

Cohabitation in Latin America

A comparative perspective

Maira COVRE SUSSAI Soares

Proefschrift aangeboden tot het verkrijgen van de
graad van Doctor in de Sociale Wetenschappen

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Copromotor: Prof. Dr. Gray Swicegood [University of Illinois, USA]
Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek

2014

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Nr. 258

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2014

De verantwoordelijkheid voor de ingenomen standpunten berust alleen bij de auteur.

Gepubliceerd door:

Faculteit Sociale Wetenschappen - Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], KU Leuven, Parkstraat 45 bus 3601 - 3000 Leuven, België.

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D/2014/8978/5

Acknowledgments

It would not have been possible to write this doctoral thesis without the help and support of the kind people around me. The guidance of my committee members, help from friends, and support from my family and husband were crucial throughout this entire process. Without them, I definitely would not have met my objectives in undertaking this study.

First, and foremost, I offer my sincerest gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Dr. Koen Matthijs, who has supported me throughout my thesis with his patience and knowledge whilst allowing me the space to work in my own way. The advice (and free supply of ‘chocoladebroodjes’) of my second supervisor, Professor Dr. Gray Swicegood, has been invaluable on both an academic and a personal level, for which I am extremely grateful. I attribute the level achieved in this study to their encouragement, consistency and effort.

I would also like to thank my guidance committee members, Professor Dr. Karel Neels and Dr. Bart Meuleman. I would like to show my appreciation to Dr. Karel Neels for the endless discussions about my research topic at the very beginning of my research, for reminding me that “there is no perfect data” and for encouraging me to discover the demography of Latin America. I am indebted to Professor Dr. Bart Meuleman for his kindness, flexibility, methodological support and guidance. I would also like to express my deepest appreciation to the remaining members of my PhD jury, Professors Dr. Albert Esteve and Dr. Jan Van Bavel. Professor Dr. Albert Esteve made enormous contributions in nuptiality research in Latin America and was extremely kind and generous in sharing his knowledge on the subject. Professor Jan Van Bavel offered me constructive comments and warm encouragement in the final phases of this study. I also want to thank you all for letting my defense be an enjoyable moment, and for your brilliant comments, thank you.

I also would like to acknowledge the academic and technical support of the University of Leuven and its staff. I owe my deepest gratitude to Kristien Hermans

for her kindness, friendship and support, together with the other officers of CeSO, Marina Franckx and Martine Parton.

It is my pleasure to acknowledge all my current and previous colleagues at FaPOS, especially my current office mate Nele Havermans and former office mates Sarah Dressen and Sarah Moreels, your efforts in cheering me up always helped. To An Katrien and Sofie, who were the first ones to welcome me in Belgium and have always been available to help in academic and personal issues, many thanks. Matthijs, Paul, Graziela, Sarah Botterman, Robyn, Ward, Hideko, Alessandra, Yolin and André, thank you for your enormous support and for providing a good work atmosphere. I will always be grateful to all of you for helping me to develop the scientific approach and attitude. One simply could not wish for a better or friendlier team with which to work.

I am also grateful to my friends in Brazil, Belgium, Ireland and elsewhere (too many to list here but you know who you are!) for their support and encouragement throughout.

A special thanks to my family. Words cannot express how grateful I am to my brother, my sister in law, my nephew Giuseppe (who I could not even meet personally yet) and especially my mother and my father for all of the sacrifices that they have made on my behalf. My hard-working parents have sacrificed much in their lives for my brother and myself and provided unconditional love and care. I love them so much, and I would not have made it this far without them. Obrigada!

I would like to express appreciation to my beloved husband Jadir who was always my greatest supporter in the moments when there was no one to answer my queries. Jadir is the only person who can appreciate my quirkiness and sense of humor. There are no words to convey how much I love him. Jadir has been a true and great supporter and has loved me unconditionally during my good and bad times. He has faith in me and my intellect even when I did not have enough faith in myself. These past few years have not been an easy ride, both academically and personally. I truly thank Jadir for sticking by my side, even when I was irritable and depressed. I also thank him for being such a good father to our daughter. I feel that

what we both learned about life which strengthened our commitment and determination to each other and to live life to the fullest.

Last, but by no means least, the best outcome from these past five years is the birth of my daughter Sofie. Sofie has taught me to see beauty and find happiness in very small things. She has taught me what is really important in life and that each phase of the life course has its own difficulties, such as learning to walk, having a new tooth come out or writing a PhD thesis. Beloved daughter, I dedicate this achievement to you!

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Preface

Quite recently, a headline in *The Economist* announced the “Autumn of the patriarchs” in Latin America (The Economist, June 1st 2013). The article was based on the research developed by Albert Esteve and his colleagues at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, and refers to changes in demographic behavior that occurred “astonishingly fast” in the region. Decline in fertility rates, postponement of marriage and childbearing, as well as increases in the incidence of divorce and cohabitation are population patterns highlighted therein. Special attention was given to the speed at which these changes occurred in Latin America: “This transition took rich countries 50 years, with changes occurring in sequence. In Latin America the changes have happened in half that time and all at once, resulting in faster, less predictable social change”.

The heading, “Autumn of the patriarchs”, refers to the decline of patriarchal patterns of family organization which was common practice among Latin American upper social classes until the second half of the 20th century. Under this model, family relations were strictly based on civil and religious marriage. They were marked by declared submission of women to their fathers/husbands and control of their sexuality in order to preserve the family honor. Machismo and sexism were strong features of Latin American patriarchal morality. In this model, men were permitted to have relationships with women from different social and ethnic groups, thus following different rationale and moral codes (Arriagada, 2002). While women from the same (higher) social class and ethnicity (white) were ‘to be married to’, extra-marital relationships (concubinage) with women from lower social classes and different ethnic groups were commonly accepted (Caulfield, 2001; Fernández-Aceves, 2007).

This family model is no longer acceptable for the new generation of higher educated Latin American women. Tolerance toward machismo and sexism has declined while the region has witnessed increasing egalitarianism in gender

relations and acceptance of alternative forms of living arrangements, such as unmarried cohabitation. As a consequence, the choice for these types of so-called 'modern relationships' is increasingly more visible among this social group.

However, the reality for women from Latin American lower social classes remains dramatically different from the scenario described by *The Economist*. In this social group, the decline in fertility is occurring at a much slower pace and there is no observed postponement of fertility or union formation. At the same time, while unmarried cohabitation is considered a modern choice of independent, higher educated women in the region, this type of living arrangement is historically common among lower educated, poor Latin American women and considered an imposition to them due to their less negotiation power in relation to men's. Needless to say, gender relations of couples in this social group are far from egalitarian.

This study was designed to investigate the outcomes of the changes in demographic behavior among wealthier groups, i.e. unmarried cohabitation, as well as the permanence of historical patterns of union formation among the poor in different Latin American contexts. For this purpose, gender relations as well as socioeconomic and environmental features of unmarried cohabitation in different social classes are examined and described. Our results show that social class has divided patterns of family formation and organization in the region: while the patriarchal model of the family is eroding in the upper social strata, poverty and women's subordination to men are persistent features of lower social strata's Latin American families.

1. Introduction

Throughout Western society, unmarried cohabitation¹ has become a common step in family formation. It can be encountered in all layers of the population and, in several countries, most marriages and remarriages now begin as cohabiting unions. The social acceptance of this kind of relationship is growing in Western societies and children born in these societies today are more likely to be born into cohabiting families than in the past (e.g Perelli-Harris et al., 2012; Prinz, 1995; Smock, 2000). In developed countries, the growing occurrence of consensual unions among higher educated groups is interpreted as an outcome of the modernization of society, female economic independence and the rising symmetry in gender roles (van de Kaa, 1987). In these societies, the dissociation between sexual and reproductive lives, along with women's increasing educational opportunities and participation in the labor market, has improved women's spousal bargaining power thus reducing the need for marriage's institutional protection. The difference between marriage and cohabitation decreased and both are based on equal rights and obligations between partners. Men and women became free to choose whether to marry or to cohabit and the incidence of cohabitation increased (Kiernan, 2001, 2004; Lesthaeghe, 2010; Prinz, 1995). In Latin America, the occurrence of consensual unions is rising as well. However, the coexistence of marriage and cohabitation is a historical feature of nuptiality in the region (e.g. Castro-Martin, 2002; De Vos, 2000), almost certainly with different meanings from those usually observed in fully developed countries.

In contemporary Latin American societies, the incidence of cohabitation can be related to either tradition or modernity, depending on the social group being studied (Castro-Martin, 2002). Traditionally, cohabitation is prevalent in rural areas, among the lower and less educated social classes (Arriagada, 2002).

¹ In this study the terms cohabitation, out-of-wedlock cohabitation, consensual unions, informal marriages and informal unions are used to define couples living together without being legally married.

This traditional type of consensual union² is commonly associated with high fertility, low female independence and high women's employment rate in unskilled or domestic jobs (Parrado & Tienda, 1997). At the same time, there are indicators that a modern form of consensual union is increasing in many areas among younger and higher educated cohorts (e.g. Esteve et al., 2013a; Esteve et al., 2012a; Vignoli-Rodríguez, 2005). Although the mechanisms behind the increasing incidence of cohabitation in Latin America are still unclear, the function and meaning of these different types of consensual unions are assumed to differ substantially. The main goal of this study is to examine patterns of cohabitation in Latin America and to demonstrate the main differences among them with regards to socioeconomic and cultural features as well as gender relations.

This introduction combines the literature review about cohabitation in Latin America along with the theoretical framework used in this study. It is organized as follows. First, historical and contemporary evidence about the traditional type of cohabitation are compared and contrasted. Next, the theoretical framework of this study is summarized and related to Latin American empirical evidence about cohabitation among upper social classes in order to understand the coexistence of different types of cohabitation in the region. Following, Latin America legal framework is presented. Finally, the contributions of this research to the study on nuptiality in the region are discussed, as well as the overall organization of this PhD thesis.

1.1. Historical and contemporary evidence

In order to understand the coexistence of different types of cohabitation in Latin America, it is important to compare and contrast historical and contemporary

² This study follows previous research about cohabitation in Latin America and labels the historic cohabitation, found among lower social classes, as traditional (e.g. Castro-Martin, 2002; Parrado & Tienda, 1997). A recent study published by Esteve and colleagues, however, labels this cohabitation as "old" (Esteve et al., 2012a).

evidence about the traditional cohabitation in the region. This is the main goal of this section.

The historical roots of traditional cohabitation, as a distinguishing attribute of Latin American nuptiality, date back to colonial times (late 15th to early 19th centuries). While the white colonial settlers (Portuguese and Spanish) introduced the European pattern of marriage in Latin America, native indigenous and African descent populations had very different forms of union formation.

For the white upper classes, from colonial times until the middle of the 20th century, the institution of marriage was highly valorized and based on hierarchic, authoritarian and patriarchal relationships. In this context, family relations were marked by submission to the father/husband, control of female sexuality and the concept of family honor. The control over female sexuality was intensified by ethnic and class differences. Historically, while women from the upper classes needed to submit themselves to arranged marriages, men were allowed to have relationships with women from different social and ethnic groups, following different rationalities and moral codes (Arriagada, 2002). Traditionally, women from the same (upper) social class and ethnicity (white) were 'to be married to', although extra-marital relationships (concubinage) with women from lower social classes and different ethnic groups were common (Caulfield, 2001; Fernández-Aceves, 2007).

The majority of native indigenous populations have union formation patterns which differ greatly from the European concept of marriage. When Portuguese and Spanish settlers arrived in the region, they found a native population that were mostly hunter-gatherers or practiced communal agriculture. There were few, if any, private properties and, as a consequence, there was no transmission of property via dowries. They were usually polygamous, practicing either polygyny or polyandry. Bride service or bride price was also a common practice among Latin American native populations, as well as levirate and wife-lending (Ribeiro, 1997). Wife-lending was the indigenous practice that made it possible to incorporate foreigners in their communities. With a native 'wife', Spanish and Portuguese colonizers could build a kinship with the natives, as a part

of their families. According to native indigenous kinship system, they should put themselves at the service of the kin and, consequently, help the settlers to explore the land (Ribeiro, 1997, p. 82).

With the introduction of slavery economies in Latin America (from 16th to 19th century), and the refusal of indigenous populations to become slaves, slaves from different parts of the African continent were introduced into several areas of the region (Ribeiro, 1997). As slaves they had to submit themselves to the rules set by their European masters, as well as suffer very difficult living conditions. Apart from forced labor and following the patriarchal model of family in the region at that time, female slaves were commonly submitted to non-consensual sexual relationships with their owners and/or owner's sons (e.g. Freyre, 2000; Ribeiro, 1997). At that time, a Roman Catholic marriage was the only 'official' marriage in the region and the Catholic Church, as well as local governments, encouraged marriage among slaves and converted indigenous populations. However, slaveholders restricted the legal marriage among slaves due to the impossibility of selling married individuals separately (Holt, 2005). In addition, in Latin American colonial times, runaway or freed black populations, native indigenous, poor whites, as well as their (quite often mixed races) descendants were indifferent to marriage.

Samara and Costa (1997) interpret this indifference to marriage in Brazil as a type of rebellion, resistance, or insubordination of the marginalized segments of the colonial society. The refusal, by lower social classes in Brazil, to marry is understood as a response to social exclusion. This refusal is an attempt to behave differently from the upper classes and create independent forms of organization (Samara & Costa, 1997). According to Samara and Costa, "celibacy, cohabitation, mistresses, and illegitimate children can mean resistance in a context where the church and the local authorities were removed from the daily needs of the people" (Samara & Costa, 1997, p. 224). In the meantime, considering that marriage was highly valorized by the upper social class, the same authors argue that marriage was also used as a strategy of upward social mobility for some marginalized groups of Latin American societies. In their words, "another portion of the marginalized segments attempted and apparently succeeded one way or another in integrating

themselves into or identifying with the dominant strata, even using intermarriage as a strategy of upward social mobility” (Samara & Costa, 1997, p. 224).

William J. Goode revised the ethnographic literature about the prevalence of consensual unions and illegitimacy in the Caribbean up to 1960 and understands the phenomena in a different way. According to his analysis of the reviewed literature, since unions based on marriage obtain more social respect and are preferable to other types of unions, there is no ‘counter-norm’ or special approval of cohabitation in Caribbean societies (Goode, 1960, 1961). However, Goode also highlighted that lower social classes were less committed than the middle or upper strata to the legitimation of their unions (Goode, 1960). Considering that the costs of marriage are higher than those of cohabitation (for instance, marriage demands ceremony and party, which are expressions of community validation or a ‘rite of passage’), couples tend to live in consensual unions for a period of time and get married when their financial situations improve or separate if their economic situations worsen.

According to Goode, women tend to prefer marriage because the financial and social damages are higher for them in the case of union dissolution when living in cohabiting unions. Additionally, because the disadvantages of being in cohabitation or having illegitimate children are higher for women than for men, the decision to marry is up to the man and not the woman. In this sense, it was up to the woman to take advantage of her own commodities (e.g. beauty, intelligence) as well as to assume the ‘risk’ of a temporary cohabitation or single childbearing in order to negotiate a marriage (Goode, 1960).

Hyman Rodman (1966) complements Goode’s view by saying that the fact that marriage is preferred to cohabitation in Caribbean societies does not mean that cohabitation is considered deviant behavior. According to Rodman, the prevalence of cohabitation among the lower social classes in the Caribbean is better explained as a ‘lower class value stretch’. “The normative pattern within the lower class has been stretched so that, in addition to subscribing to the middle class ideals of marriage and legitimate children, they have also come to subscribe to the pattern of non-legal unions and illegitimate children” (Rodman, 1966, p. 674).

Rodman uses the male breadwinner model of the family to explain men's higher degree of acceptance of cohabitation than women's degree of acceptance. According to him, as the main responsibility for maintaining the house and the family fell to men, their values are more stretched than those of women (Rodman, 1966).

Rodman further develops his argument saying that the economic circumstances faced by the lower classes make it very difficult for a man to meet the responsibilities related to the family in the male breadwinner model. Faced with these difficulties, cohabitation has become an acceptable lower class pattern because it provides couples with a 'fluid marital bond'. Since the dissolution of these unions is also more socially accepted and easier than that of marriage, it often takes place for personal or economic reasons. Men and women are then free to set up new marital relations. Rodman concludes that "fluidity is therefore strategic in marital life" and that "(...) many of the lower-class family patterns that are often regarded as problems are actually solutions to other, more pressing problems" (Rodman, 1967).

Interpretations found in contemporary literature about traditional cohabitation are not very different from the analyses of Goode and Rodman. Nowadays, traditional cohabitation is considered an alternative to marriage and is practiced as a strategy to cope with the hardships of poverty and single, sometimes adolescent pregnancy or childbearing. Faced with the responsibility of taking care of younger brothers and sisters, or suffering domestic violence from their fathers or step fathers, young women from the lower social classes tend to prefer to live together in a cohabiting union than wait and 'negotiate' a marriage. The problem with this 'solution' is that, in most of the cases, it does not improve the socioeconomic situation of these women. Contrarily, in cases of separation, women are often responsible not only for their livelihood but also the care for their children (Arriagada, 2002). This situation contributes to the incidence of households headed by women in Latin America. These types of households have been related to the feminization of poverty in the region (Arriagada, 2002; García & de Oliveira, 2011). Consequently, the idea that cohabitation is a solution found by

the lower classes to other (more pressing) problems (Rodman, 1967) seems to be only valid for men.

In addition, although empirical evidence about it is scarce, the contemporary coexistence of marriage and cohabitation in Latin America suggests the maintenance of patterns of union formation and gender relations which evoke the patriarchal model of family described above. While many unions which start as cohabitation eventually become formalized, even if the children are already grown (De Vos, 1998; Goode, 1960; Rodman, 1966), marriage seems to be a more 'fluid' bond than it should (De Vos, 1998). According to De Vos (1998), if a marriage does not work very well, Latin American husbands tend to stay married and start cohabitating with someone else instead of divorcing and remarrying. "There has been a coexistence of contradictory machismo and marriage ideologies because men can act 'macho' but women are supposed to be faithful" (De Vos, 1998, p. 26).

Further, Greene and Rao (1995) used Brazilian data beginning in the 1960s and going into the 1980s to analyze the increasing incidence of cohabitation, the chances of living in cohabitation instead of being married and the likelihood of choosing marriage or cohabitation instead of remaining single. The authors found that the increasing incidence of consensual unions, already significant in the 1980s, is a solution for the marriage squeeze in Brazilian society. Faced with the imbalanced sex-ratio which leads to a greater proportion of women on the marriage market, Brazilian men tend to be 'recycled' through several unions. According to Greene and Rao, because cohabitation is easier to dissolve, there was an increase in this type of union. Since this interpretation is only consistent for lower educated women (for the ones that are now called traditional cohabitants), the authors understand that higher educated women are able to negotiate a marriage, which is preferable and provides greater institutional protection in comparison to cohabiting unions (Greene & Rao, 1995).

There are many interesting insights and common conclusions to be derived from the studies reported above: (i) cohabitation in Latin America has historical roots among the lower social classes; (ii) marriage is valorized, but more so by the upper social classes than by the lower social strata; (iii) cohabitation is an

alternative to marriage commonly adopted by the lower social classes, given the hardships of poverty and lower educated women's negotiation power related to men; (iv) cohabitation is less stable than marriages and the social damages are significantly greater for women living in consensual unions in the case of dissolution; consequently (v) cohabitation is more worthwhile for men than for women who would then need to deal with the economic and social costs of separation and single motherhood. So far, however, there has been little empirical evidence about the driving forces and outcomes of cohabitation in Latin America. For instance, the idea that lower educated women have less bargaining power related to men is a theoretical statement which, to the best of our knowledge, was not empirically analyzed in the demographic and sociologic literature. In addition, the idea that many cohabitations end up formalized is based on ethnographic evidence collected decades ago and is in need of updated examination.

Considering the historical roots of cohabitation in Latin America and the recent socioeconomic developments that have occurred in the region, one could expect a decline in the incidence of consensual unions. However, contemporary research indicates an accentuation in the occurrence of cohabitation among the lower social strata combined with an unprecedented increase in the proportion of cohabitants among higher educated groups. Meanwhile, the meaning of cohabitation for the Latin American higher social classes remains quite unclear. Some researchers suggest that the connotation of consensual unions by higher social classes is closer to those observed in cohabitations by higher educated groups in developed countries, denoting a trial period before marriage or an alternative to singlehood (Binstock & Cabella, 2011; Esteve et al., 2012a; Parrado & Tienda, 1997).

Although extensive research has been carried out on demonstrating the rising incidence and prevalence of cohabitation in different social classes in Latin America (e.g. Binstock & Cabella, 2011; Binstock, 2010; Esteve et al., 2013a; Esteve et al., 2012a), no single study exists which empirically differentiates the traditional from the modern types of cohabitation in the region. As stated before, this study aims to examine patterns of cohabitation in Latin America, and to demonstrate the main differences among them regarding socioeconomic and cultural features, as

well as gender relations. Summarizing, this study contributes to sociologic and demographic research about cohabitation in Latin America by providing empirical evidence about who the Latin American cohabitants are, as well as where and under which socioeconomic conditions they live.

1.2. Theoretical framework and empirical evidence

This section links the theoretical framework used in this study with recent empirical evidence about cohabitation among upper social classes in Latin America. The theoretical grounds of this study are further developed in Chapter 2.

In industrialized countries changes in demographic behavior, mostly among higher educated groups, are commonly interpreted by the framework of the Second Demographic Transition (SDT). SDT is a theoretical framework used to explain the wave of changes in norms and attitudes, mainly related to the organization of family life, which occurred in most developed countries and is spreading to other parts of the World (Lesthaeghe, 2010). Economic development, increasing levels of education, women's autonomy as well as desires for self-fulfillment and individualization are considered the main determinants of these changes (van de Kaa, 1987). As a result, many have started to forge their families based on new and flexible standards, egalitarian gender roles and the rejection of traditional forms of authority (Surkyn & Lesthaeghe, 2004).

The Second Demographic Transition (SDT) theory is grounded in (i) Abraham Maslow's theory of human motivation (Maslow, 1954), (ii) Philippe Ariès' notion of different motivations for birth control (Ariès, 1980), and lastly, (iii) the response of Ron Lesthaeghe and Dirk van de Kaa towards the theory of cyclical fertility proposed by Richard Easterlin (Lesthaeghe, 2010).

Easterlin (1973) elaborated his cyclical fertility theory in an attempt to explain the baby boom of the 1960s and the baby bust of the 1970s. According to the author, cohorts in smaller groups have better employment opportunities and, as a consequence, earlier marriage and higher fertility, while cohorts in larger

groups have the opposite chances and demographic responses. In this sense, cyclical fertility swings would happen and fertility would increase when smaller cohorts reach the reproductive years. Observing non-economic elements related to the baby bust of the 1970s, Ron Lesthaeghe and Dirk van de Kaa noticed that the low fertility observed at this time was not likely to increase again. Instead, they agree with Ariès (1980) that there were two different motivations for fertility decline in different periods of time.

According to Ariès, while at the end of the 19th century the motivations for reduced fertility were based on the idea of investing enough resources in the future of the children (the child king era), declines in fertility observed from the 1960s were motivated by adult's individualistic values. In the words of Ariès (1980), in this period children became "one of the various components that make it possible for adults to blossom" (p.650). In this sense, it was clear that changes in family life was a result of the rise of non-material or higher order needs, as defined in the Maslow's (1954) theory of human motivation.

According to Maslow (1954) human needs are hierarchical. First, people need to satisfy their basic needs, such as physiological, subsistence and safety needs, in order to desire the higher order ones, such as freedom of expression, emancipation, self-actualization and recognition. In this sense, the SDT framework states that socioeconomic development favors the rise of higher order needs, leading to substantive changes in the ideational domain and, as a consequence, in demographic behavior.

The SDT has two key demographic ingredients. The 'non-conformist' component, which predominantly refers to nuptiality behaviors, denotes features and behaviors that were unusual or disapproved of until the 1960s and the 1970s. Among these nuptiality behaviors are divorce, cohabitation and out of wedlock parenthood. The second component is the 'postponement transition' which mostly refers to fertility. These ingredients are delayed union formation and parenthood which, combined with modern and efficient contraception, are contributing factors toward sustained subreplacement fertility (Lesthaeghe, 2010).

Several features of the SDT have been recently observed in Latin America (Esteve et al., 2013a), although with some ambivalence. In terms of ideational changes, Esteve and colleagues (2012a) show the evolution of ethical and family issues in selected Latin American countries (i.e. Argentina, Brazil and Chile). In lesser or greater degrees, all countries presented increasing secularization and tolerance toward non-conformist forms of family arrangements. Specifically, the proportion of people who believe that euthanasia, homosexuality and divorce are never justifiable decreased in all countries, as well as the proportion of people who think that a child needs both a mother and a father (Esteve et al., 2012a, pp. 71–76). In line with their findings, some Latin American countries are changing or updating legislation in order to fully recognize same-sex marriages: Argentina and Uruguay recognized same-sex marriages in 2010, and Brazil followed the same trend in 2013.

