

2 At first the infant: ages 0-4

*At first the infant,
Mewling and puking in the nurse's arms;*



2.6 Over-crowding in families with infants

A house may be large or small; as long as the surrounding houses are equally small it satisfies all social demands for a dwelling. But if a palace arises beside the little house, the little house shrinks to a hovel ... [and] the dweller will feel more and more uncomfortable, dissatisfied and cramped within its four walls.

(K. Marx, 1847, *Wage labour and capital*, p 268)

In three dozen neighbourhoods of London and three in Glasgow most children aged under five are living in housing provided by the state, with too few rooms for their family. In 2001 Census terminology these are neighbourhoods where a majority of children live in homes with an 'occupancy rating' of -1 or less. Elsewhere most under-fives in Britain are growing up in homes, small palaces, with a surfeit of rooms.

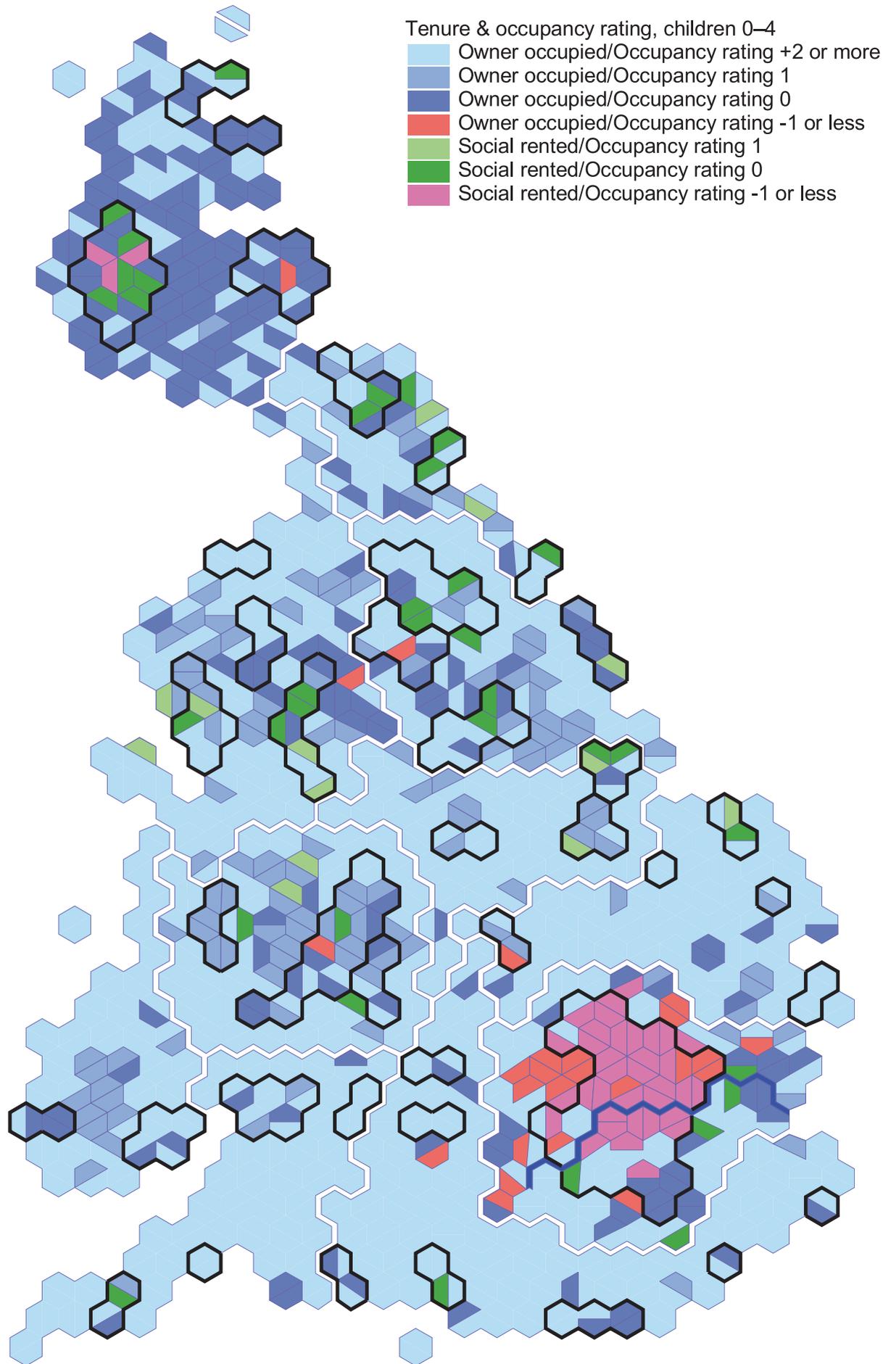
Many of our great-grandparents will have shared homes with other families; our grandparents shared beds with siblings; our parents shared rooms with siblings; and we, mostly, grew up sleeping in a room of our own. From the viewpoint of today's under-fives, most live in areas where their families have spare rooms. In a generation's time how many children will expect to have both playrooms and bedrooms?

Here places are classified by tenure and over-crowding measured by occupancy rating. The occupancy rating provides a measure of under-occupancy and over-crowding. For example, a value of -1 implies that there is one room too few and that there is over-crowding in the household. The occupancy rating assumes that every household requires a minimum of two common rooms (excluding bathrooms). Tenure, the ownership categorisation here, has been collapsed into two main types: owner occupied or social rented, as nowhere is private renting the majority tenure for families with children.

Most rare are the places where social renting dominates and the majority of under-fives live in a home with one spare room. All 13 shown in Figure 2.6 opposite are found in England, none in London. Here homes were built for larger families and demand for housing is no longer so high. In twice as many (25) places the majority tenure is owner occupied and households with under-fives have fewer rooms than they need. All but five of these over-crowded places are in or around London. In a further 36 areas where social renting is most common the largest groups of children live in homes with just enough rooms for everyone. This may include the sharing of rooms by same-sex children aged under 10 and is mostly found in the north of England and within Glasgow. In the remaining 38 areas where social renting is most common among under-fives there are too few rooms for their family. All but three of these areas are in London and those three are in Glasgow. These children will mostly live in flats or tenements.

2.6 Over-crowding in families with infants

Figure 2.6



2.11 Class mixing in infancy

Simply considering which group of children aged 0-4 is the largest when grouped by the class of their 'Household Reference Person' (breadwinner) produces a misleading map. It is misleading because there is some mixing of children by social class within neighbourhoods. To counter this simplification, the detailed mosaic opposite (Figure 2.11) distinguishes between 22 shades of neighbourhood, rather than the eight used in Figure 2.10. These shades reflect which group of children by class is both the largest and second largest in any neighbourhood. Then, in theory, some 56 (8x7) shades of combination are possible but more than half do not occur anywhere. This distinction is telling. In all of the 102 neighbourhoods where the majority of parents are 'higher managers' the next largest group are 'lower managers'. None of the six other possible mixings occurs where the children of 'higher managers' are most numerous. Those who can invariably do, as a group, pay for their children not to mix socially by neighbourhood. They do this mainly through the prices they pay for their homes and usually end up owning their homes outright, hence the partial correspondence between this map and that of tenure earlier. Combine tenure, price and class (as defined by occupation) and you have a fair idea of the bulk of financial resources that will become available to the infants of Britain in the near future.

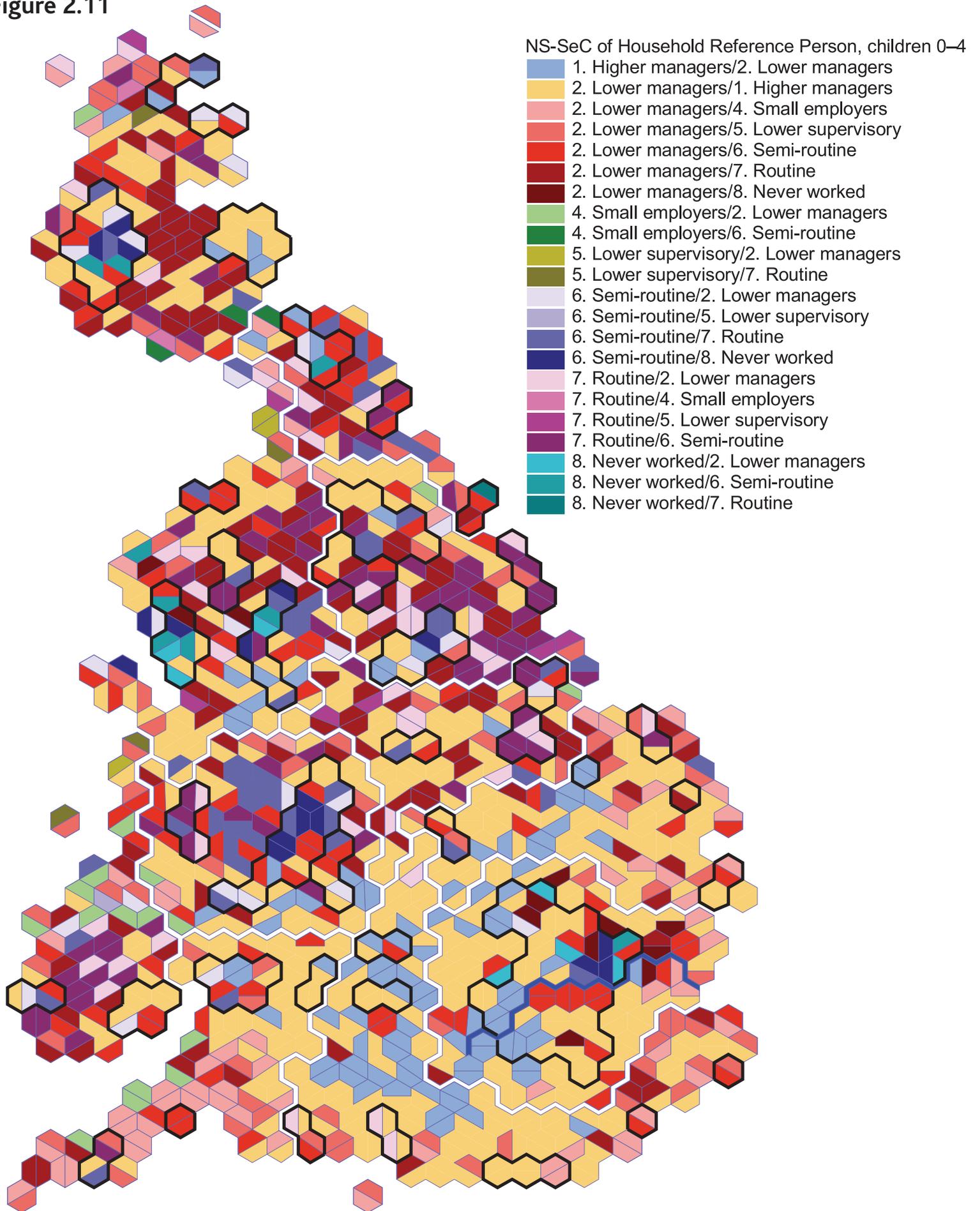
The bulk of the 102 'higher manager' neighbourhoods are to be found in the Home Counties and west London. They in turn are surrounded by some 470 neighbourhoods where 'higher managers' are the second most common class classification for infants. In every one of those areas the most common classification is 'lower manager'. Nowhere do the infant children of 'higher managers' mix most with any other class. Conversely, 'lower managers' mix with all classes except the children of those in 'intermediate occupations' who are too few and too evenly spread to appear in this map. From then on down the social order the map is a visual metaphor for the old comedy sketch that begins, 'I look up to him because he is upper class, but I look down on him because he is lower class ...'.

Similarly, in the 17 neighbourhoods where the majority of parents have never worked or are long-term unemployed, only seven see the most common group of parents of under-fives nationally in second place locally: three within Manchester and Liverpool and four within London. Nine see parents with 'semi-routine' work as their next most likely neighbours, all areas a fraction further from city centres: parts of East Ham in London, parts of Glasgow, Manchester, Liverpool and Knowsley and Tyne Bridge West (the neighbourhoods made up of Benwell, Elswick and Scotswood in Newcastle). In only one neighbourhood are 'routine' jobs second most common to having no job: Middlesbrough East. The social class of children is determined by their parents, which in turn is defined by their neighbourhood. Nowhere in Britain is socially mixed from the point of view of where and with whom children are growing up. The closest any area comes to this is the Clifton neighbourhood of Nottingham for under-threes, but that is not a success story.

The neighbourhood that we have labelled as Clifton within Nottingham was one of the most difficult to design within the constraints we used. It was quite anomalous, enough so, in fact, for it to be used as an example in a report to a government department of the limits of trying to define neighbourhoods. It stretches from Wollaton in the north, through the University over a lake, the A6005, the railway tracks, industrial and sewage works, the Beeston Canal and the river Trent through to the actual suburb of Clifton in the south. Very few neighbourhoods are bisected by a major road, railway line, canal and river running east to west across them. Furthermore, it is also divided by the multi-lane ring road running from the north and exiting through the south of the neighbourhood. It is telling that the only neighbourhood in Britain that appears to tolerate mixing of children by class – albeit only up to age two – is so well divided. Within this area physical barriers mean that parents cannot mix.

2.11 Class mixing in infancy

Figure 2.11



3 Then, the whining schoolboy: ages 5-15

*Then, the whining schoolboy, with his satchel
And shining morning face, creeping like snail
Unwillingly to school;*



3.4 Step-children

When considering the apparent uniformity of family life for school-age children in Britain, consider the amount of effort it takes to achieve the picture of rural and suburban tranquillity just painted. Step-children are children in a married or cohabiting couple family who are not the son or daughter of both adults. Their families did not arrange themselves to have two parents without a little mixing and matching. The legacy of the history of family constitution post-birth is captured through Figure 3.4 opposite. This is a map of step-children in Britain, where new families have been formed from previous, often dissolved, family units. These families often start life in quite different places to where they have ended up, or at least those where that part of the family with the school-age children has ended up.

