham, Nissa Finney; Department of Geography and Sustainable Development & ESRC Centre for Population Change, University of St Andrews

In the UK context, housing inequality is currently depicted in terms of the 'housing haves' and the 'renting rest', with increasingly divergent housing/residential locations between older and younger generations. While age is an important driver of spatial sorting, little is known about the effect of housing inequality on the age mix of neighbourhoods. This paper assesses the contribution of housing inequalities to spatial separation by age over time. Drawing on housing information from the 2001 and 2011 Censuses, along with house price data for England and Wales, we investigate the relationship between residential age segregation and housing (dis)advantage. First, we examine change in residential segregation between groups of older and younger adults across all Output Areas (181,408) in England and Wales, with special attention to change at sub-district level, as well as in urban compared to rural areas. Second, we fit hierarchical linear models with random intercepts at region, district and MSOA-within-district-region levels. Our findings indicate that spatial unevenness between older and younger age groups has increased during the 2000s. Rising house prices have had a significant deleterious effect on the age mix of neighbourhoods over time, with results suggesting that this is not simply a 'London effect'. Findings also suggest that an increase in homeownership levels in an area promotes residential mixing whereas an increase in the proportion of renters reinforces residential age segregation. Since the drivers of generational geographies go beyond housing inequalities, the potential challenge to policies of social cohesion underlines the importance of further research.

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Childlessness: Determinants & consequences – Tuesday 11 September 1.30pm

What are the determinants of intentions for childlessness?

Anna Rybinska, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

The results from the latest National Survey of Family Growth indicate that the prevalence of the intentions for childlessness among young respondents in America is increasing. At the same time, empirical studies provide evidence that intentions for childlessness serve as a strong predictor of subsequent permanent childlessness. Despite the rising prevalence of intentions for having no children among younger cohorts, and their strong connection to permanent childlessness, little is known about what contributes to the development of such reports. In this project, I examine the determinants of intentions for childlessness for a cohort of Americans who participated in the 1979 National Longitudinal Survey of Youth. The effects of the changes in marital histories, professional careers, and educational enrolment on the likelihood of reporting an intention for childlessness are explored. Random effects models are used to capture the dynamic nature of respondents' lives. For women, I find negative effects of educational attainment, marriage and cohabitation, and employment on reports of childlessness intentions over the life course. In contrast, only negative effects of educational attainment and employment are observed for men. Interestingly, while for women union formation is linked with lower likelihood of reporting intentions for childlessness, for men union dissolution is linked with higher likelihood of reporting an intention for childlessness. This paper adds new insights to existing literature on childlessness by situating the change of childbearing intentions within the dynamic context of one's life and by understanding differences in reporting childlessness intentions across gender, race/ethnicity, and social class.

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The other half of the story: A mixed-methods exploration of male childlessness in Colombia in comparative gender perspective

Cristina Perez, University College London

Over the course of two generations, Colombian society has transitioned from rural to urban, from average family sizes of seven children per woman to just two, and from low levels of women's education to an environment where female students now consistently outperform males, and most women work outside the home. Yet, based on my previous research, this expanded landscape of female options does not appear to have triggered a widespread rejection of motherhood. Although women's fertility is subject to sustained demographic interest, we know far less about men's reproductive experiences, and particularly about male childlessness unrelated to infertility outside of Euro-America. In 2015, the Colombian Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) asked men (aged 15-59) about their reproductive histories for the first time; using descriptive statistics and generalised linear modelling, I establish levels of male childlessness across the life-course, and identify which men are most likely to be childless around ages 30 and 50. I also explore the extent to which male childlessness is voluntary or involuntary, and how these patterns compare with DHS data for Colombian women. Finally, I contextualise these broad patterns using data from in-depth life history interviews I conducted with a small group of men and women (N=35) in Bogota. My preliminary analysis has established that men consistently report higher rates of childlessness than women, and that childless men experience substantially less social pressure to parent than their female peers. With this work, I aim to contribute to a gender-sensitive anthropological demography of childlessness in non-Euro-American contexts.

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Childlessness in sub-Saharan Africa from 1986 to 2016: Trends and correlates

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Childlessness has gained interest because women increasingly remain childless. As subsequent female cohorts caught up with men educationally and professionally, the proportions of voluntarily childless women and circumstantially childless men selected out of relationships have increased in high-income countries (HIC). Additionally, infertility and involuntary childlessness have decreased due to improved healthcare. The literature has ignored Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) because of its high fertility rates. However, this region is experiencing development in terms of education, wealth and health. Can trends similar to those in HIC be observed in SSA? Most childlessness research has ignored men, although men substantially contribute to childlessness. Moreover, gender differences in the drivers of childlessness seem to exist in HIC. We aim to understand how development and different types of childlessness are associated; how different types of childlessness have evolved over time; what the individual-level correlates of childlessness are; and what gender differences exist in this respect. We use the Demographic Health Surveys collected between 1986 and 2016 throughout 37 SSA countries. We estimate random effects probit models for women and men aged 40 and older. Our results suggest that female childlessness has decreased from 3.3% in 1986 to 3.0% in 2016 and that male childlessness has increased from 2.3% in 1991 to 3.6% in 2016. Additionally, development and birth cohort are inversely associated with involuntary childlessness for women. For men, development and birth cohort are positively associated with circumstantial childlessness. We discuss possible explanations for our findings and provide further evidence for plausible mechanisms.