Changes in the ideational domain are not isolated from other socioeconomic developments. Latin America went through important socioeconomic transformations in the second half of the 20th century. After the period of hyperinflation and the debt crisis which affected the region in the 1980s, the 1990s were characterized by economic restructuring in most countries of the region. Rapid urbanization, internal rural to urban migration, transition to democratic governments in the political domain as well as the expansion of mass education have transformed the organization of Latin American society enormously (Cavenaghi, 2009a). At the same time, economic development has not yet reached the majority of the population and social inequality is another important feature of the region. To illustrate, recent data shows that while the Human Development Index (HDI)³ has increased in all countries over the years, the GINI⁴ index varies from 0.4 in Nicaragua to 0.6 in Haiti (UNDP, 2013). Although by 2011 the region had reached a life expectancy at birth of 71 and 77.5 years for males and females

³ HDI is calculated by the mean of three sub-indexes relating to longevity, education and income (UNDP, 2010).

⁴ GINI index measures the extent to which the distribution of income among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution. Thus a GINI index of 0 represents perfect equality, while an index of 1 implies perfect inequality (World Bank, 2011).

respectively, 36.6 percent of the population were still living in conditions of poverty and extreme poverty (ECLAC, 2012).

Socioeconomic indicators also demonstrate increasing gender symmetry in Latin America. The economic independence of women is a crucial indicator to understand changes in their position within the family. Women with their own income are no longer dependent on men. It means that the degree of equality in household tasks and decisions increases, as well as the freedom of unhappy couples to divorce or separate (e.g. Esping-Andersen, 2009; Prinz, 1995). In Latin America, women's school enrollment at the tertiary level rose from 22 percent to 39 percent between 1999 and 2007 and their participation in the labor force increased from approximately 20 percent in the 1950s to over 55 percent in 2008 (World Bank, 2010). In fact, since the 1980s, women are higher educated than men in several Latin American countries (e.g. Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Panama and Venezuela; Esteve et al., 2012b). Latin American women are also participating more in political life than in the past. The proportion of seats held by women in National Parliaments in Latin American countries increased from 13 percent in 2000 to 23 percent in 2012 (ECLAC, 2012). Conversely, studies indicate that working women are still the main persons responsible for household labor in their families and childcare (Arriagada, 2007; Soares, 2008; Sorj et al, 2007).

The increased economic independence of women is certainly an important driving force of the emergence and increase of cohabitation among the upper social classes. However, another important component to influence family life is the separation between sexual and reproductive lives. With the availability and use of modern birth control methods, women are able to determine the timing and the number of children they wish to have, allowing them an unprecedented level of independence (Prinz, 1995). The median percentage of partnered women, in reproductive ages (15-49) using any modern contraceptive method in Latin America and the Caribbean, increased from 53.3 percent in 1990 to 67.1 percent in 2013, which is among the highest in the world (United Nations, 2012). In comparison, the median percentage of women using modern contraceptive methods in Latin American and Caribbean countries is higher than that of more developed regions

(62.6 percent) and almost as high as that of Western Europe (68 percent, United Nations, 2012). However, these figures range from 31.4 percent in Haiti to 75.5 percent in Brazil. As a consequence, the regional total fertility rate in 2013 is 2.1, but it ranges from 1.5 in Cuba to 3.7 in Guatemala (ECLAC, 2012).

All components related to women's emancipation are interdependent. Socioeconomic development opened opportunities for women in the education system and labor market, which increased female labor force participation among all women, including married women and mothers. It resulted in a significant transformation in relative spousal power resources, leading to significant changes in family life, such as delay and decline in marriage and fertility, as well as an increase in divorce and cohabitation (e.g. Chafetz, 1992; Lesthaeghe, 2010).

Furthermore, until the end of the 20th century, the emancipation of women did not affect the popularity of marriage and motherhood in Latin American societies. Reviewing the literature on family functions and family formation in the region, Fussel and Palloni (2004) point out that relatively low (and decreasing) fertility coexisted with relatively early (and constant) age at first union and also young and almost universal childbearing. Fussel and Palloni (2004) relate this distinctive pattern to the strong cultural emphasis on family ties (familism) prevalent in Latin America. In the authors view, marriage is a central institution to social life, assuming a stabilizing role during periods of rapid social change. In this context, family provides a counterbalance to the vicissitudes of the market (Fussell & Palloni, 2004).

However, recent evidence shows that the patterns described by Fussel and Palloni are changing. Except for Haiti, the proportion of women aged 25-29 who were married declined in all Latin American countries, especially in the countries of the Southern Cone. Uruguay, Chile and Argentina each saw a decrease of 48, 46 and 42 percent respectively in the proportions of married women, aged 25-29 years, between 1970 and 2010. In the meantime, although the singulate mean age at marriage (SMAM) remained fairly constant or increased slightly over time for the majority of Latin American countries, the trends in Brazil and Chile are different. In these countries the SMAM remained constant and around 23 until the 2000s;

however, data for 2010 shows a SMAM of 29 for Brazil and 27 for Chile (United Nations, 2013). In addition, Rosero-Bixby and colleagues (2009) documented a shift in Latin American fertility patterns toward the postponement of childbearing, particularly among younger and higher educated cohorts. Esteve and colleagues also demonstrate this trend. According to these authors the proportion of childless women, aged 25-29, increased in all countries in the region, reaching up to 40 and 44 percent in 2010 in Brazil and Uruguay respectively (Esteve et al., 2013a).

Likewise, in several countries, legislative changes in the 1980s and 1990s opened the possibility for unhappy married couples to get divorced. Henceforth, the proportion of divorced women aged 15-44 years old increased in all countries of the region. Computations from census data presented by Julieta Quilodrán-Salgado demonstrate that in 1970 only 2 percent of women aged 15-44 were separated or divorced, while the same figures for 2000 are 3.5 percent. These figures show that a small proportion of Latin American women were divorced or separated by the end of the 1990s. However, these figures indicate that the proportion of separated or divorced women (aged 15-44) increased by 175 percent between 1970 and 2000 in Latin America(Quilodrán-Salgado, 2011).

As stated previously, a distinguishing characteristic of the Latin American family formation pattern is the historical incidence of cohabitation as a socially accepted form of conjugal union, mainly in less developed countries and among the lower social classes. However, contemporary evidence has shown that this trend has been modified over the course of the preceding decades. Although the consensual union persists as a common form of union among lower social classes, from the second half of the 20th century on, its incidence is increasing among higher educated social groups and in countries where it was never commonplace (e.g Esteve et al., 2013a; Esteve et al., 2012a; Vignoli-Rodríguez, 2005). It is interesting to note that in countries where the frequency of consensual unions was historically lower, its occurrence is increasing faster. Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay are good examples of countries where the proportion of cohabitants increased sharply during the second half of the 20th century. In these countries the proportion of partnered women, aged 25-29 years old, living in cohabitation

increased from 13, 7 and 10 percent in 1970 to 67, 50 and 71 percent in 2010 in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay respectively (Esteve et al., 2013a).

1.3. Legal adaptations

This section briefly describes the legal framework of family life in Latin America.

Considering the historical coexistence of marriage and cohabitation in Latin America, and that cohabitation is traditionally common among the lower social classes, one could expect to find some type of historical legal protection for cohabitants in the region. However, through the first half of the 20th century, Latin American legislation on this subject was based on the Napoleonic Code of 1804, which legitimated and reinforced patriarchal relationships in family life⁵. It was only after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) that Latin American civil codes started to change. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) have also influenced changes in Latin American legislation⁶. Nowadays, all Latin American countries guarantee equal rights to women and men and recognize divorce (Acosta Vargas, 2007).

In cases of cohabitation, several countries have legislation aimed at protecting the rights of couples living in consensual unions and their children. Brazil, Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela are examples of countries with this type of legislation (Álvarez Mendoza, 2011; Esparza, 1990; Marcondes, 2011). In Brazil, for instance, cohabitation has been recognized as a civil status since 1996. According to the Brazilian civil code, if, at the moment of break-up, one of the partners can prove that they cohabited with the intention to constitute a family, or can prove

⁵ For instance, the *pater familiae* gave the rights to the man (the father) to make decisions about family life, including about the lives his wife and children. These sets of rights included the need of permission to work, right to punish and to ‘enjoy’ the wife’s body (Acosta Vargas, 2007).

⁶ Although these treaties do not deal directly with romantic relationships, changes in Latin American legislation aiming at protecting women’s and children’s rights do, as it is shown in the next paragraph.

that they lived ‘as a family’, the courts could consider this partnership as a ‘type of marriage’. In this case, couples living in cohabitation unions have almost the same legal guarantees as couples who choose to marry, with the main exception being inheritance rights. For instance, cohabiting individuals have the same rights to shared insurance policies or joint tax declarations as married couples. Also, property acquired while the couple was cohabiting should be shared in case of separation. Cohabitants who disagree with this law have the option to formalize the relationship through a contract with the purpose of delimitation of property division. In the case of dissolution, the content of the contract, if one exists, is respected. Brazilian legislation also guarantees equality of rights to legitimate and illegitimate children (for more information about Brazilian legislation on this subject, see Marcondes, 2011). Similar legislation exists in Colombia, Venezuela and Mexico as demonstrated by Álvares Mendoza (2011) and Esparza (1990).

1.4. The present research

This section situates this study within the context of previous findings on cohabitation in Latin America, and presents the organization of this PhD thesis.

The question of whether changes in Latin American patterns of family formation can be explained by the advent of the SDT in Latin America is at the center of contemporary debates (e.g. Esteve et al., 2013a; Esteve et al., 2012a; Quilodrán-Salgado, 2011). While some researchers propose that the SDT has started in some countries of the region among the young and highly educated cohorts (e.g. Binstock & Cabella, 2011; Esteve et al., 2012a; Parrado & Tienda, 1997), others consider such explanations plausible for the most developed Latin American countries but rather hasty for the whole region. Their arguments are based on the fact that several outcomes of the SDT (such as cohabitation) have historical roots in Latin America, and their existence is much more related to social exclusion and women’s subordination than with modernity (Arriagada, 2002). These scholars highlight the need for more research on the topic, mainly those concerned with

Latin American economic, social and demographic diversity (Arriagada, 2002; García & Rojas, 2004).

This study aims to contribute to this debate by unraveling cohabitation in Latin America into its constituted types in terms of contextual socioeconomic features and gender relations. For this purpose, the focus of this thesis is on the empirical categorization of consensual unions practiced by different social classes in Latin America. By showing who the Latin American cohabitants are, as well as where and under which socioeconomic conditions they live we intend to provide insights about the demographic behavior in different social classes in the region.

The overall structure of the study takes the form of eight chapters. Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical framework and research questions of this study. Chapter 3 contextualizes cohabitation practiced by different social classes in Latin America and developed countries, as well as its increase over time. The macro-level association between socioeconomic development and the prevalence of consensual unions by social class in Latin America and developed countries is also demonstrated. Chapter 4 identifies the individual-level socioeconomic and contextual cultural features of cohabitation in Brazil. To achieve this end, the profiles of cohabitants are compared to married couples in terms of women's education, couple's social class, religion and number of children. In addition, special attention is given to the cultural environment where these unions occur. Chapter 5 differentiates the types of cohabitation in up to eight Latin American countries (i.e. Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Guyana, Honduras, Nicaragua and Peru) on the basis of relationship context at its outset and its outcomes in terms of childbearing. The comparability of these types over countries is attested, as well as their evolution over time and the educational and age profiles of cohabitants. Chapter 6 uses the DHS section on 'women's status and empowerment' to compute a proxy for measuring gender equality in terms of family decision making and attest its comparability over Latin American countries. This chapter also illustrates that decision making in Latin American couples varies according to women's age, educational level and type of union: marriage or one of the types of cohabitation identified in the Chapter 5. In Chapter 7, data from fifty

Latin American regions within six of the researched countries (i.e. Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Honduras and Peru) are used to more profoundly explain the previously identified types of cohabitation in Latin America and to distinguish them from marriage in terms of gender symmetry and environmental influences. This study is concluded in Chapter 8, which discusses its empirical findings, as well as its implications for practice and policy.

This study is quantitative and written from a demographic and sociologic standpoint. In this sense, while gender symmetry is one of the subjects found in Chapters 3, 6 and 7, a discussion about the experience of living in one cohabiting union or another from a gender studies point of view is beyond its scope. Similarly, the study of same-sex relationships is also out of the scope of this research. Additionally, given both, data limitations and the fact that second or higher order cohabitation (and marriages) often differ substantively from one another (Brown, 2000), the identification of different types of cohabitation in Latin America is restricted to first unions. Last, but not least, it must be emphasized that this study is characterized as a rich descriptive study of formed unions in Latin America. Given the cross-sectional nature of our data no causal relationships can be claimed.

2. Theoretical framework and Research Questions

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework and research questions of this study. To begin, the Second Demographic Transition (SDT) theory is introduced and its background theories are discussed. Following, the main criticisms to the SDT theory are presented and the contributions of this study to this debate are underlined. Next, the theories used to complement the SDT framework are presented and discussed. Finally, the main research questions addressed in this thesis are formulated.

2.1. Introduction

The wave of changes in family life which have occurred in most western developed countries is commonly explained by the Second Demographic Transition (SDT) theory. Since the first study on the SDT was published (Lesthaeghe & van de Kaa, 1986) the spread of innovative forms of living arrangements, especially unmarried cohabitation and childbearing, as well as sub-replacement fertility rates, are often considered an expression of not only changing socioeconomic circumstances or expanding female employment, but also as outcomes of secular and anti-authoritarian sentiments of young and higher educated cohorts (Surkyn & Lesthaeghe, 2004).

Changes in patterns of family formation, organization and childbearing were firstly observed in the 1950s, with increasing divorce rates, mainly in the US and Scandinavia. At this time, “the departure from a life-long commitment was justified by the logic that a ‘good divorce is better than a bad marriage’” (Lesthaeghe, 2011, p. 180). From the 1960s on, and essentially in North-Western Europe, age at first marriages rose, divorce, premarital and post-marital cohabitation rates increased, as well as reproduction in out-of-wedlock unions. In the same period, there was a noticeable postponement of fertility, which was followed by a partial catch up at later ages of women (Surkyn & Lesthaeghe, 2004).

The economic depression following the 1974 oil crisis was linked to these demographic changes. However, it was not the sole explanation for modifications in demographic behavior. These changes were also linked to changes in the ideational domain, named “(i) the accentuation of individual autonomy in ethical, moral and political spheres; (ii) to the concomitant rejection of all forms of institutional controls and authority; and (iii) to the rise of expressive values connected to the so-called ‘higher order needs’ of self-actualization.” (Surkyn & Lesthaeghe, 2004, p. 47).

The name Second Demographic Transition refers to changes in demographic behavior which, in Western Europe, occurred after the historical fertility transition, also called First Demographic Transition (FDT). The FDT

denotes declines in fertility and mortality which occurred in Western countries beginning in the eighteenth century and in the majority of the other countries of the world from the second half of the twentieth century (Lesthaeghe, 2010). During the time period of the FDT, in Western Europe, marriage was highly valorized and the percentage of people marrying was on the rise. The age at first marriage declined, divorce and cohabitation were not common and their social acceptability was low. Remarriage was the common option for widowed people to restart a family. Declines in fertility occurred in marriage at older ages, via contraception, although only ineffective options to it were available (Lesthaeghe & Neels, 2002; Lesthaeghe, 2010).

Two key components represent and distinguish the Second Demographic Transition from the First Demographic Transition. The 'non-conformist' component denotes features and behaviors that were unusual or disapproved of until the 1960s and the 1970s, predominantly those related to nuptiality behaviors, such as divorce, cohabitation and out of wedlock parenthood. The second component is the 'postponement transition', with delayed union formation and parenthood which, combined with modern and efficient contraception, is a contributing factor toward even lower fertility levels than those observed during the FDT (Lesthaeghe, 2010).

In a recent study about the two demographic transitions in Belgium and Spain, it was shown that, in both countries, the non-conformist and postponement ingredients are related to different driving forces. While the non-conformist dimension is related to secularization, the postponement component is connected to socioeconomic conditions, such as increasing education, labor market conditions and institutional arrangements (Lesthaeghe & Lopez-Gay, 2013).

Until the end of the 1980s the SDT appeared to be a North-Western European idiosyncrasy. However, after 1990 the ingredients of the SDT started to spread in the Iberian Peninsula (Spain and Portugal) and Central and Eastern Europe (Dominguez-Folgueras & Castro-Martin, 2013; Lesthaeghe, 2010; Surkyn & Lesthaeghe, 2004). Nowadays, the spread of some elements of the SDT is visible in the most conservative European countries such as Switzerland and Italy, as well as

outside Europe, such as in some Asian countries (Lesthaeghe, 2010), the United States (Lesthaeghe & Neidert, 2006) and in Latin America (Esteve et al., 2012a).

Changes in family life explained by the SDT are derived from broad and mutually supporting social processes. The expansion of education drove women, especially mothers, to the labor market to work in skilled positions, thus improving their negotiation skills and power related to men. Scientific advances in terms of contraception disconnected sexual and reproductive lives. Socioeconomic development reduced people's preoccupations with basic material needs, such as education, income, working conditions and health. This societal background opened space for the rise of non-material needs, such as equality, freedom and self-expression. It changed people's values and attitudes toward secularization and more egalitarian family relations and forms, with less need for institutional regulation or protection (Lesthaeghe, 2010; Prinz, 1995).

Socioeconomic development recently observed in some Latin American countries has not yet reached the majority of the population and social inequality is an ever-present feature of the region. Regardless, recent evidence has shown the emergence of both the 'non-conformist' component (i.e. cohabitation and divorce - Binstock & Cabella, 2011; Cabella et al., 2004; Esteve et al., 2012a; Esteve et al., 2012b; Quilodr n-Salgado, 2011) and the 'postponement transition' components (Esteve et al., 2013a; Rosero-Bixby et al., 2009) of the SDT among higher educated women in Latin America.

Due to its well-known social inequality, Latin America shows different trends in demographic behavior, depending on the country and social class under observation. Considering fertility decline, the coexistence of the FDT and SDT features is observed in the region. The fertility decline related to the FDT, meaning marital fertility by reduction at older ages, is still happening among lower educated groups. At the same time, fertility decline via postponement of union formation and parenthood, as described by the SDT, is on the rise among higher educated women (Esteve et al., 2013a; Rosero-Bixby et al., 2009).

A similar situation is observed with regard to unmarried cohabitation. While the traditional form of cohabitation, driven by poverty and probably by

women's subordination, is still observed and increasing among lower educated groups, a modern type of cohabitation, likely to be related to the SDT is occurring among higher educated cohorts. As stated in the introduction, the main goal of this study is to differentiate these types of cohabitation by investigating to what extent the modern type of consensual union can be explained by the SDT framework.

Besides discussing the theory of the Second Demographic Transition (SDT), this chapter aims at contextualizing the main research questions of this study in its framework. The next section situates the SDT in its theoretical foundations. Following that, the main criticisms of the theory are presented, as well as the strategy used to handle the main weaknesses of this framework. Subsequently, the theories used to complement the SDT framework are highlighted. The research questions of this study are developed in the last section.

2.2. Second Demographic Transition foundations

The Second Demographic Transition (SDT) theory is grounded in (i) Abraham Maslow's theory of human motivation (Maslow, 1954), (ii) Philippe Ariès' idea of different motivations for birth control (Ariès, 1980), and lastly, (iii) the response of Ron Lesthaeghe and Dirk van de Kaa towards the theory of cyclical fertility proposed by Richard Easterlin (Lesthaeghe, 2010). This section first discusses these foundations. Next, Ansley J. Coale's RWA-model and its three preconditions for innovation, precisely readiness, willingness and ability, (reported in several studies on the SDT such as Lesthaeghe and Neels, 2002 and more recently in Lesthaeghe & Lopez-Gay, 2013) is presented in order to explain how changes in demographic behavior occur in different societies.

Richard Easterlin developed his cyclical fertility theory after the baby boom of the 1960s and the baby bust of the 1970s. It states that cohorts in smaller groups have better employment opportunities and, as a consequence, earlier marriage and higher fertility, while cohorts in larger groups have the opposite chances and demographic responses (Easterlin, 1973). It causes cyclical fertility swings, as the fertility among cohorts in small groups is high (generating large cohorts) while that

of cohorts in large groups is low (generating small cohorts). By the middle of the 1980s, Ron Lesthaeghe and Dirk van de Kaa perceived that the sub-replacement fertility of the 1970s was driven by more than reduced employment opportunities and, in the words of Lesthaeghe (2010), “was not only going to last much longer, but could even become an ‘intrinsic’ feature of a new demographic regime” (Lesthaeghe, 2010). This expectation is grounded in Abraham Maslow’s theory of human motivation (1954) and Philippe Ariès’ view of different motivations for declining birth rates (Ariès, 1980).

In his article, ‘Two successive motivations for declining birth rate in the West’, Ariès (1980) looks at two periods of decreasing fertility rates: one from the end of the 19th century until the 1930s and another starting in the 1960s. According to the author, the decline in birth rate in the first period was driven by a ‘child-oriented’ culture and “unleashed by an enormous sentimental and financial investment in the child” (Ariès, 1980, p. 649). Fertility was controlled through family planning in order to invest enough resources in the future of the child. Parents desired to give their children the opportunities which they did not have. According to Ariès, the motivations for fertility control from the 1960s on are very different. From this period, life is no longer planned in terms of children and their future. On the contrary, children became “one of the various components that make it possible for adults to blossom” (Ariès, 1980, p. 650). Having children is not a ‘need’ anymore, but an individual choice. In terms of demographic behavior, as stated by Lesthaeghe (2010), in the first period, couples started contraception to avoid pregnancies; nowadays, contraception is stopped in order to start a pregnancy (p.213).

These different motivations for birth control and parenthood are considered by the SDT a result of the rise of non-material or higher order needs. The concept of higher order needs is based on Maslow's (1954) theory of human motivation, which classifies human desires hierarchically. Maslow's hierarchy of needs is often portrayed in the shape of a pyramid, with the largest and most fundamental levels of needs at the bottom (e.g. physiological, subsistence and safety needs), and the higher order ones (e.g. freedom of expression, emancipation,

self-actualization and recognition) at the top. According to Maslow (1954), it is necessary to have the fundamental needs satisfied in order to desire those of a higher order. Socioeconomic development favors the rise of higher order needs, leading to substantive changes in the ideational domain and, as a consequence, in demographic behavior.

The inclusion of Maslow's theory of human motivation as one of the foundations of the SDT helps to differentiate the SDT from the FDT, as well as from other alternative explanations of demographic change. While the FDT happened in a phase of societal development based on concerns about basic material needs, the SDT is considered the "expression of the development of the higher order, non-material needs and of expressive values" (Lesthaeghe, 2011, p. 183). In addition, the inclusion of Maslow's theory of human motivation as one of the backgrounds of the SDT clearly differentiates this theoretical framework from other theories that consider demographic change as pure responses to changes in economic context. Among these theories we can highlight neo-classic economic interpretations, neo-Marxist theories and "purely structural sociology and history" theories (Lesthaeghe, 2011, p. 183). According to Lesthaeghe (2011), different from the SDT framework, these alternative theories "either fail to incorporate cultural shifts altogether or fail to specify universal mechanisms that link material and non-material driving forces" (Lesthaeghe, 2011, p. 183).

In this sense, the SDT framework accepts the importance of the effects of contextual changes and of individual cost-benefits calculation. However, it also recognizes that these explanations are not sufficient to understand changes in demographic behavior. In the same vein, pure cultural explanations are equally insufficient, as well as models or theories that consider cultural change as 'endogenous'. In the framework of the SDT, culture is treated as a dynamic set of value orientations (Lesthaeghe, 2011; Surkyn & Lesthaeghe, 2004). In the words of Lesthaeghe (2011),

"As such these [value] orientations can change at the individual level and they can be linked recursively to the unfolding of the life course. And they can also change at the collective level during particular periods of time, or shift to new

configurations with the succession of cohorts. In a general way, the motor of it all, i.e. Maslowian drift to higher order needs, is positively related to economic growth, but other factors reflecting historical path dependency (often in religious and political spheres) modulate this connection” (Lesthaeghe, 2011, p. 212).

Consequently, the SDT uses Coale’s RWA-model to explain the spread of innovative behavior in different societies (Coale, 1973, cited by Lesthaeghe & Neels, 2002). According to this model, the success (S) of behavioral innovation depends on the simultaneous existence of three preconditions. First, any innovative form of behavior must bring benefits that compensate its costs or disadvantages, in other words a society must be ready (R) to change. Simultaneously, the new behavior must be culturally (morally) acceptable, or a society must be willing (W) to change. In addition, a society must be able (A) to change, or have adequate means to do it, in terms of available technology, for instance. Furthermore, the failure of satisfying one of the three conditions inhibits the innovation from occurring, even if the other two are met. Lesthaeghe and Neels (2002) expressed Coale’s specification as $S = R \cap W \cap A$ (Lesthaeghe & Neels, 2002).

