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Pluralisation of Family Forms and Life Courses (?)

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Outline

• Two long-term trends:

- A new (demographic) pattern of transition to adulthood?
- The gender revolution

• A reversal: fertility and well-being

• Prospect and policy implications

- The transition to adulthood is a "demographically" dense period (Rindfuss, 1991)
- Key demographic markers of the "transition to adulthood":
 - Leaving the parental home
 - Union formation (marriage/childbearing)
 - Becoming a parent

 Europe as a lab (Buchmann and Kriesi, 2010)

 Billari and Liefbroer (2010): hypotheses on the pattern and analysis of retrospective comparative data from the European Social Survey, 2006

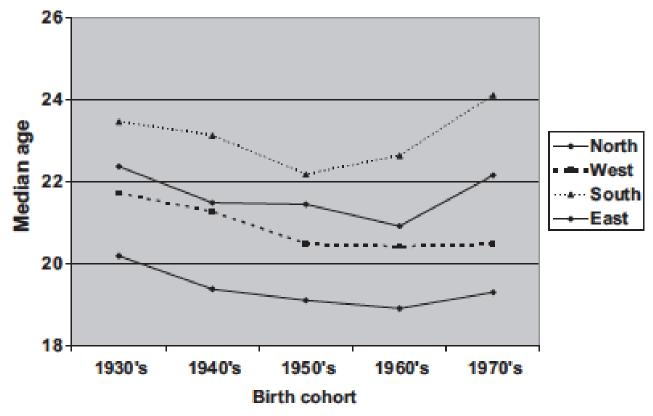
• HP 1 (*timing*→*postponement*):

- Desire for autonomy → decreasing age at home-leaving
- Postponement of family formation, in particular marriage and parenthood (less or not reversible)

	Cohort						
Δ	Country	1930- 39	1940- 49	1950- 59	1960- 69	1970- 79	ttern of
tr	Austria	20.8	21.0	21.4	20.5	20.5	
	Belgium	22.3	21.9	20.8	21.6	21.9	
	Bulgaria	20.8	21.9	21.8	20.9	22.8	
	Switzerland	20.0	20.3	20.0	19.8	20.1	
	Cyprus	21.8	22.6	21.4	20.6	20.5	
	Germany	22.1	22.3	20.3	20.8	20.6	
	Denmark	21.1	19.2	18.9	18.5	19.5	
	Estonia	20.5	19.7	19.7	19.3	20.1	
	Spain	24.4	23.6	23.3	23.4	25.8	
	Finland	19.8	19.8	19.7	19.2	19.2	
	France	21.6	20.7	20.0	20.1	19.9	
	United Kingdom	21.8	20.2	19.8	19.5	19.5	
	Hungary	21.0	21.7	21.9	20.8	21.3	
	Ireland	22.3	22.2	21.2	21.0	21.3	
	Italy	23.5	22.5	22.1	24.0	26.9	
	Latvia	23.1	24.6	21.0	20.3	21.0	
	Netherlands	22.9	21.6	20.3	20.1	20.1	
	Norway	19.3	19.3	18.8	19.0	19.2	
	Poland	23.4	21.3	22.3	21.7	23.9	
	Portugal	24.0	23.8	21.8	22.5	23.8	
	Romania	22.3	21.4	20.9	21.2	22.2	
	Russia	24.6	20.7	20.8	20.9	23.1	
	Sweden	20.7	19.3	19.0	18.9	19.3	
	Slovenia	22.8	21.1	22.0	21.9	23.4	
	Slovakia	20.3	21.3	22.3	21.8	22.3	
	Ukraine	25.0	21.2	21.6	20.3	21.6	

Table 1Median age at leaving home for women per birth cohort

Source: European Social Survey, round 3 (2006)



Source: European Social Survey, round 3 (2006), Famiglia e soggetti sociali (2003). Countries included in each region are listed in footnote 3.

Fig. 1. Median age at leaving home for women in different European regions, by birth cohort.