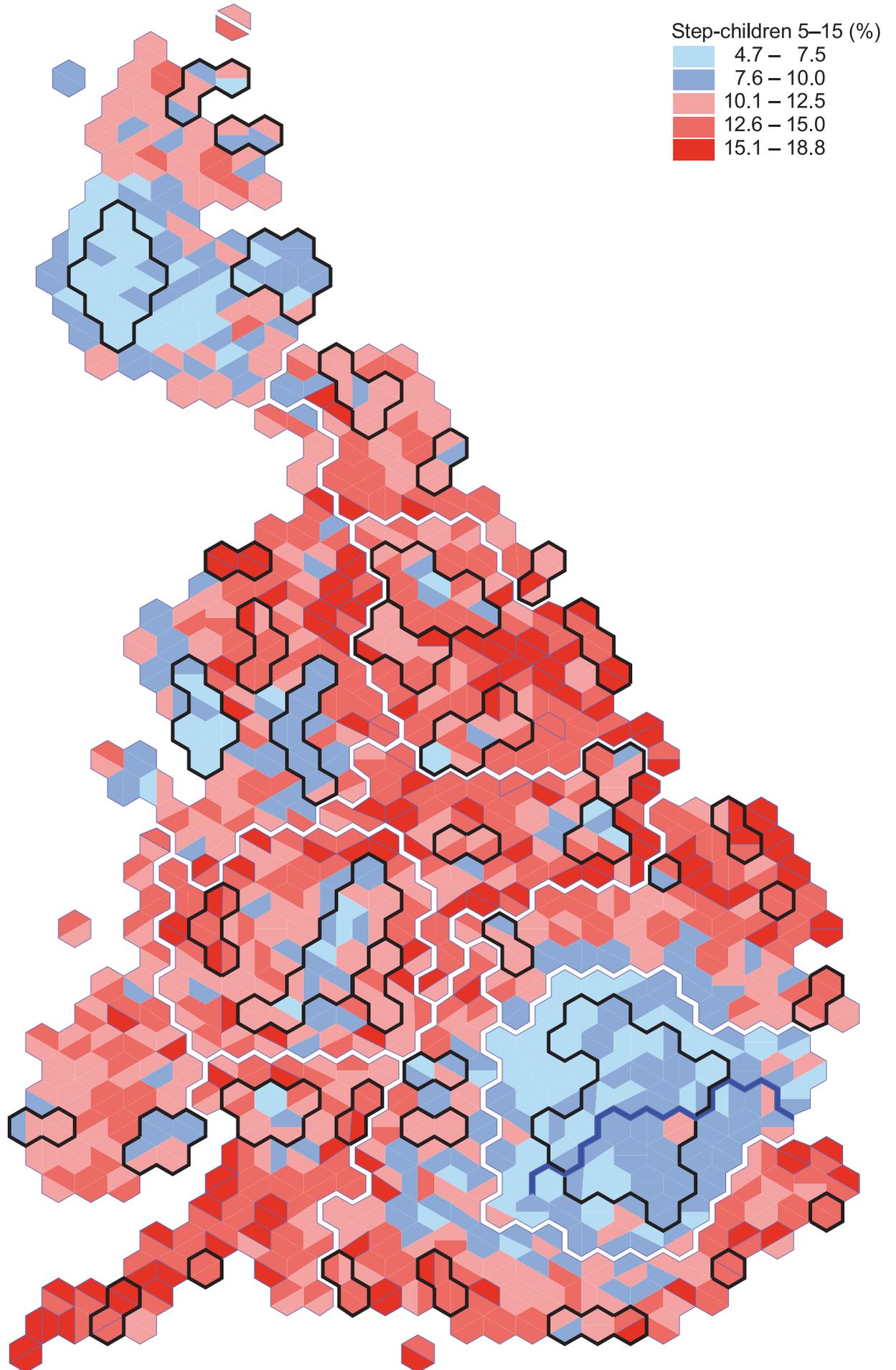
By neighbourhood, the proportion of school-age children in Britain living with at least one parent different to those they began with varies from less than one in 20 to almost one in five. Almost a million children live in such step-families. The geographical pattern of where these families are could not be much clearer. The further from the cities you go and the further into what appears to be the monotonous rural fringes of the country (monotonous in the sense of little variation in family life), the more step-children you find. The countryside and the suburbs, far from being havens of conventional family life where marriage occurs before children and couples stay together and work, are increasingly the places to where new families move once they have formed and old ties have dissolved. And the furthest extremes of the countries, the tips of peninsulas and remote coastlines, see the highest incidences of step-children. It is possible that families resulting from more than one set of such changes tend to be located even further out and that this partly explains the extremes.

What we can be sure of is that the pattern seen is not the result of children being more likely to be step-children the older they are or of older children being found further from cities. Both of those trends occur, but the map of the likelihood of all children aged 12-15 living in step-families is very similar to that shown in Figure 3.4, so this map is not a map of migration. Instead, it is better seen as a map of both conforming and of economic necessity/possibility. Bringing up children with two parents is conformist; there is no need for those two parents to be the original two. Further, pooling the resources of two adults increases the purchasing power of the family. One parent living alone could not afford to live easily in many of the places where most step-families are found.

To put it another way, if the Railway Children saw their father imprisoned today, their mother would either have to move so they could wave at trains passing Clapham Junction, or she would have to quickly become friendly with the affluent but somewhat lonely man currently commuting to Leeds from the idyllic cottage in the Dales, a cottage that a century ago was a home for the poor.

3.4 Step-children

Figure 3.4



3.11 What's a home worth? Wealth of dependent children

Tenure, of course, provides almost no clue as to the cost or value of the properties being bought or owned. Tenure gives no indication of the amount of rent, or whether the renter also owns or rents elsewhere. Tenure is a very crude indicator of the relationship to land and property.

In contrast, we can look at the amount of wealth held in housing and in the context of this chapter look at the value of that wealth if it were to be shared out among all children currently living in the neighbourhood. The picture would be even more unequal if that wealth had been more realistically shared out only between children living in partially paid-off mortgaged properties or those owned outright. The Land Registry releases the value of housing sold on the open market by type for small areas in England and Wales. Similar data are also available for Scotland. Using that and knowing the numbers of children living in each neighbourhood in housing of each tenure, we estimated housing wealth per child as it stood in recent years.¹ Figure 3.11 opposite shows the average housing equity in each neighbourhood if it were averaged across all children in the neighbourhood. This provides an indicator of future possible mean levels of inheritance. Note that many children in most neighbourhoods will receive no inheritance from housing assets as their parent(s) rent or will never pay off their mortgage.

As the table below shows, the average wealth within each category shown in the map can vary widely, especially for the most affluent tenth of neighbourhoods where mean wealth in the most affluent neighbourhood (Kensington again) is more than twice that found in the least wealthy of the wealthiest tenth of areas (Bramhall in Cheadle, Stockport).

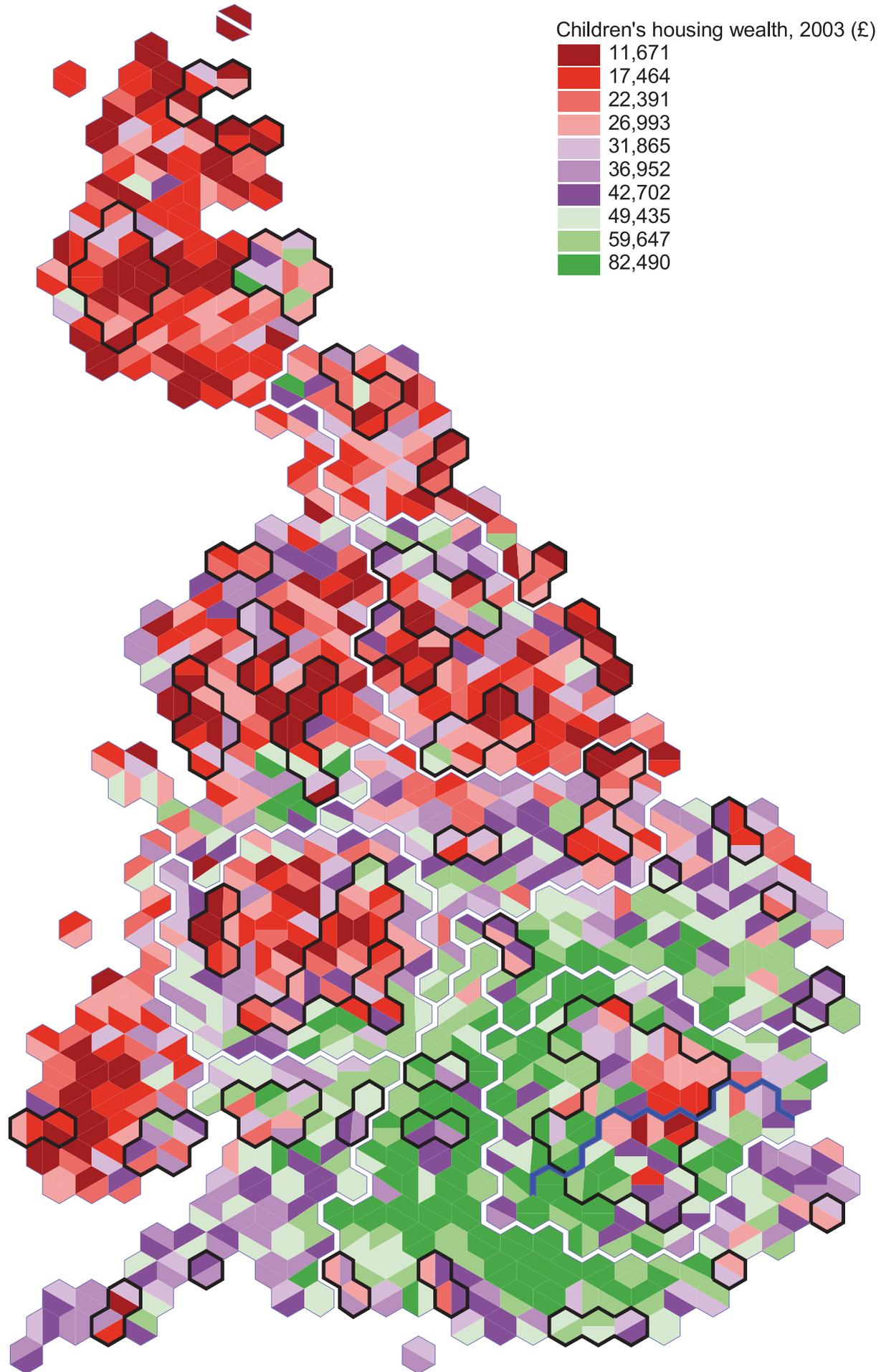
Children's housing wealth in Britain

Neighbourhood wealth per child, held in housing (£s) (2003)		
Decile	Minimum	Maximum
1	4,000	15,000
2	15,000	20,000
3	20,000	24,000
4	24,000	29,000
5	29,000	34,000
6	34,000	40,000
7	40,000	46,000
8	46,000	54,000
9	54,000	67,000
10	67,000	146,000

¹ The data is for 2003; the report *Know your place* can be found at <http://england.shelter.org.uk/policy/policy-825.cfm/plitem/160/> and also at www.sasi.group.shef.ac.uk/publications/reports/knowyourplace.htm

3.11 What's a home worth? Wealth of dependent children

Figure 3.11



4 And then the lover: ages 16-24

*... and then the lover,
Sighing like furnace, with a woeful ballad
Made to his mistress' eyebrow;*

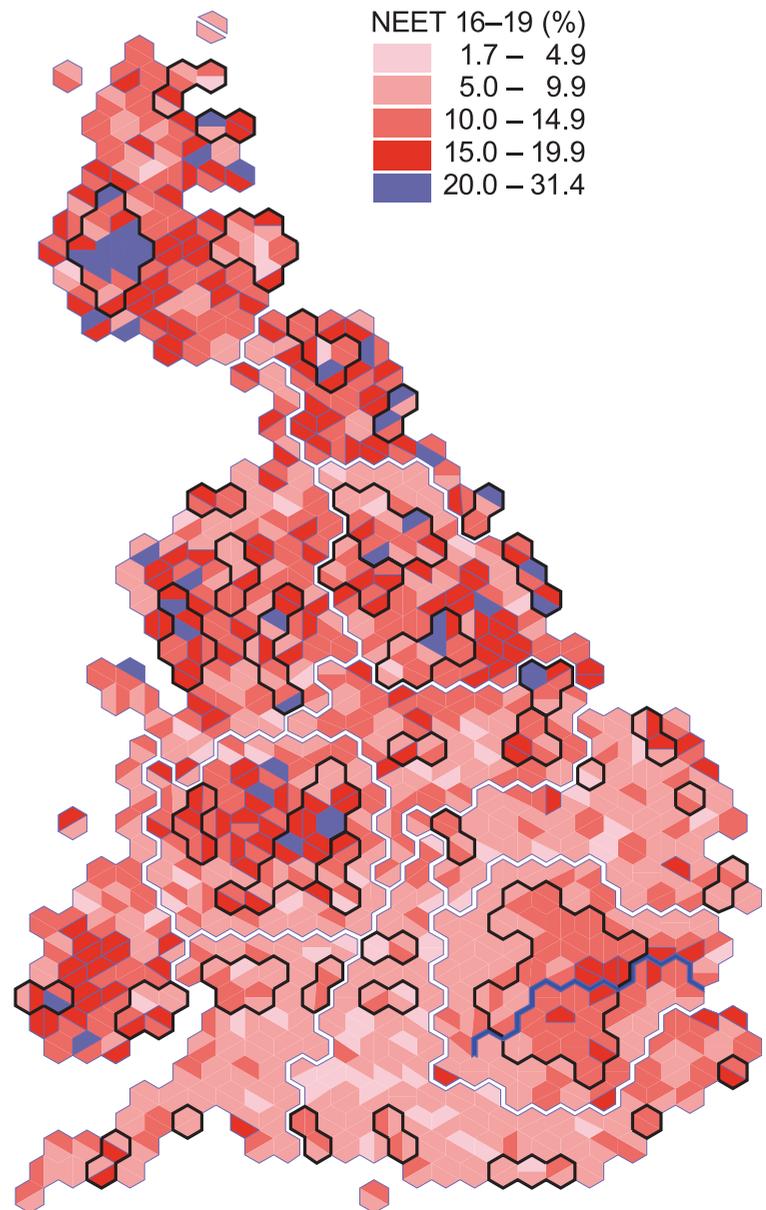
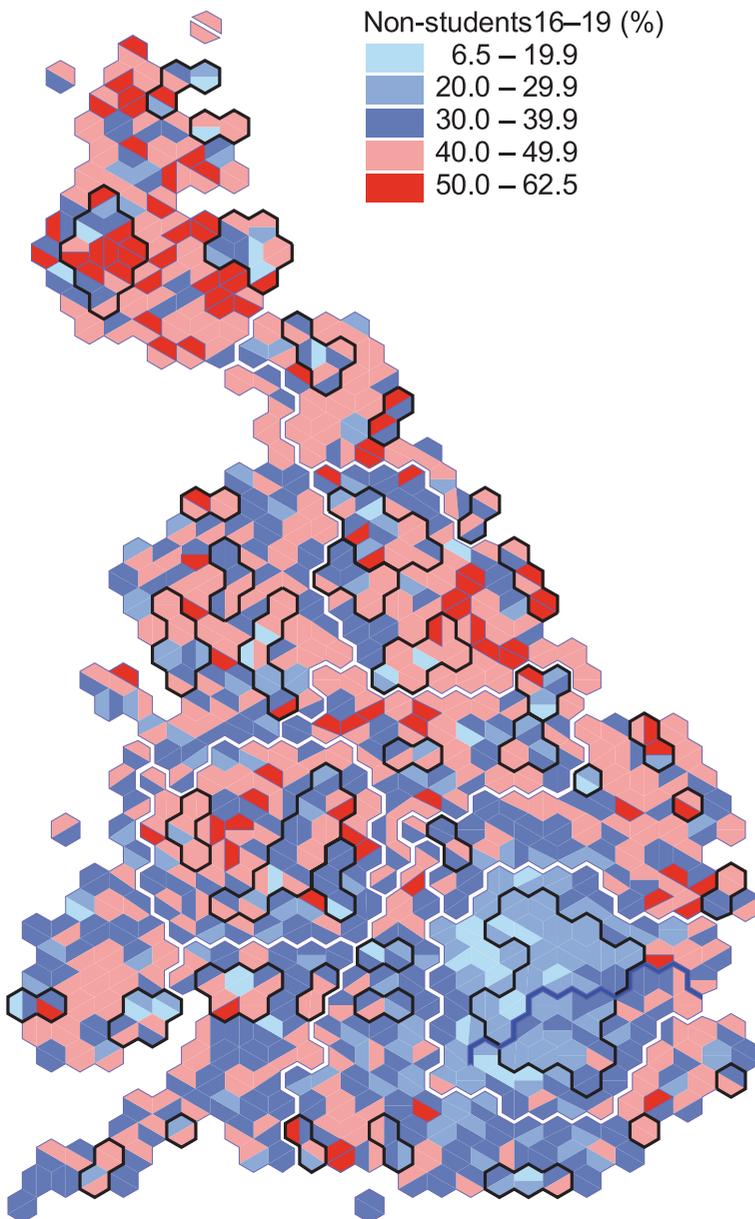


4.5 Not in education, employment or training in young adulthood

'NEET', standing for 'not in education, employment or training', is not a nice acronym, but as it became harder to be able to say that you were unemployed, and as the government began to tighten the screws on younger mothers who tried to stay at home with their children, the NEETs evolved as a new social group defined by what they were *not* doing rather than what they *were* doing.