The Second Demographic Transition framework combines its theoretical background with the RWA-model to explain changes in family life which took place in Western Europe and is occurring in several other parts of the world, including Latin America. Socioeconomic and technological development (R and A) opened the way for the rise of higher order desires which led to shifts in the ideational domain through secular, individualistic and post-materialist values (W). It changed, not only the motivations for birth control and parenthood, as observed by Ariès, but patterns of family life as a whole. For instance, with regard to nuptial behavior, women’s education and participation in the job market increased their relative power in relation to men, leading to more egalitarian gender relations. As a result, the need and acceptability of marriage and its institutional regulation has been diminished and individuals are free to choose which type of family to form, as well as when and how long the arrangement will last. Divorce has become a socially accepted option for unhappy couples to restart and, subsequently, a multitude of

living arrangements have arisen (i.e. unmarried cohabitation, a variety of step family configurations, LAT relationships).

2.3. Criticisms of the SDT theory

The idea of the Second Demographic Transition has become one of the most prominent concepts in demographic research (Liefbroer & Fokkema, 2008). However, there are also some disparagements or ‘agnostic comments’ about the SDT within the literature. This section explains the most criticized points of the theory and the possible contributions of this study to this debate.

Criticisms to the SDT theory range from concerns about the large number of potential explanatory variables (Bongaarts, 2001, p. 23), which makes the framework too broad, to questioning if it is really a theory, a concept or just a set of ideas. The attempt to explain changes in family formation and dissolution, fertility, and sometimes even migration resemble a kind of “‘umbrella concept’ describing parallel demographic changes rather than a well-developed theoretical framework” (Sobotka et al., 2003 p. 254).

In our view, the main shortcoming of the SDT, which potentially affects this study, is related to the vague manner in which the theory explains some concepts and processes. In this case, (i) the lack of an explicit gender perspective (Bernhardt, 2004; Solsona, 1998) and (ii) a deeper discussion on how ideational change occurs are of greater importance in guiding this research. Consequently, the SDT framework benefits from complementary theoretical perspectives for explaining gender relations and changes in the ideational domain, as well as generating testable hypotheses. In this sense, the notion of postmodern values, as developed by Ronald Inglehart (e.g. Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005, 2010), and the idea of incomplete gender revolution, as stated by Peter McDonald (Esping-Andersen, 2009; McDonald, 2000), are used as supporting theories when gender relations and ideational changes are discussed. The supporting theories used in this study are discussed in the next section.

In addition, there are three other main criticisms of the SDT framework that are more commonly underlined in the literature. These disagreements are related to (i) the lack of a final stage to the 'transition'; to (ii) the possibility of the 'second' transition to be only a continuation of the first and to (iii) the possibility of a generalization of the SDT theory in other societies, apart from the Northern- and Western European ones. These criticisms are discussed in the following paragraphs.

The first criticism on the SDT states that the features and the final state of the so-called 'transition' are not clearly specified. A transition must have a final stage, being complete and irreversible (Coleman, 2004) and the SDT does not predict any final-state equilibrium (Sobotka et al., 2003). This criticism has been addressed in recent literature about the SDT. In the words of Ron Lesthaeghe (2010) the final stage of the SDT "brings sustained sub-replacement fertility, a multitude of living arrangements other than marriage, the disconnection between marriage and procreation, and no stationary population" (Lesthaeghe, 2010, p. 211). Declining populations combined with continued gain in longevity leads to the accentuation of population aging. Problems related to population aging are partially (but not completely) compensated by migration (Lesthaeghe & Neidert, 2006; Lesthaeghe, 2010).

A second common criticism is that there is no 'second' transition but a continuation of the first. The division between the first and the second transition is not always easy to determine (van de Kaa, 1993) and some of the main features of the SDT look like "an acceleration in the new demographic regime, which emerged with modernization" (Cliquet, 1991, p. 26). Again, the answer to this criticism is already found in the literature. The article published by Lesthaeghe and Neels (2002) in the *European Journal of Population* distinguishes the FDT and the SDT in terms of demographic and societal characteristics related to marriage, fertility and societal background. Alterations in nuptiality patterns are of special importance for this study and a good example of the contrasting features of the FDT and SDT: While marriage was highly valorized during the first transition (with high marriage and remarriage rates and low incidence of divorce), its attractiveness seems to be declining during the second transition. Increasing in divorce and cohabitation, as

well as childbearing within cohabitating unions are evidences of it (Lesthaeghe & Neels, 2002, p. 331).

The last common criticism to be underlined here deals with the possibilities of the generalization of the SDT theory toward other societies, apart from the Northern- and Western European ones. Some studies have highlighted the distinctiveness of national patterns which would make the SDT a Northern- and Western European theory (for a review see Sobotka et al., 2003). These dissimilarities lead David Coleman, in the beginning of the 2000s, to affirm that the theory is limited to the Northern- and Western European and English-speaking countries, being very much a description of “a lifestyle choice perhaps only transiently sustained by welfare and high taxation” (Coleman, 2004, p. 22).

With regard to this criticism, some recent studies have shown that the SDT theory is applicable to other societies as well. Some examples are Southern- and Eastern European societies (Dominguez-Folgueras & Castro-Martin, 2013; Liefbroer & Fokkema, 2008), the United States (Lesthaeghe & Neidert, 2006), Asia (Lesthaeghe, 2010) and Latin America (e.g. Binstock & Cabella, 2011; Esteve et al., 2012a; Esteve et al., 2012b). This study will contribute to this debate by highlighting to what extent the theory can support the understanding of the different types of cohabitation in Latin America.

2.4. Supporting theories

As stated in the previous section, the vague way in which some concepts are developed in the framework of the SDT represent the main weakness of this framework for this study. In our view, the main concepts in need of deeper theoretical explanations are found (i) in the superficial discussion on how ideational changes take place and (ii) in the lack of an explicit gender perspective. In this section, these concepts are discussed based on the idea of postmodern values as developed by Ronald Inglehart in political sciences (e.g. Inglehart, 1971; Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005, 2010); the concept of incomplete

gender revolution as reported by Esping-Andersen (2009) and the gender equity theory as stated by Peter McDonald (e.g. McDonald, 2000, 2013).

Postmaterialism is a theory developed by Ronald Inglehart in the 1970s. It refers to the transformation of individual values from materialist, physical and economic to new individual values of autonomy and self-expression (e.g. Inglehart & Baker, 2000). As it happened with the SDT, the ideational changes towards post materialist values happened firstly in Western countries. It reflected the transformation of Western societies from a period when survival was uncertain to a period when there was a feeling that survival could be taken for granted (the post-World War II period). Cohorts born in industrialized societies after the World War II spent their formative years under levels of prosperity that were unprecedented in human history. In addition, the welfare state reinforced the feeling that survival, education and employment were granted. It produced an intergenerational value shift that has progressively transformed the political and cultural norms of these societies (Inglehart, 1971).

The post materialist theory of Inglehart is based in two hypotheses. First, similarly as in the Maslow's theory of human motivation, socioeconomic environment influences individual's priorities, and individuals tend to first valorize basic things that affect their survival chances. When this is the case, people tend to behave in a more traditional way, reflecting a strong religious influence in people's lives, deference to authority, parents and traditional forms of family. Once survival it taken for granted, individuals tend to develop self-expression values, such as trust, tolerance, subjective well-being and political activism, behaving in a more secular-rational way (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). The second hypothesis attached to the post materialist theory states that the relationship between socioeconomic environment and value orientations encompasses a substantial time lag because individual's basic values will reflect the conditions that prevailed during their pre-adult years. Consequently, after a period of noteworthy rising economic and physical security, substantial differences between the value priorities of older and younger groups come about. It happens because the value system of these different

generations were shaped by different experiences in their formative years (Inglehart, 1971).

Peter McDonald's 'gender equity theory' and Esping-Andersen's idea of 'women's incomplete revolution' are used to support the SDT framework when the subject is gender relations. The two ideas are interconnected, although clear differences between them can be pointed out.

Esping-Andersen's (2009) idea of incomplete revolution is partially based on the 'gender equity theory' of Peter McDonald (2000, 2013). The author argues that women's changing roles in modern societies constitute a revolution that is still incomplete. This is the case because social institutions did not adapt completely to these changes. As a consequence, the "incomplete nature of the revolution is provoking serious disequilibria in our society" (Esping-Andersen, 2009, p. 3). This disequilibrium is more evident and problematic in family life, especially in very low levels of fertility; in child development and the intergenerational transfer of disadvantage; and in the viability of support for elderly in ageing populations. According to the author, an expansion of the welfare state is necessary to bring about the completion of the revolution (Esping-Andersen, 2009).

The gender equity theory was developed by Peter McDonald to explain sustained low levels of fertility in developed countries by the incoherence between the levels of gender equity in different social institutions (McDonald, 2000). In this sense, McDonald distinguishes gender equity in terms of individual-level (education, participation in the labor market) and family-level (availability of day care, maternity leave, division of household tasks) institutions (McDonald, 2000, 2013). According to the author, "institutions which deal with women as individuals are more advanced in terms of gender equity than institutions which deal with women as mothers or members of families" (McDonald, 2000, p.11). Consequently, the first part of the gender revolution is almost complete in developed societies and has changed women's roles in individual-level institutions, such as education, job market and public life. Conversely, the second part of this revolution is happening in family-oriented institutions but at a much slower rhythm. Family organization

and decision making based on traditional gender roles still persists, even for two-income families (McDonald, 2000).

McDonald (2000) explains that the family itself is an institution which is extremely resistant to change and that the pace of change in family organization is conditioned to the cultural-institutional context. In historically patriarchal societies, such as in Latin American countries, men and women tend to be considered complementary to each other (complementarianism), having different and specialized roles. In these societies the change from the family model based on complementarianism (where men are usually the main providers and women care givers - the so-called male breadwinner model), to the family model based on gender equity (where division of tasks and family roles are not based on gender), is occurring in slower pace than in societies where patriarchy did not play a strong role in the past (McDonald, 2013).

With the erosion of the patriarchal model of the family and, as a consequence, of the traditional form of family organization itself, women became aware that they need to be able to sustain themselves. Faced with higher levels of gender equity in individual-level institutions, such as increasing levels of education and opportunities in the job market, and with lower levels of gender equity in family-level institutions, such as traditional division of housework and unavailability of childcare institutions, women need to choose between work and family life. As a result, they (and mainly those with higher levels of human capital) tend to postpone or reduce fertility, as well as to avoid permanent nuptial arrangements, in order to keep their jobs and the progress in their careers (McDonald, 2013).

2.5. Research questions

As stated previously, recent studies have highlighted a significant increase in cohabitation in Latin American societies beginning in the 1970s. This increase is sharper among social groups and in countries where this type of union was never traditional, such as among higher educated women in the most (recently)

developed countries of the Southern Cone (Arriagada, 2002; Vignoli-Rodríguez, 2005). This is the case with countries whose current population largely consists of European descendants, such as Argentina and Uruguay (Binstock & Cabella, 2011; Cabella et al., 2004; Quilodrán-Salgado, 2011). Cohabitation among higher educated groups is considered ‘modern’ because it is related to women’s increasing autonomy and ideational changes in the direction of post-modern values, such as equality and freedom (e.g. Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Inglehart & Welzel, 2010). To date, modern cohabitations are reported in regions where economic development is in a more advanced stage in comparison to other Latin American societies (Binstock & Cabella, 2011; Binstock, 2010).

Combined with socioeconomic development, the normative context plays an important role in family formation processes. As stated previously, according to the SDT framework, socioeconomic advantage is not an enough of a condition to drive social change. The new behavior must be culturally accepted. Some of the ideational changes related to the SDT are observed in Latin American countries. A study conducted by Esteve and colleagues suggests that the tolerance to various types of non-conformist behavior is increasing in three Latin American countries, i.e. Argentina, Brazil and Chile (Esteve et al., 2012a). Correspondingly, the value system in these countries is evolving toward post-materialist values prevalent in most Western developed societies. This situation raises the macro-level research questions of this study, which are addressed in Chapter 3:

(RQ_i) Is socioeconomic development related to the incidence of a modern type of cohabitation in Latin America and developed nations? More specifically,

(RQ_{i,1}) To what extent are modern types of cohabitation present in Latin America?

(RQ_{i,2}) Are these modern consensual unions associated with socioeconomic development, women’s empowerment and post-materialist values in Latin America and developed countries?

Considering the level of socioeconomic inequality and cultural variety in Latin America, it is important to distinguish the social context in which consensual unions take place, from individual level correlates of living in a cohabiting union or being married. Accordingly, in order to understand who these couples are and where they live, it seems crucial to look closely at contextual- and individual-level socioeconomic characteristics of couples living in cohabitation instead of in marriage.

Brazil is an ideal case study for examining the socioeconomic and cultural dimensions of nuptial behavior in Latin America: each Brazilian state has its own colonization history, ethnic and religious composition and economic development stage (ranging from very industrialized to quite rural). Besides, Brazilian features reflect the Latin American reality very well: it presents accentuated regional and social inequalities as well as cultural differences. In addition, the Brazilian census provides rich individual level information to the study of cohabitation, such as self-declared religious orientation and family income. Therefore, the first study of this thesis which explores individual and contextual features of cohabitation in Latin America uses Brazilian data. The following research questions are addressed in Chapter 4:

(RQ₂) What are the socioeconomic and cultural factors related to the choice of living in a consensual union or being married in Brazil?

(RQ_{2.1}) To what extent is cultural context related to a couples' probability of being married on the one hand or cohabiting on the other?

(RQ_{2.2}) Is cohabitation in Brazil related to secularization?

(RQ_{2.3}) To what extent is cohabitation related to social class in Brazil?

(RQ_{2.4}) How does childbearing within cohabitating unions relate to status in social class?

While consensual unions among the lower and less educated classes are considered traditional in Latin America, cohabitation among the upper and higher educated strata is surely novel in the region. Some studies, using data from metropolitan

regions in some of the more developed countries, have suggested that the modern type of cohabitation is different from the traditional type in form and meaning (e.g. Binstock & Cabella, 2011; Cabella et al., 2004; Laplante & Street, 2009; Parrado & Tienda, 1997). Parrado and Tienda used data from the 1990s to compare nuptial behavior of two cohorts in Caracas, Venezuela. In order to distinguish the traditional from the modern type of cohabitation they include an interaction term between young cohort membership and years of education. Their results show that, while the traditional cohabitation was found to be a substitute to marriage, it also showed that couples in traditional cohabitation were likely to have more children than couples in official marriages. At the same time, modern cohabitation, among higher educated and younger cohorts, was observed to be quite similar to that found in developed countries, meaning an alternative to singlehood or a trial period before marriage. These modern unions had lower fertility rates and were less stable than traditional ones (Parrado & Tienda, 1997). At the same time, none of the previously reported studies were able to empirically differentiate the traditional from the modern types of cohabitation in Latin America. This research gap drives research questions addressed in the Chapter 5 of this thesis:

(RQ₃) What are the main differentiating factors of diverse types of cohabitation in Latin America? Expressly,

(RQ_{3.1}) Is it possible to differentiate types of cohabitation through information on relationship context at union formation and outcomes in terms of childbearing in Latin America? If yes,

(RQ_{3.2}) How do these types develop over time?

(RQ_{3.3}) Are these types comparable across different Latin American contexts?

(RQ_{3.4}) Does the prevalence of different types of consensual union vary across countries, family contexts, age and educational groups?

Evidence on union formation and childbearing are important to define the types of cohabitation in Latin America. However, it is not enough to plainly differentiate

them. More research on this topic needs to be undertaken before romantic relationships in Latin America are more clearly understood. Information about gender relations, partners, women's economic independence and empowerment, as well as about the context where these couples live will help the better understanding of the Latin American types of cohabitation as well as their difference in comparison to marriage. The last two chapters of this thesis address this need.

Symmetrical gender relations is one of the expected outcomes of the SDT. Current socioeconomic indicators show an increasing gender balance in Latin American countries, mainly in terms of education and participation in the labor market. However, as demonstrated in the introductory Chapter, significant dissimilarity can be observed over the region. It happens because changes in gender roles do not take place at the same rhythm or in all spheres of a society (McDonald, 2000). For instance, while improvements in women's status are visible in terms of educational attainment and participation in the labor market, the division of household tasks and family decision making are still largely influenced by traditional gender norms and expectations, mainly among the lower social strata (for a literature review on developed countries see Esping-Andersen, 2009, pp. 19–54; for Latin American evidence see Arriagada, 2002; Soares, 2008; Sorj et al., 2007).

Within a context of higher equity in the job market than in family life, modern types of cohabitation can be an option for higher educated Latin American women. Likewise, considering that gender equality is an important feature of modern family relations, and that couples' decision making is a good proxy for measuring it, the following research questions are addressed in Chapter 6:

(RQ4) Is it possible to differentiate types of gender relations in terms of decision making based on Latin American DHS questions? If yes,

(RQ4.1) Is the latent variable of 'couples' decision making' comparable across Latin American countries?

(RQ4.2) Do these types of gender relations differ in terms of women's age, education and type of union?

Along with couples' decision making, information about partners, women's economic independence and about the environmental context where these couples live will help to disentangle Latin American types of cohabitation as well as their differences in comparison to marriage. Comparable to socioeconomic heterogeneity, the cultural environment of Latin American countries also presents significant variations between and within countries, which can be illustrated in terms of religious denomination, values and ethnic composition. This scenario drives the last research questions of this thesis, which are handled in the Chapter 7.

(RQ5) To what extent do romantic relationships (marriage and the different types of cohabitation) in Latin America differ in terms of gender symmetry and contextual influences?

(RQ_{5.1}) To what extent do Latin American relationships (cohabitations and marriage) differ with regard to gender symmetry?

(RQ_{5.2}) To what degree does the probability of a couple living in cohabitation or being married vary according to socioeconomic development in Latin America? And

(RQ_{5.3}) To what extent does the probability of a couple living in different types of cohabitation or being married vary according to contextual ethnic composition and religious values and denomination in Latin America?

The research questions are answered by means of several sources of cross-sectional data. Among them, the Brazilian Census as well as the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) and the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) are used. The Brazilian census was chosen because it provides rich individual level information to the study of the socioeconomic and ideational features of cohabitants, such as self-declared religious orientation and family income. Census data from IPUMS is used to show the evolution of the incidence of cohabitation over time. IPUMS data are harmonized across countries and over time, which facilitates and validates comparative research (Minnesota Population Center, 2011). Finally, the DHS is a nationally representative survey which collects comparable

data on demographic and health issues in developing countries. Consistent data about timing and type of first unions, complete childbearing histories, as well as gender relations are available in the DHS (Rutstein & Rojas, 2003), which makes it a useful source of information to understand the different types of cohabitation in Latin America. Details about data sources, as well as their limitations are included in each chapter.

3. Cohabitation and social class in Latin America and developed countries: A cross-national perspective

This study demonstrates macro-level associations of cohabitation in Latin America and developed countries. Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS), European Social Survey (ESS) and the National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG) data are used to compare the socioeconomic context of cohabitation practiced by women from different social backgrounds in up to 33 countries. The proportion of women, aged 25-29, from different social classes, and in a cohabitation relationship are compared to national-level socioeconomic indicators (i.e. human development, social and gender inequality) and value orientations (from World Values Surveys) of women with similar profiles. Results demonstrate that cohabitation by higher educated women is correlated to positive socioeconomic contexts and to groups with inclinations toward post-materialistic ethics and can be described by the Second Demographic Transition theory. Conversely, cohabitation by lower educated women is related to lower socioeconomic development and higher social and gender inequalities, as well as to traditional values and intolerance toward outgroups.

Parts of this chapter were published as: Covre-Sussai, M. (2013b). Cohabitation in Latin America and Developed Countries: A Cross-National Perspective. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 3(16), 29-43.

3.1. Introduction

As a research topic, changes in family formation patterns, mainly the increasing incidence of unmarried cohabitation, has garnered greater attention in sociological and demographic literature in recent decades (Booth & Johnson, 1988; Jose et al., 2010; Manting, 1996; Smock, 2000). Most studies have focused on Western developed countries and considered cohabitation as a product of not only modernization processes but socioeconomic development, as well (Kiernan, 2001; Prinz, 1995; Sobotka & Toulemon, 2008). Recent evidence has shown that cohabitation in the developed West is also related to socioeconomic deprivation, used by people with few economic resources or poor economic expectations as an alternative to marriage (Hiekel et al., 2012; Kalmijn, 2011; Kiernan et al., 2011; Sassler & Miller, 2011). Meanwhile, the existence of two types of cohabitation, one driven by poverty and another by modernity, is a well-known feature of nuptiality in Latin America. The so-called modern cohabitation is related to socioeconomic development and women's independence, while the other, considered traditional, is related to poverty and social exclusion (Camisa, 1978; Castro-Martin, 2002; De Vos, 1998).

The literature on cohabitation in fully developed countries and in Latin America reaches a common conclusion: Cohabitation in different social strata has different social meanings. It is even considered two types of the same arrangement. So far, however, no research has demonstrated the structural socioeconomic and cultural correlates of these two types of cohabitation by comparing developed and developing countries. This study aims to bridge this gap in two ways: (i) by documenting the spread of consensual union among the lower and the upper social classes in Latin America and developed countries; and (ii) by showing the structural socioeconomic and cultural features related to its occurrence.

Since the economic crisis of the 1980s, Latin America has shown significant socioeconomic development, though inequality continues to exist. While the Human Development Index (HDI) increased in all countries (ranging from 0.58 [medium] in Guatemala to 0.82 [very high] in Chile), the GINI index varies from 0.4

in Nicaragua to 0.6 in Haiti (UNDP, 2013). Meanwhile, signals of increasing gender symmetry have been observed in the region. Women's gross school enrolment at the tertiary level rose, as well as their participation in the labor force in skilled positions (World Bank, 2011). Bearing in mind that relationships formed in environments which foster positive socioeconomic outcomes and gender equality require more interpersonal commitment than institutional regulation (Prinz, 1995), one can expect that a higher incidence of cohabitation practiced by higher educated groups to be found in this type of context. Consequently, it is enquired: *To what extent is cohabitation among higher educated groups present in Latin America? Are these consensual unions associated with socioeconomic development and women's empowerment?*

Combined with socioeconomic development, the normative context plays an important role in family formation processes. According to the SDT framework, socioeconomic advantage is not enough to drive social change. Shifts in values and beliefs are other important conditions to it, and must be taken into consideration. Some of the ideational features of the SDT are observed in Latin American countries and tolerance toward various types of non-conformist behavior and outgroups, i.e. divorce, homosexuality and euthanasia, is increasing in the region (Esteve et al., 2012a). Correspondingly, the value system in Latin American countries is evolving toward post-materialist values (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). It means less reverence toward religious authority, and consequently, less acceptance of religious dogmas, as well as trust, tolerance and subjective well-being common in societies with high levels of social wellbeing (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). This raises the question: *Is cohabitation among higher educated groups associated with post-materialist values in countries with different levels of socioeconomic development?*

These research questions are answered by means of several data sources. The figures for cohabitation for Latin America are computed based on census samples provided by IPUMS-International. The data from IPUMS are harmonized across countries and over time, which facilitates comparative research (Minnesota

Population Center, 2011). Updated information from census micro-data provided by the national Institutes of Statistics is also used for some Latin American countries. Information about cohabitation for most developed countries stem from the European Social Survey (ESS), and for the United States, from the National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG). Socioeconomic indicators are extracted from the most recent Human Development Report (UNDP, 2013) and the World Values Survey (WVS) provides information about post-materialist values. Pearson correlation coefficients are used to show the direction and strength of the linear relationship between proportions of cohabitation and each of the socioeconomic and post-materialist values indicators.

The chapter is structured as follows: In the second section the increasing incidence of cohabitation in Western societies is contextualized and the Latin American case is highlighted. Next, the socioeconomic development and social inequality settings of cohabitation in different social groups and countries are discussed. Following, changes in Latin American value orientations are underlined and the values of young women from different educational backgrounds are compared to the occurrence of cohabitation among similar groups, in several countries. Subsequently, the influence of contextual gender inequality is analyzed and the results are discussed.

3.2. Diffusion of cohabitation in the West and Latin America

Unmarried cohabitation is not a new or isolated phenomenon in the developed West. Until the 1970s cohabitating unions were less common, but an option for separated people who were unable to obtain a divorce due to legal constraints. It was also the preferred arrangement for some intellectuals who saw marriage as a bourgeois institution or protested against the fact that only religious marriages were acceptable (Kiernan, 2001). Since the 1960s, the incidence of cohabitation has been increasing. In several Western countries, many marriages and remarriages now begin as cohabiting unions (Smock, 2000) and its social acceptance is on the rise everywhere.

The increasing incidence of cohabitation in the West is assumed to be a result of socioeconomic development and changing gender roles through greater gender symmetry. It reflects a social transition, from traditional marriage to modern partnership (Prinz, 1995, p. 101). At the end of this transition, marriage and cohabitation do not differ in form and meaning and are both based on equal rights and obligations between partners. Men and women are free to choose whether to marry or to cohabit (Kiernan, 2001; Prinz, 1995). Northern European countries, especially Sweden, are often used as examples of countries where this transition is complete, and where the social meaning of marriage and cohabitation has become indistinguishable (Heuveline & Timberlake, 2004; Kiernan, 2001; Prinz, 1995; Sobotka & Toulemon, 2008).