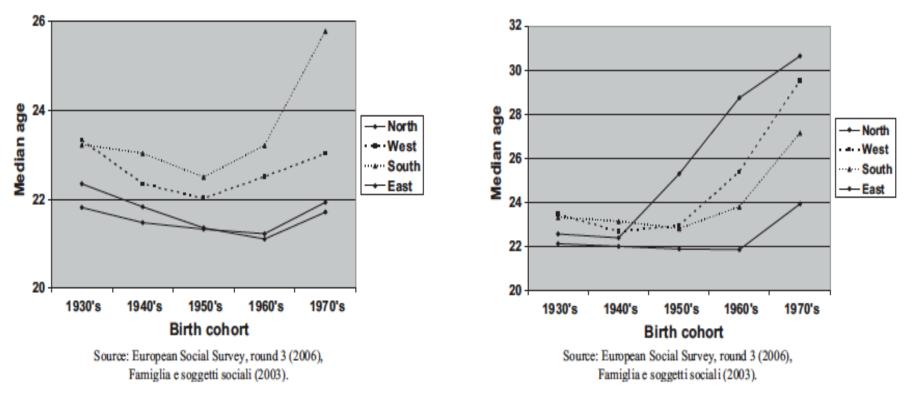
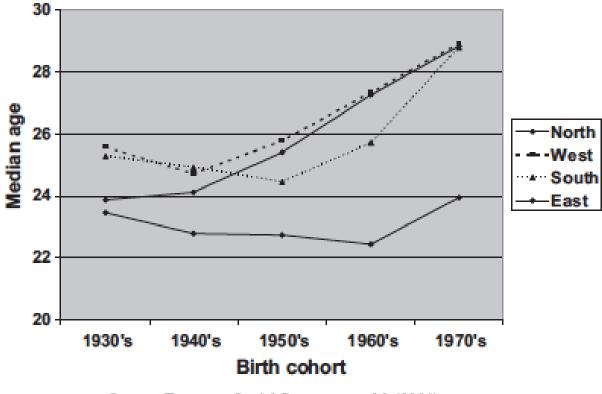


Fig. 2. Median age at entry into a first union for women in different European regions, by birth cohort.

Fig. 3. Median age at first marriage for women in different European regions, by birth cohort.



Source: European Social Survey, round 3 (2006), Famiglia e soggetti sociali (2003).

Fig. 4. Median age at first childbirth for women in different European regions, by birth cohort.

• HP 2 (sequencing):

- Leaving home before union formation becomes majoritarian
- Cohabitation prior to marriage becomes majoritarian
- Parenthood before marriage becomes widespread

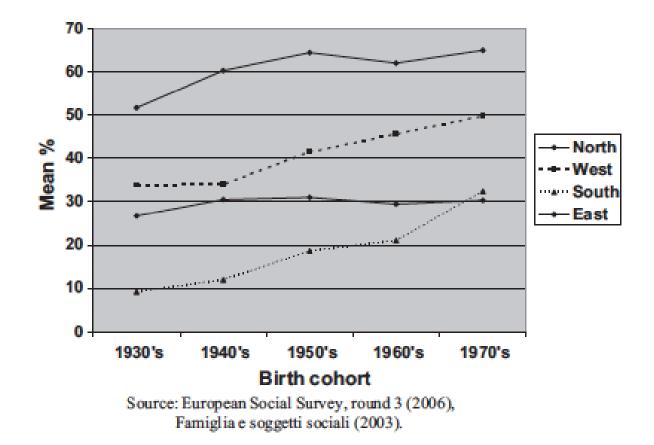


Fig. 5. Mean percentage of women who live without a partner after leaving the parental home in different European regions, by birth cohort (among all women who left the parental home).