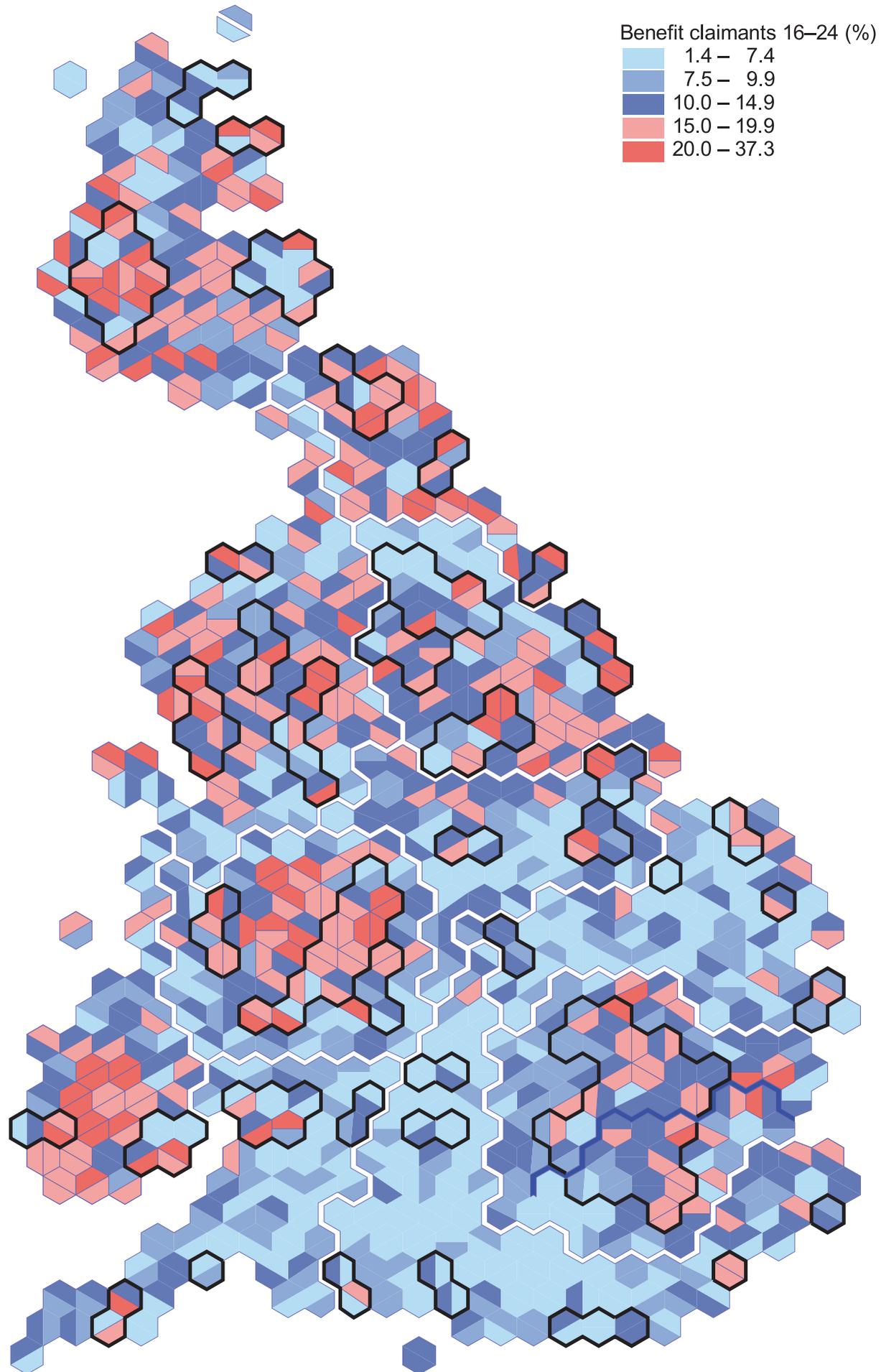
Almost everywhere a majority of young people aged 16-19 are students. In only a scattering of neighbourhoods are the majority of young people not students, as the map below left shows. Look carefully at this map and you see how London is unique in being a large city where almost everywhere most young people study. The NEET map (below right) is very much the mirror image of the student map and also very much the basis, for obvious

reasons, for the map of a wider age range of young people reliant on benefits shown in Figure 4.5 opposite. This map shows the proportion of young adults aged 16-24 reliant on and receiving one or more of the following forms of state social security in August 2005: Bereavement Benefit, Carer's Allowance, Disability Living Allowance, Incapacity Benefit, Income Support, Jobseeker's Allowance, Pension Credit and Widow's Benefit. Those reliant solely on Housing Benefit, Council Tax Benefit or Industrial Injuries Benefits are not included here. Note that although the map of NEETs and those living on benefits are similar, it is clear from these images that a high rate of young people in education, employment and/or training in an area does not necessarily mean fewer on benefits a few years later.



4.5 Not in education, employment or training in young adulthood

Figure 4.5



4.8 Dreaming spires and other heart's desires in young adulthood

Not all universities are the same. That is well known; there are numerous rankings available that all differ slightly. As we are interested in access here, we use one characteristic of the areas that students come from to rank institutions. That characteristic is the mean rate of access to higher education as a whole for children from those areas. Thus the most elite universities are defined as those that take most students from areas where most go to any university. Here we have divided them into four groups.

Elite: those institutions that admit a tenth of students in total and admit the highest proportion from the highest participating areas. This group corresponds to the equivalent of the North American Ivy League and includes most of the ancient universities.

Over average: those admitting the next four tenths of students. These tend to be largely (when counting by student) those universities that have been in place in one form or another for around a century.

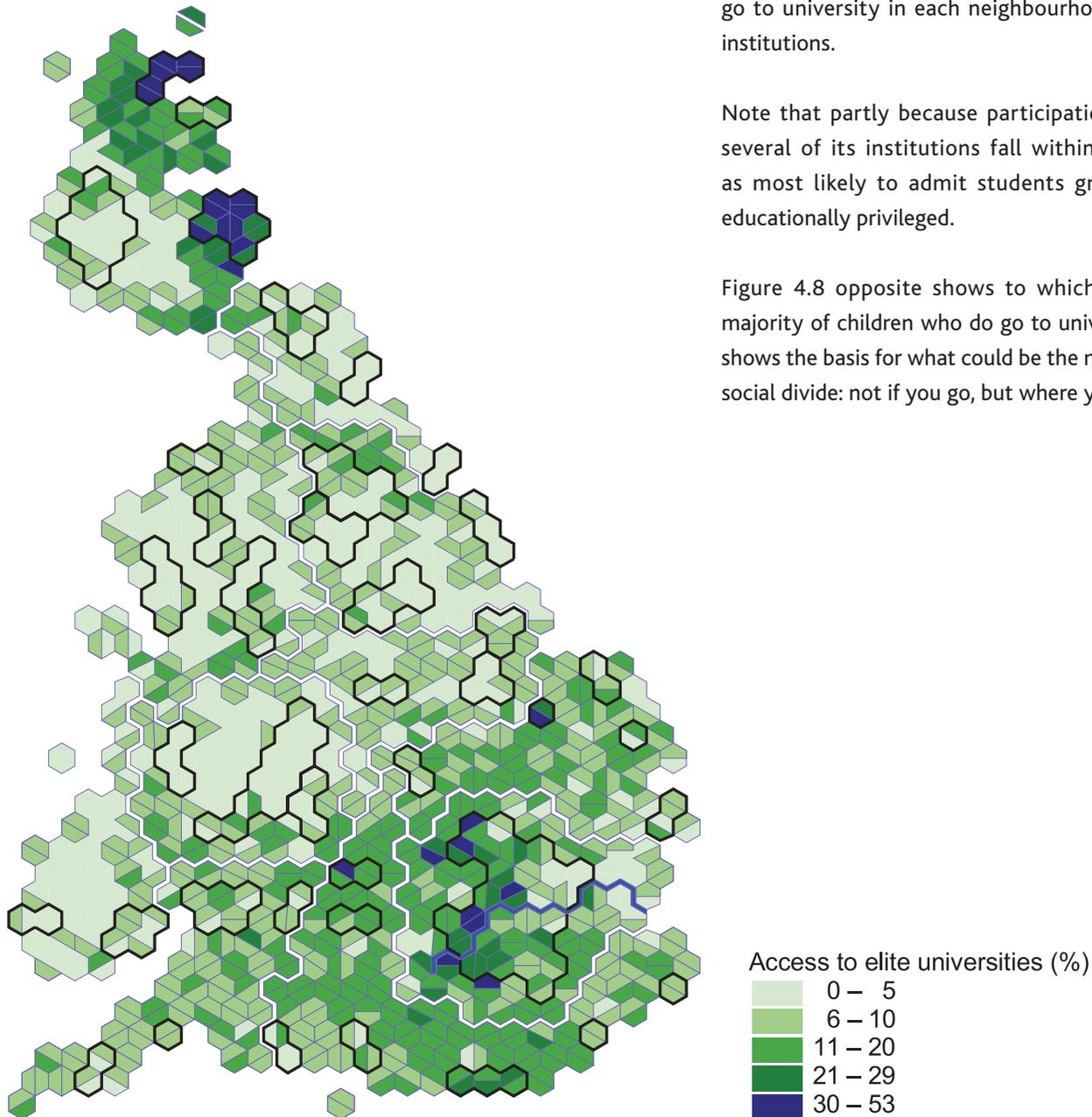
Under average: admitting the next four tenths of students, in other words, those from places where students tend to go to university but that are in the bottom half of the probability distribution.

Least favoured: the last tenth of students go to institutions that cater most for students from areas where access to university is least common. The majority of places offering higher education within further education institutions tend to be in this group.

The map on the left shows what proportion of children who go to university in each neighbourhood go to one of the elite institutions.

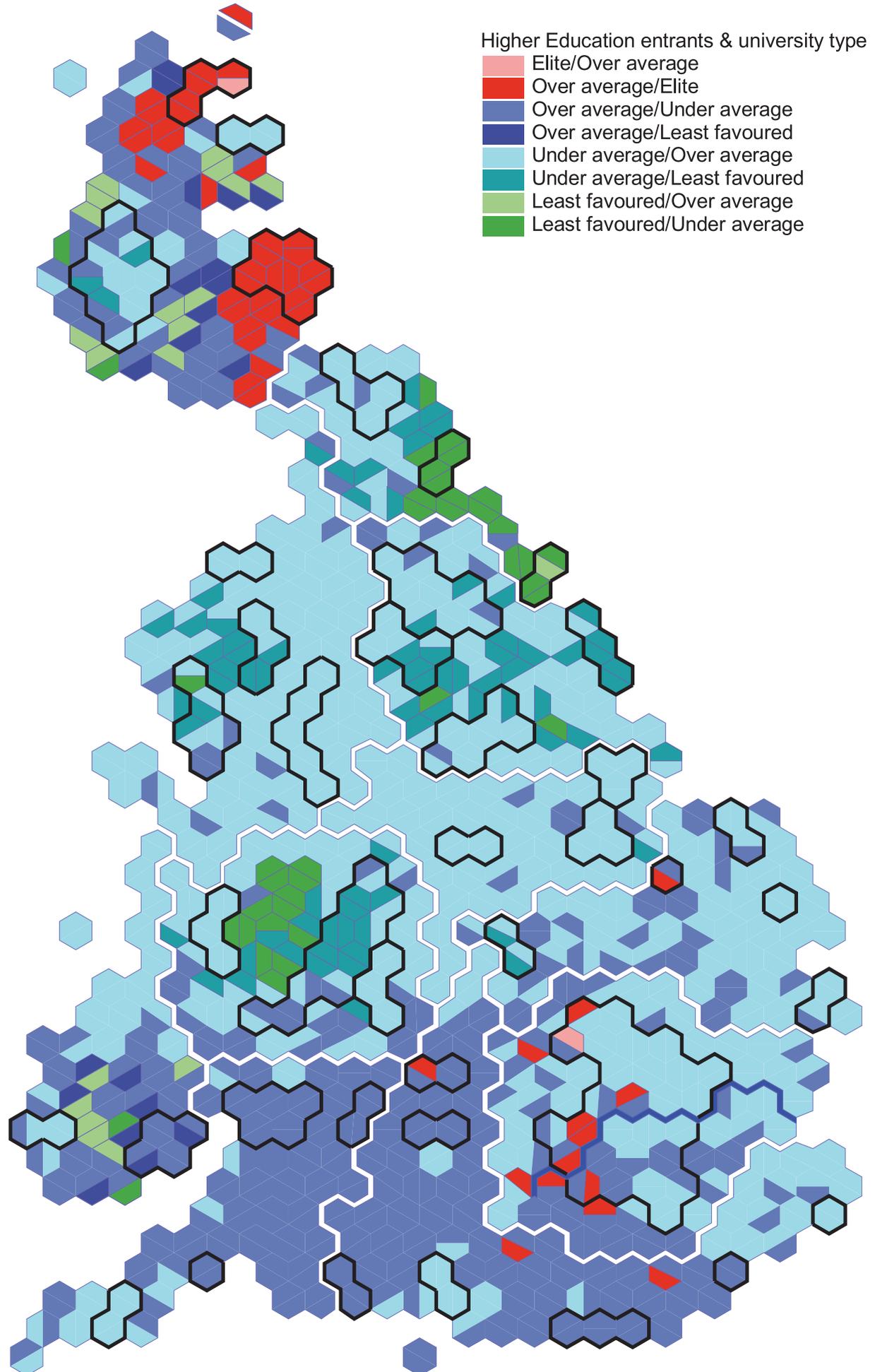
Note that partly because participation is so high in Scotland several of its institutions fall within the elite group defined as most likely to admit students growing up in areas most educationally privileged.