At the same time, there are indications that cohabitation is also a solution for economic uncertainties in developed countries. In the European context, Matthijs Kalmijn (2011) analyzed panel data for 13 European countries and found that the decision for getting married is more sensitive to employment uncertainties than the choice for moving in together in a consensual union (Kalmijn, 2011). Kathleen Kiernan and her colleagues used the Millennium Cohort Study and the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study, which follow birth cohorts in the United Kingdom and in the United States, respectively, to show that cohabitation is a common form of union among the lower social strata in the countries analyzed (Kiernan, et al 2011). Surkyn and Lesthaeghe (1996) analyzed income structures and housing characteristics of Belgian cohabitants derived from the census of 1991 and found two types of cohabitants in Belgium. The first type of Belgian cohabitant was found in the north of the country, Flanders, among wealthy childless couples; while the second type of cohabitants were found in the south of the country, Wallonia, among couples who had not established themselves economically (Surkyn and Lesthaeghe, 1996, reported in Lesthaeghe, 1998, p. 11).

The reality for the United States is not different. Bumpass and colleagues examined profiles of cohabitants in the beginning of the 1990s and found that, "(...) the trend toward cohabitation [in the United States] has been led by the least

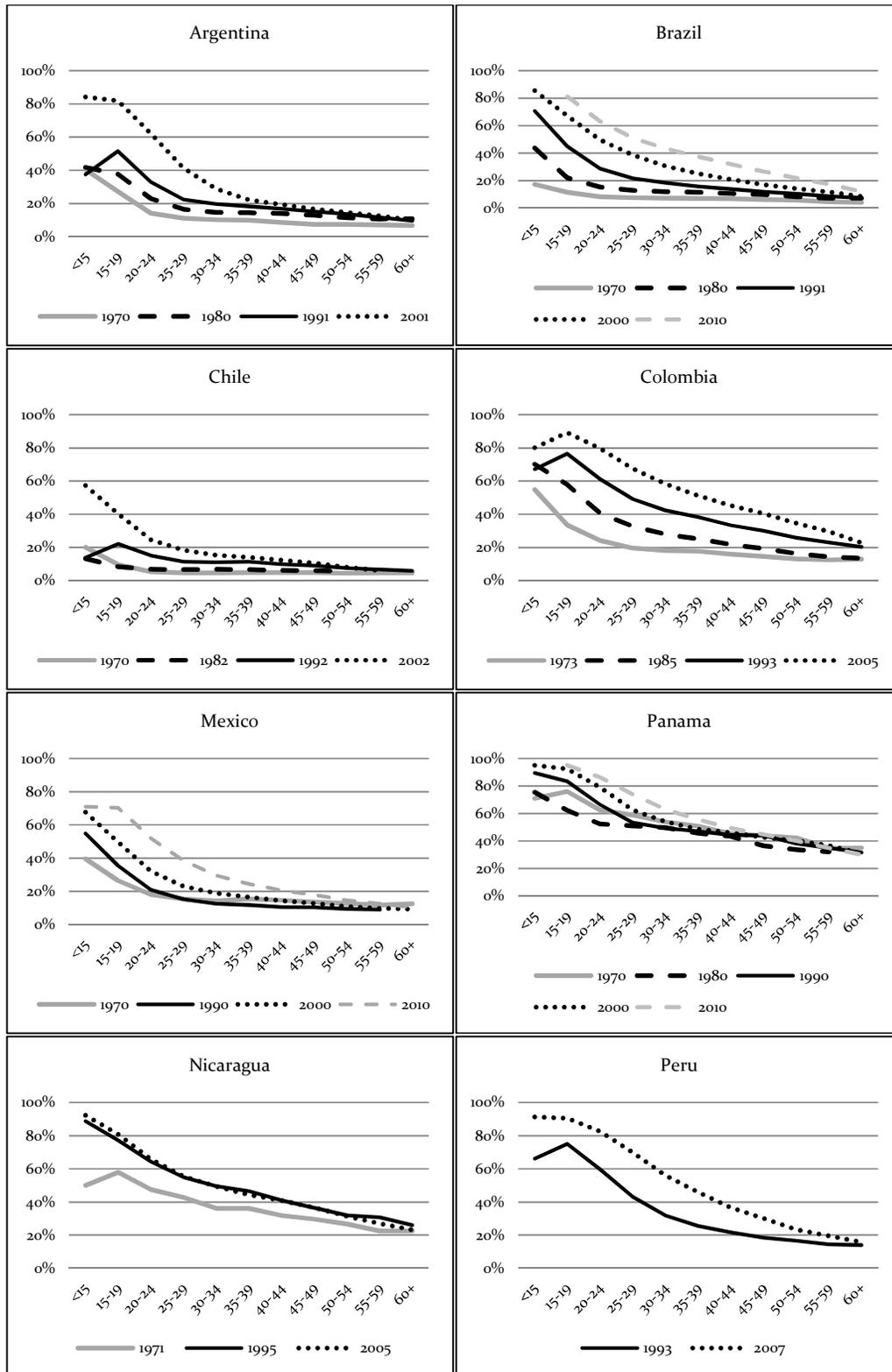
educated segment of the population, and the role of cohabitation in replacing early marriage is most pronounced for persons who have not completed high school” (Bumpass et al., 1991, p. 926). In a more recent qualitative study, Sassler and Miller (2011) questioned 122 American cohabitants from working and middle social classes about the reasons for cohabiting, as well as subsequent plans. Their results indicate that the motivations for moving in together are very similar for the two social groups, i.e. financial necessity, convenience or to meet a housing need. In addition, the authors found that middle-class cohabiters are more likely to have marriage plans than their working-class counterparts (Sassler & Miller, 2011).

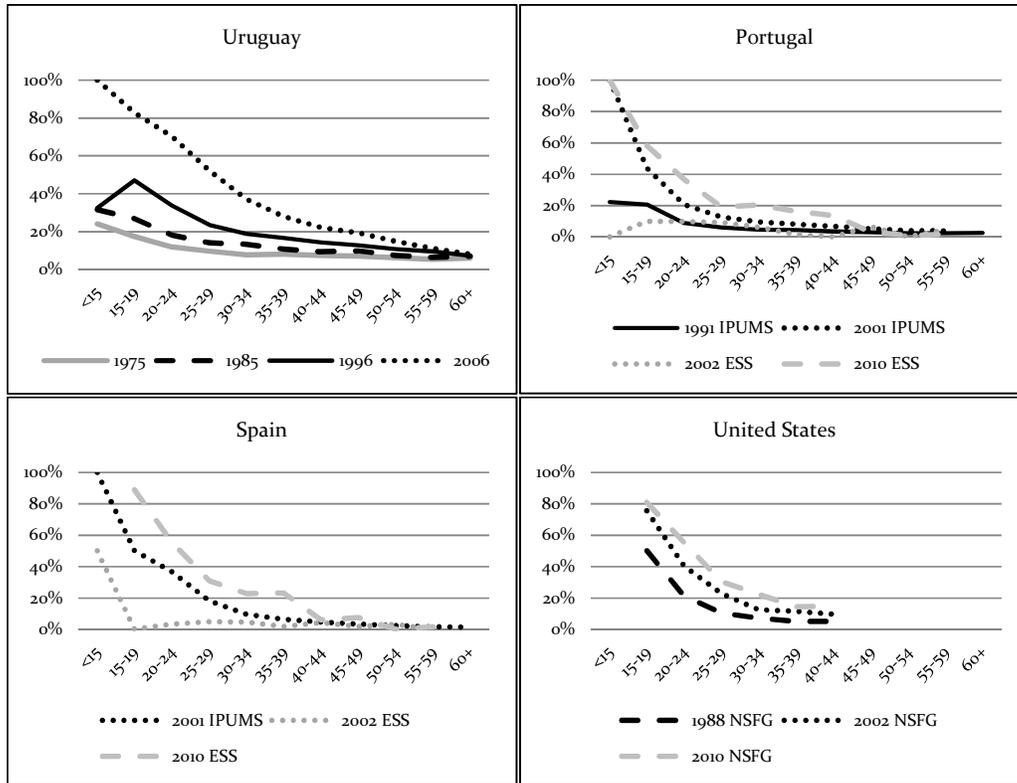
A peculiar attribute of Latin American family formation pattern is the historical incidence and, in some countries, prevalence of out-of-wedlock cohabitation as a socially accepted form of conjugal union. Nowadays, this historical and traditional form of cohabitation is still common among the lower social classes. It is established as a strategy to overcome poverty and single or teenage motherhood, and they commonly end up either separated or married (Castro-Martin, 2002; Parrado & Tienda, 1997), even when the children are grown (De Vos, 1998).

Contemporary evidence has shown that this trend has been modified over the course of the preceding decades. Although the consensual union persists as a common form of union among lower social classes, from the second half of the 20th century on, its incidence is increasing among higher educated social groups and in countries where it was never considered traditional (i.e. Esteve et al., 2012a; Esteve et al., 2012b; Quilodrán-Salgado, 2011; Vignoli-Rodríguez, 2005). Figure 3.1 illustrates the evolution of cohabitation among partnered women in different age-groups for some selected Latin American countries. Similar figures for Portugal, Spain and the United States are included for comparison⁷.

⁷ These countries were chosen due to their cultural influence and historical similarity with the region. Portugal and Spain were the main settlers in Latin America and many cultural features in the region are inherited from them. Meanwhile, the United States shares with Latin America similar history (colonization, slavery, population composed by different ethnicities), but with different socioeconomic outcomes.

Figure 3.1 Share of cohabitation among all unions of women by age-group and time: Latin America and selected developed countries





Source: Esteve, Lesthaeghe, et al. (2012), Esteve et al., (2013a) and own computations based on IPUMS, ESS and NSFG data.

Figure 3.1 shows an overall increase in the proportion of Latin American women from all age-groups living in cohabitation, rather than marriage. While in some countries, i.e. Colombia, Nicaragua, Panama and Peru, there was a prominence of existing high proportions of cohabitation, in others these proportions rise in different rhythms from the 1970s. Brazil and Uruguay are examples of countries where cohabitation was not visible before the 1980s, but rapidly increased in the following years, for women in all age groups. These countries presented the lower proportions of cohabitation in the 1970s and are in the group of countries with the higher incidence of cohabitation among younger cohorts by the end of the first decade of the 21st century. In addition, Argentina, Chile and Mexico presented medium levels of cohabitation by the 1970s with a gradual increase of consensual unions over time, mainly among younger women. One can also see an overall increase for women in almost all age-groups, on the figures for cohabitation for the

developed countries included in Figure 3.1. Portugal, Spain⁸ and the United States present similar trends to some Latin American countries, such as Argentina, Chile and Mexico. Therefore, in these countries the increase in cohabitation is more visible among younger cohorts.

The evidence that younger generations in Latin America and developed countries present higher propensity of living in cohabitating unions is unambiguous. However, it is not clear from Figure 3.1 whether the increase in cohabitation in Latin American countries is related to an expansion of the so-called traditional type of cohabitation in the region or the rise of a modern type of consensual union, similar to the cohabitation found in developed countries. The next section focuses on this question.

3.3. The rise of modern consensual unions in Latin America

The literature on family formation and changes in Latin America shows that the correlates of cohabitation differ between countries and social classes. While for the lower social strata cohabitation is traditionally a substitute for marriage and is related to economic constraints, ethnic and gender inequality, for the upper social classes it may be a product of modernization and the improved socioeconomic status of women (Binstock & Cabella, 2011; Cabella et al., 2004; Quilodrán-Salgado, 2011; Vignoli-Rodríguez, 2005). Research by Jorge Vignoli-Rodríguez finds that among the lower educated and very young cohorts, cohabitation is related to adolescent motherhood in Chile and Panama, while for all groups of Mexican women and for college educated women in Chile and Panama, cohabitation is

⁸ The question about cohabitation is only available for recent census rounds for Portugal and Spain, and it is not available for the United States. As a result, the proportions of cohabiting women for developed countries are calculated on the basis of survey data, i.e. ESS and NSFG, which have been criticized for underestimating results if compared to censuses data. It can clearly be seen by comparing the graphs for Portugal and Spain in Figure 2.1, in which we include both censuses and ESS information. For Portugal, the information from the ESS of 2002 follows the distribution of the census round of 1991. This limitation must be kept in mind when comparing Latin American countries with developed ones throughout the text.

related less to childbearing than formal marriages (Vignoli-Rodríguez, 2005). For this last group, it is possible that cohabitation is a trial period before marriage or a substitute to singlehood.

Wanda Cabella and colleagues (2004) examined the factors related to family changes in Buenos Aires (Argentina) and Montevideo (Uruguay). They found that changes in family formation happened in all segments of society and are related to the indicators of the Second Demographic Transition (Cabella et al., 2004). Georgina Binstock (2010) estimated trends in cohabitation, marriage and motherhood in urban areas of Argentina and found that for cohorts born before 1960, cohabitation was an exception; for those born between 1960 and 1970 it was an option; and for the younger cohorts cohabitation has become the rule, with children being born and raised in it (Binstock, 2010). The increase of cohabitation among higher educated groups was also observed by Julieta Quilodrán-Salgado (2011). The author analyzed trends in the proportion of cohabitation among partnered women from several countries and census rounds and found that, in Argentina, Chile and Colombia, the increase in cohabitation was sharper and occurred faster among those with higher levels of education, while in Brazil, Venezuela, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Panama and Mexico, the increase in cohabitating unions is more visible among the lower educated groups (Quilodrán-Salgado, 2011).

Laplante and Street (2009) analyzed the socioeconomic and demographic correlates of living in cohabitation instead of being married, as well as the chances of cohabitants to get married during the period of 1995-2003. To this end the authors used one of the few sources of longitudinal information about nuptiality in Latin America, the Argentinean 'Encuesta Permanente de Hogares (EPH)'. Two conceptual ideal types of cohabitation could be identified: one traditional, among the lower educated groups and with higher fertility; and another modern, among the higher educated ones. The modern type of cohabitation was found to be a trial period before marriage, since young and higher educated cohabiting couples tend to formalize the relationships by getting married after a period of time living together (Laplante & Street, 2009).

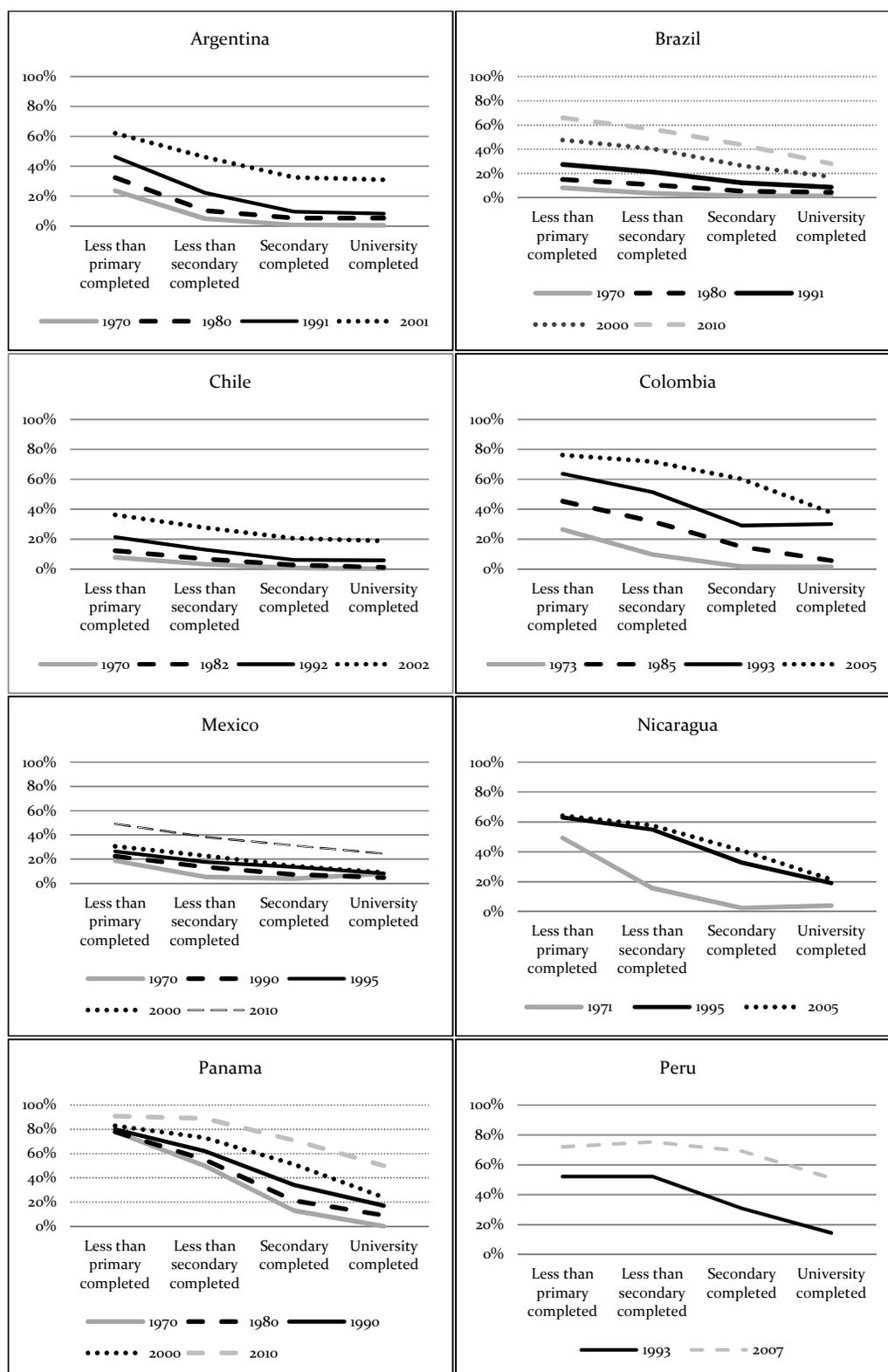
Parrado and Tienda (1997) point to the role played by women's increasing education and labor force participation on the increasing incidence of the modern type of cohabitation in Venezuela. Their results show the coexistence of both, the traditional and the modern type of cohabitation. While traditional cohabitants were common in rural areas, among unskilled or domestic workers and with high fertility, the modern type of cohabitation was similar to those observed in developed countries. These are women from a younger cohort, who had attained higher levels of education, worked in skilled jobs and had fewer or no children at all.

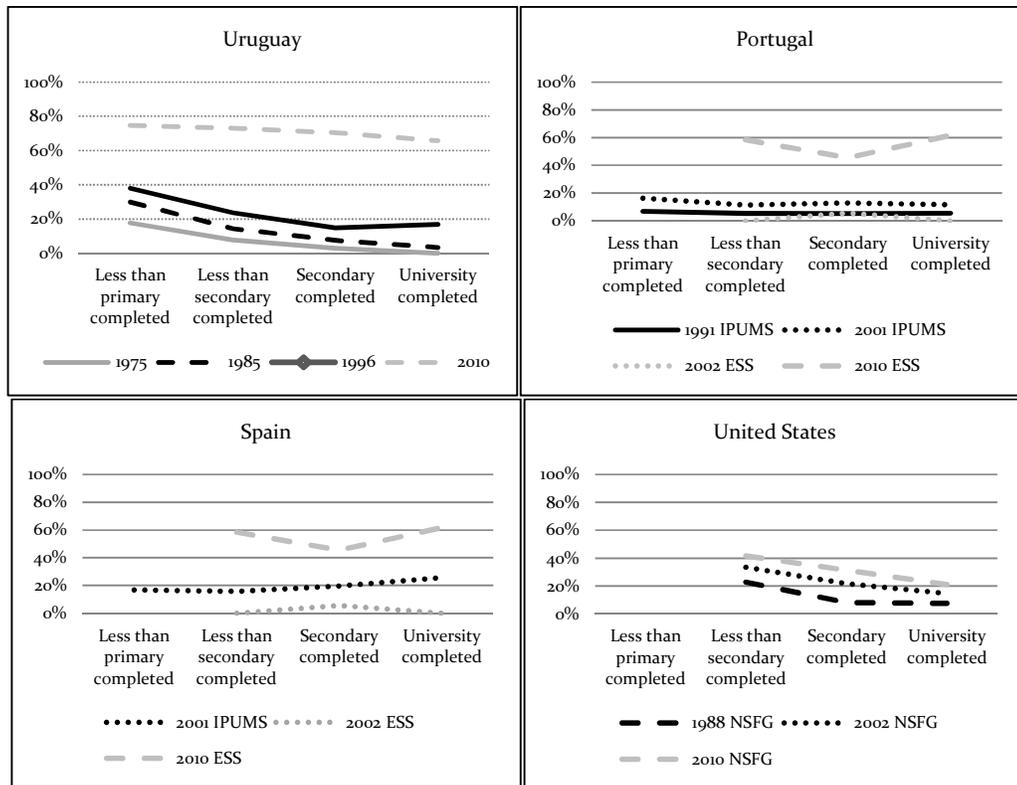
The studies presented above demonstrate that the relationship between social class (often measured by level of education attained) and different types of cohabitation is straightforward. While the traditional cohabitation is practiced by lower educated Latin Americans, with at maximum incomplete secondary education, the modern one is most common among those who attained higher levels of schooling, with at least some college education. Actually, it is possible that this last type of cohabitation is driven by the expansion of education in the region.

Esteve and colleagues (2013) explored this idea by comparing the most recent Latin American census rounds which showed a clear increase in the proportion of higher educated 25-29⁹ years old partnered women living in cohabitation (Esteve et al., 2013a; Esteve et al., 2012a). Their results are included in Figure 3.2, which demonstrates the share of cohabitation among all unions of women aged 25-29 by education, country and census round for Latin American countries. For comparison, we included similar information for Portugal, Spain and the United States.

⁹ The choice of the age group 25-29 is commonly made in demographic studies because in this age group education is completed for most of women, as well as the important choices referent to type of partnership and progression to parenthood are made. When data from different points in time are used, such as here, the selection of a specific age group allows for the examination of changes in demographic behavior of successive incoming cohorts (Esteve et al., 2012a; Rosero-Bixby et al., 2009).

Figure 3.2 Share of cohabitation among all unions of women 25-29 by education, country and time.





Source: Esteve et al. (2012a), Esteve et. al. (2013a) and own computations based on IPUMS, ESS and NSFG data.

Figure 3.2 clearly shows that the increase in cohabitation by young women is evident in all countries and educational groups. However, as noticed by Esteve and colleagues (2013a), there are different types of evolution. In Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Nicaragua, cohabitation among lower educated groups started to increase first. Then, they were followed by higher educated cohabitants, who are still in lower proportions in comparison to lower educated ones. Panama and Peru show opposite trends. In these countries cohabitation represented more than 50 percent of unions formed by lower educated women already in the 1970s. There is an increase in this type of cohabitation, but the substantial growth is observed among higher educated women. The last form of evolution is presented by Mexico and Uruguay. These countries presented very low incidence of cohabitation in the 1970s, and these proportions are increasing similarly for all educational groups. Uruguay is really an extreme case in this group, showing that “a major jump occurred during the last 10 years and this affected absolutely everybody, to the

point that the current education profile is almost flat at an astonishing 70 percent level” (Esteve et al., 2013a).

Trends for Portugal, Spain and the United States are similar to the last group of Latin American countries, with very low levels of cohabitation at the beginning of the observation period followed by an overall increase in cohabiting unions for women from all levels of education. Differing from Portugal and Spain, however, the incidence of cohabitation among lower educated women in the United States is higher than among higher educated ones. This trend has been the case for a long time, as showed by Bumpass and colleagues already in the beginning of the 1990s (Bumpass et al., 1991). Comparing the graphs shown in Figures 3.1 and 2.2, the United States trends in cohabitation are closer to those of some Latin American countries (i.e. Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Mexico) than to European ones.

Higher levels of cohabitating unions practiced by different social groups are in line with prior evidence that two types of cohabitation coexist in Latin America, depending on the social group under analysis (Castro-Martin, 2002). Previous results indicating that cohabitation is also practiced by people from the lower social strata in developed countries are also supported (Kalmijn, 2011; Kiernan et al., 2011; Sassler & Miller, 2011). This scenario suggests that the comparison of the contexts for the two types of cohabitation in Latin America and in fully developed nations is meaningful.

We can expect that higher socioeconomic development in terms of education, health and income, as well as egalitarian opportunities for most of the population, would favor the partnership transition, from traditional marriage to modern partnership. *Nations with positive socioeconomic development are expected to show greater proportions of higher educated couples living in cohabitation instead of in marriage. An opposite social context, marked by lower levels of education, lack of health care and high social inequality would favor the existence of cohabitations among the lower social strata, such as the traditional cohabitating union in Latin America.* These hypotheses are analyzed in the next section.

However, before analyzing the hypotheses it is important to bear in mind that results that will be presented in this chapter are based on zero-order macro-level correlations and must be interpreted with caution. A first caution in interpreting the results that will be presented here refers to the risk of committing an ecological fallacy, or ecological inference fallacy. Ecological fallacy is a logical fallacy in the interpretation of statistical results where inferences about the nature of individuals are deduced from inference about the group to which those individuals belong (Hox, 2002). It is well known that that “ecological and individual correlations between the same variables can differ markedly, and can even have different signs” (Robinson, 1950; reported in Macintyre et al., 2002, p.126). Second, it is important to bear in mind the possible existence of bias in these estimations. Zero-order correlations ignore the influence of other possible explanatory variables in the prediction and can be spurious. Finally, correlations with a relatively small sample sizes are sometimes driven by specific (groups of) countries, and very sensitive to country selection. A more careful interpretation, taking the positions of specific countries into account is warranted.