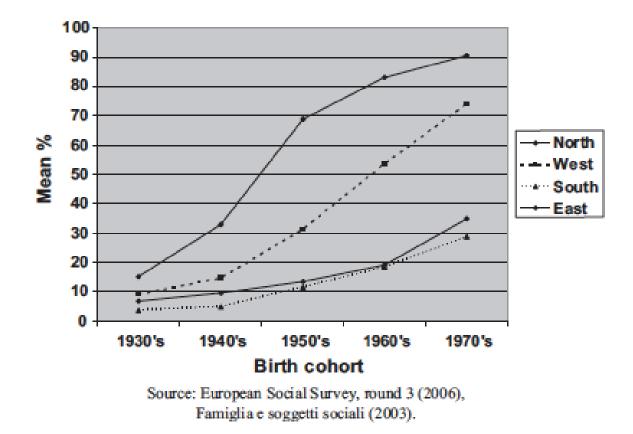
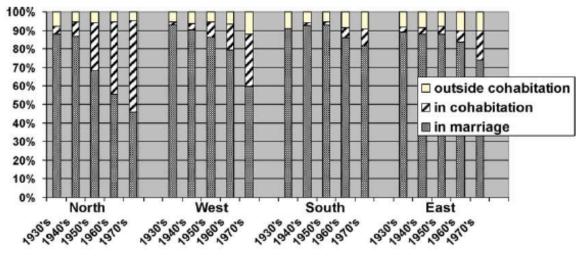


Fig. 6. Mean percentage of women who entered their first union by unmarried cohabitation in different European regions, by birth cohort (as percentage of all women who entered into a union).



Region * Cohort

Source: European Social Survey, round 3 (2006), Famiglia e soggetti sociali (2003).

Fig. 7. Percentage of women having a childbirth within marriage, within unmarried cohabitation and outside a partnership in different European regions, by birth cohort (as percentage of all women who have a child).

• HP 3 (a pattern?):

- One would expect convergence (i.e. lower variance) across countries
 - Timing
 - Sequencing

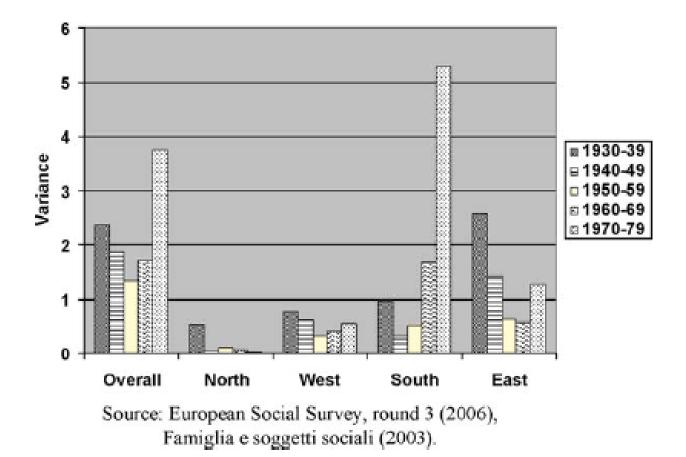


Fig. 8. Variance in median age at leaving home for women in different European regions, by birth cohort.

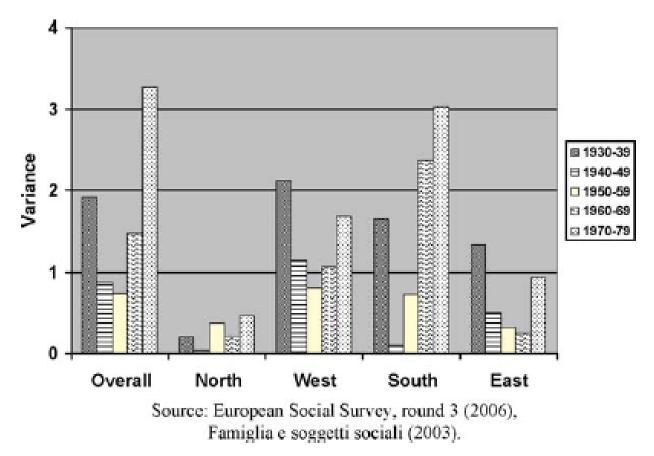


Fig. 9. Variance in median age at union formation for women in different European regions, by birth cohort.