Figure 4.8 opposite shows to which type of institution the majority of children who do go to university get to and perhaps shows the basis for what could be the major future medium-term social divide: not if you go, but where you go.



4.8 Dreaming spires and other heart's desires in young adulthood

Figure 4.8



5 Then, a soldier: ages 25-39

*... then, a soldier,
Full of strange oaths, and bearded like the pard,
Jealous in honour, sudden and quick in quarrel,
Seeking the bubble reputation
Even in the cannon's mouth;*



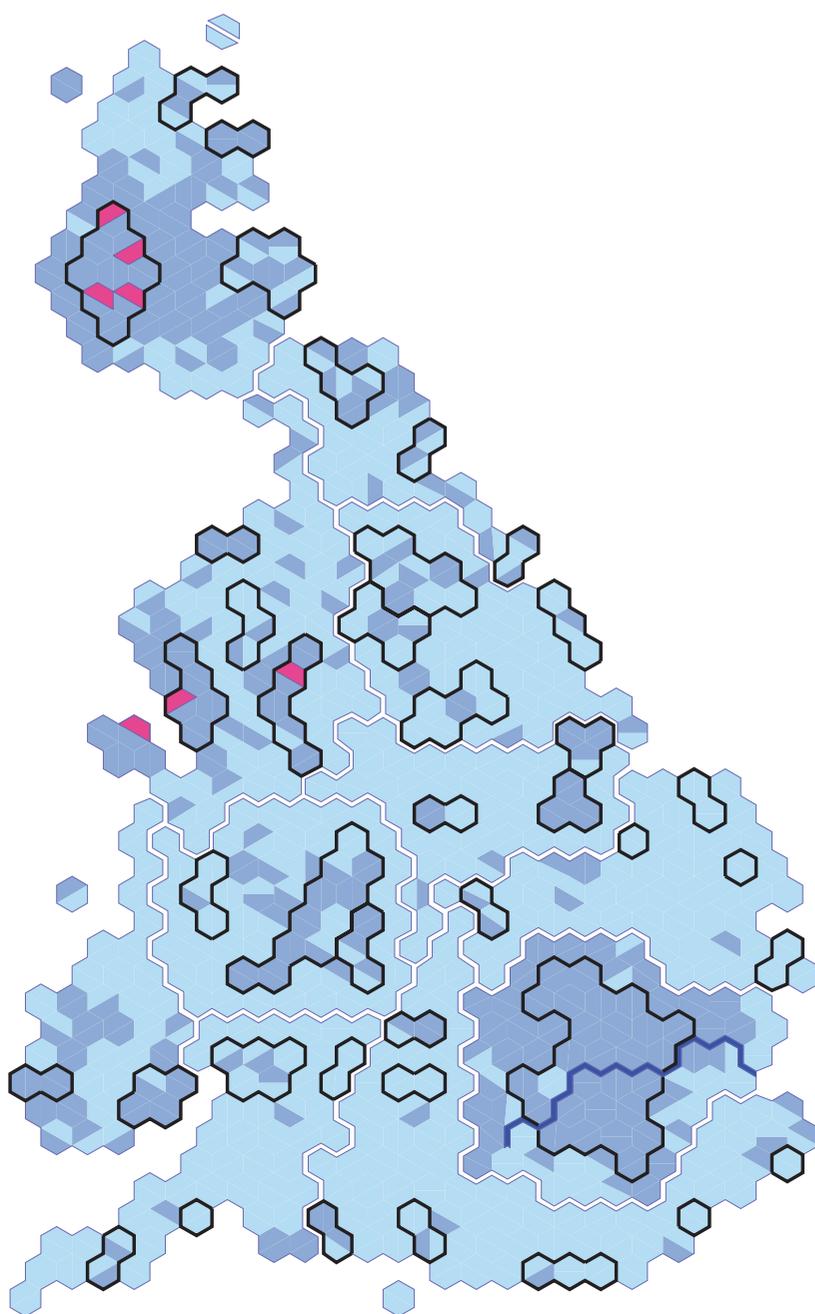
5.6 The household you live in (and who else is there) in midlife

For each age group, if you had to ask a single pertinent question, we have suggested what that question could be. For children it was the number of adults in paid employment in the household. How many bring home the bacon? For young adults it was sex. Not so much getting any, as who of which sex was doing what where you lived and how could you end up living with them. For those in midlife the pertinent question is 'Do you have children?'. When counted by whether they are living in a household that contains children, 6.5 million are and 6.0 million aged 25-39 are not. Note, however, that not every parent lives with their children. For every lone parent there has to be another parent, but there will not be quite as many estranged or never known parents as lone parents (you need to think about it for a bit; it all gets very messy very quickly).

In contrast, the map shown opposite (Figure 5.6) of the likelihood of someone in midlife living in a household with children is far from complex. There are some nuances, but, in general, move away from the centres of towns and cities and out of the south, and up to a maximum of two thirds of this age group are found living in households with children. In almost all cases these children are their biological children or their step-children.

In London and a few other parts of the South East those in midlife behave a little more like younger adults in their chances of having had children and how they choose or are able to live together. Conversely, in parts of Yorkshire and Wales especially, away from the bigger cities, the universities and the bright lights, by the age of 25 many have already settled down and the age group as a whole is behaving a little more like those a few years older than them nationally. Where you live is beginning to matter a little more than what your age means for how you live.

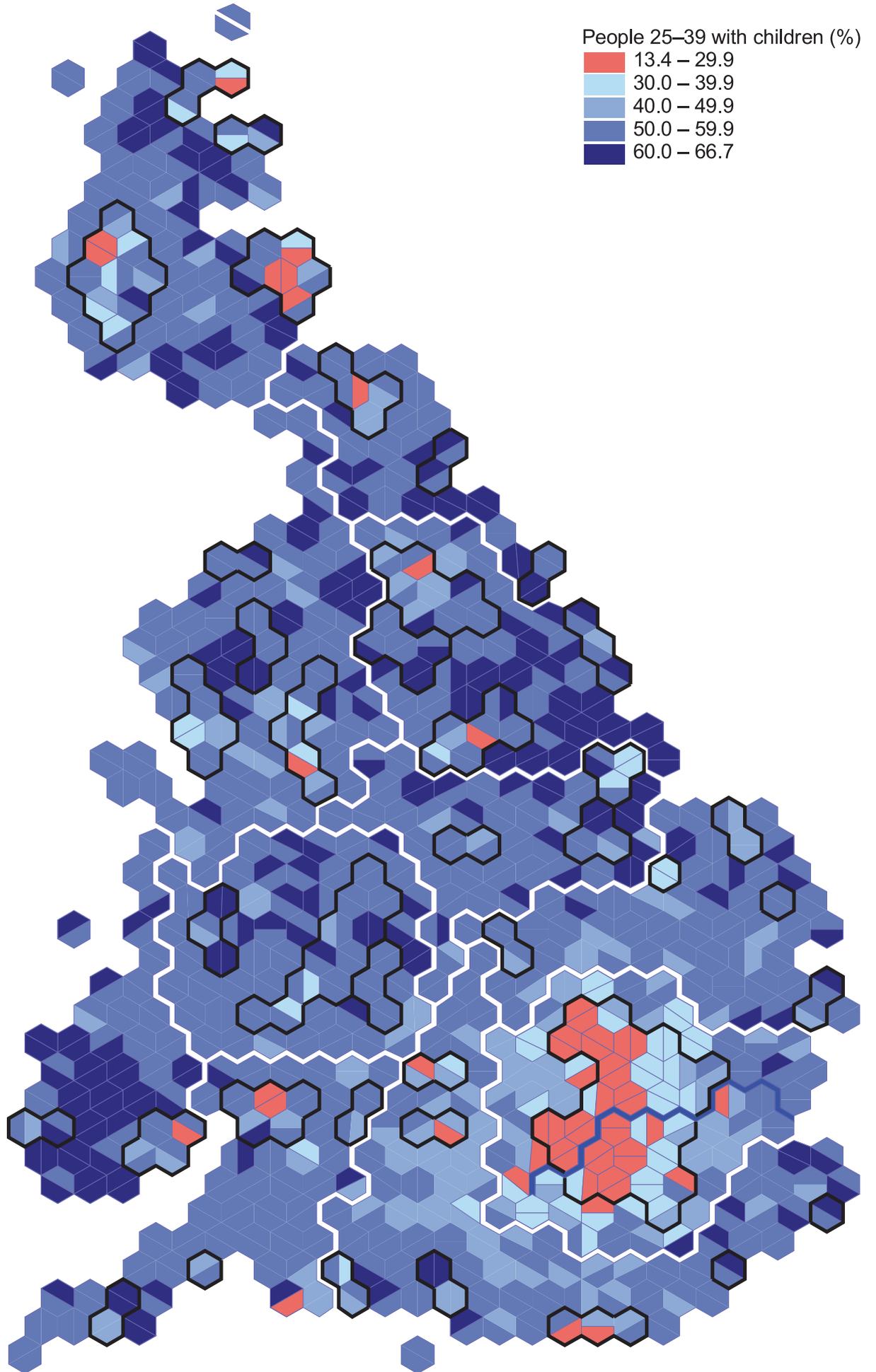
As to what kind of a family those in midlife live in, in almost all places the modal type is a married couple (even though almost nowhere are a majority in their first marriage). This is shown in the map left. All that makes the map interesting is a spattering of areas where a narrow majority are lone parents, and the well defined urban-rural division. That division here is between where the second most common family type in midlife consists of cohabitation, and where, if you are not in a married couple, you are most likely to be in lone parenthood. Note the three possibilities that feature nowhere in Britain. Two are accounted for because nowhere are a majority of those in midlife cohabiting. The third is because there is also no area where being in a married couple family is the least likely categorisation.



Family type, people 25–39
 Light blue: Married couple family/Cohabiting couple family
 Dark blue: Married couple family/Lone parent family
 Pink: Lone parent family/Married couple family

5.6 The household you live in (and who else is there) in midlife

Figure 5.6

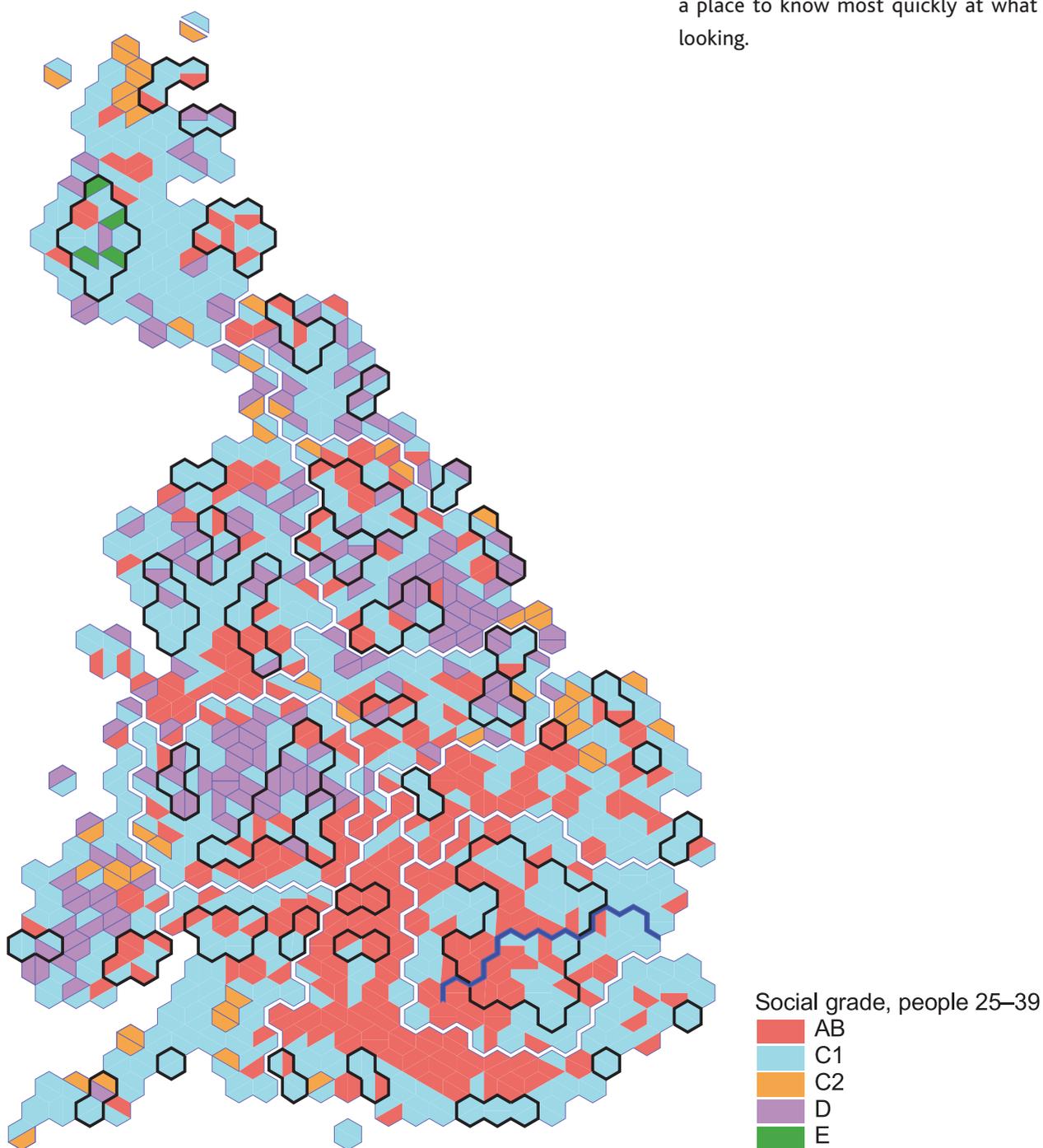


5.18 Social grade: another way to partition those in midlife

For those confused by what a lower manager, intermediate or small employer is, the older system of just assigning six classes, three white-collar, three blue-collar, is much simpler to remember if perhaps now a little dated. Social grade is assigned to the individual purely on the basis of their Household Reference Person's job title or the title of the last job they held. The highest grade, A, is so rare that we combine it with the next, B as before (see page 118). Figure 5.18 opposite shows clearly how the areas most characterised in midlife as AB/C1 swarm in the south and are in turn surrounded most closely by those who are C1/AB. At the other end of the scale E/D (and D/E) is found only in Glasgow and D/C2 almost solely in the north.