Keeping these warnings in mind, the analyses presented in this chapter aim to illustrate some possible structural driving forces related to the incidence of cohabitation among different social groups, in Latin America and developed countries.

3.4. Socioeconomic contexts for cohabitation in distinct social groups

Latin America went through important structural transformations in the second half of the 20th century. After the debt crisis which affected the region in the 1980s, the 1990s were characterized by economic restructuring in most countries of the region. Rapid urbanization, internal rural to urban migration, the transition to democratic governments in the political domain, and the expansion and accessibility of educational opportunities have transformed the organization of

Latin American society profoundly. At the same time, economic development has not yet reached the majority of the population and social inequality is another important feature of the region (to illustrate, Cavenaghi, 2009a).

Recent data shows that while the proportion of people classified as poor or indigent decreased from 44 percent in 2002 to 29.4 percent in 2012 (ECLAC, 2012), significant differences in terms of socioeconomic development can be observed between and within countries, as illustrated in Table 3.1. Differences in terms of social inequality are illustrated by the GINI index, while the figures for Human Development Index (HDI) demonstrate countries' socioeconomic development. Again, the figures for Portugal, Spain and the United States are included for comparison.

Table 3.1 shows that the HDI increased in all countries between 1980 and 2012. In Latin America, this development happened at different paces ranging from a 71.5 percent increase in Brazil to 84 percent in Venezuela and Uruguay. At the same time, inequality is still one of the main features of the region where the GINI coefficients range from a minimum of 40 in Nicaragua to a maximum of 59 in Haiti. As expected, the figures for developed countries illustrate higher HDI and lower social inequality (UNDP, 2013).

Table 3.1 Increase in HDI and GINI – Latin American and selected developed countries

Country	HDI 1980	HDI 2012	Δ HDI (%) (1980-2012)	GINI (2000-2010)
Argentina	0.67	0.81	83.23	44.5
Bolivia	0.49	0.67	72.44	56.3
Brazil	0.52	0.73	71.51	54.7
Chile	0.64	0.82	77.90	52.1
Colombia	0.56	0.72	77.33	55.9
Costa Rica	0.62	0.77	80.34	50.7
Cuba	0.63	0.78	80.26	
Dominican Republic	0.52	0.70	74.79	47.2
Ecuador	0.60	0.72	82.32	49.3
Guatemala	0.43	0.58	74.35	48.3
Guyana	0.51	0.63	80.66	55.9
Haiti	0.33	0.46	73.46	59.2
Honduras	0.46	0.63	72.15	57.0
Mexico	0.60	0.77	77.16	48.3
Nicaragua	0.46	0.60	76.96	40.5
Panama	0.63	0.78	81.28	51.9
Paraguay	0.55	0.67	82.06	52.4
Peru	0.58	0.74	78.27	48.1
Uruguay	0.66	0.79	83.84	45.3
Venezuela	0.63	0.75	84.09	44.8
Portugal	0.64	0.82	78.92	
Spain	0.70	0.88	78.87	34.7
United States	0.84	0.94	89.97	40.8

Note: Data for GINI refer to the most recent year available during the period specified. Source: UNDP (2013) and own computations.

One of the goals of this study is to demonstrate the effect of structural socioeconomic characteristics, in terms of human development and social inequality, on the incidence of different types of cohabitation. To this end, we compute the proportion of cohabitation among all unions for women in the age group of 25-29, by level of education for several countries. We label this indicator as country-education share of cohabitation. As stated previously, we use data from IPUMS for Latin American countries, from the National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG) for the United States, and from the European Social Survey (ESS) for the remaining countries under analysis. Countries were chosen based on data availability.

The socioeconomic indicators, HDI and GINI stem from the most recent Human Development Report (UNDP, 2013). In order to include as many countries as possible, data from around the year 2000 was selected. As the information about

consensual unions is available in the census records of 2000 for Portugal and Spain, we used census data instead of ESS information for these countries¹⁰. Following, we selected the results for the lower (less than secondary) and the higher (university completed) educational groups and compared these to the socioeconomic (HDI) and social inequality (GINI) indexes for their countries, at the time of data collection.

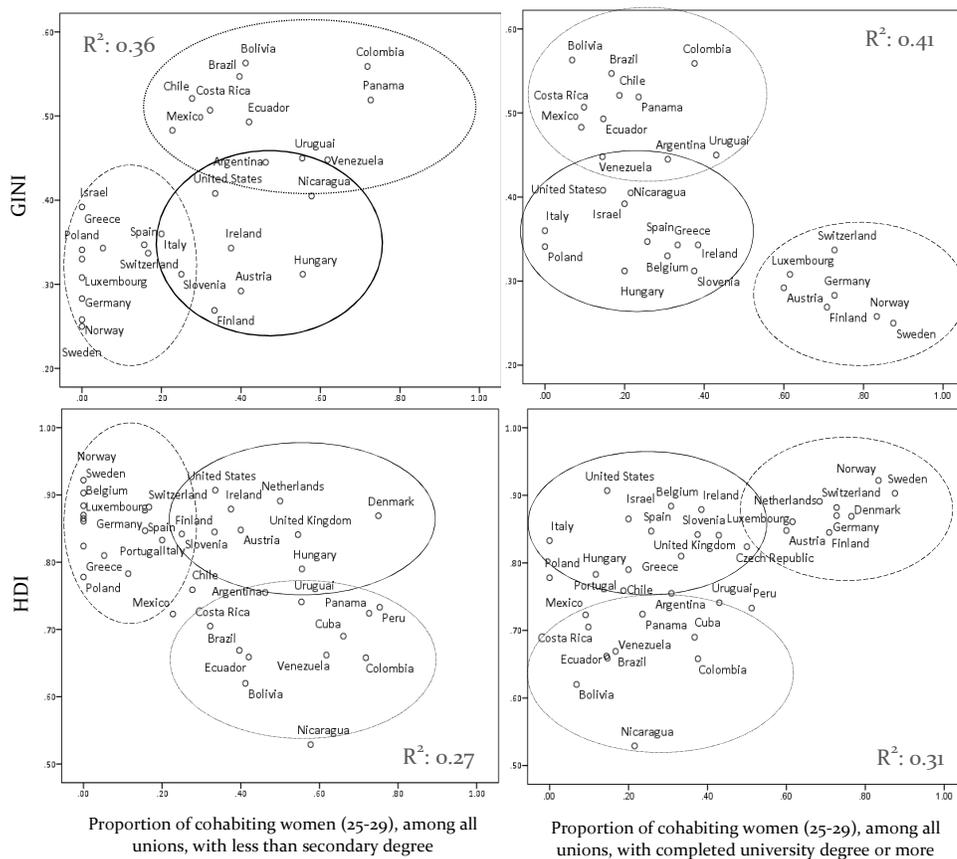
Pearson correlation coefficients of 0.55 for the HDI and -0.64 for the GINI are significant at the 0.001 level. It means that our hypotheses that cohabitation among higher educated women is common in places with advanced human development (HDI) and lower socio-inequality (GINI) are not rejected. Similarly, lower socioeconomic development and higher socio-inequality is related to the incidence of cohabitating unions among lower educated young women. These correlations are illustrated in Figure 3.3.

Three groups of countries can be easily identified in Figure 3.3. The first group contains countries with lower social inequality (GINI), higher socioeconomic development (HDI), lower incidence of cohabitation among lower educated women and higher incidence of cohabitation among higher educated women. In Figure 3.3 this group is separated by the dashed ellipse and often includes Germany, Luxembourg, Norway, Switzerland and Sweden. These countries are known for their advanced stage of development and secularization, so we label this group as developed-secular. The second group of countries presents lower social inequality, high socioeconomic development, medium-to-high levels of cohabitation among the lower educated and lower-to-medium levels of cohabitation among higher educated women. This group is highlighted with the continuous ellipse and frequently includes Ireland, Italy, Hungary, Slovenia and the United States. These countries are known for their traditional and religious values and are called here developed-religious. Most Latin American countries are located in the third group, which is highlighted with the dotted ellipse. These countries present higher social inequality, lower socioeconomic development, medium-to-high incidence of

¹⁰ Detailed information about the data used in this study is included in the appendix 2.1.

cohabitation among the lower educated and low-to-medium incidence of cohabitation among higher educated women. Countries often in this group are Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Panama and Venezuela. Interestingly, the incidence of cohabitation among higher educated women in Latin American countries is comparable to the figures for this type of cohabitation for the developed-religious group.

Figure 3.3 Correlation between country-education levels of cohabitation and socioeconomic (HDI) and social inequality (GINI) indexes



The effect of socioeconomic differences within Latin American countries on the incidence of different types of cohabitation in the region can also be observed in Figure 3.3. Countries from the Southern Cone, i.e. Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, known for their higher levels of socioeconomic development are only found in the group of Latin American countries in the graphs for social inequality. When human

development (HDI) is under consideration, they are closer to the developed-religious group than to the Latin American group.

As stated before, these results need to be interpreted with caution. Zero-order correlations ignore the influence of other variables and can be spurious. In this sense, it is not possible to attest whether only differences in socioeconomic development are at work here, or rather differences between regions that differ in many other factors, as the clusters show.

Nevertheless, the associations shown above are aligned with the SDT statement that socioeconomic development is one of the driving forces of demographic behavior. Yet, the existence of two patterns of nuptiality in countries with similar socioeconomic indicators supports the idea that socioeconomic development is not enough of a condition to influence nuptial behavior. The normative context, i.e. values and beliefs, plays a crucial role and must be considered in order to understand the incidence and acceptability of cohabitation in a given society. This topic is discussed in the next section.

3.5. Ideational contexts of cohabitation by different social groups

The Second Demographic Transition (SDT) theory states that changes in demographic behavior are related to ideational changes toward greater individual autonomy in ethical, religious and political domains. These trends lead to the prevalence of non-conformist behavior, driven by individuals' critical view and evaluation of current rules, in the direction of secularization and egalitarian gender roles (Lesthaeghe, 1998).

The ideational gradient of the SDT is very similar to the idea of post-materialism developed by Ronald Inglehart in political science. Summarizing for the two theories, socioeconomic development guarantees people's basic and material needs, such as education, income, working conditions and health; it makes room for the rise of non-material needs, such as equality, freedom and self-

expression. This changes peoples' attitudes toward the so-called post-materialist values (Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Lesthaeghe, 2010).

Esteve and colleagues (2012a) use World and Values Survey (WVS) data to show the evolution of ethic and family issues in Latin American countries with increasing proportions of cohabitation after the second half of the 20th century (i.e. Argentina, Brazil and Chile). In lesser or greater degrees, all countries presented increasing secularization and tolerance to non-conformist forms of family arrangements. Specifically, the proportion of people who agree that euthanasia, homosexuality and divorce are never justifiable decreased in all countries, as well as the number of people who think that a child needs both a mother and a father (Esteve et al., 2012a, pp. 71–76).

The World Values Survey (WVS) uses several questions to compute two individual- and country-level dimensions of post-materialist values. These dimensions reflect the polarization between traditional versus secular-rational values toward authority and survival versus self-expression orientations. Individuals or societies with high scores on the traditional dimension reflect a strong religious influence in people's lives, deference to authority, parents and traditional forms of family. Social conformity instead of individual freedom is emphasized, along with rejection of divorce, abortion, euthanasia and suicide. Elevated secular-rational scores show the opposite trend. The self-expression dimension reflects trust, tolerance, subjective well-being and political activism. Contrasting, the survival dimension reflects insecurity, low levels of well-being and intolerance to out-groups, such as to homosexuals, as well as egalitarian gender roles (Inglehart & Baker, 2000, pp. 23–28).

In order to demonstrate shifts in the ideational domain for several Latin American countries, and compare them with some countries which are developed, we select Latin American countries with more than one round of the WVS. Next, in order to facilitate the visualization of cultural shifts over time, we select the first

and last survey available¹¹ and compare the evolution of the WVS dimensions of post-modern values over time. Again, results for Portugal, Spain and the United States are included for comparison. The results are shown in Figure 3.4.

Figure 3.4 World Value Survey cultural evolution map: Latin America and selected developed countries

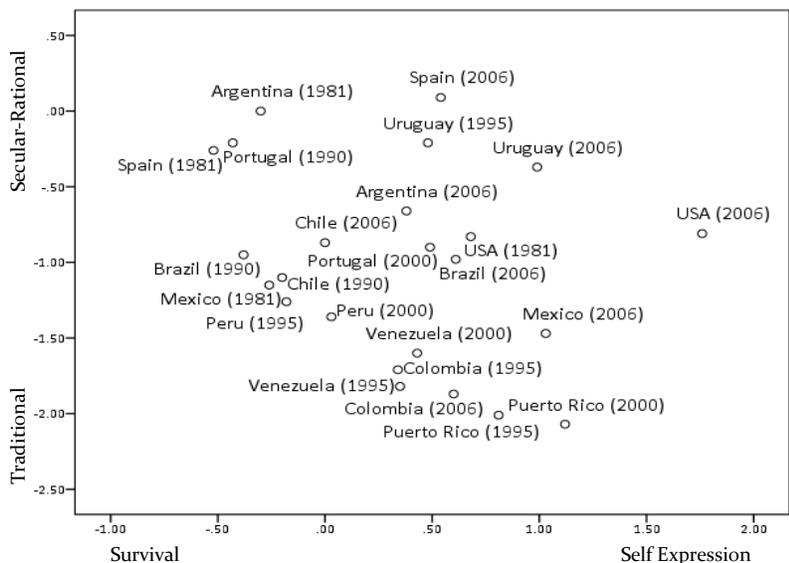


Figure 3.4 shows that values of all countries have shifted in the direction of at least one of the post-materialist dimensions. A first group of countries, composed of Uruguay, Venezuela, and the developed Portugal and Spain, evolved in the direction of both measures of post-modernity: secular-rational and self-expression values. Americans and Brazilians became more tolerant and self-expressive, but did not change in relation to traditional vs. secular-rational ethics. Similarly the populations of Argentina, Colombia, Mexico and Puerto Rico became more tolerant and self-expressive, however, also more traditional. Finally, Chile and Peru present populations moved in the direction of more secular-rational values, but stable regarding survival/self-expression principles. In an additional analysis (not shown),

¹¹ Countries and surveys included in this analysis are: Argentina (1981 and 2006), Brazil (1990 and 2006), Chile (1990 and 2006), Colombia (1995 and 2006), Mexico (1981 and 2006), Peru (1995 and 2000), Portugal (1990 and 2000), Puerto Rico (1995 and 2000), Spain (1981 and 2006), Uruguay (1995 and 2006), the United States (1981 and 2006) and Venezuela (1995 and 2000).

we found that changes in values and beliefs toward modern ethics transpired within all education levels, but with very different levels of intensity: higher educated people presented higher tolerance and less traditional attitudes than lower educated people.

As stated previously, cohabitation among higher educated women is considered an outcome of the prevalence of post-materialist values in this educational group. *Consequently we expect to find a positive correlation between shares of cohabitation by higher educated women and the means of the two dimensions of post-materialist values (secular-rational and survival/self-expression) for this educational group.* In contrast, *considering the socioeconomic constraints imposed on lower educated groups, the incidence of cohabitation among them is expected to occur along with the prevalence of traditional and survival ethics in this group.*

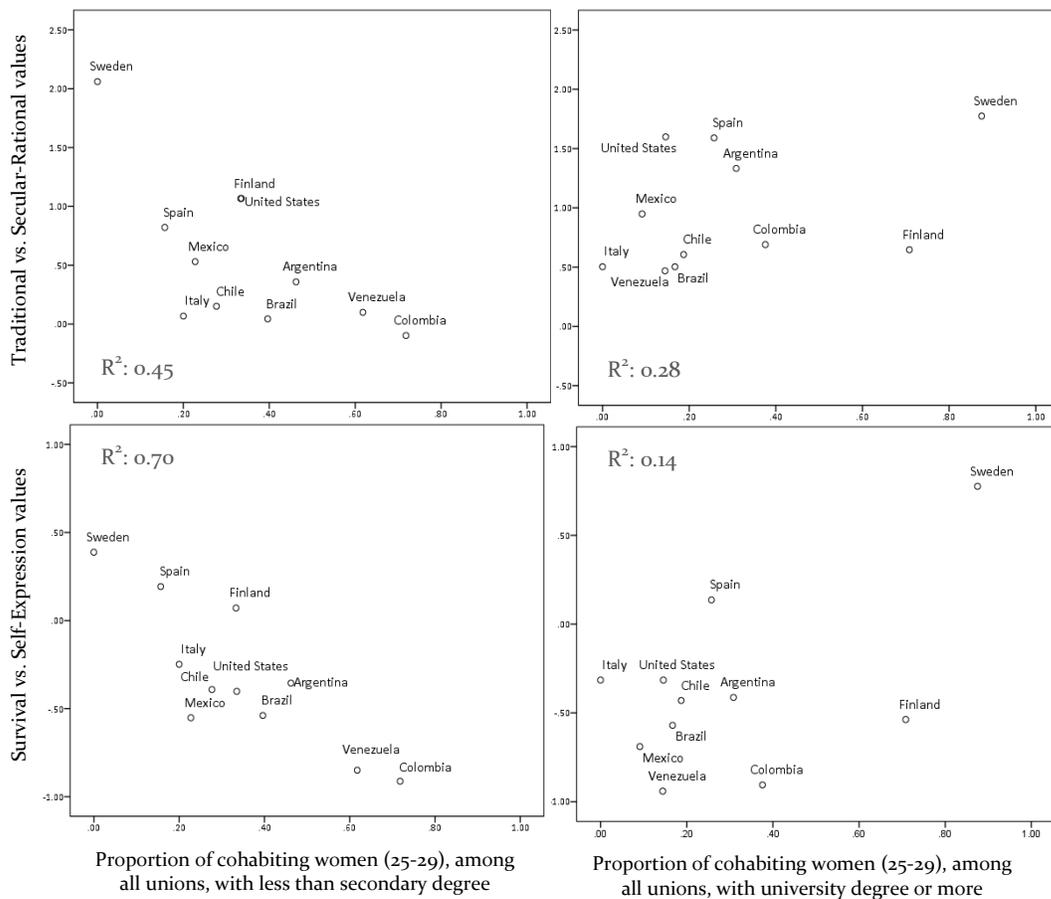
In order to empirically analyze these expectations, we have compared the values of women in the age-group 25-29, from two distinct educational groups, to the incidence of cohabitation by women in the same age- and educational groups in different countries. Once more, the countries were chosen on the basis of data availability.

With this object in mind, we have used the individual-level dimensions of traditional/secular-rational and survival/self-expression values provided by WVS to compute the country-education scores of these values. In other words, we have selected 25-29 years old women from different educational groups and have computed the mean scores of the two dimensions of post-modernity for these women. Next, we correlated these scores to the proportion of cohabitation practiced by women from the same country, age and educational group. The results are shown in Figure 3.5.

Our results are mostly in line with our hypotheses. The prevalence of survival values, meaning lower tolerance and subjective well-being, as well as emphasis on economic security above other goals, in the lower educated group is highly correlated to cohabitation in this group (Pearson correlation of -0.84,

significant at the 0.001 level). Similarly, the predominance of self-expression values is related to the incidence of cohabitation by higher educated women (Pearson correlation of 0.53, significant at the 0.01 level). Simultaneously, traditional values among lower educated people are associated with higher levels of cohabitation by lower educated women (Pearson correlation of -0.67, significant at the 0.05 level). The relationship between traditional/secular-rational values of higher educated people and cohabitation practiced by this group is not statistically significant.

Figure 3.5 Correlation between country-education levels of cohabitation and country-education value orientations



Looking at the countries in Figure 3.5, it is possible to see that while Latin American countries present higher incidence of cohabitation among lower educated groups associated with predominance of survival and traditional values, developed countries present lower incidence of this type of cohabitation associated with secular-rational and self-expression values. Considering consensual unions

among higher educated women, one can see lower levels of this type of union associated with survival values in Latin American countries and higher levels of this type of cohabitation associated with more self-expression values.

Considering that correlations with a small sample sizes are sometimes driven by specific countries, one can suppose that these correlations can be driven by the inclusion of Sweden in the analysis. We perform the analysis without including Sweden and the correlations without this country disappear for most results. The only exception was the Pearson correlation between the incidence of cohabitation by lower educated groups and the occurrence of survival or self-expression values that was of -0.76 , significant at 0.01 level, even without Sweden. Changes in the results after excluding this country can be related to the fact that the outcomes presented first were driven by Sweden; that the outcome presented now is driven by the even smaller sample size ($n=10$) or both explanations. In this sense, these results must interpreted carefully.

3.6. Gender symmetry and cohabitation in different social groups

As stated previously, the Second Demographic Transition (SDT) framework states that the shift in gender roles toward symmetric gender relationships is one of the driving forces of modern cohabitation (Prinz, 1995; Surkyn & Lesthaeghe, 2004). Several interdependent components related to women's empowerment favored more egalitarian gender relations, leading to significant modifications in family life. Increasing education and economic independence, the so-called biological independence which separates reproductive to sexual lives, and growing political participation all play important roles in this process (Lesthaeghe, 2010). Consequently, we can *expect to find cohabitation among higher educated groups to be correlated to environments with favorable conditions toward egalitarian gender relations*. At the same time, cohabitation among lower educated groups in Latin America is commonly related to lack of women's empowerment. In this sense, we

expect to find higher proportions of cohabitation among lower educated groups in places which are less favorable to egalitarian gender relations.

In 2010, the Human Development Report computed a new index for the measurement of gender inequality. Gender Inequality Index (GII) is a composite measure of inequality in achievement between women and men in three dimensions: reproductive health, empowerment and the labor market¹² (UNDP, 2013).

This new index is a significant contribution toward measuring gender inequality, since it was designed to overcome the limitations of previous similar indexes (Permanyer, 2013). However, it also has some drawbacks. According to Permanyer (2013), there are two important limitations of the GII:

“(1) it penalizes less-developed countries for poor performances in reproductive health indicators that are not entirely explained by the gender-related norms or discriminative practices against women that the GII purports to measure, and (2) it does not reach the expected or normatively desirable value whenever women and men fare equally in all indicators.” (Permanyer, 2013, p. 946)

Although both limitations need to be kept in mind when using the GII, the first one it has direct implications to this study. When comparing fully developed to less developed countries, the fact that less developed countries are penalized in the index suggests the need of interpreting the differences among countries cautiously.

In order to examine whether different types of cohabitation occur in dissimilar gender inequality contexts, we use the same procedure applied to the other socioeconomic indexes (HDI and GINI). Therefore, we compared the country-education shares of cohabitation, i.e. the figures for cohabiting women aged 25-29 for the lower (less than secondary) and the higher (University

¹² More specifically, maternal mortality ratio, adolescent fertility rate, seats in national parliament, proportion of women with at least secondary education (% ages 25 and older) and women's labor force participation rate (% ages 15 and older) are used to compute the Gender Inequality Index (UNDP, 2013).

completed) educational groups, to the Gender Inequality Index of their countries. Considering that the earlier index available is from 2010, we used the data on cohabitation available for 2010¹³.

In line with our hypothesis, gender inequality is positively related to the incidence of cohabitation among lower educated groups (Pearson correlation 0.44, significant at 0.05 level) and negatively related to the modern type of cohabitation, practiced by higher educated women (Pearson correlation -0.35, significant at 0.05 level). These correlations are illustrated in Figure 3.6.

Figure 3.6 Correlation between country-education levels of cohabitation and the Gender Inequality Index

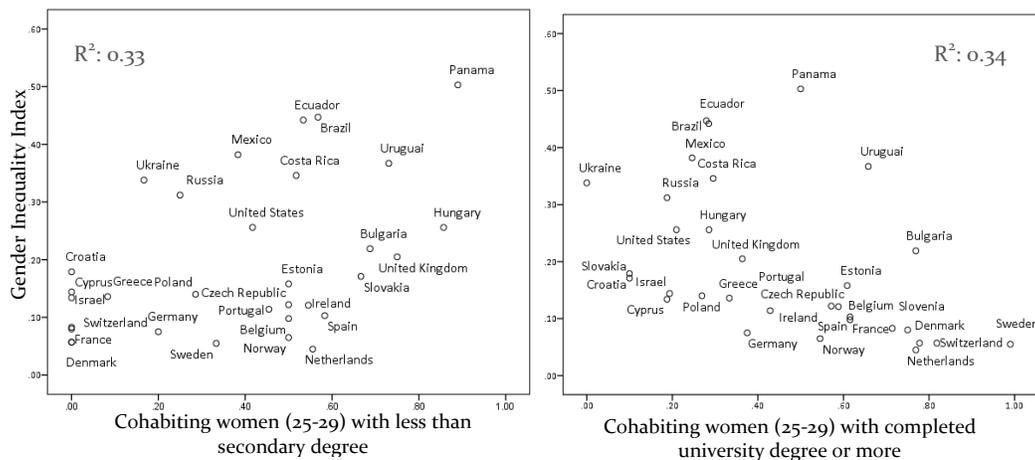


Figure 3.6 shows that Latin American countries form the group with higher gender inequality when compared to other countries under analysis. The positive relationship between country-level gender inequality and the incidence of cohabitation in the lower social class is evident: countries with higher gender inequality score also present higher proportions of cohabitation in this social group. The extreme example of this evidence is Panama, which shows the higher gender inequality allied to the higher incidence of cohabitation by lower educated women. In agreement with our hypothesis, there is a significant negative relationship between gender inequality and cohabitation among higher educated

¹³ Detailed information about the data is available in the appendix 3.1.

women. Normally, higher levels of cohabitation by this group happen in places with more egalitarian opportunities for women and men.