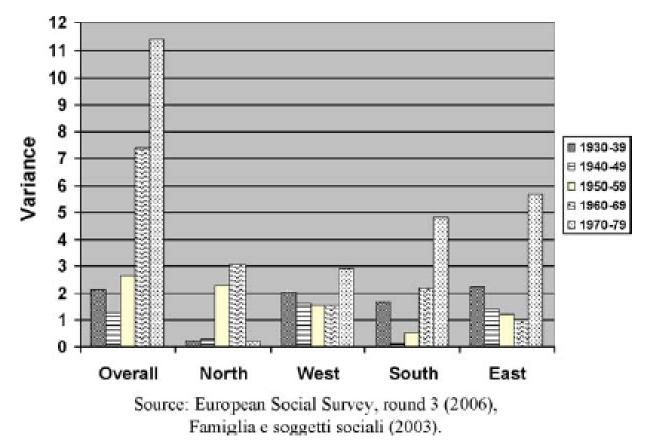


Fig. 10. Variance in median age at first marriage for women in different European regions, by birth cohort.

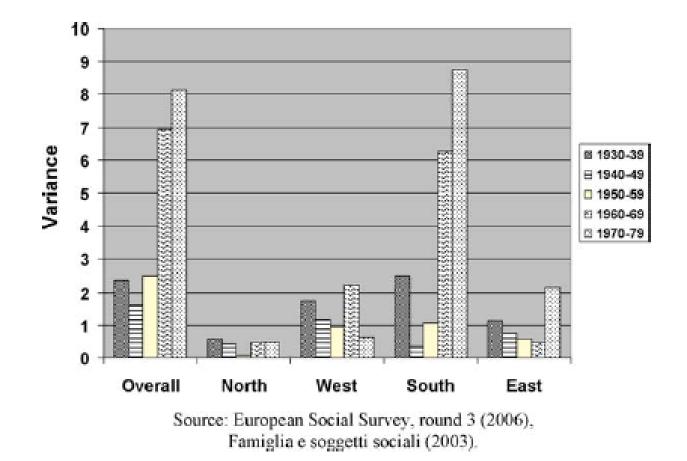
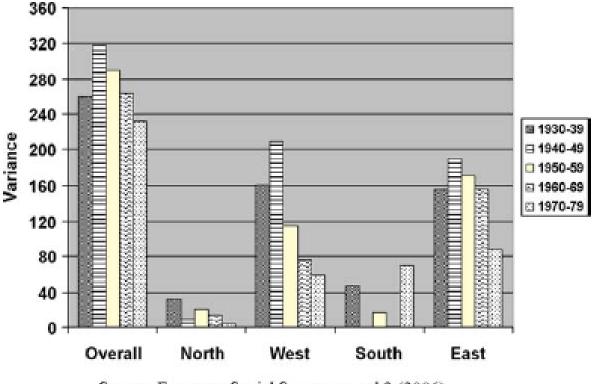
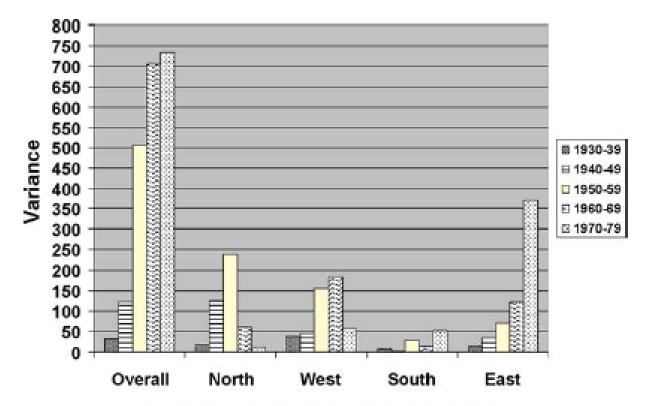


Fig. 11. Variance in median age at first childbirth for women in different European regions, by birth cohort.