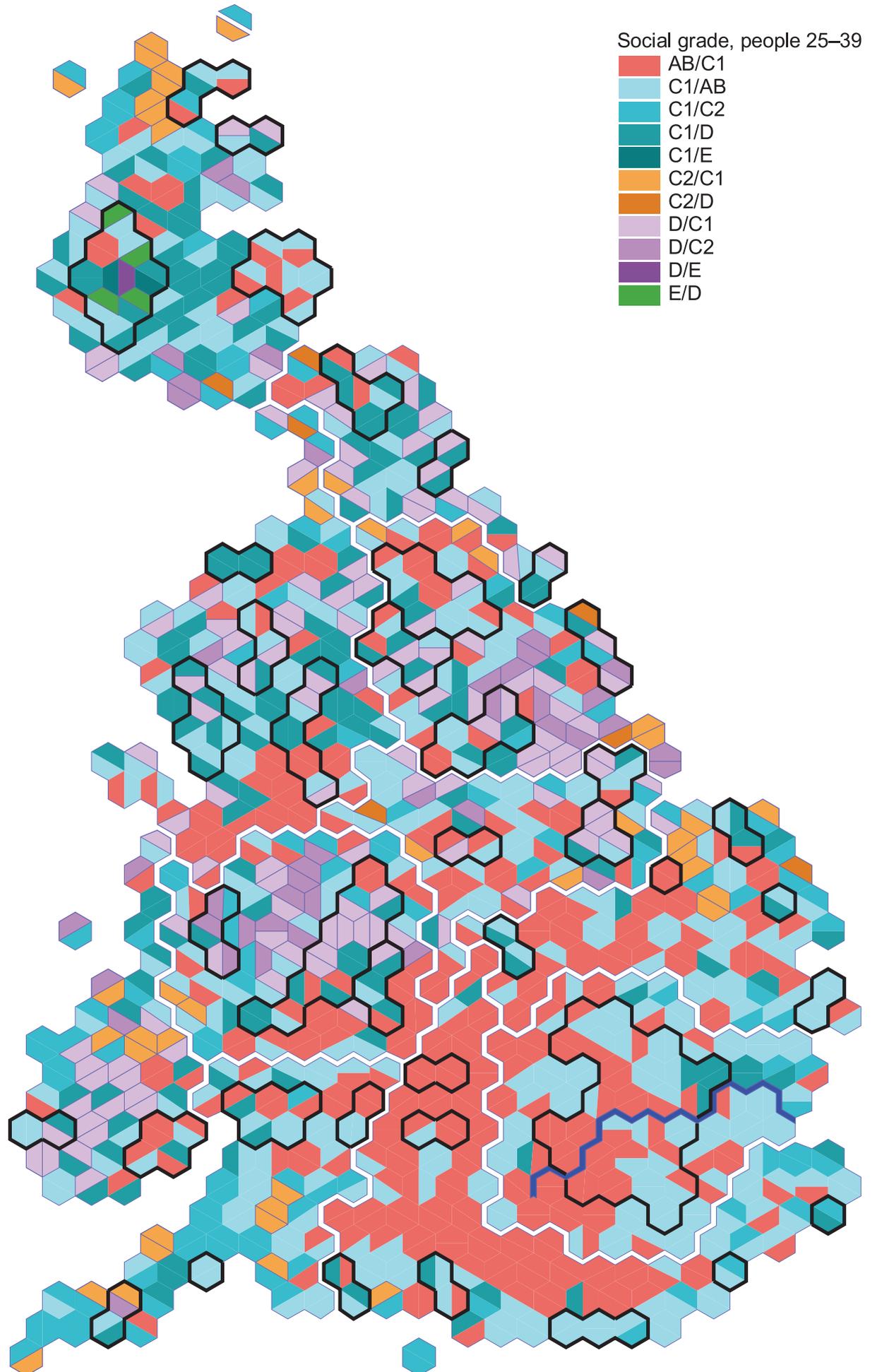
It is perhaps simpler to see just how well the country is divided north/south when only the most common social grade is considered, as in the map below. As if to try to convince us to tilt the north-south divide north west-south east, the only place in the south where a majority are assigned class D is one of the quarters of Plymouth, the most westerly English city identified on our maps.

There is nowhere in London that is not dominated either by AB or C1 in midlife and only one such exception in the South East region. By midlife, people are largely sorted out in life. They have become what they were going to be. The idiosyncrasies and exceptions have been all but ironed out. Look to the midlife of a place to know most quickly at what kind of a place you are looking.



5.18 Social grade: another way to partition those in midlife

Figure 5.18



6 And then, the justice: ages 40-59

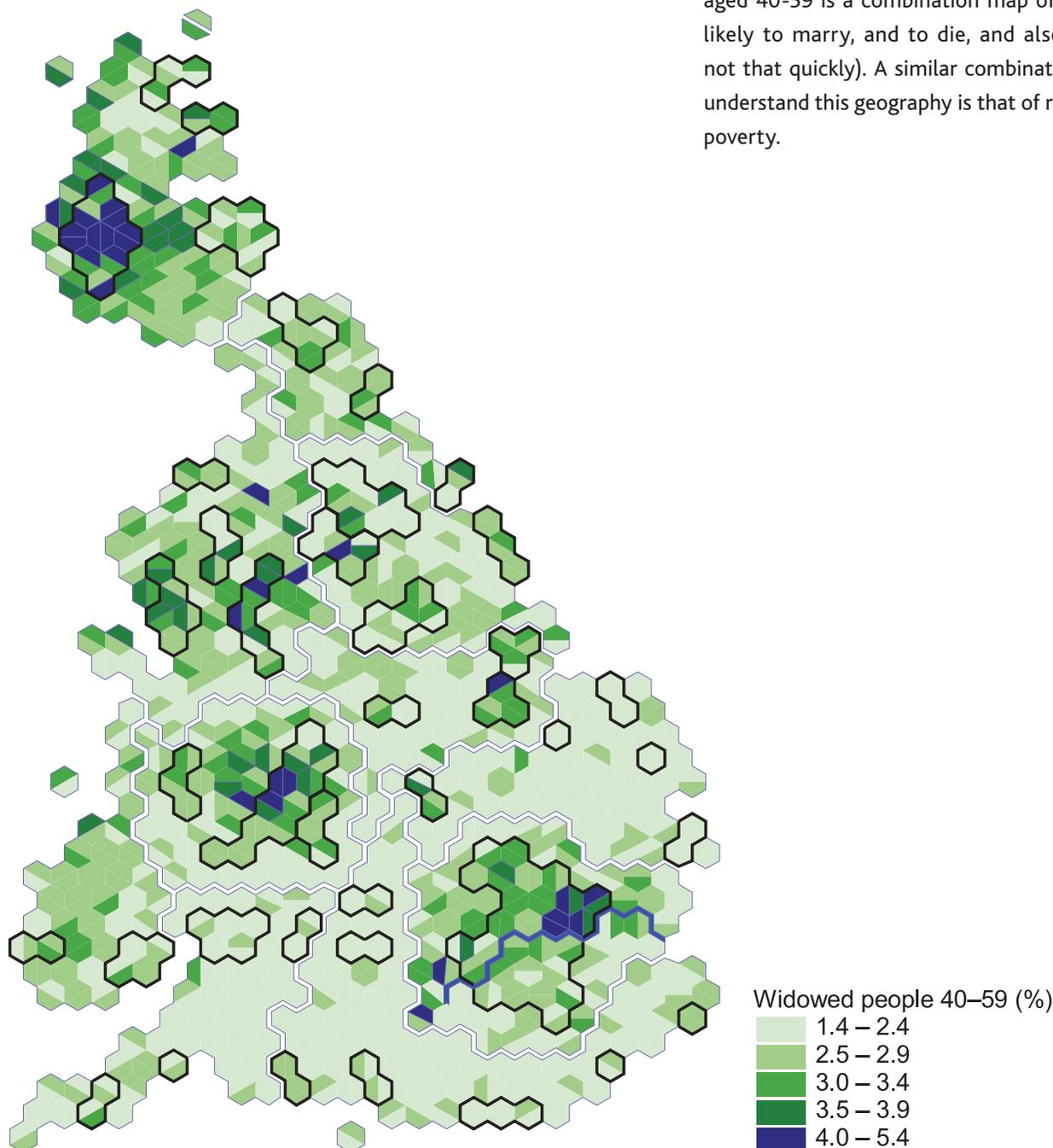
*... and then, the justice,
In fair round belly, with good capon lined,
With eyes severe, and beard of formal cut,
Full of wise saws and modern instances,
And so he plays his part;*



6.4 Separation, divorce and widowhood in maturity

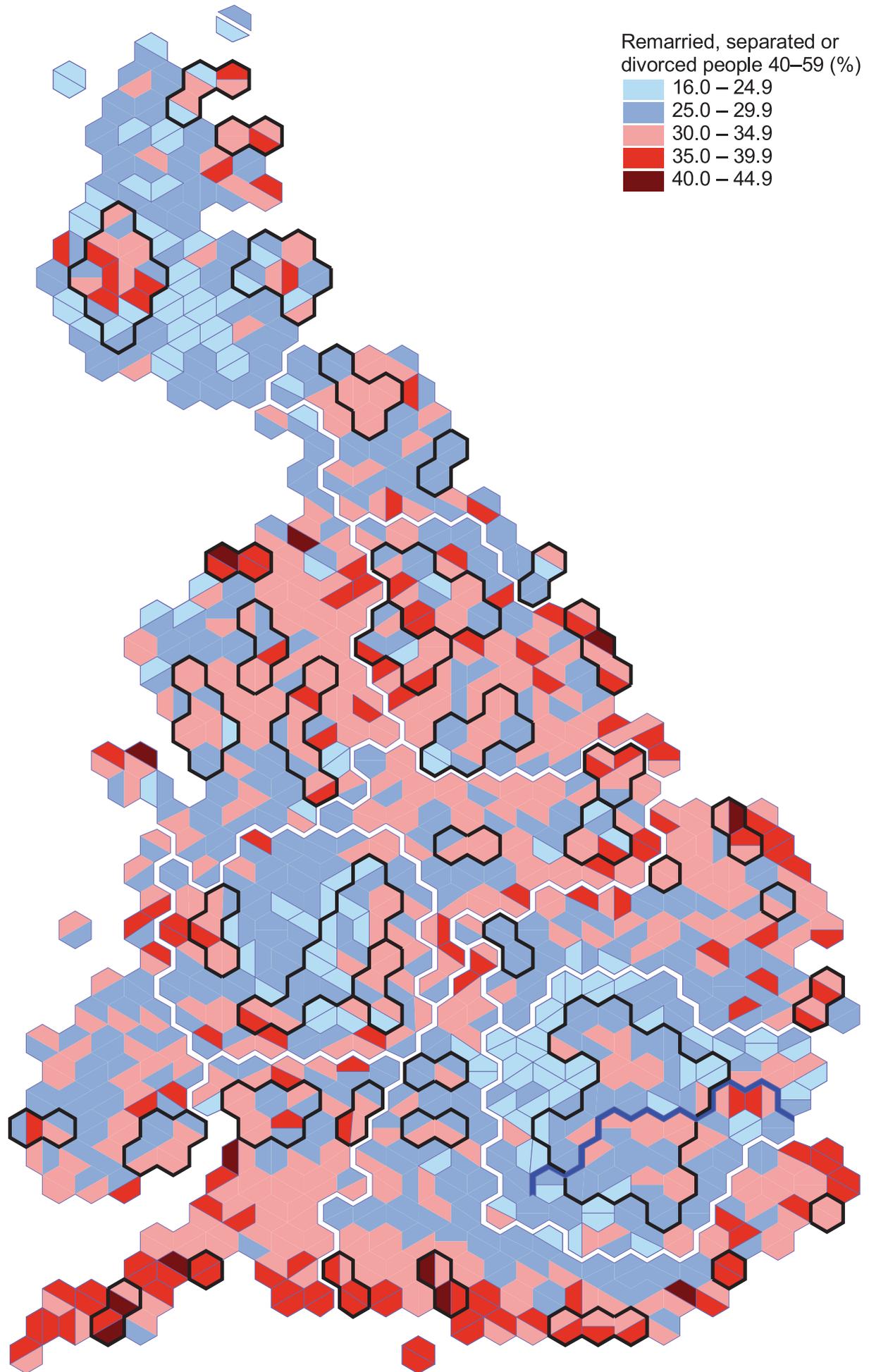
The geography to the 31% of this age group who are remarried, separated or divorced is striking, as shown in Figure 6.4 opposite. The tendency to 'get away from it all' noted earlier in midlife, and for the parents of step-children, (see page 62), is very strong. The sea, especially the warmer sea, appears to draw those who have lost a marital partner. Some coastal towns are especially attractive, partly because it may be cheaper to live in these towns than elsewhere along the coast, and disposable income usually falls on separation. There are also many parts of Outer London and the more expensive quarters of other cities where those at least once separated are least often found. Here it is usually too expensive not to live as a couple and not far enough away from urban reminders for those who have separated either.

Outside of most of urban Britain, extol the values and sanctity of first marriage to someone of mature years, and often more than a third of the time you will be speaking to someone who has been there and done that. Across Britain nationally you would most securely begin digging yourself into a hole in only one such conversation out of fifty. These are the conversations where you will be talking to someone whose husband or wife has died but who has not remarried. This form of separation, that which brings the national total of broken first marriages up to almost exactly a third, usually has the opposite geography to the others, as is shown in the map below. We say 'usually' because the great exception, Glasgow, experienced high rates of remarriage, separation and divorce in maturity as well as widowhood. This map of where people are most likely to be a widow or widower aged 40-59 is a combination map of where they are first more likely to marry, and to die, and also to not remarry (at least not that quickly). A similar combination to consider in trying to understand this geography is that of religious belief, ill health and poverty.



6.4 Separation, divorce and widowhood in maturity

Figure 6.4



6.12 Tenure and the mixing of neighbourhoods in maturity

By the years of maturity, the land is still a sea of conformity by tenure. The majority are still paying off those 25-year mortgages, or their second mortgage, or the mortgage they extended for a little equity withdrawal; there are many stories, but in most places most are still buying their home (see Figure 6.12 opposite). Perhaps unpredictably the places where a majority own outright are some of the most far flung and are often far from the most pricey; in both Orkney and the most rural half of Eilean Siar a majority own by these ages (note that crofting here continues, albeit with recent legal changes); a majority own also in the north of Rhondda, and the most rural parts of Ceredigion and Meirionnydd in Wales. All those houses in these five areas could be bought many times over, given the value of those in the other two neighbourhoods where a majority now own – Kensington and Chelsea – or the bank balances of many in the only neighbourhood where a majority of these ages rent privately – Hyde Park. Local authority (LA) and other social renting is dominant and in the largest minority in a shrunken set of places to those seen in earlier years by tenure.

If the table below is compared with that on page 148, we see that there are roughly as many mortgagees in Britain of mature years as in their midlife years. However, the huge difference between these stages of life is that by these years the very large majority are living in neighbourhoods where the second most common tenure is to own outright. Some seven million of the eight million mature mortgagees live in such neighbourhoods. There are also now a few neighbourhoods where a majority own outright, of which there are none in midlife.