However, as can be easily observed in Figure 3.6, this is never the case for Latin America. Latin American countries are clear outliers in this relationship, presenting high levels of cohabitation by the higher educated group in environments of high inequality between women and men. Panama and Uruguay are the extreme examples of it. As it was presented in Figure 3.2, these countries had an increase in the proportions of cohabiting women with university degree of 26 and 49 percent for Panama and Uruguay respectively between 2000 and 2010. These fast changes combined with the fact that the GII penalizes less developed countries (as shown by Permanyer 2013) are potential explanations of the outlier status of Panama and Uruguay, as well as the remaining Latin American countries.

3.7. Conclusion

The present study was designed to contribute to the existing research about the diffusion of unmarried cohabitation in different social classes by demonstrating its socioeconomic macro-level associations in Latin America and in fully developed countries.

Cohabitation practiced by higher educated women is described by the Second Demographic Transition (SDT) theoretical framework as an outcome of modernity. At the same time, a second type of cohabitation, in Latin America referred to as traditional, is found among the lower social classes in all countries under observation. In order to demonstrate the associations between contexts in which these two types of cohabitation occur, we correlate their incidence with levels of socioeconomic development, social and gender inequality, as well as the ideational environment of Latin American and developed countries. With this goal in mind we compared data derived from IPUMS, Censuses, the European Social Survey (ESS) and the National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG) to the socioeconomic indicators of the Human Development Report and to the

dimensions of post-modern values provided by the World and Values Survey (WVS).

A general increase of cohabitation over time in different age and educational groups is presented and indicates that cohabitation is not an exclusive outcome of socioeconomic development and post-materialist values. Comparing cohabitation in Latin America with developed countries we demonstrated that in the latter, cohabitation is more visible in the higher educated social strata, although it also exists among the lower social classes.

Positive socioeconomic contexts, in terms of socioeconomic development and social and gender inequality, all relate to the incidence of cohabitation among higher educated women; and the opposite to the incidence of this type of union among lower educated ones. However, it was shown that some countries with high socioeconomic development and low social inequality present similar levels of cohabitation to countries with opposite socioeconomic outcomes. This is the case for the countries labeled as developed-religious, such as Ireland, Italy and the United States, that have similar incidence of the two types of cohabitation of some Latin American countries, such as Chile, Costa Rica, Brazil and Mexico. This is probably due to the similarity of these countries in terms of value orientations.

The results on value orientations are less clear. Cohabitation by lower educated women occurs among less tolerant and more traditional groups. However, based on the analysis presented here, we cannot attest that the occurrence of cohabitation among higher educated women is related to contexts of higher tolerance. This is possibly true for fully developed countries, but it we cannot say the same for Latin America. It is probable that the recent socioeconomic development observed in the region was not enough to change people's values. It can be related to the degree of socioeconomic development in the region or to the fact that it occurred quite recently. According to the post materialist theory of Ronald Inglehart, socioeconomic development changes people's values in their formative years (Inglehart, 1971). Consequently, these results suggest that the increasing incidence of cohabitation in Latin America is more driven by increasing

socioeconomic opportunities for women, e.g. education, labor market or availability of modern contraception, than by value orientations.

Another interesting result is related to the context of gender inequality in which cohabitations happen. Although our results show that cohabitation among higher educated women is more likely to occur in places with lower gender inequality, it was not possible to say the same for Latin America. Recent data (from around 2010) shows that most Latin American countries are outliers in this correlation and that higher educated Latin American women are cohabitating, even in countries with higher gender inequality. This result can be derived by the fact that the Gender Inequality Index (GII) penalizes less developed countries for poor outcomes in reproductive health indicators (Permanyer, 2013), but can be also related to the fast increase in cohabitation among higher educated women. Considering that the gender inequality index is based on indicators that are related to social inequality, such as maternal mortality ratio, adolescent fertility rate, proportion of women with at least secondary education and women's labor force participation rate (UNDP, 2013), it is also possible that this result has decreased due to the levels of social inequality found in the region.

Taken together, these findings are in line with previous research suggesting that the existence of different types of cohabitation is not unique to Latin America. In addition to cohabitation among higher educated groups, which is related to modernity and socioeconomic advantage, developed countries also have a type of cohabitation related to poverty. However, while in Latin America the so-called traditional cohabitation, driven by socioeconomic deprivation, is the most noticeable, in developed countries the modern type of cohabitation among higher educated groups is more evident. This dissimilarity is easily explained by the different levels of socioeconomic development found in Latin America and the remaining countries under observation. Yet, the background for the cohabitation among the poor is evident: limited access to basic human needs such as education and health, higher gender and social inequalities, and, probably as a consequence, traditional and intolerant ethics.

Consequently, the findings of the current study do not completely support the idea that the increasing incidence of cohabitation in Latin America is explained by the Second Demographic Transition framework. Although the incidence of cohabitation among higher educated groups in Latin America can be explained by some features of this theoretical framework, such as the association of this type of consensual union with socioeconomic development, other components of the theory could not be verified. This is the case for value orientations and gender relations, as well as the increasing incidence of cohabitation among lower educated groups. Considering the former, it is possible that socioeconomic development was not enough to guarantee changes in value orientations and in gender relations. However, regarding the increasing incidence of cohabitation among lower educated groups, it is probable that the historical explanations for the existence of this type of unions are still valid, meaning that this type of union is driven by poverty and social exclusion.

An implication of these findings is that both traditional and modern types of cohabitation should be taken into account when public policies are planned. In this sense, policy makers should keep in mind that the meaning of cohabitation can be different for dissimilar groups of cohabitants. Accordingly, family legislations should be strong enough to protect the common property of cohabitants and the rights of their children but also flexible enough to not penalize young couples cohabiting as a trial period before marriage or just a co-residential dating relationship with unnecessary duties. An interesting example of this type of legislation is adopted in Brazil, where cohabitation is recognized as a type of marriage by law, but cohabitants have the right to create ex-ante personal contracts delimitating their rights and obligations (for more information see Marcondes, 2011).

Besides the limitations related to the use of macro-level analysis and zero-order correlations, already discussed in the text, our findings are also limited by the use of a cross-sectional design; hence the current study was not intended to estimate causal relations to the occurrence of one type of cohabitation or another.

Contrary, the aim was to illustrate the possible societal features related to the incidence of different types of cohabitation in different social groups. In this sense, further research based on individual level and longitudinal data is needed before these relationships are more clearly understood, along with the causes and motivations of cohabitation for diverse social classes. The next chapters of this thesis address a number of these limitations by showing the main features of Latin American cohabitants as well as where they live. In this sense Chapter 4 illustrates the socioeconomic and cultural features of cohabitation in Brazil; Chapter 5 presents a typology of the different types of cohabitation in Latin America; Chapter 6 discusses gender equality in terms of decision making; and Chapter 7 distinguishes the previously identified types of cohabitation from marriage in terms of gender symmetry and environmental influences.

Appendix Chapter 3.1. Data description¹⁴

Data used to compute the correlation between country-education levels of cohabitation and socioeconomic (HDI) and social inequality (GINI) indexes (Figure 3.3)

Country	Cohabitation		HDI Year	GINI Year
	Source	Year		
Argentina	IPUMS	2001	2000	1998
Bolivia	IPUMS	2001	2000	1999
Brazil	IPUMS	2000	2000	1999
Chile	IPUMS	2002	2000	2000
Colombia	IPUMS	2005	2000	2000
Costa Rica	IPUMS	2000	2000	2000
Cuba	IPUMS	2002	2000	
Ecuador	IPUMS	2001	2000	1998
Mexico	IPUMS	2000	2000	2000
Nicaragua	IPUMS	2005	2000	1998
Panama	IPUMS	2000	2000	2000
Portugal	IPUMS	2001	2000	
Spain	IPUMS	2001	2000	2000
Venezuela	IPUMS	2001	2000	1998
United States	NSFG	2002	2000	2000
Austria	ESS	2002	2000	2000
Belgium	ESS	2002	2000	2000
Switzerland	ESS	2002	2000	2000
Czech Republic	ESS	2002	2000	
Germany	ESS	2002	2000	2000
Denmark	ESS	2002	2000	
Finland	ESS	2002	2000	2000
United Kingdom	ESS	2002	2000	1999
Greece	ESS	2002	2000	2000
Hungary	ESS	2002	2000	2000
Ireland	ESS	2002	2000	2000
Israel	ESS	2002	2000	2001
Italy	ESS	2002	2000	2000
Luxembourg	ESS	2002	2000	2000
Netherlands	ESS	2002	2000	1999
Norway	ESS	2002	2000	2000
Sweden	ESS	2002	2000	2000
Slovenia	ESS	2002	2000	2002

¹⁴ Listwise deletion for missing values

Data used to compute the correlation between country-education levels of cohabitation and country-education value orientations (Figure 3.5)

Country	Cohabitation		WVS Year
	Source	Year	
Argentina	IPUMS	2001	1999
Brazil	IPUMS	2000	1997
Chile	IPUMS	2002	2000
Colombia	IPUMS	2005	2005
Mexico	IPUMS	2000	2000
Spain	IPUMS	2001	2000
Venezuela	IPUMS	2001	2000
United States	NSFG	2002	1999
Finland	ESS	2002	2005
Italy	ESS	2002	2005
Sweden	ESS	2002	1999

Data used to compute the correlation between country-education levels of cohabitation and the Gender Inequality Index - GII (Figure 3.6)

Country	Cohabitation		GII year
	Source	Year	
Brazil	CENSUS	2010	2010
Costa Rica	CENSUS	2011	2010
Ecuador	CENSUS	2010	2010
Panama	CENSUS	2010	2010
Uruguay	CENSUS	2010	2010
Mexico	IPUMS	2010	2010
United States	NSFG	2010	2010
Belgium	ESS	2010	2010
Bulgaria	ESS	2010	2010
Croatia	ESS	2010	2010
Cyprus	ESS	2010	2010
Czech Republic	ESS	2010	2010
Denmark	ESS	2010	2010
Estonia	ESS	2010	2010
France	ESS	2010	2010
Germany	ESS	2010	2010
Greece	ESS	2010	2010
Hungary	ESS	2010	2010
Ireland	ESS	2010	2010
Israel	ESS	2010	2010
Netherlands	ESS	2010	2010
Norway	ESS	2010	2010
Poland	ESS	2010	2010
Portugal	ESS	2010	2010
Russia	ESS	2010	2010
Slovakia	ESS	2010	2010
Slovenia	ESS	2010	2010
Spain	ESS	2010	2010
Sweden	ESS	2010	2010
Switzerland	ESS	2010	2010
Ukraine	ESS	2010	2010
United Kingdom	ESS	2010	2010

4. Socioeconomic and cultural features of cohabitation in Brazil

Cohabitation among the lower social strata is a well-known practice in Latin America. However, consensual unions are increasing in the region, among higher educated groups and in countries where it was never prevalent, such as in Brazil. This study uses couples' data from the demographic census (N=183,123) to identify the socioeconomic and cultural features of cohabitation in Brazil. The effect of women's education, couple's social class and religion is shown. Through multilevel analysis special attention is paid to the cultural environment where these unions occur. Results indicate that socioeconomic factors differentiate cohabitations in Brazil. While consensual unions are more common among the lower social classes and less educated women, cohabitation is also found among the upper classes, as a childless relationship. The cultural diversity found between Brazilian states is also reflected in nuptial behavior. While significant variance lies at the state level, the ethnic composition of each state partially explains state-level differences.

4.1. Introduction

Family patterns have changed noticeably in Western countries since the 1960s. With an increasing incidence of divorce and the social acceptance of non-marital cohabitation, marriage is no longer considered as the only way to establish a family. Brazil follows the Western trends with growing divorce and cohabitation rates. According to the Brazilian Census Bureau (IBGE), the divorce rate in Brazil increased by more than 500 percent since the 1960s and 36.4 percent of Brazilian couples were cohabiting out of wedlock in 2010, while the figure for 1960 was just 6.4 percent (IBGE, 2010). These changes in nuptiality patterns, associated with the postponement of marriage and decreases in fertility are interpreted by sociologists and demographers as results of not only socioeconomic development, but also shifts in values and beliefs (Lesthaeghe & Surkyn, 1988).

The coexistence of formal and informal marriages is a historical feature of nuptiality in several Latin American countries (e.g. Castro-Martin, 2002; De Vos, 1987, 2000; Esteve et al., 2012a). This historical cohabitation, also called traditional, has probably different meanings from those observed in most developed countries. Traditionally, cohabitation in Latin America is prevalent in rural areas, among the lower and less educated social classes (Arriagada, 2002; Jelin, 2007). Meanwhile, there are indicators that another form of consensual union is increasing in many areas of the region, among younger and higher educated cohorts (Esteve et al., 2012a; Parrado & Tienda, 1997; Vignoli-Rodríguez, 2005). This cohabitation is considered 'modern' and can be similar to the cohabitation practiced by higher educated groups in developed countries.

So far, however, there has been little evidence disentangling cohabitation by different social strata in Latin America (for two exceptions see Parrado & Tienda, 1997 [Caracas, Venezuela] and Laplante & Street, 2009 [Argentina]). This study uses the Brazilian demographic census from 2000¹⁵ to address this gap by examining the

¹⁵ When updated information from the census round of 2010 is available, it is used in the text, but data for the empirical analysis stems from the census round of 2000. This choice was made because

socioeconomic and cultural features of cohabitation in Brazil. Socioeconomic features, such as women's education, couples social class, children and religious orientation are accounted for. In addition, special attention is paid to the contextual environment where these unions occur¹⁶.

Brazilian features reflect the Latin American reality very well: they present accentuated regional and social inequalities as well as cultural differences. The Brazilian urbanization rate ranges from 97.4 percent (Rio de Janeiro, Southeast) to 60.2 percent (Maranhão, Northeast) and the illiteracy rate varies from 16.9 percent in the Northeast to 4.8 percent in the Southeast (IBGE, 2012). These differences among Brazilian regions are also manifested in terms of nuptiality patterns. Data from the 2010 census show that while 30.6 percent of couples in the Southeast region were cohabiting instead of being married, 52.8 percent of their Northern counterparts were living in out-of-wedlock unions (IBGE, 2013a). In addition, the North and Northeast regions are the poorest. These are areas where, according to 2008 data, between 17.6 and 24.9 percent of the population were living in extreme poverty (IPEA, 2010).

Such diversity makes Brazil an ideal case study for examining the socioeconomic and cultural dimensions of nuptial behavior in Latin America: each Brazilian state has its own colonization history, ethnic and religious composition and economic development stage (ranging from very industrialized to quite rural), but at the same time, they are all under the same legislation. In addition, the Brazilian census provides rich individual level information to the study of cohabitation, such as religious orientation and family income.

key variables, such as religious denomination, are not available in the microdata of the most recent Brazilian census round (2010).

¹⁶ Politically, Brazil is divided into twenty six states and the Distrito Federal (Brasília) which are geographically grouped into five regions (North, Northeast, Southeast, South and Central-west). The states have independent administration, subject only to the Brazilian Constitution, the Civil Code and its own state Constitution. They have autonomy but not sovereignty. For more details about the differences between Brazilian states and the Distrito Federal, see Appendix 3.1.

To the best of our knowledge, this is the first study on nuptiality that focuses on the socioeconomic and cultural features of cohabitation in Brazil, taking into consideration different Brazilian realities. Considering that union formation is a first step which shapes further decisions in the family, and that family is a fundamental unity of our society, the evidence provided here is central for sociological and demographic studies in general and especially for those focused on family. Also, as the Brazilian states are autonomous, this research is a relevant source of information for governors and policy makers concerned about the implications of the growing number of informal unions on family organization and the well-being of the involved parts.

In the following sections, the chapter is situated within the theoretical framework and previous empirical results found on the theme. In the next section, the research questions are contextualized within the theoretical framework of the Second Demographic Transition (SDT) and previous research on cohabitation in Brazil and in Latin America. Next, Brazilian regional differences on nuptial behavior are considered. Subsequently, data, variables and empirical results are presented and discussed.

4.2. Cohabitation in Brazil: Signals of an SDT?

According to the Second Demographic Transition (SDT) theoretical framework, the increasing incidence of cohabitation and childbearing in cohabiting unions is an outcome of socioeconomic development and shifts in the ideational domain towards post-modern values such as secularization and individualization. Socioeconomic advantages reduce people's preoccupations with basic material needs, such as education, income, working conditions and health. It makes room for the rise of non-material needs, such as equality, freedom and self-expression, changing people's values in the direction of more egalitarian family relations and forms (Lesthaeghe, 2010).

Consensual unions are historically common among the lower social classes in Latin American societies. However, since the 1960s, the incidence of

cohabitation has increased in the region, mainly in countries where this type of union had historically less expressive numbers, such as in Brazil. Since then, the choice for cohabiting instead of marrying is assumed to be related to both historical roots and post-modernity depending on the social group under analysis (Castro-Martin, 2002). In line with the Castro-Martin (2002) statement that cohabitation in Latin America is also related to post-modernity, Esteve and colleagues suggested that the cohabitation boom in Latin America is driven by changes in the ideational domain in the direction of non-conventional ethics and secularization (Esteve et al., 2012a). This evidence initiates the first research question of this study: *To what extent is cohabitation related to secularization in Brazil?*

After the transition to the democratic government in the 1990s, noteworthy socioeconomic development can be observed in Brazil. Expansion of mass education, internal rural to urban migration and rapid urbanization has altered the organization of Brazilian society significantly. Meanwhile, economic development has not yet reached the majority of the population and social inequality is another central feature of the country (IBGE, 2012). In this scenario of improving socioeconomic development combined with social inequality it is meaningful to question: *To what degree is cohabitation related to social class in Brazil?*

In Latin America, the traditional type of cohabitation is usually a substitute for marriage, with childbearing in it. However, it is not possible to say that childbearing in traditional cohabiting unions in Latin America is a signal of secularization or egalitarian relationships, as in cohabitation among higher educated groups observed in the developed West. Usually, the traditional cohabitation is established as a strategy to overcome problems related to poverty and single or teenager motherhood and they commonly end up in separation or in marriage (Castro-Martin, 2002; Parrado & Tienda, 1997), even when children are grown up (De Vos, 1998). Comparable to Latin American trends, high fertility in cohabitating unions is a common feature of cohabitation in Brazil. Actually, the total fertility rate is higher for cohabitants than for legally married couples in some regions of the country (Lazo & Moraes, 2004). Consequently it is asked: *How does childbearing in cohabitating unions relate to social class?*

The SDT framework states that nuptial behavior is not only related to socioeconomic factors. It is also related to the social acceptability of a given behavior. The expansive cultural diversity found in Brazil implies the need to understand that couples' dynamics are embedded in distinct socioeconomic and cultural contexts. The cultural variances found in Brazil induce the question: *To what extent is the cultural context related to couples' probability of being married on the one hand or cohabiting on the other?*

4.3. The Brazilian context of cohabitation

Similar to most Latin American countries, cohabitation in Brazil has historical roots, although in lower numbers when compared to other countries of the region. Brazilian family organization follows Latin American history which was marked by patriarchal and interracial relationships. The family patterns of the native indigenous population were completely dissimilar to the European ones, in which marriage did not play a central role. Wife-lending was a common practice among these pre-Colombian civilizations. During the colonization period, Portuguese colonizers used to constitute 'new families' abroad, with indigenous women, as a strategy to obtain the help of indigenous groups to explore the land (Ribeiro, 1997).

With the advent of slavery (from 16th to 19th century), and the non-adaptation of indigenous populations to this new system, African slaves were introduced in the country en masse coming from different parts of the African continent (Ribeiro, 1997). At that time marriage was under the control of the Catholic Church and marriage encouraged, but slave masters restricted legal marriage among slaves, due to the near impossibility to sell married slaves separately (Holt, 2005). Therefore, in Brazilian colonial society, people from the lower social classes and disadvantaged ethnic groups (indigenous and blacks) used to constitute their families in out-of-wedlock relationships.

Conversely, marriage was always highly valorized by the upper classes in Brazil (Samara, 1987). Generally, while cohabitation was common among the lower social strata until the middle of the 20th century, the institutions of marriage and

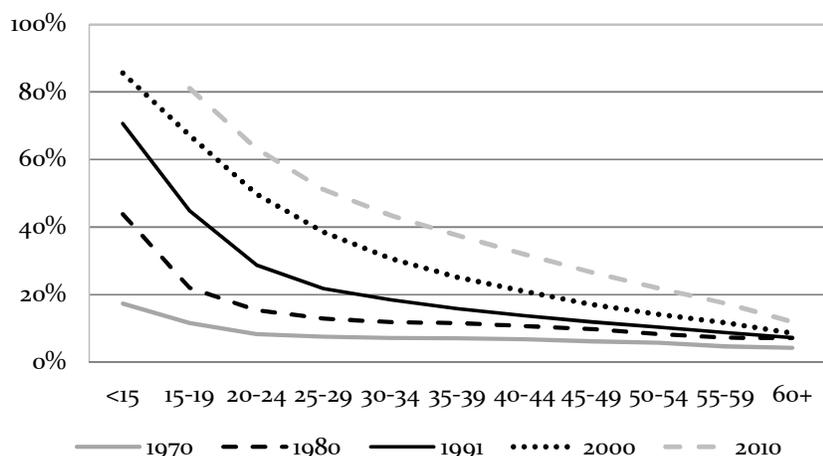
the family among the upper classes were constructed based on hierarchic, authoritarian and patriarchal relationships, under the strong influence of Catholic based morality (Freyre, 2000). Meanwhile, many demographers and historians point to a noteworthy variance in terms of family compositions and roles over different social strata and regions of the country (Almeida, 1987; Corrêa, 1993; Samara & Costa, 1997; Samara, 1987; Souza & Botelho, 2001). It is now well understood in the Brazilian social sciences that the influence of the Catholic Church on family life, the patriarchal model of family and gender and ethnic relations inside the family, all vary considerably across the Brazilian regions and social classes (Samara, 2010; Souza & Botelho, 2001).

Despite its historical roots, the incidence of cohabitation in Brazil diverges from the Latin American prevalence as found in Central American or the Caribbean countries. Comparing Panama in 1970, 62 percent of women in the age group of 25 to 29 years old were cohabiting instead of married, while the figures for the same group and year for Brazil were 7.5 percent (IPUMS data, own calculations, Minnesota Population Center, 2011). It was during the 1970s that the incidence of cohabitation started to increase in Brazil, reaching 36.4 percent in 2010 (IBGE, 2010).

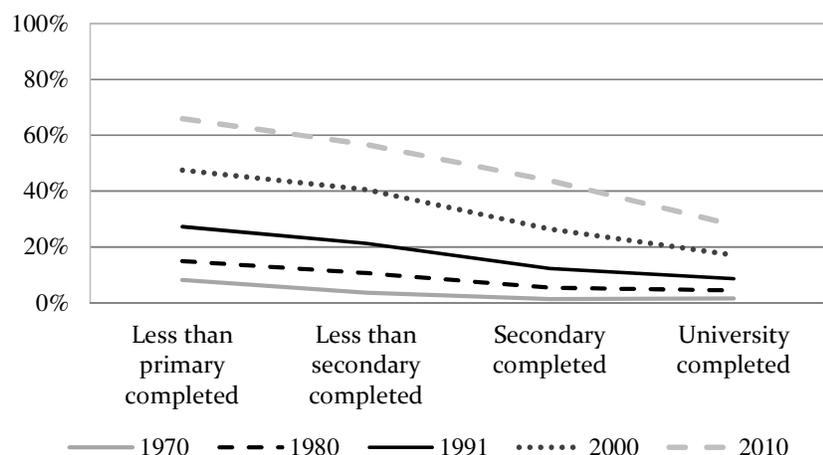
Figure 4.1 shows the evolution of the share of partnered women, aged 25-29, and living in cohabitation instead of being married, in Brazil by age and educational groups. The selection of a specific age group allows for the examination of changes in demographic behavior of successive incoming cohorts. This specific age group is normally used in demographic research because when women reach the ages of 25 to 29 their education has been mostly completed, and important choices referent to type of partnership and progression to parenthood have been made (Esteve et al., 2012a; Rosero-Bixby et al., 2009).