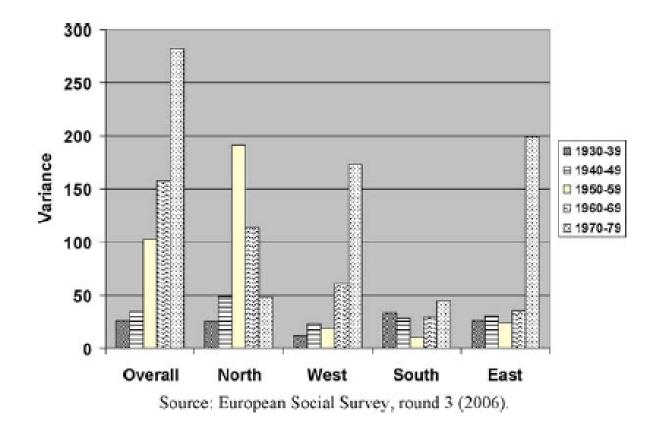
Source: European Social Survey, round 3 (2006).

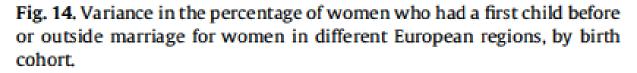
Fig. 12. Variance in the percentage of women who left home to live without a partner for women in different European regions, by birth cohort.



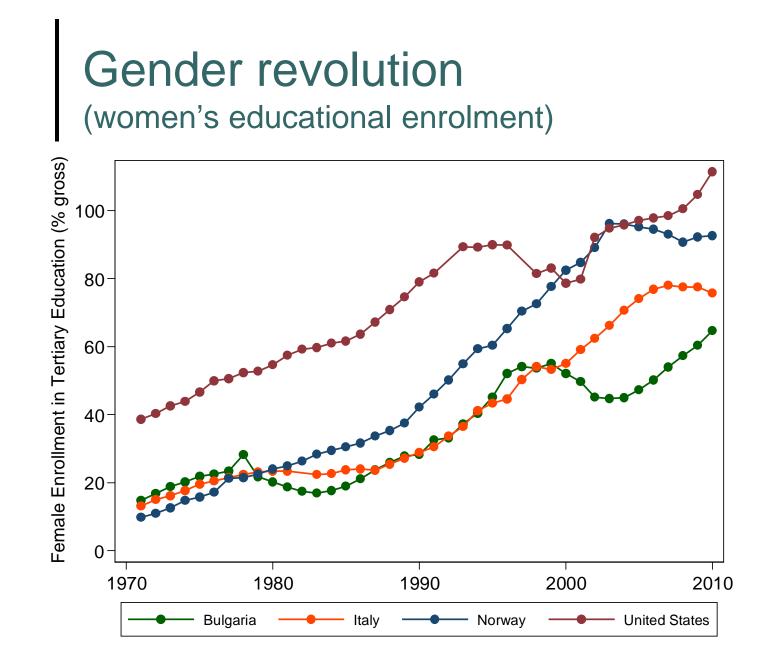
Source: European Social Survey, round 3 (2006).

Fig. 13. Variance in the percentage of women who entered a first union by unmarried cohabitation for women in different European regions, by birth cohort.



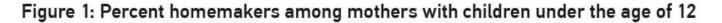


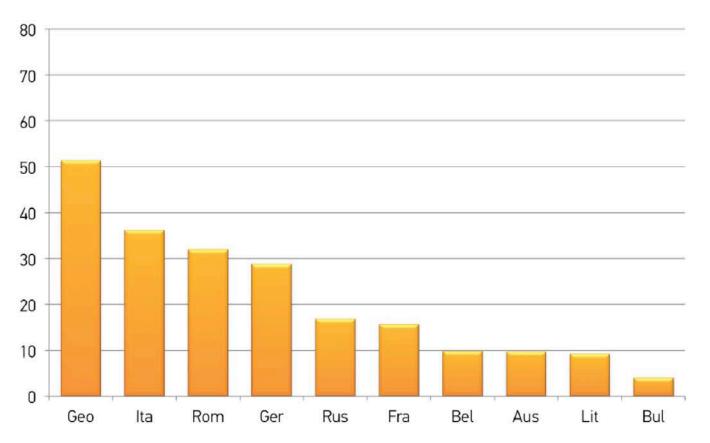
• Summary 1: the new pattern is spreading but we are far from convergence across societies