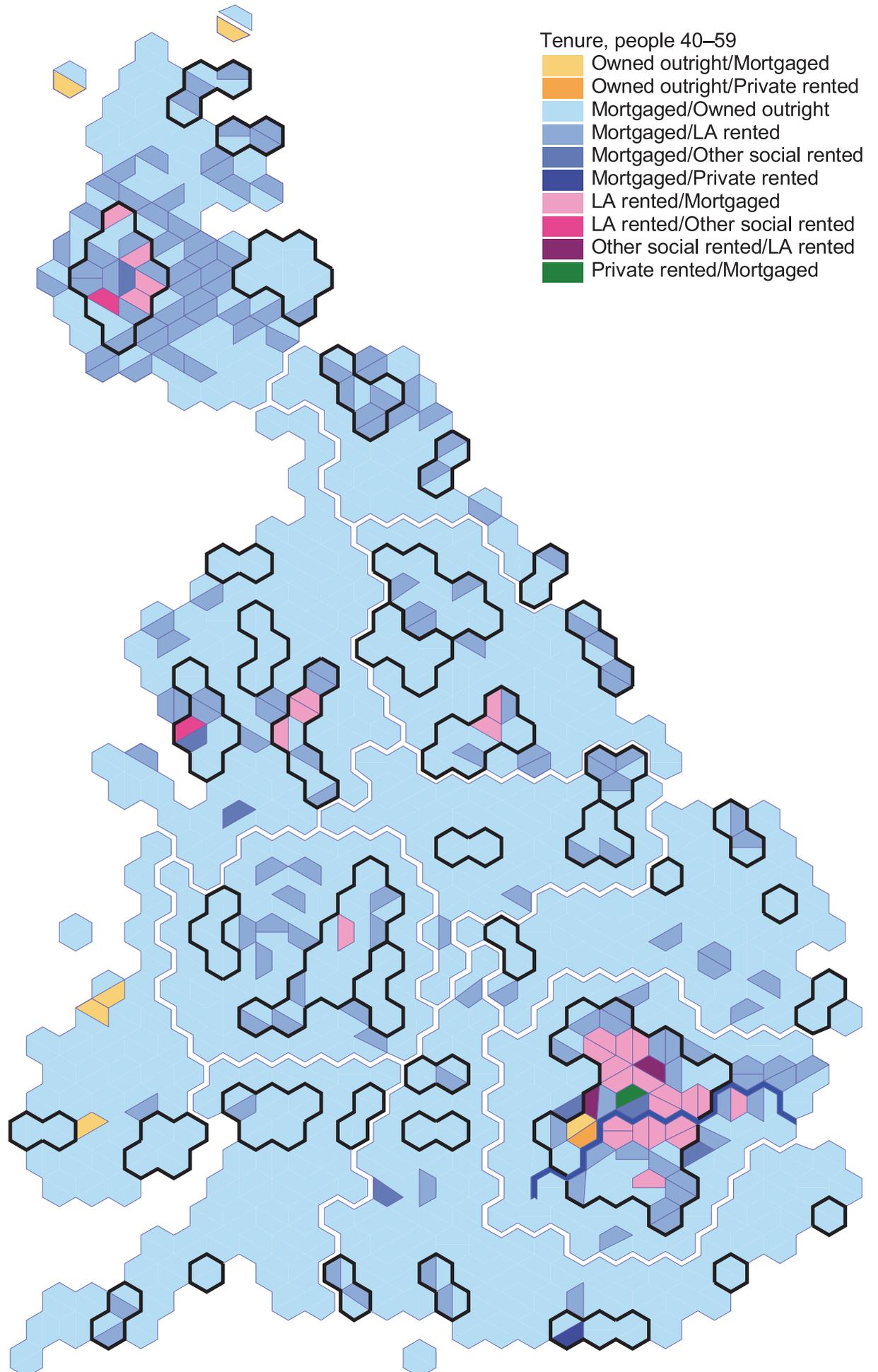
Only three quarters of a million mature mortgagees live in neighbourhoods where the second most common tenure is renting from the council compared with two-and-a-quarter million of their equivalent in the midlife age bands. It would appear that if we compare the table below with its equivalent in the last chapter, people not only migrate away from cities as they age in Britain, but also drift up the tenure scale in terms of capital outlay and gain – out of renting into buying and out of buying into owning – thus making places where this is not the case for the majority or largest minority all the more unusual by these ages.

Number of people aged 40-59 in a mortgaged home according to tenure mix

People aged 40-59, mortgagees	Second most common tenure in the neighbourhood						Total
	Communal	LA rented	Mortgaged	Other social rented	Owned outright	Private rented	
LA rented			66,244	2,553			68,797
Mortgaged		764,680		31,187	7,141,449	4,953	7,942,269
Other social rented		4,806					4,806
Owned outright			19,160			3,225	22,385
Private rented			3,650				3,650
Total		769,486	89,054	33,740	7,141,449	8,178	8,041,907

6.12 Tenure and the mixing of neighbourhoods in maturity

Figure 6.12



7 The lean and slippered pantaloons: ages 60-74

... the sixth age shifts

*Into the lean and slippered pantaloons,
With spectacles on nose and pouch on side,
His youthful hose, well saved, a world too wide
For his shrunk shank, and his big manly voice,
Turning again toward childish treble, pipes
And whistles in his sound;*



7.1 Introduction

A shift now to something different: turn 60 and your free bus pass awaits. Turn 60 and it's time to slow down, shift back a gear, retire, or at least get ready to retire.

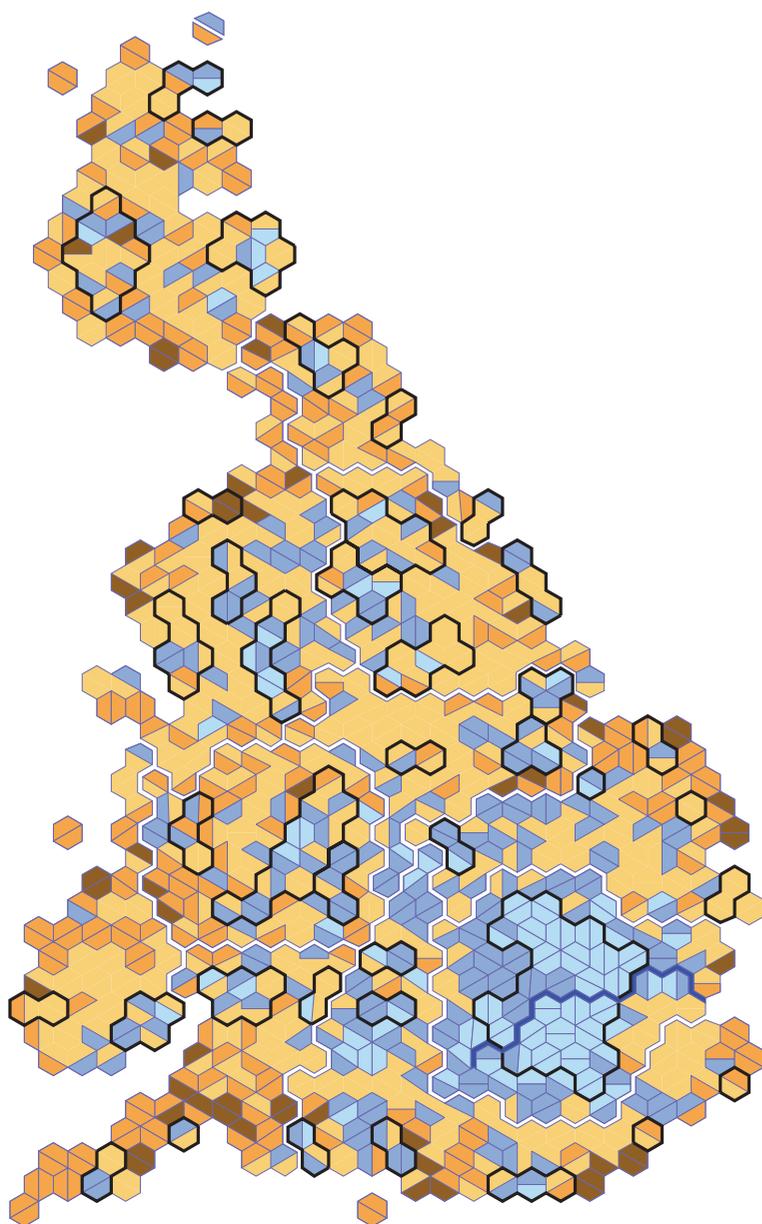
No longer expected to look after children, to earn money, to have to pay off loans: for some, these are the easy years. Most of the generation above you in years have died. There are fewer people all round to look after, other than your partner, if you still have one. But even if, by the start of these later years, there is not much looking after to be done, there probably soon will be. For many others the looking after has already begun, or they still have to work just to get by and to heat their home, while their contemporaries who had different lives now frequently holiday abroad in the warmth when they fancy it.

These are the years when the social divisions can be seen as most stark between those who have been able to amass their wealth and those from whom (at home if not abroad) they have amassed it: those who still must struggle. Most bleakly, these are the years in which these differences are mostly played out in early death and widowhood for the many, and, at the other extreme, a relatively healthy old age for the few. 'Old age' and the 'older aged' are terms that slip out too easily to encapsulate these years. You can still be young in old age, or you may feel all the weight of your age in your bones, but these are the last years before we are truly elderly. Here we are considering the oldest ages that most now at these ages expected to live to (when they were young).

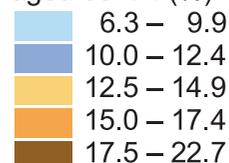
Left we show the geographies for those aged 60-74. As above at earlier life stages, this is the basic distribution to remember as you consider the various characteristics of people at these ages.

No longer living just outside towns, by old age the coasts and remoter countryside draw most strongly. Less than a tenth of the people in most central sites and much of London are in their old age. In contrast, two to three times more of the old are more commonly found in the areas where they are most likely to migrate to in retirement.

Note that as we shrink, put spectacles on our noses, watch our paunches grow, and for men, hear our voices break back high, we are changing quickly in these years. We know that almost none of us will have children again (for women at least), that we are very different specimens at the start of these years, on average, compared with the end. By the turn of the millennium, a 60-year-old man's chances of dying before he reached 61 in Britain was 100 to one against, 60 to one for a 65-year-old not reaching 66 and 30 to one by 72 of not reaching age 73. For women, the respective rates at these same ages were: one in 150, one in 100 and one in 50, and the ages at which women attained the mortality chances of 60-, 65- and 70-year-old men were 65, 70 and 75 respectively. If you didn't know better, you'd be led to believe there was a God and that she was a woman with a numerical penchant for leaving obvious signs of her sympathies.



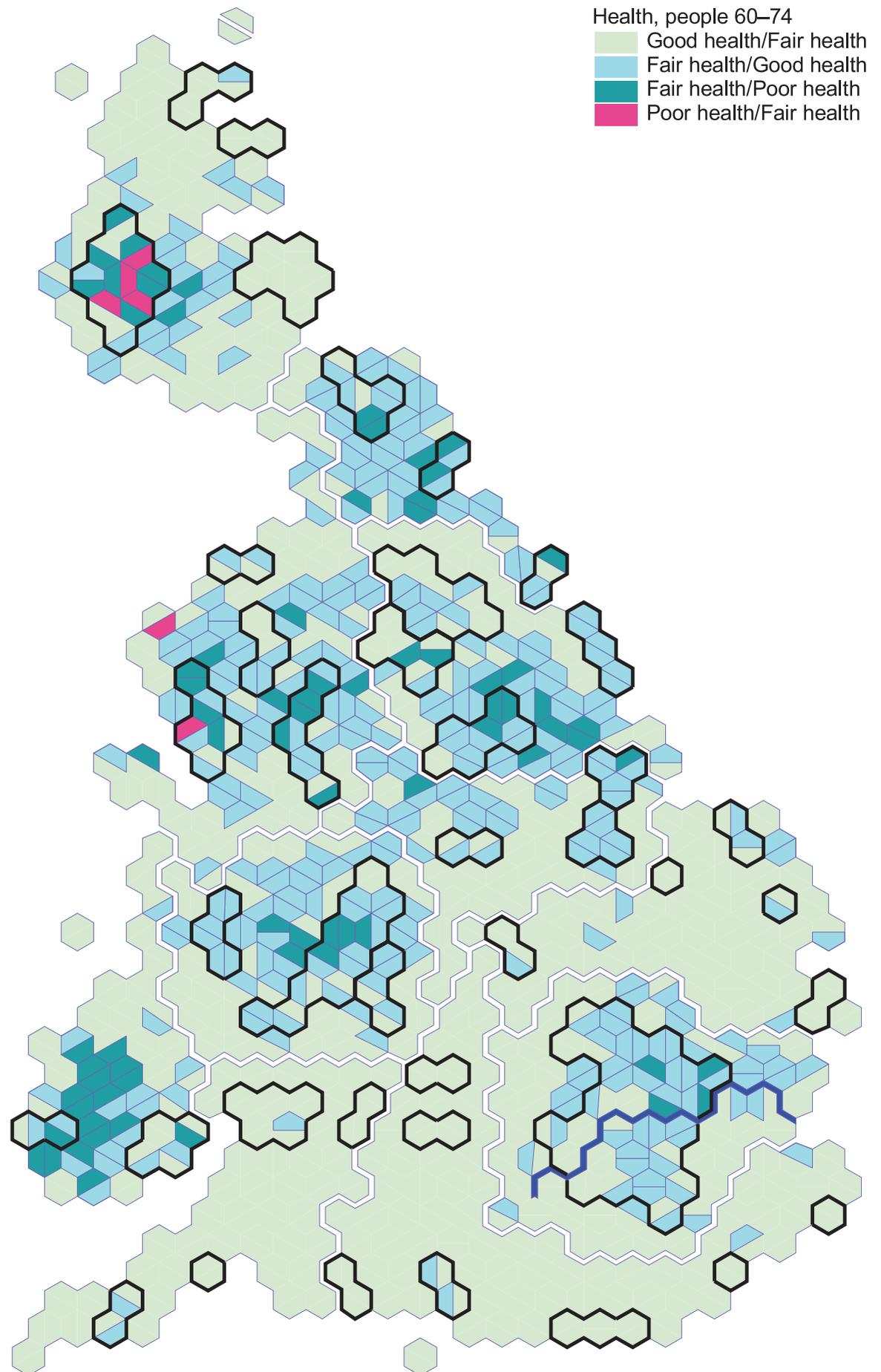
Proportion of population aged 60-74 (%)



7.1 Introduction

Figure 7.1 is not one we could draw at the start of the last two chapters as the result would have been too dull, but here it sums up the divisions across the country for those in old age that underlie much of the rest of what this penultimate stage of life is about geographically. Where life has been and continues to be hardest are the few places where the majority in old age are in poor health and most of the rest only in fair health. These two health statuses are reversed in the rest of the poorest parts of Britain. Around them in turn are the neighbourhoods where fair health is most likely but good health next most so, and around them the areas where good health is mostly found followed by fair. The 'good' and the 'poor' never mix in old age in the neighbourhoods of Britain, just as we have seen so little mixing in earlier years.