Figure 4.1: Evolution of cohabitation in Brazil

(i) Women in all age groups



(ii) Educational groups for women in the age group 25-29



Source: (Esteve et al. 2013b)

From the data shown in Figure 4.1 (i), it is clear that there has been a constant cohort-wise increase of consensual unions in Brazil¹⁷. Looking at Figure 4.1 (i), it is

¹⁷ The increase of the incidence of cohabitation in Brazil was so sharp between the 1970s and the 1990s that the Brazilian law regarding it needed to be adapted: Since 1996 cohabitation is recognized as a civil status in Brazil. According to the Brazilian civil code, if at the moment of break-up one of the partners proves that they cohabited with intention to constitute family or proves that they lived 'as a family' this partnership can be considered by the judge as a 'type of marriage'. In this case, cohabitants have almost the same legal guarantees of a couple who choose to get married instead of cohabit, except for inheritance rights. Cohabitants who disagree with this law have the option to formalize the relationship through a contract with the purpose of delimitation of property division. In case of dissolution, the content of the contract, if it exists, is followed. The Brazilian legislation

possible to speculate that cohabitation is not a short temporary premarital phase, but, on the contrary, a much longer-term form of partnership. However, it is not possible to infer that cohabitation is a stable form of relationship and both, stable same partner long-term cohabitation and unstable multiple partner cohabitation, are consistent with the cohort profiles shown in Figure 4.1 (i). The increasing incidence of cohabitation among older cohorts also suggests that there is a later age entry into cohabitation as well, presumably stemming from separated and divorced women (Esteve et al., 2013b).

The second panel shown in Figure 4.1 (ii) illustrates that the diffusion of cohabitation happened in all educational groups. Accordingly, one can conclude that cohabitation in Brazil has been increasing in all educational groups and at childbearing ages. Given the historical high value given to marriage as an institution in Brazil, cohabitation among higher educated groups is a signal of ideational change in the country (and in Latin America) and can be explained by the theoretical framework of the SDT. Consequently, it is expected that *cohabitation, with childbearing, is visible in all social classes in Brazil*. However, considering previous evidence of high fertility during cohabitation among the lower social strata (Lazo, 1999), *it is expected to find higher fertility in consensual unions practiced by this social group*.

4.4. Long term demographic developments

Brazil is a country with a unified language and traditions combined with a plurality of subcultures and regions in different socioeconomic development stages. Brazil's extensive diversity implies the need to understand how couples' dynamics are embedded in these dissimilar environments. These contexts can be illustrated in terms of the five Brazilian regions, although attentive observers can find considerable variance in terms of cultural environment and socioeconomic development within these regions as well.

also guarantees equality of rights to legitimate and illegitimate children (for more information about the Brazilian legislation see Marcondes, 2011).

When the subject is 'cultural differences', anthropologist Darcy Ribeiro (1997) suggests that Brazil's vast territory (8,547,403.5 km²), its substantial and growing population (more than 190 million in 2010) formed by different cultures (mainly native indigenous, African and European, but with participation of Asiatic, Arabian and other cultures), and its extensive variety of climate, terrain and vegetation, have determined the division of Brazilian culture into different subcultures, distributed throughout the five regions (Ribeiro, 1997).

According to 2011 data provided by IBGE (2013), the North and Northeast regions have higher proportions of mixed race populations (pardos: mainly the mixture of native indigenous, European and African descendants), with 68 and 60 percent of self-declared pardo in 2011, respectively. It is in the Northeast that the family model, described by Freyre (2000 [1933]) as patriarchal and hierarchic, was more visible. According to Ribeiro (1997), both sub-cultures are characterized by a patriarchal social system highlighting group norms and group loyalty (Ribeiro, 1997).

Until the second half of the 19th century, the groups in the Southeastern and Southern regions were formed by the union of the Portuguese colonizer with indigenous people and some African slaves. During the colonial period it was from the city of São Paulo that expeditions embarked in order to explore the mines found in the countryside and to spread the Brazilian population beyond the Tordesillas line. During this period, while husbands went to the countryside, wives took care of children and the household unit as a whole. This system fostered less hierarchic family relationships than the ones observed in the North (Almeida, 1987; Corrêa, 1993; Samara & Costa, 1997; Samara, 1987; Souza & Botelho, 2001). Today, the descendants of these early settlers in the Southeast and South share their regions with social groups composed of descendants of the large European immigration of the 19th and 20th centuries, especially Italians and Germans. These migrants reinforced the European model of family, with strong emphasis on marriage, in these regions. These historical roots explain the contemporary majority of self-declared whites in the South and Southeast (78 and 56 percent respectively – IBGE, 2013).

The last sub-culture identified by Ribeiro (1997) includes people from the inland part of the Northeast and, particularly, from the Central-west area, which presents quite rural characteristics. The Central-west region contains the most equilibrated division of ethnicities in Brazil with 43 percent of whites, 48 percent of pardos, 7.6 percent of African descent and about 1 percent of indigenous and Asiatic descent (IBGE, 2013a). The development of this region started later compared to the coastline and was accelerated, in part, when the country's administrative capital was transferred from Rio de Janeiro to Brasília (Distrito Federal) in 1960. Although this region was relatively unsettled up to that time, the creation of a new city (Brasília was built between 1956 and 1960) legitimated autonomy and social status differences, while the rural area still holds small populations devoted to subsistence (Ribeiro, 1997).

The current socioeconomic development of Brazilian regions is related (among other factors) to different processes of occupation and industrialization. Industrialization and urbanization started earlier and happened faster in the Southern regions than in the Northern ones (Guimarães Neto, 1998). With the social investments realized in recent years, the gap in socioeconomic development among Brazilian regions is reduced, but still evident (IBGE, 2012, p. 168). The North and Northeast regions are the poorest and least developed in the Country. These are regions where between 24.9 and 17.6 percent of the population were living in extreme poverty, in comparison to 11.6, 6.9 and 5.5 percent of the population in the Central-West, Southeast and South (IPEA, 2010). They also present the lowest Human Development Index of 0.75 and 0.79 for the North and Northeast respectively contrasted to 0.85 in the South and 0.84 in the Southeast and Central-West (BCB, 2009).

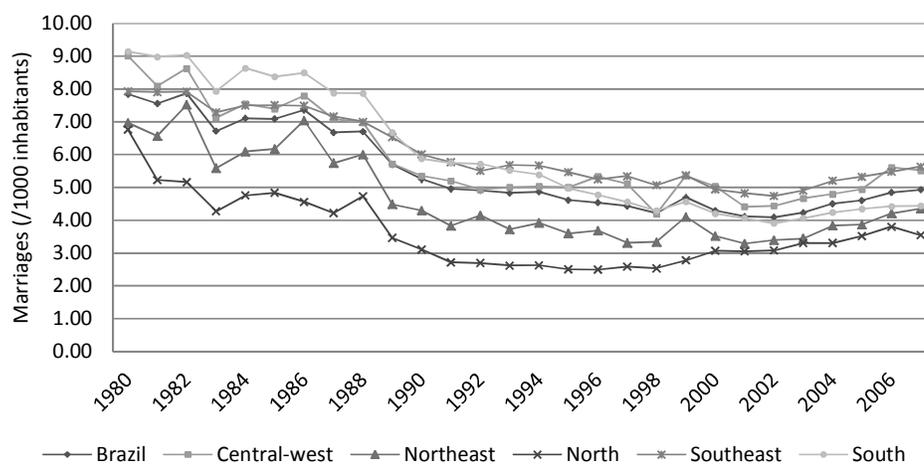
In demographic terms, there is also a significant variation between Brazilian regions. Vasconcelos and Gomes (2012) demonstrated that the first demographic transition happened in different tempo and quantum in the five regions. According to these authors, while the Southeast, South and Central-West are found in a more advanced stage of the first demographic transition, the North and Northeast showed higher levels of fertility and mortality, as well as a younger

age structure (Vasconcelos & Gomes, 2012). In addition, Camarano and Carneiro (1998) concluded that it is not possible to identify a unitary pattern of family formation indicators (i.e. adolescent pregnancy, age at first birth, fertility control, among others) across Brazilian regions.

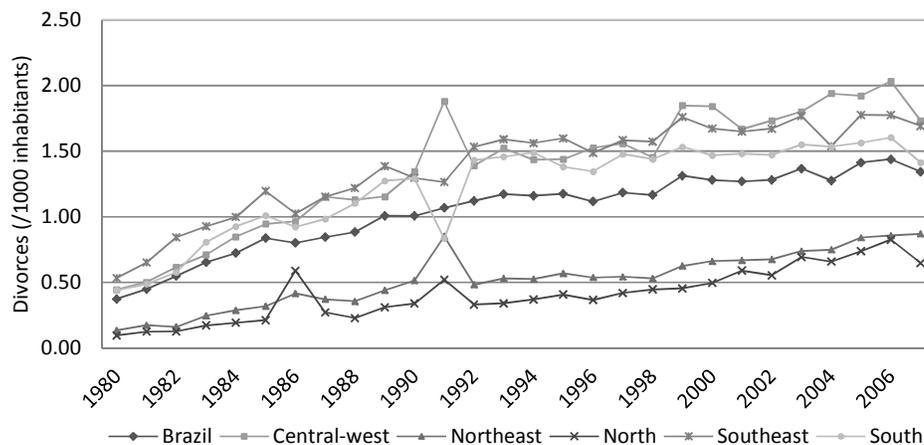
The differences among Brazilian regions are reflected in nuptiality trends. Figure 4.2 presents the longitudinal marriage and divorce rates for Brazil and its five regions.

Figure 4.2 Marriage and Divorce rates in Brazil (1980-2007)

(i) Evolution of marriage rate in Brazil



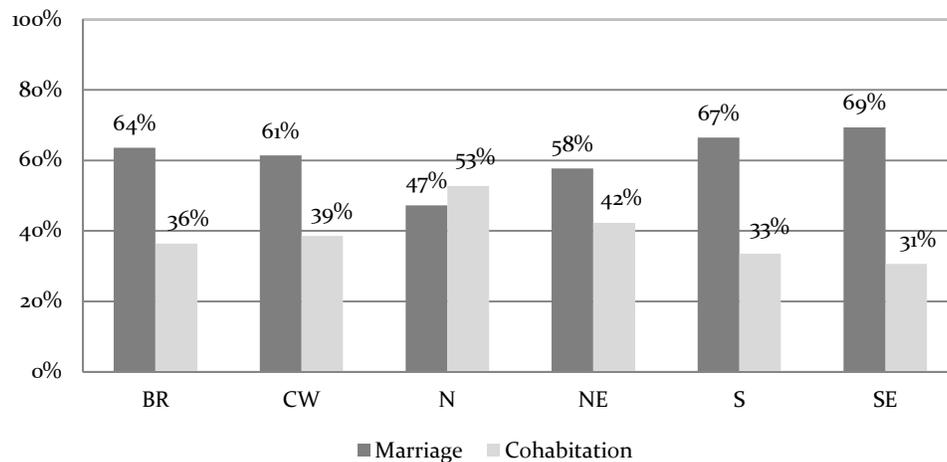
(ii) Evolution of divorce rate in Brazil



Source IBGE (2013b), own calculations.

The general trend shows almost constant marriage rates since the 1990s, but growing divorce rates since the 1980s. In addition, the divorce rates for the Southeast, South and Central-west regions were clearly higher and increased more sharply than the figures for the North and Northeast. Lower marriage and divorce rates can be explained by the fact that these two regions present higher percentage of couples living in consensual unions. Figure 4.3 demonstrates the proportion of married and cohabiting couples in Brazil and its five regions in 2010.

Figure 4.3 (%) Couples by Type of Union (2010)



Source: IBGE (2010), own calculations.

While 33 and 31 percent of couples in the Southeast and South regions are cohabitating instead of being married, the figures for the Northeast and North are 42 and 53 percent, respectively. Figures for these former regions are comparable to the figures for cohabitation for Caribbean and Central American countries, such as Panama which had 53 percent cohabitation among all unions in the census of 2000, while those for the Southern regions are closer to those of the South Cone, such as Uruguay with 26 percent in 1995 (census data, IPUMS, own calculations).

Accordingly, it is expected to find significant variance at the state-level, but also that this variance is mainly related to contextual differences, such as socioeconomic development, urbanization and ethnic composition.

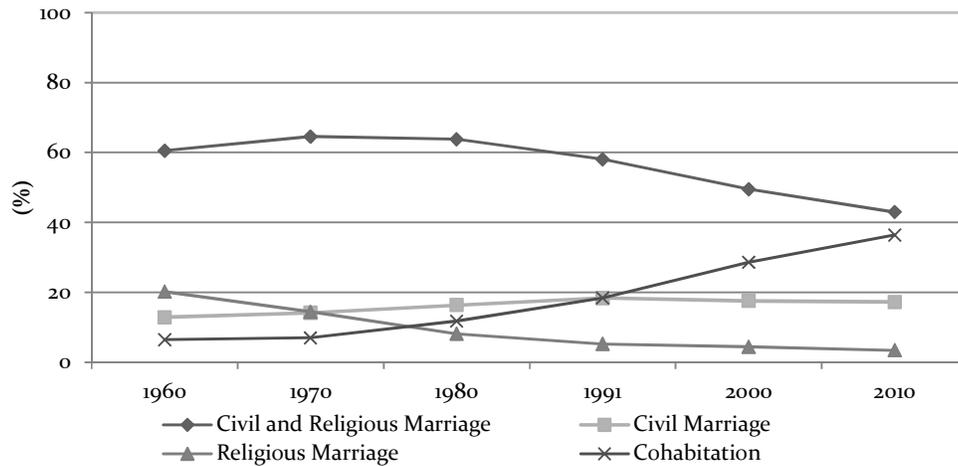
4.5. The religious influence

Although the Catholic Church has lost much of its previous authority, it is not possible to say that Brazil has become a secular country. Conversely, religious diversity in Brazil has grown substantially in recent decades. The main trends which were revealed by the 2000 census are the great variety of religions (141 different religions and sects) concentrated predominantly in the urban areas of the country. However, the majority of Brazilians remain Roman Catholic, though, with slow growth. The second highest proportion of religious people is Evangelicals and Protestants, who saw a noticeable expansion, mainly among Pentecostals. However, in 2000, the proportion of people without religion also increased by 3 percent in comparison to 1990, equaling 7.4 percent (IBGE, 2000).

Meanwhile, the proportion of religious marriages (just religious or combined with the civil one) declined substantially over time. The religious marriage was predominant in Brazil until the end of the 19th century, when the only official form of marriage was the Catholic one. When Brazil became a Republic in 1890, the civil marriage became the only one with juridical validity, but people were allowed to choose civil or civil and religious marriage. The combination of civil and religious marriage was predominant until the 1980s when its incidence started to decline sharply.

The Brazilian Census Bureau started to differentiate the type of union (civil, religious, civil and religious or consensual union) of people in the 1960 census. Figure 4.4 illustrates the evolution of these unions from 1960 to 2010.

Figure 4.4 shows practically constant incidence of civil marriage, associated with a sharp increase in cohabitation and almost constant decreases of civil and religious and only religious marriages since the 1980s.

Figure 4.4 (%) Couples per type of union 1960-2000

Source: (IBGE, 2013a). Own calculations.

Interesting to note, the proportion of cohabitation and civil and religious marriage is almost the same in 2010. These trends can be a signal of secularization in Brazil, which is one of the ingredients of the SDT. However, considering the still evident popularity of several types of religious denominations in the country, and that marriage is highly encouraged within them, *it is expected that couples with a religious denomination are less likely to cohabit rather than get married compared to couples without a religious denomination.*

4.6. Research Method

4.6.1. Data: Brazilian census

An individual-level dataset from the long questionnaire of Brazilian 2000 census is used. In the Brazilian census all residents of private (permanent and improvised) and collective dwellings are listed. The Brazilian census also includes people who were absent (for reasons of vacation, education, work, or hospital stays, for less than 12 months) from their dwelling (IBGE, 2002).

The long questionnaire contains general and more specific information about the characteristics of the dwelling, families, and each of the people in the

dwellings. There is information about the individuals' civil status (civil marriage, religious marriage, both or cohabitation), as well as information on socioeconomic position, children and the religious orientation of both partners/spouses. The long questionnaire was applied to about 11.7 percent sample of the population in municipalities with estimated populations greater than 15,000 and 20 percent in the remaining municipalities. In total, 5,304,711 dwellings were selected to answer the long questionnaire, meaning that information about 20,274,412 people is available (IBGE, 2002).

Considering that second or higher order unions are very different than first unions (Brown, 2000), it would be interesting to differentiate them in the analysis. However, this information is not available in the Brazilian census. Consequently, when interpreting the results one should keep in mind that remarriages and higher order cohabitations are also included, but not differentiated in the analysis.

The total sample is composed of 7,541,418 people formally married or cohabiting. From this sample, a file composed of 3,770,709 couples was created. Following, due to a limitation in the software used (MLwiN) regarding the maximum sample size, 5 percent of the couples were selected using a Simple Random Sampling procedure. The final data set is composed of 183,123 couples. Data description is included in appendix 3.2.

4.6.2. Variables

The variables used in this study were constructed as follows: The dependent variable indicating the type of union, cohabitation or marriage, was computed from the question related to the individual civil status, for the current partnership of the woman: cohabitation (1) or married (0).

Couples' level predictor variables were three. Couples' religion is categorized as follows: (1) Catholics, when both, man and woman are self-declared Catholics; (2) Evangelicals, when both, man and woman are self-declared Evangelicals, Pentecostal Evangelicals or Protestant; (3) Other, when both, man

and woman declare to be from other religious groups, meaning the same; (4) without religion, when both, man and woman are self-declared without religion and finally (5) different religion, when man and woman declare different religious orientation.

Three categories are created to analyze the presence of children in cohabitation in comparison to marriages: (1) none, when the couple has no child; (2) Up to two, when the couple has one or two children and (3) three or more children. In order to categorize social classes in Brazil, the measurement scheme proposed by Marcelo Neri (2008) was used. In this approach, the author considered factors such as social ascension possibility, quality of life, consumption potential (which is measured by access to goods, services and educational level of the reference person) and the ability to keep this potential throughout time (Neri, 2008, p. 24). The variable social class differentiates (1) poor couples, with monthly family income lower than R\$768.00; (2) working class couples, with family income between R\$768.00 and R\$1063.00; (3) middle class couples, with family income between R\$1064.00 and R\$4590.00, and (4) upper class couples, with family income higher than R\$4591.00. In order to assess the conditional association between having children and the likelihood of being married vs. cohabitating, an interaction term between the categorical variables children and social class is included in the model.

Three variables were added as couples-level control variables. The educational level of the woman is classified as (1) No education, (2) complete primary, (3) complete secondary or (4) university or higher. The birth cohort of the man controls for the cohort of the couple. It ranges from 1920 to 1980. A dummy variable labeled migrant indicates if one or both partners/spouses were not born in the state where they live.

Although the theoretical arguments were built on the idea of regional differences, states rather than regions are used as a level of analysis. This choice has been made for practical and methodological reasons. First, although there are common features among states in the same region, states represent the Brazilian

heterogeneity in a much more accurate way than the regions. Second, the heterogeneity found among Brazilian states, can also be observed among states within the same region (see Appendix 3.1). Third, the states have independent administration, subject only to the Brazilian Constitution, the Civil Code and its own state Constitution. Thus they also have autonomy, although not sovereignty. In this sense, it is not a strong assumption to say that Brazilian states are independent within regions. In addition, the variance found in the five regions is not enough to include regions as an independent level, nor to guarantee an accurate estimation of a regional effect if it exists. In this sense, the contextual variables measuring the socioeconomic and cultural environments are based on couples' place of residence, namely, the 26 states and the Distrito Federal (which is treated as a state). The state-level urbanization rate, the state-level Human Development Index (HDI)¹⁸, and the variable called poverty, which designates the percentage of people living in permanent private households with household income below half the minimum wage in August 2000 (IPEADATA, 2000b) are included as indicators of socioeconomic development.

As stated beforehand, cohabitation is historically common among the native indigenous and African descendant populations. Traditionally, European descendants, coming from Portugal during the colonization period or later from several European countries, mostly Italy and Germany, tend to follow the old European pattern of marriage, with low incidence of cohabitation. Based on this reality, the proportion of self-declared whites in each state is included in the model as a proxy for cultural environment.

Finally, Greene and Rao (1995) interpret cohabitation in Brazil as a solution for the marriage squeeze in the country. According to them, faced with higher numbers of women in the marriage market, Brazilian men tend to be 'recycled' through several unions (a type of longitudinal polygamy). Considering this evidence, the state-level sex ratio is included as a control variable. Listwise deletion was the method used for handling missing data. In our understanding, the sample

¹⁸ It is obtained by the mean of three sub-indexes relating to Longevity (HDI-longevity), Education (HDI-Education) and Income (HDI-income). Source: IPEADATA (2000b).

size of our data is large enough to not generate biased results due to the deletion of missing data. Descriptive statistics of all variables are included in the appendix 3.2 and support this assumption.

Variables and hypotheses used in this study are summarized in Table 4.1. In Table 4.1 our hypotheses are presented in the form of ‘+’ and ‘-’ which represent the direction of expected effect of each explanatory variable (covariate) on the outcome variable (cohabitation).

Table 4.1. Variables and Hypotheses

Covariates: couples' level	Cohabitation
Children	
No child	+
Up to two	+
Three or more children	+
Social Class	
Low: family income smaller than R\$768.00	+
Working: family income between R\$768.00 and R\$1063.00	+
Middle: family income between R\$1064.00 and R\$4590.00	+/-
Upper: family income higher than R\$4591.00	+/-
Religion	
Catholic couple	-
Evangelic couple	-
Different religion	+
Other religion: same	-
Without religion	+
Social Class*Children	
No child*Upper class	+
No child*Middle class	+
No child*Working class	-
No child*Poor class	-
Up to two children*Upper class	+
Up to two children*Middle class	+
Up to two children*Poor class	+
Up to two children*Working class	+
Three or more children*Upper class	-
Three or more children*Middle class	-
Three or more children*Poor class	+
Three or more children*Working class	+
Covariates: contextual level	
State-level urbanization rate	+
State-level Human Development Index (HDI)	-
Proportion of self-declared whites in the state	-
Poverty	+

4.6.3. Method

Multilevel models are used to analyze the data. With the multilevel approach, it is possible to estimate both the general relationship across all states and the particular relationship in specific ones (Duncan et al., 1998), or the cultural environment. It allows us to model contextuality (micro and macro relations) and complex structures (couples nested in states). This provides several advantages. For instance, if we would work exclusively at the couples' level this would mean that the context of the different regional cultures is ignored, while if we would work just at the aggregate level we would fail to capture couples dynamics.

There are statistical and conceptual problems in analyzing variables from different levels at one single level (Hox, 2002). The first statistical problem occurs when data are aggregated. In our study, if we combine different information about couples into fewer values for state-level units, we would lose both, information and statistical power. In contrast, if we try to 'disaggregate' states' level information into couples' level data, statistical tests will treat these values as independent information, with much larger number of couples' level observations than we really have in the data. The use of this "*larger number of disaggregated cases for the sample size leads to significance tests that reject the null-hypothesis far more often than the nominal alpha level suggests*" (Hox, 2002, p. 3). As a consequence, we would end up with spurious 'significant' results (Hox, 2002).

The main conceptual problem of analysing variables from different levels at single level is the risk of committing the "*fallacy of the wrong level*" (Hox, 2002, p. 3). These misconceptions would consist, for example, of analyzing the data at states' level, and formulating conclusions at couples' level (known as *ecological fallacy*). This conceptual problem could occur in the other way around, by interpreting states' level results based on couples' level information (known as *atomistic fallacy*). The last conceptual problem to be aware about is the called 'Simpson's Paradox'. "*Simpson's paradox refers to the problem that completely erroneous conclusions may be drawn if grouped data, drawn from heterogeneous*

populations, are collapsed and analyzed as if they came from a single homogeneous population” (Hox, 2002, p. 4).

Accordingly, using multilevel procedures it is also possible to avoid the underestimation of problems caused by contextual variation. The residual variance is partitioned into between-states and within-states variance. There is a couples-level model which represents the within-state equation and a contextual, macro-model in which the parameters of the within-state model are the responses in the overall, between-states model. This simultaneous specification allocates for the quantitative division of the individual from the contextual (Duncan et al., 1998), the micro-model, from the macro-model.

The question regarding the Brazilian regional effects on couples’ nuptial behavior is whether the states’ variation will continue to be significant when the other contextual variables are included in the overall model. For instance, if the states’ variance is related to poverty or socioeconomic differences, it will disappear (or decrease significantly) when the states level of poverty or the HDI is introduced into the model. If, on the other hand, the state-level variation on cohabitation probability is associated to the cultural background measured by the ethnicity composition, it will be reduced when the proportion of whites in each state is included in the model.

4.7. Results

In this study, we use the type of union (0=married, 1 cohabiting) as the explanatory variable at the couple’s level, with children, social class and couples’ religious orientation as couples’ level explanatory variables. Urbanization rate, HDI, level of poverty, and proportion of whites are used as state-level explanatory variables¹⁹.

¹⁹ Considering the cross sectional nature of the data, it is not possible to infer causality. Instead, the results presented in this study represent a rich description of cohabitations in comparison to marriages in Brazil.

We also control for women's education, migration, the birth cohort of the man and the state-level sex ratio.

The link function used to analyse this data is the logit function: $\text{logit}(p) = \ln(p/(1-p))$, which can be concisely written as:

$$\text{Logit}(p(\text{Cohabit}_i)) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{children}_{ij} + \beta_2 \text{class}_{ij} + \beta_3 \text{religion}_{ij} + \beta_4 \text{education}_{ij} + \beta_5 \text{cohort}_{ij} + \beta_6 \text{migrant}_{ij} + \beta_7 \text{urbrate}_j + \beta_8 \text{HDI}_j + \beta_9 \text{poverty}_j + \beta_{10} \text{whites}_j + \beta_{11} \text{sexratio}_j + e_{ij} + \hat{u}_{oj}$$

where \hat{u}_{oj} is the states-level differential.