Source: Aassve, Billari, Pessin (2012), OECD data

Gender revolution



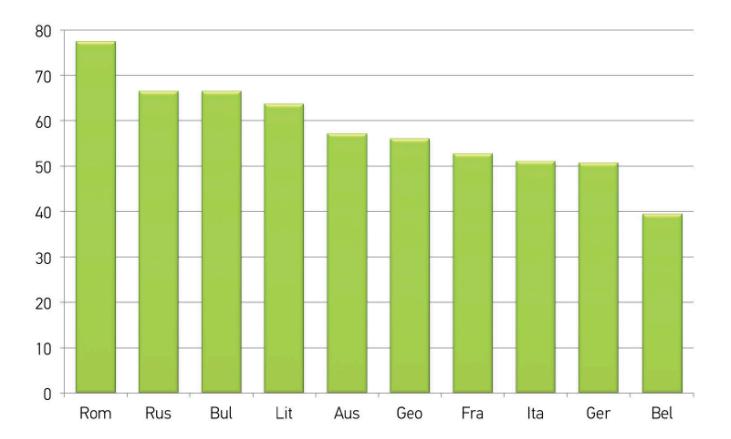


<u>Note</u>: Aus (Austria); Bel (Belgium); Bul (Bulgaria); Fra (France); Geo (Georgia); Ger (Germany); Ita (Italy); Lit (Lithuania); Rom (Romania); Rus (Russia). <u>Source</u>: GGP data (own calculation).

Source: Gauthier (2012), Generations and Gender Surveys data

Gender revolution

Figure 2. Percent intending to take up a paid job within the next three years among homemakers



Source: GGP data (own calculation).

Source: Gauthier (2012), Generations and Gender Surveys data

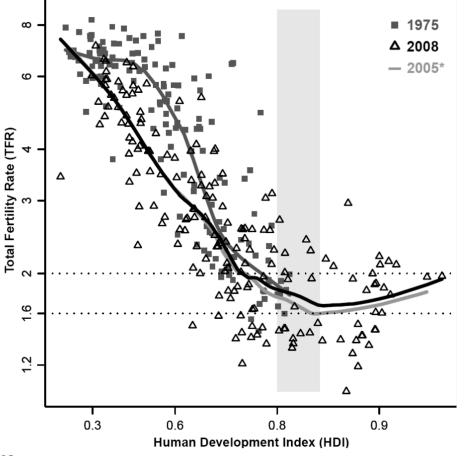
Two long-term trends

• Summary 2:

- The gender revolution and the postponement transition are here to stay
- No reversal towards more gender inequality and more traditional family formation is clearly foreseeable

One reversal: fertility and development

Figure 1. Cross-country relationship between Total Fertility Rate (TFR) and Human Development Index (HDI), years 1975, 2005 and 2008: Data points and a lowess curve.



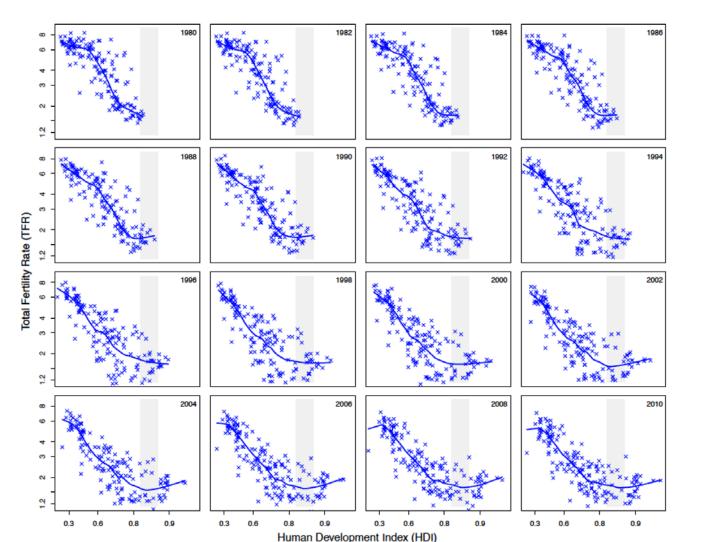
Notes:

Source: Myrskylä, Kohler, Billari (2011)

One reversal: ferti development	lity and		
Brazil (1.90) <i>vs.</i>	the United States (2.07)		
Iran (1.77) VS.	Sweden (1.90)		
Thailand (1.63) vs.	Australia (1.93)		
Basilicata (1.19) vs.	Lombardy (1.48)		

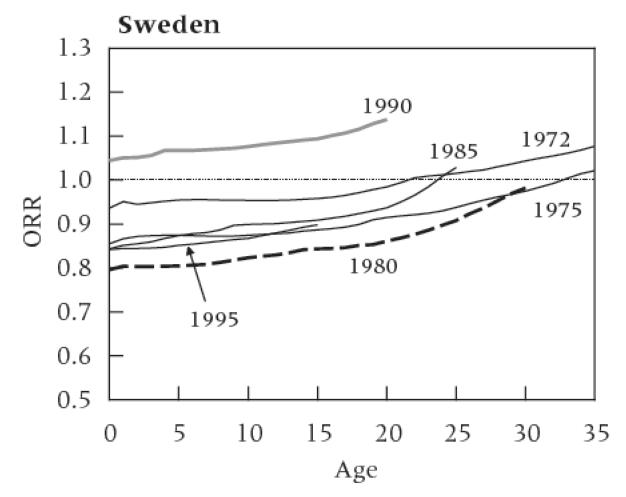
Total Fertility Rates 2010. Sources: UN World Population Prospects 2010 Revision and ISTAT

One reversal: fertility and development



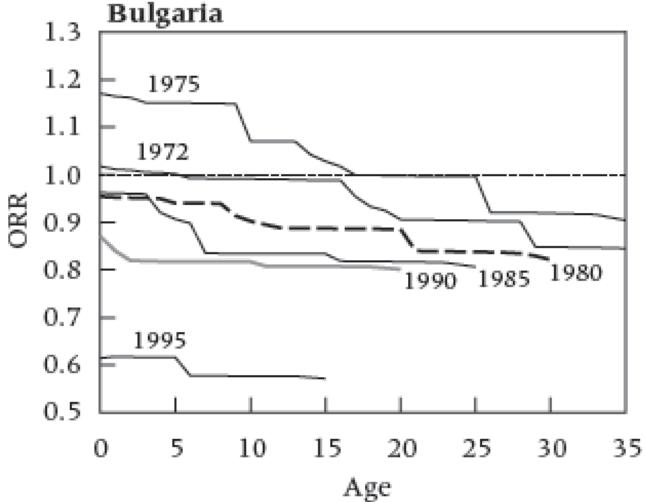
Source: Myrskylä, Kohler, Billari (unpublished)

Reproduction through migration is consistent with the reversal



Source: Wilson, Sobotka, Williamson, Boyle (2013)

Reproduction through migration is consistent with the reversal



Source: Wilson, Sobotka, Williamson, Boyle (2013)

One reversal

• Summary 3:

- Fertility (and reproduction including migration) have become positively associated with well-being
- Societies that are doing well in general now tend to "do well demographically" (Q: effect of the recession?)

Prospects

- **Prerequisite**: to disentangle policy issues (and behaviour) in a comparative setting from a life course perspective we need more family-oriented longitudinal comparative data
 - Better data are indispensable to inform policies in societies with longer tradition (UK, US in particular)
 - We do not have good data on European societies who are dealing worse with the recession: no longitudinal household survey (GGS?)

Challenges and guidelines for policies

- General guidelines: policies have to accommodate for *irreversible* trends
 - Postponement transition
 - Gender revolution
 - Necessarily positive link between 'good' demography and well-being
- Still, a plurality of patterns exists

Challenges and guidelines for policies

 Investment in children should be treated differently: children can bear no moral hazard

Children have not chosen

- To be migrants (or children of)
- The number of siblings
- The social class/status/family type

 Early childcare and extended school time: consistent with gender revolution and child outcomes→equal opportunities

 Investment in children and investment in working women are closely related...