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Intimate partner violence among women in Nigeria: A correlate of childlessness

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Intimate partner violence among women in Nigeria is increasing over the years despite the implementation of policies that have been established by the government and NGOs to combat it. This suggests that there are various factors strengthening the prevalence of intimate partner violence. Hence, this study examines the potential impact of not having a child on intimate partner violence in Nigeria. Data for this research was derived from ever-married women age 15-49 who participated in the Domestic violence module of 2013 Demographic and Health Survey of Nigeria. Data was analyzed using descriptive, chi-square and binary logistic regression model. Results showed that not having a child is not a predictor of emotional violence (OR; 1.73, P-value =0.000). Other covariates found to be significant include; age, religion, education, place of residence, regions and wealth index. In conclusion intimate partner violence is highest among with children compared to women without children.

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Understanding the determinants & consequences of family structure – Wednesday 12

September 9.00am

The employment and economic situation of cohabiting and married parents across Europe

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The growing prevalence of cohabiting couples with children is one of the most widely observed family changes experienced by Western societies in the last half century. As the prevalence of cohabiting families has increased, socio-economic differences have become more pronounced. Recent studies have found that in the United States, diverging class patterns in family behaviours can be explained by the rise in economic inequality. Several studies show that cohabiting parents have worse job quality and greater economic insecurity than their married counterparts. However, few studies examine the relationship between job and economic insecurity and union formation practices in Europe. This paper aims to address these gaps in the literature by using EU-SILC data from 2012 and 2016. For both mothers and fathers, we study the

relationship between different dimensions of employment and economic conditions, for example, employment and occupational status, and temporary versus permanent contracts. Preliminary findings indicate that cohabiting parents have a worse position in the labour market than married parents in most European countries, but important differences between countries are also observed. The results of multivariate analysis indicate that while parental education is significantly related to union status in some countries, these associations are explained by the parents' employment situation and economic conditions. Parents' employment situation (especially the father's) seems to be more important than education for the likelihood of being in a cohabiting union.

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Educational outcomes for children of re-partnered parents: Evidence from Sweden
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The educational outcomes for children are strongly influenced by their family background. Traditional models focus on the role of the biological parents in outlining what arguably constitutes an essential set of background characteristics. For many children and adolescents, family background is, however, a more complex phenomenon. More specifically, substantial shares of children spend parts of their upbringing in different family constellations than those they were born into, due to rising rates of divorce and parents subsequently re-partnering. The aim of this paper is to study the consequences of re-partnered parents and we ask how parental re-partnering either through marriage or cohabitation, affect children's school performance. We focus on the experiences of individuals in Sweden using population register data. Our data contains all individuals born in Sweden between 1975 until 1995. We link information about parents, divorce, re-partnering of parents, siblings, and stepsiblings and examining effects of divorce and new family constellations on school performance, through GPA, standardized test scores at age 16. Sweden is the focus of our study since it has had an early rise in divorce rates, been a forerunner in terms of cohabitation, and childbearing out of wedlock. Initial results find negative effects on grades of divorce, but for those children where the new partner of the parent brings increased socioeconomic resources to the household, we find positive effects on the child's educational outcomes.

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Dynamics of children's living arrangements and caregiver churn in communities with high HIV prevalence in South Africa

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This paper examines the dynamics and patterns of caregiving during childhood in a rural South African community experiencing high levels of adult migration, low levels of marriage, union instability and separation, and a severe HIV epidemic. Using longitudinal data available from the Africa Health Research Institute Demographic Surveillance System, we analyse the dynamics of children's living arrangements according to whether they are living with both parents and the churn in their caregivers between the period 2005-2015. Given the high levels of HIV experienced in the communities in the study area, we consider caregiving dynamics in orphans and non-orphans separately. We pay particular attention to the stage of the HIV epidemic in the area - from treatment introduction in 2004/5, treatment scales up in 2007, to the characteristics of a mature epidemic in recent years. We examine how changing patterns of parental mortality relate to experiences of caregiving for children under 18 years. Despite substantial gains in adult mortality since ART (antiretroviral therapy) roll out in this community, results show that non-parental living and caregiving arrangements are commonly experienced by most children irrespective of parental survival. The majority of children in the study population experienced at least one change in their primary caregiver within the observation period. A smaller proportion of children experience multiple and rapid changes in caregivers. The extent of 'churn' in children's caregiving dynamics provides challenges for policies and programmes seeking to identify and reach children's caregivers.

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