Figure 7.1

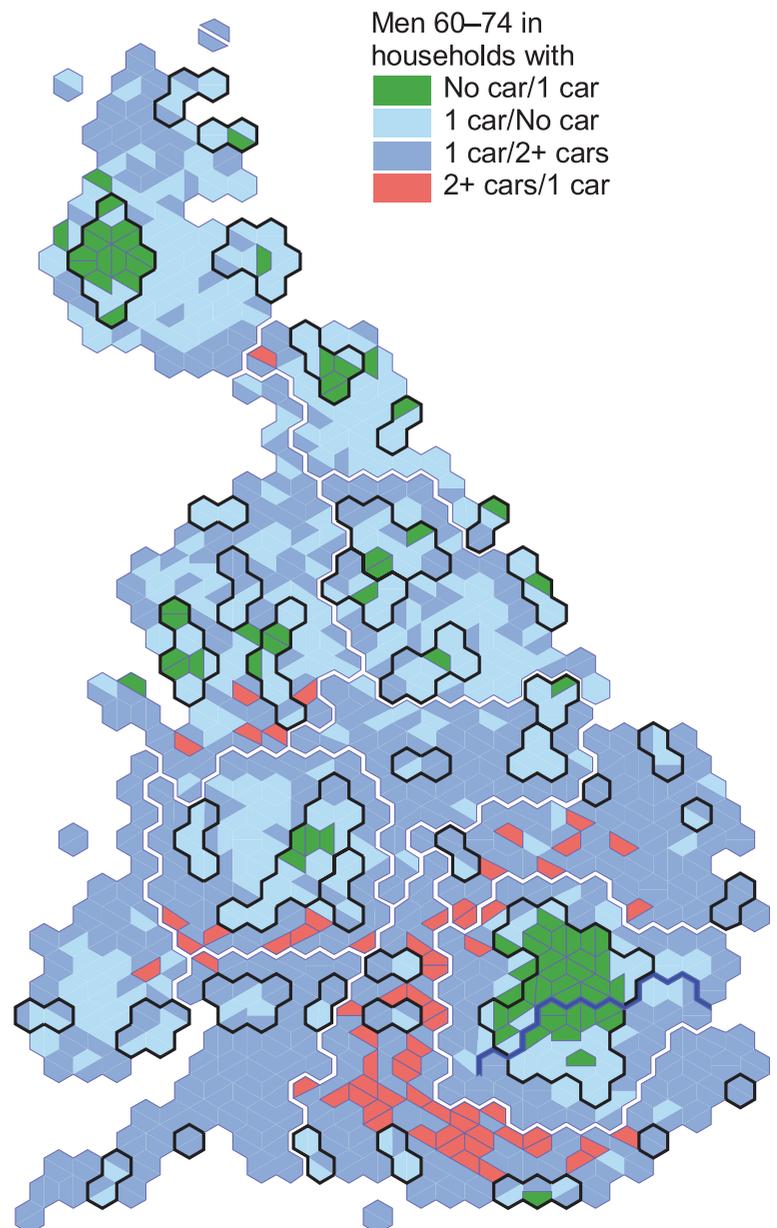
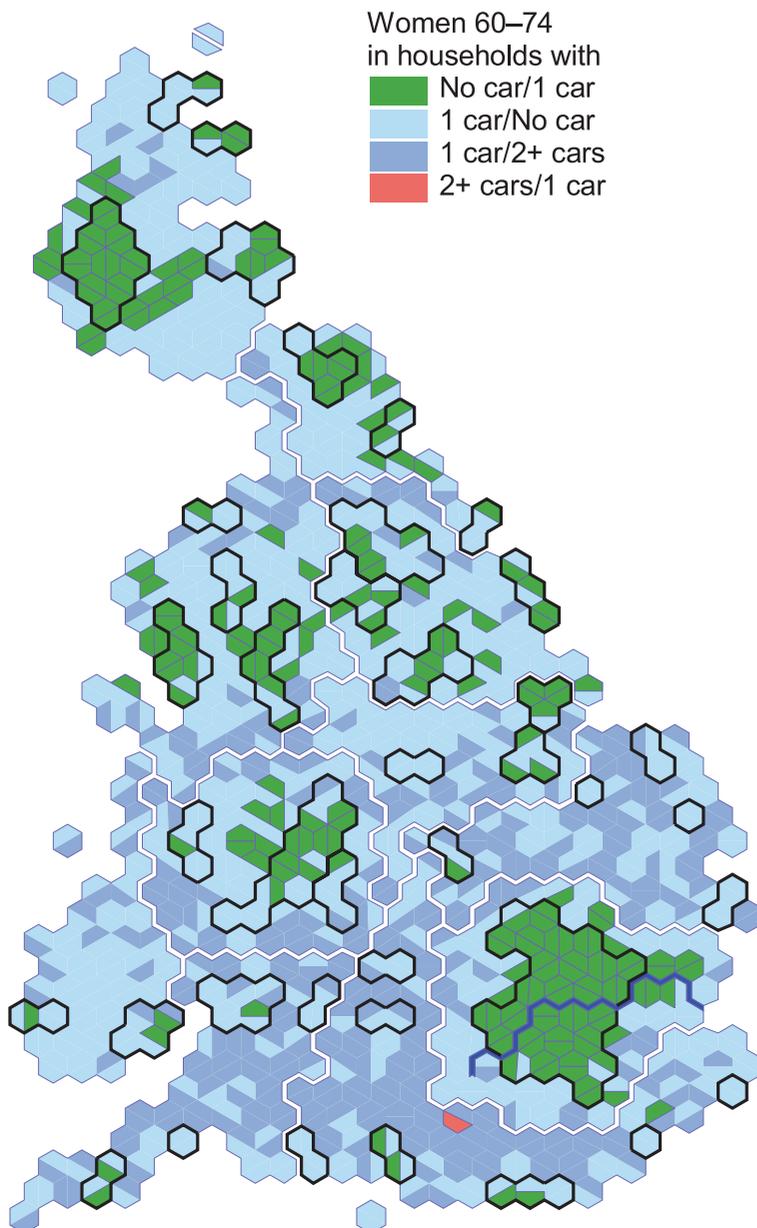


7.13 Cars and means of travelling to work for those who still do in old age

If the number of cars available to the majority of people in each neighbourhood at these ages is counted separately for women and men, quite different images result, as shown below. Only in one neighbourhood do a majority of women in their sixties and early seventies live in households where there are two or more cars available to be driven (Walton in Surrey). It is not that women particularly dislike cars, or that there are some especially sad single old men hoarding cars as a substitute for company. Rather it is that women are a little more likely to be on their own at these ages as there are fewer men to go round. If you are on your own, what possible need is there to have more than one car? Further, the proportion of women who can drive at these ages is much lower than that of men. In 2001, 57% of women aged 60-69 had a full driving licence compared with 86% of men. For the over-seventies the divide is even starker, with only a quarter of women having a full driving licence compared with nearly 70% of men.¹

Of the remaining 1,281 neighbourhoods in Britain excluding Walton, in 689 the majority of women live in areas where one car is the norm followed by two; 365 in neighbourhoods where one is most usual followed by none; and 227 where no cars is the norm followed by one. For men there are 65 neighbourhoods the equivalent of Walton; 734 where one is more common than two; 402 where one is more common than none; and only 81 where no car is the most common state (followed by one). There are thus three times fewer neighbourhoods, counting by men, where the majority of households with people of these ages have no car. There are sixty-five times more neighbourhoods counting by men rather than women where most have access to two or more cars.

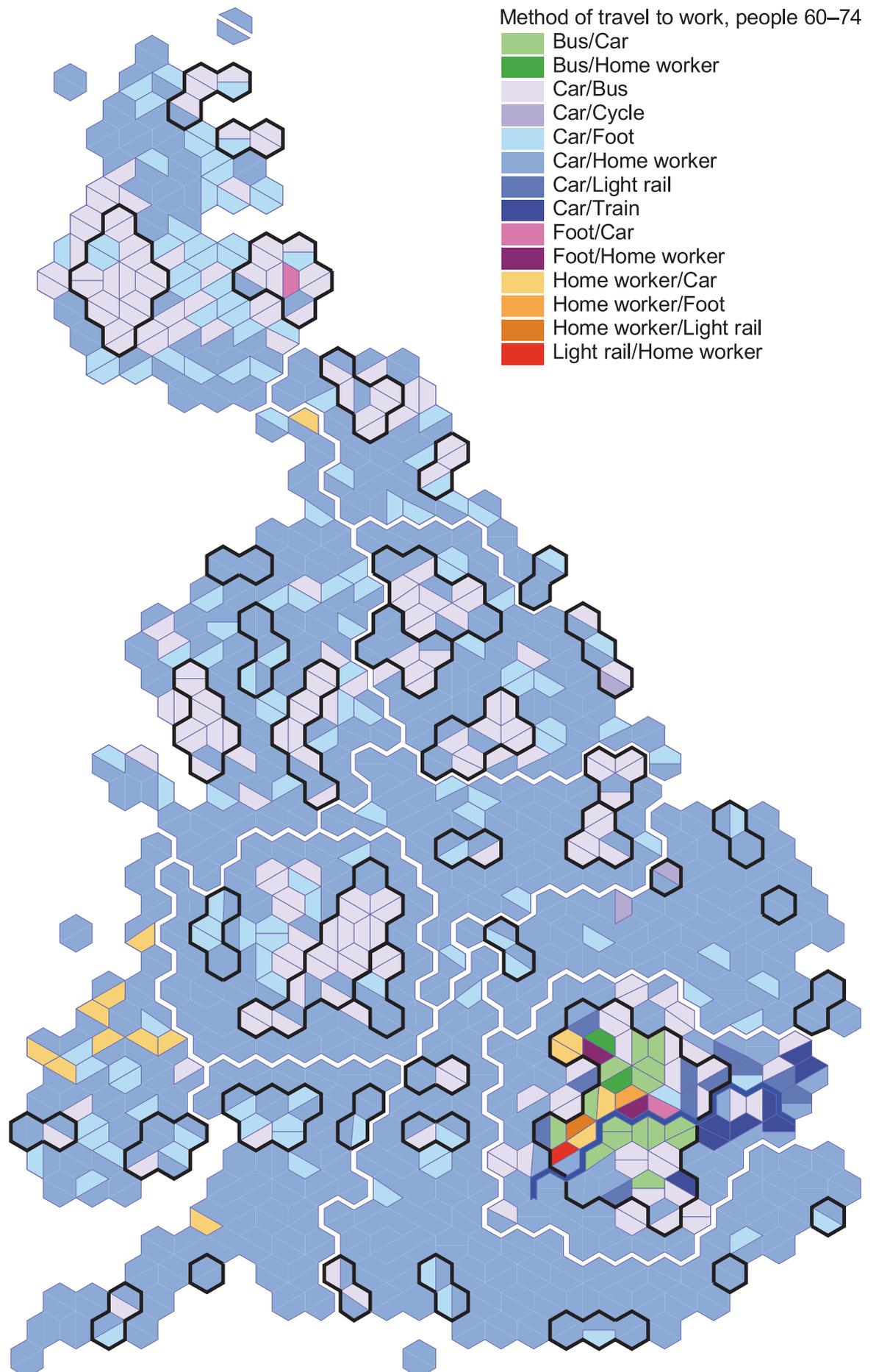
¹ www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=880



7.13 Cars and means of travelling to work for those who still do in old age

Figure 7.13, of how that minority who are still in employment travel to work at these ages and how they choose or have to do so, is interesting compared with its counterpart already shown for the next youngest age group (on page 185). It is interesting mainly in how many fewer older people let the train 'take the strain' for them on the way to work from Outer London. Note also at these ages how working at or from home is the most common way of working for those in work, either in some of the remotest of rural areas or in the heart of the capital, but nowhere in between.

Figure 7.13



8 To end this strange eventful history: aged 75+

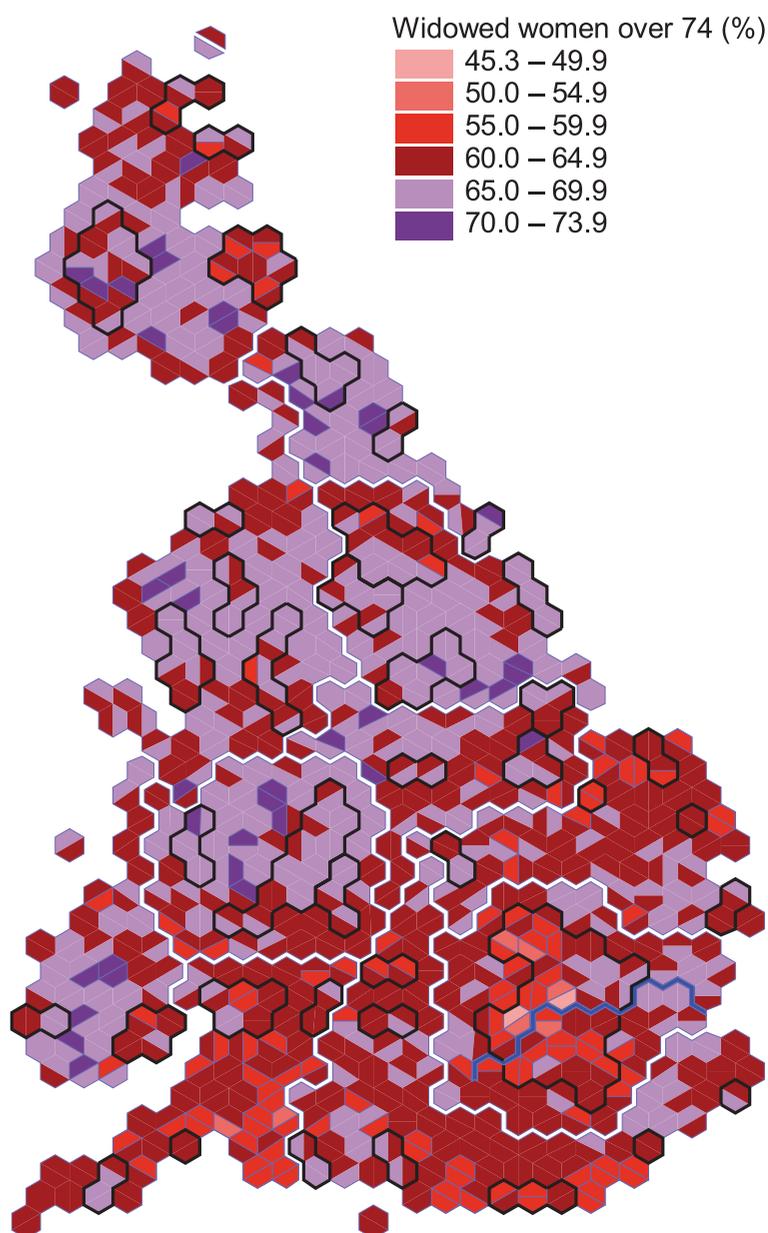
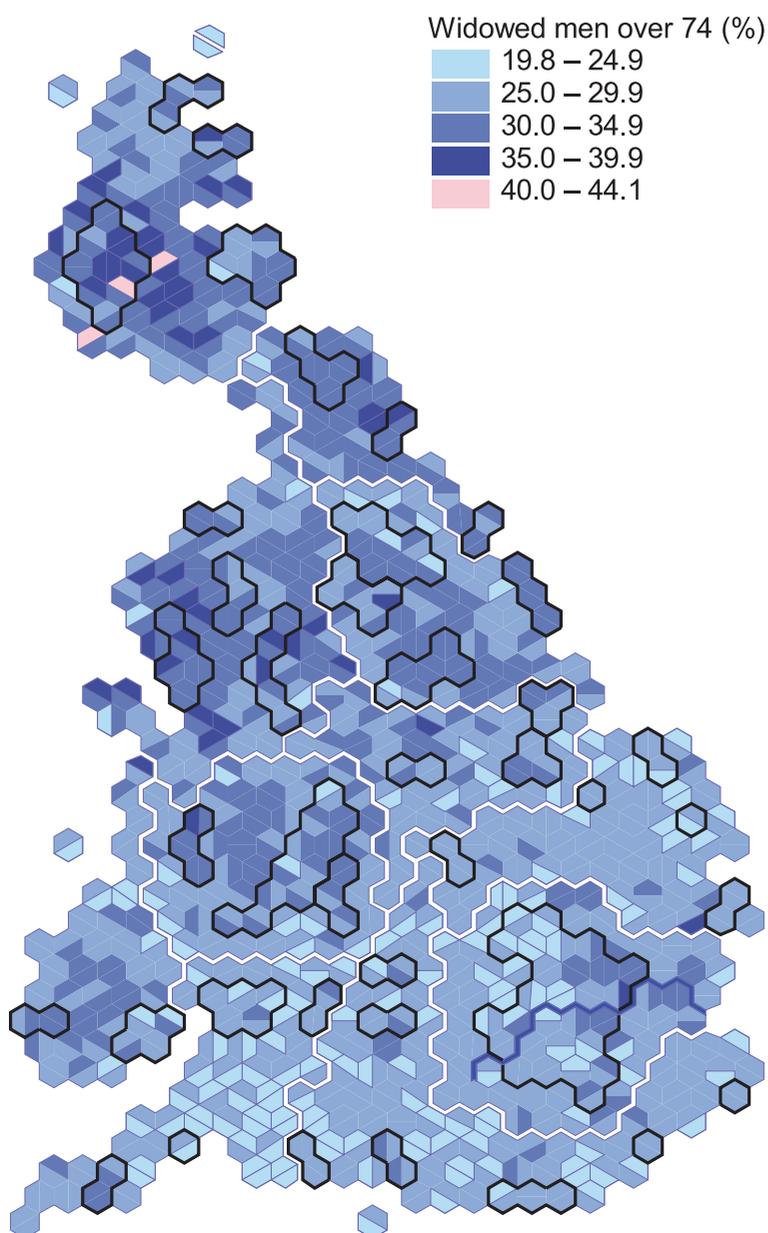
*... last Scene of all,
That ends this strange eventful history,
Is second childishness, and mere oblivion,
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything.*



8.5 Widowed when truly elderly

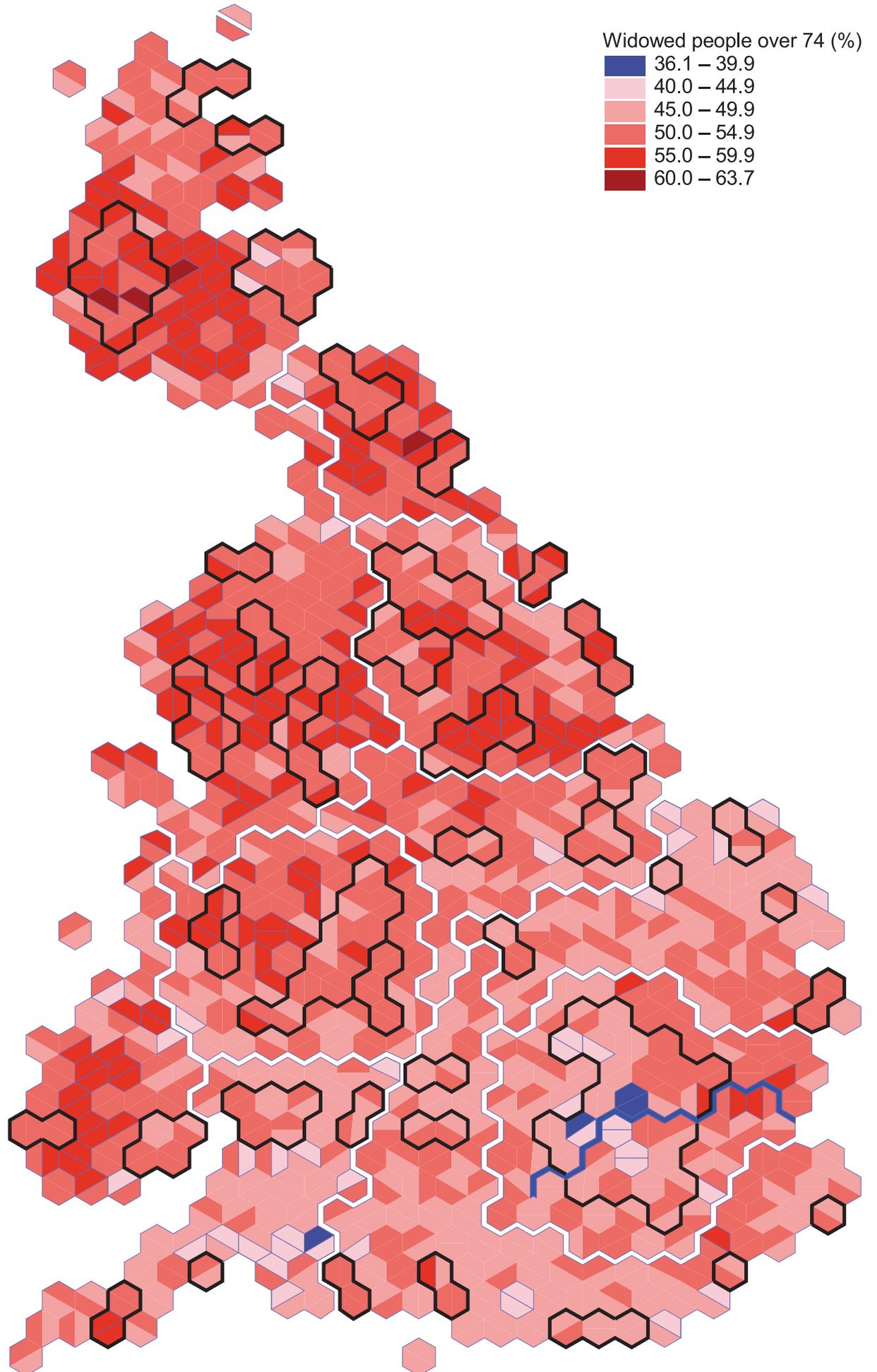
Again, as for those a life stage younger, women in the best-off place (now Kensington) are more likely to be widowed than are men in the worst-off neighbourhood for them (Glasgow Easterhouse). Four times as many women are widowed when truly elderly than men. Although this is mainly due to women living longer, for those men who are widowed (perhaps much earlier in life) there is far greater opportunity to remarry than for women and that opportunity increases proportionately with age. Thus while the table on page 256 highlighted that almost two thirds of women and just over a quarter of men of these ages are widowed, it also reveals that men are more than twice as likely to be remarried at these ages compared with women. We have no way of knowing by area when that second, third or subsequent marriage took place, nor the age of the women to whom these remarried men are married, but clearly living longer has usually meant living more on their own for women of this generation.

Everywhere in Britain a majority of truly elderly women are widowed compared with the numbers who are single or still in their first marriage. In contrast, men of these ages are in the majority in their first marriage everywhere except Kensal Town (the only place where a majority of truly elderly men are single) and a majority are widowed in only 10 neighbourhoods: Chelsea (where the male pensioners of that name live), Canning Town in central London, Ardwick in central Manchester, Liverpool Riverside North, Birkenhead North-East, Linwood (see page 24), and the Glasgow neighbourhoods of Calton, Easterhouse, Ibrox and University. Below, the rates of being a widower or widow are shown and opposite (Figure 8.5) their combined effect. Again, a single shading scheme is used.



8.5 Widowed when truly elderly

Figure 8.5



8.15 Most common age of death

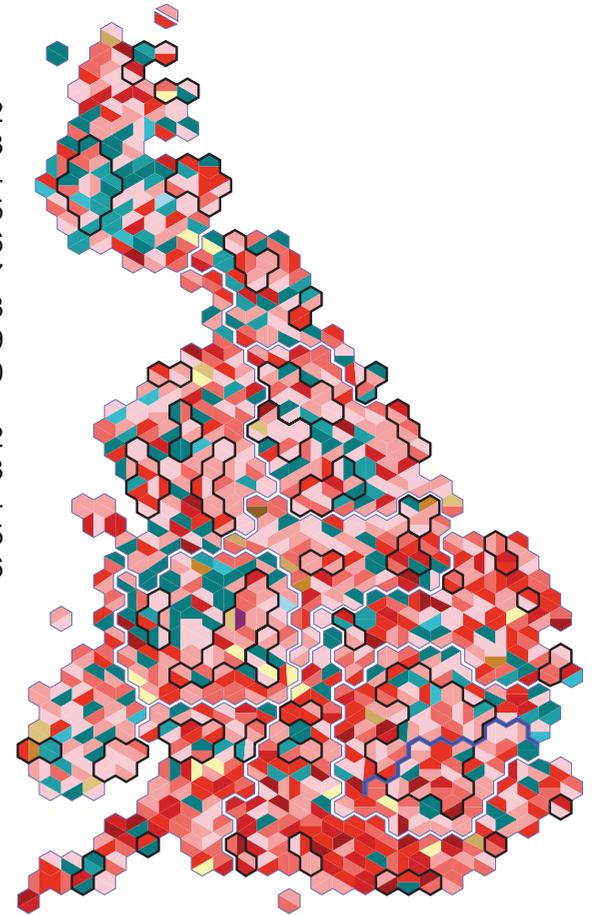
And finally we turn to death. There is no neighbourhood in Britain where someone has not lived to at least 101 within the past 24 years, as shown on the map on the right. Our data here are of all deaths from 1981 to 2003.

What geographical pattern there is to extreme longevity is shown on the right. Figure 8.15 opposite shows the mosaic of modal age of death by five-year age band.

Below, the equivalent mosaics of modal age of death are drawn up for men and women separately, but using the same colour scale. For men there are a few places where most that die are not quite three score years and ten. Nowhere do most die over the age of 85. In contrast there are only two neighbourhoods where the majority of women who die are aged 71-74. And in affluent Britain most women who die are aged over 84.

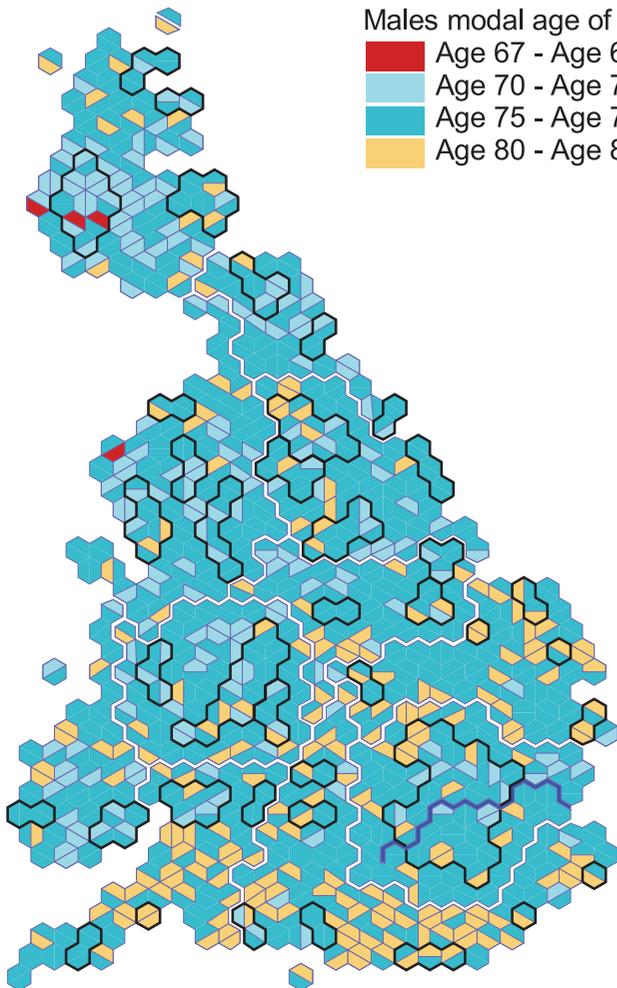
People oldest age of death

- Age 101
- Age 102
- Age 103
- Age 104
- Age 105
- Age 106
- Age 107
- Age 108
- Age 109
- Age 110
- Age 111
- Age 112
- Age 113
- Age 114
- Age 115
- Age 116



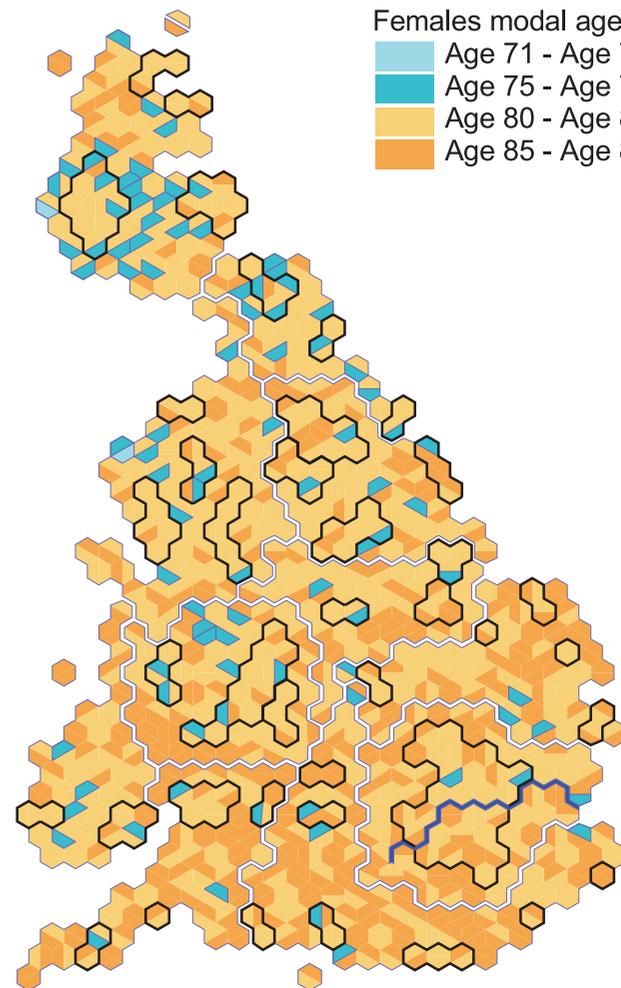
Males modal age of death

- Age 67 - Age 69
- Age 70 - Age 74
- Age 75 - Age 79
- Age 80 - Age 84



Females modal age of death

- Age 71 - Age 74
- Age 75 - Age 79
- Age 80 - Age 84
- Age 85 - Age 89



8.15 Most common age of death

Figure 8.15