The models were fit stepwise. We started with the random intercept null model with cohabitation as a response variable and only a constant term in the model. Subsequently models with increasing complexity were tested, until we finished with the full model. The intercept (β_0 not shown) of the null model is -0.8. It means that, for the null model, across the country, or for every couple, everywhere, the expected odds ($\exp(\beta_0)$) of cohabitation in comparison to marriage is 0.45. In other words, the probability ($\text{odds}/[1+\text{odds}]$) of a couple to cohabit in Brazil instead of being married is 0.31. However, there is significant (at level 0.001) evidence that this odds varies throughout the country. The variance of u_{oj} between states is estimated as $\hat{\sigma}_{oj}^2 = 0.25$. Accordingly, a multilevel approach is meaningful.

In the next steps the variables were added stepwise until reaching the full model. The final models (presented in Table 4.2) were estimated by using the Markov Chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) simulation, which produces more reliable results (Goldstein et al., 2002). The MCMC simulation also provides more precise diagnostics. The Deviance Information Criterion (DIC) combines goodness of fit with model complexity. In this sense, DIC values for diverse models can be contrasted directly and the model with the lowest DIC fits the data better. The results are presented in terms of *logits* (β) and odds ratios, which are obtained by the logits' antilog ($\exp(\beta)$). They are discussed in terms of odds ratios.

Table 4.2. MCMC models predicting the odds living in Cohabitation instead of in Marriage in Brazil

<i>Couples' level variables</i>	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	β	SE	exp(β)	β	SE	exp(β)	β	SE	exp(β)
Children: None (ref.)									
Children: Up to two	-0.30 ***	(0.021)	0.74	-1.02 ***	(0.107)	0.36	-1.02 ***	(0.107)	0.36
Children: Three or more	-0.37 ***	(0.022)	0.69	-1.89 ***	(0.144)	0.15	-1.90 ***	(0.144)	0.15
Social class: Upper (ref.)									
Social class: Poor	0.84 ***	(0.048)	2.32	-0.09	(0.096)	0.91	-0.10	(0.096)	0.91
Social class: Working	0.43 ***	(0.05)	1.54	-0.38 ***	(0.108)	0.68	-0.38 ***	(0.107)	0.68
Social class: Middle	0.19 ***	(0.048)	1.21	-0.22 ***	(0.099)	0.81	-0.22 ***	(0.099)	0.80
Religion: None (ref.)									
Religion: Catholics	-0.88 ***	(0.031)	0.42	-0.87 ***	(0.031)	0.42	-0.87 ***	(0.031)	0.42
Religion: Evangelicals	-1.90 ***	(0.037)	0.15	-1.89 ***	(0.037)	0.15	-1.89 ***	(0.036)	0.15
Religion: Different religion	-0.55 ***	(0.034)	0.58	-0.55 ***	(0.034)	0.58	-0.55 ***	(0.034)	0.58
Religion: Other	-0.84 ***	(0.063)	0.43	-0.83 ***	(0.063)	0.43	-0.83 ***	(0.064)	0.43
Women Education: University (ref.)									
Women Education: No Education	1.34 ***	(0.04)	3.82	1.43 ***	(0.04)	4.16	1.43 ***	(0.041)	4.16
Women Education: Primary	0.90 ***	(0.035)	2.47	1.01 ***	(0.036)	2.74	1.01 ***	(0.036)	2.74
Women Education: Secondary	0.25 ***	(0.035)	1.29	0.35 ***	(0.037)	1.42	0.35 ***	(0.036)	1.42
Cohort (man): 1920 (ref.)									
Cohort (man): 1930	0.32 ***	(0.047)	1.37	0.32 ***	(0.047)	1.38	0.32 ***	(0.046)	1.38
Cohort (man): 1940	0.73 ***	(0.043)	2.08	0.74 ***	(0.042)	2.10	0.74 ***	(0.043)	2.10
Cohort (man): 1950	1.16 ***	(0.041)	3.19	1.16 ***	(0.041)	3.19	1.16 ***	(0.041)	3.19
Cohort (man): 1960	1.76 ***	(0.041)	5.80	1.75 ***	(0.041)	5.73	1.75 ***	(0.04)	5.73
Cohort (man): 1970	2.51 ***	(0.042)	12.27	2.50 ***	(0.042)	12.22	2.50 ***	(0.041)	12.22
Cohort (man): 1980	3.70 ***	(0.068)	40.33	3.73 ***	(0.067)	41.80	3.73 ***	(0.068)	41.85
Migrant	0.27 ***	(0.015)	1.30	0.27 ***	(0.014)	1.31	0.27 ***	(0.014)	1.31

(continuation)

No child*Upper class (ref.)									
Up to two children*Poor class				0.85 ***	(0.11)	2.35	0.86 ***	(0.11)	2.35
Three or more children*Poor class				1.70 ***	(0.147)	5.48	1.71 ***	(0.147)	5.52
Up to two children*Working class				0.73 ***	(0.124)	2.08	0.73 ***	(0.123)	2.08
Three or more children*Working class				1.57 ***	(0.159)	4.81	1.58 ***	(0.157)	4.84
Up to two children*Middle class				0.37 ***	(0.115)	1.44	0.37 ***	(0.116)	1.44
Three or more children*Middle class				0.94 ***	(0.152)	2.57	0.95 ***	(0.153)	2.58
Proportion of Whites (States level)							-1.66 ***	(0.487)	
<i>Random Part</i>									
Intercept	-2.45 ***	(0.122)	0.09	-1.76 ***	(0.145)	0.17	-1.11 ***	(0.235)	0.33
Contextual variance	0.26 ***	(0.081)		0.26 ***	(0.153)		0.17 ***	(0.056)	
Deviance Information Criterion (DIC)	168863.258			168572.763			168572.095		

Note: *** p-value<0.001

Looking at Model 1 one can see that the existence of children reduces the odds of cohabiting rather than being married. In comparison with couples without children, the odds of couples with one or two children to live in a cohabiting union instead of being married are 1.36 (1/0.74) times lower, while the odds of couples with three or more children to live in informal unions instead of being married are 1.45 (1/0.69) times lower. Considering different social classes, it was found that the odds of cohabitating instead of being married decreases as the social class increases. In comparison to the upper classes, the odds of cohabiting rather than being married for the poor are 2.32 times higher, while the odds of living in a cohabiting union instead of being married for working and middle class couples are, respectively, 1.54 and 1.21 times higher than the ones for upper classes' couples.

As expected, couples from the same religious denomination or from different religious affiliations have lower odds of cohabiting rather than being married in comparison to couples without declared religion. In comparison to being married, Evangelic couples present the lower odds of forming unions out of wedlock (6.65 [1/0.15] times lower than couples without religion), followed by Catholics (2.4 [1/0.42] times lower than couples without religion) and by couples from other religious orientation (2.3 [1/0.43] times lower than couples without religion). Finally, in comparison to couples without religion, the odds of cohabiting rather than being married of couples with different religious orientation are 1.73 (1/0.58) times lower.

Turning to the control variables, the odds of cohabitation relative to marriage decreases significantly when women's schooling increases. In comparison to women who attained university education, the odds of cohabiting rather than being married for women with secondary education are 1.29 times higher and the odds for women with no education is 3.82 times higher. Younger cohorts have much higher odds to cohabit instead of be married in comparison to older ones. Considering that it is not possible to know if married couples in the sample have cohabited before getting married, this can be related to the fact that younger cohorts are more likely to cohabit than older ones or that older cohorts turn cohabitation into marriage with time.

The control variable ‘migrant’ indicates that at least one of the spouses/partners was not born in the state of residence. Migrants have higher odds of cohabitating instead of being married than non-migrants. Then, the remaining between-states variance in the model is not influenced by internal migration.

The majority of the sample used in this study is composed of couples from the lower social classes (74.5 percent), which may influence the results. In order to better understand the occurrence of cohabitation in different social classes in Brazil, it was examined whether the effect of children on the odds of cohabitation in comparison to marriage differs from one class to another, by including an interaction term between the variables children and social class in model 2. To make the interpretation of the interaction results more intuitive, the logit of cohabitation for all categories of children and social classes was calculated (for details about interpretation of interaction effects in logistic regression analysis see Jaccard, 2001) and the results are shown in the Figure 4.5.

Figure 4.5 Impact of Children on the odds to cohabit instead of being married for different social classes

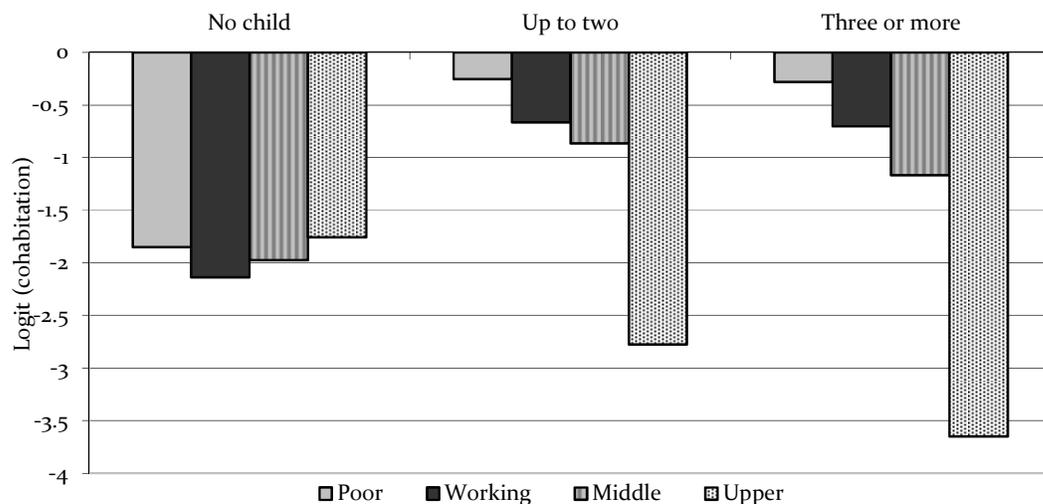


Figure 4.5 clearly shows that the effect of children differs from one social class to another. Couples from different social strata, yet both without children have quite similar odds of cohabiting instead of being married. However, the presence of children causes this similarity to disappear. Children represent a strong

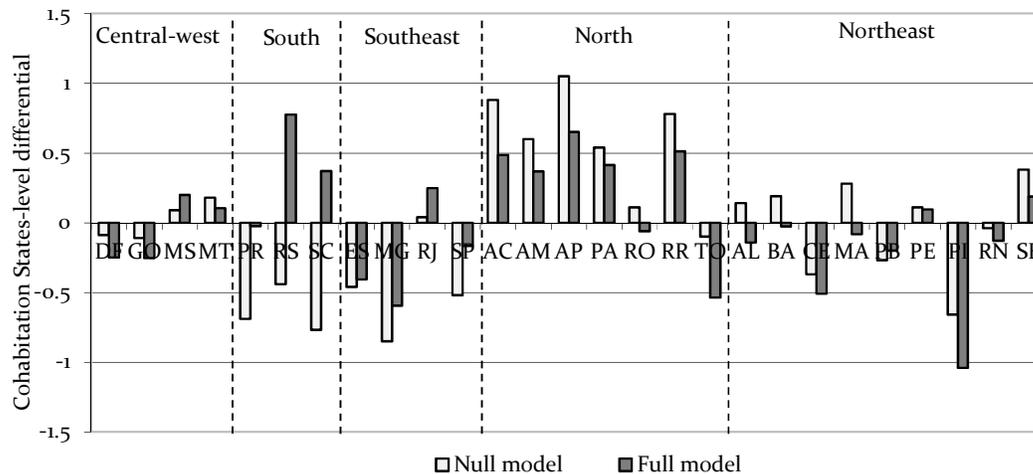
disincentive to cohabit for the upper classes, but its effect increases the odds of cohabitation in comparison to marriages for couples from the lower social strata.

The question addressed in Model 3 is whether state variances are explained by the ethnic composition of the state, since cultural differences in Brazil are supposed to be related with different miscegenation processes throughout the country (Ribeiro, 1997). It was found that cohabitation is less common in places with higher proportions of self-declared whites. Considering the decrease in the between-state variance from \hat{u}_{0j} 0.26 to \hat{u}_{0j} 0.17, it is possible to suggest that part of the between-state variance is explained by ethnic differences. This result needs to be interpreted carefully. Considering that the contextual variable 'whites' is included in the model without an individual level counterpart, the effect of this variable reflects both individual and contextual level effects. In this sense, the negative association between living in places with higher proportions of whites and living in cohabitation rather than in marriage reflect both, the effect of live in a place with higher proportions of whites and the effect of being a white couple and of choosing to cohabit.

It was checked whether state variances were similarly or better explained by level of poverty, urbanization or socioeconomic development (HDI). The analysis was also controlled by the state-level sex ratio. Considering that none of these effects were significant, these results were not included in Table 4.2. The non-significance of state-level variables measuring socioeconomic development, contrasted with the highly significant effect of individual-level variables indicating couples' socioeconomic situation needs some interpretation. First, these results suggest that measurements of socioeconomic development (such as HDI) are not related to the individual choice for cohabitation as it is to the proportion of people living in cohabitation in a given country, as shown in the previous chapter. In this sense, these results may indicate that couples' socioeconomic situation is more important in framing the decision for cohabitation instead of marriage than the macro-level socioeconomic situation. However, the low variance (0.003) in the HDI between Brazilian states is also a potential explanation for this non-significant result.

Finally, to better illustrate how socioeconomic and cultural factors associate to couples' odds of cohabiting on the one hand or being married on the other, the state-level differential from the null model was contrasted with the one from the full model. The comparison is shown in the Figure 4.6.

Figure 4.6 States-level residuals comparison - Null model vs. Full model



The point zero in Figure 4.6 represents the average odds of cohabitation in Brazil. The results for the null model show that couples from the states of the South and Southeast regions present, in their majority, odds of cohabitation in comparison to marriage which are below the Brazilian average, the states of the North are located above it and states from the Northeast and Central-west present mixed results. When considering the full model, with all explanatory variables included, these differences are minimized and sometimes inverted. While the Central-west states still present mixed results, with the odds of cohabiting rather than being married increasing in some states and decreasing in others, the trends to the other regions are clearer. Considering the socioeconomic and cultural differences, the odds of cohabitation in comparison to marriage are decreased in the majority of Northern and Northeastern states and increased in all Southern and Southeastern states, meaning that the Brazilian socioeconomic and cultural differences all play important roles in nuptial behavior.

4.8. Conclusion

This study investigated the socioeconomic features and the cultural context of cohabitation in Brazil. For this purpose, couples' level data stemming from the 2000 Brazilian census is used to analyze to what extent couples' social classes, the presence of children and religious denomination are related to the odds of a couple to live in a consensual union instead of being married. Considering the socioeconomic and cultural diversity found between Brazilian states, the influence of these specificities on nuptial behavior is also examined.

The results indicate that cohabitation in Brazil follows Latin American trends, being common among the lower social classes and educational groups. In these groups, consensual unions also present high fertility. However, there is evidence that consensual unions are also visible among the middle and upper social classes in the country, suggesting the coexistence of different types of cohabitation in Brazil.

Our results are in line with the hypothesis that cohabitation and childbearing in cohabiting unions is visible in all social classes in Brazil. However, as stated previously, childbearing in cohabiting unions is more common among the lower social strata than among the upper social classes. Children appear to represent a disincentive for cohabitation among those in the upper classes, thus reducing the chances of cohabitation in this social group. It is probable that cohabitation by couples from this social stratum ends before, or it is turned into marriage when the couple decides to have children. This result is aligned with the idea that cohabitation is also present among the middle class, with childbearing in it, as well as in the upper classes, as a childless union. This evidence is comparable to the results about cohabitation in Northern- and Western European countries and in the United States, where childless cohabitation, practiced by the upper social classes, is interpreted as a trial period before marriage or an alternative to singlehood (e.g. Heuveline & Timberlake, 2004). These results are also a signal of the onset of the Second Demographic Transition (SDT) in Brazil.

Religion however was shown to (still) be a powerful mechanism of behavioral restriction. In line with the declared hypothesis, couples without a religious denomination have higher odds to be in a cohabiting union instead of being married. Couples with the same religious orientation tend to cohabit less, mostly Evangelicals. Remarkably, the group with the second highest probability of cohabiting instead of being married is composed of couples with different religious denominations. Both explanations that (i) cohabitation is a trial period for these couples to 'test' compatibility before marriage, or that (ii) forming a partnership with a person from a different religious denomination is a signal of secularization, are consistent with this evidence and in agreement with the SDT framework.

Cultural differences also influence the choice for cohabitation instead of marriage in Brazil. States with higher proportion of self-declared whites have lower incidence of cohabitation, meaning that the European model of marriage still plays a role in Brazilian nuptial behavior. Also, the between-states differences in terms of odds of cohabitation are inverted when controlling for the proportion of whites and other couples' level variables in the model. Considering that contextual variables, such as sex ratio, level of poverty, urbanization and HDI, were considered and non-significant, it can be suggested that the remaining states-level variance is due to additional cultural differences.

This study contributes to the research on demography and family sociology in Brazil and Latin America by showing the socioeconomic influences of cohabitation in different social strata, as well as by modeling the effect of diverse Brazilian culture on nuptial behavior. Based on this, it is possible to attest that nuptial behavior varies not only between states, but also between different social classes within each state. Bearing in mind that there was another increase in cohabitation in all age and educational groups between the censuses of 2000 and 2010, one can say that, nowadays, the evidence found in this study is even stronger.

The main policy driven issue which emerges from these findings is the fact that poor couples are more likely to have children while living in cohabiting unions than upper class couples. Considering that the poor are still the majority in Brazil, it is relevant to policy makers to notice that an enormous amount of children are

exposed to the uncertainty related to cohabiting unions. Brazilian legislation gives some guarantees to cohabiting couples in terms of division of property acquired when living together and guarantees the rights of children independent of parent's type of union. However, it is well known that the instability of cohabitating unions is higher than the instability of marriages. Consequently, children from cohabitating parents are more likely be exposed to the problems related to couples separation.

Census data has the advantage to cover the whole country; however its use implies several limitations. The cross-sectional design does not allow the verification of changes in couples' life. For instance, it is not possible to know if the older cohorts had cohabited before getting married and, consequently, if the younger ones tend to get married in the future. Still, the particularities of each family are missed. In this sense, the need to collect more detailed, longitudinal and nationally representative data is evident.

This research has raised many questions in need of further investigation regarding cohabitation in Brazil and in Latin America. Additional work can be done to examine the social forces related to the choice of, or the transition to marriage or cohabitation in different Latin American countries. Besides, future trials should empirically differentiate the types of cohabitation in different countries of the region as well as to assess if these types of cohabitation are comparable over these countries. These are the goals of the study presented in the next chapter.

Appendix Chapter 4.1: Brazilian states overview

	Acronym	Population (2007)					HDI 2000	Level of Urbanization 2000	Poverty 2000
		Total (1 000 people)	Distribution by ethnicity (%)						
			White	Black	Pardo	Asian or Indigenous			
Brazil		189 953	48.4	6.8	43.8	0.9			
North		15 327	22.9	5.1	71.0	1.0		0.50	
Rondônia	RO	1 519	36.0	7.6	54.8	1.6	0.74	0.72	
Acre	AC	692	23.9	3.2	71.5	1.1	0.70	0.79	
Amazonas	AM	3 399	22.4	2.6	73.9	1.1	0.71	0.83	
Roraima	RR	421	22.1	4.6	71.3	2.0	0.75	0.85	
Pará	PA	7 367	20.8	5.4	72.9	0.8	0.72	0.75	
Amapá	AP	626	17.6	7.3	74.7	0.4	0.75	0.98	
Tocantins	TO	1 303	23.1	7.5	68.9	0.6	0.71	0.75	
Northeast		53 493	29.3	7.9	62.2	0.6		0.57	
Maranhão	MA	6 400	25.6	6.4	66.7	1.3	0.64	0.69	
Piauí	PI	3 164	23.4	4.6	71.8	0.2	0.66	0.63	
Ceará	CE	8 472	33.1	3.0	63.4	0.5	0.70	0.77	
Rio Grande do Norte	RN	3 153	37.0	3.1	59.5	0.3	0.71	0.72	
Paraíba	PB	3 794	37.2	5.2	57.2	0.4	0.66	0.78	
Pernambuco	PE	8 745	37.8	6.4	54.9	0.8	0.71	0.76	
Alagoas	AL	3 173	30.4	3.0	66.2	0.4	0.65	0.68	
Sergipe	SE	2 030	31.2	7.2	61.1	0.5	0.68	0.83	
Bahia	BA	14 561	20.6	16.0	62.8	0.5	0.69	0.69	
Southeast		79 800	56.8	7.7	34.4	1.0		0.20	
Minas Gerais	MG	19 904	45.7	9.1	44.9	0.4	0.77	0.86	
Espírito Santo	ES	3 448	43.4	8.0	48.2	0.4	0.77	0.82	
Rio de Janeiro	RJ	15 685	54.3	11.5	33.8	0.3	0.81	0.97	
São Paulo	SP	40 764	64.4	5.4	28.4	1.6	0.82	0.94	
South		27 556	78.7	3.5	17.0	0.8		0.21	
Paraná	PR	10 605	71.7	2.6	24.3	1.4	0.79	0.85	
Santa Catarina	SC	6 091	87.0	2.6	10.0	0.3	0.82	0.83	
Rio Grande do Sul	RS	10 860	80.8	4.9	13.8	0.5	0.81	0.81	
Central- west		13 777	42.2	6.5	50.2	1.0		0.25	
Mato Grosso do Sul	MS	2 372	48.8	5.1	44.5	1.5	0.78	0.86	
Mato Grosso	MT	3 010	39.2	7.9	50.9	1.8	0.77	0.80	
Goiás	GO	5 870	41.5	5.6	52.4	0.5	0.78	0.90	
Distrito Federal	DF	2 526	41.4	8.1	49.6	0.8	0.84	0.94	

Appendix Chapter 4.2. Data description²⁰

Type of union by Brazilian State

	Marriage		Cohabitation	
	N	%	N	%
RO	1117	0.59	547	0.29
AC	286	0.15	303	0.16
AM	1319	0.70	1019	0.54
RR	176	0.09	173	0.09
PA	3137	1.66	2309	1.22
AP	186	0.10	230	0.12
To	1115	0.59	439	0.23
MA	3564	1.89	1994	1.06
PI	2819	1.50	633	0.34
CE	5573	2.96	1685	0.89
RN	2405	1.28	1001	0.53
PB	3145	1.67	1055	0.56
PE	5247	2.78	2599	1.38
AL	1862	0.99	930	0.49
SE	1157	0.61	736	0.39
BA	8464	4.49	4412	2.34
MG	17954	9.52	3703	1.96
ES	2789	1.48	851	0.45
RJ	9703	5.15	4818	2.56
SP	31276	16.59	9140	4.85
PR	10075	5.34	2466	1.31
SC	6098	3.23	1406	0.75
RS	9866	5.23	3100	1.64
MS	1652	0.88	825	0.44
MT	2103	1.12	1110	0.59
GO	4386	2.33	1798	0.95
DF	1255	0.67	526	0.28
Total	138729	73.58	49808	26.42

Type of union by Number of children

	Cohabitation		Marriage	
	N	%	N	%
None	5670	34.19	10916	65.81
Up to two	21878	26.58	60442	73.42
Three or more	17043	20.24	67174	79.76
Total	44591	24.35	138532	75.65

²⁰ Listwise deletion for missing values

Type of union by Social Class

	Marriage		Cohabitation	
	N	%	N	%
Poor	82626	43.8	37863	20.1
Working	15536	8.2	4490	2.4
Middle	33918	18	6566	3.5
Upper	6649	3.5	889	0.5
Total	138729	73.5	49808	26.5

Type of union by Couples Religious Denomination

	Marriage		Cohabitation	
	N	%	N	%
Catholics	98956	52.5	34138	18.1
Evangelicals	20029	10.6	3469	1.8
Different Religion	15027	8	8327	4.4
Other	2141	1.1	615	0.3
Without Religion	2576	1.4	3259	1.7
Total	138729	73.6	49808	26.3

Type of union by Women's education

	Cohabitation		Marriage	
	N	%	N	%
No Education	6170	26.00	17580	74.00
Primary	30447	26.70	83652	73.30
Secondary	6610	20.10	26228	79.90
University	1364	11.00	11072	89.00
Total	44591	24.40	138532	75.60

Type of union by Birth cohort of the man

	Cohabitation		Marriage	
	N	%	N	%
1920	1050	2.11%	8598	6.20%
1930	2187	4.39%	14878	10.72%
1940	4568	9.17%	24138	17.40%
1950	8860	17.79%	34692	25.01%
1960	15578	31.28%	37487	27.02%
1970	15984	32.09%	18430	13.28%
1980	1581	3.17%	506	0.36%
Total	49808	100.00%	138729	100.00%

Type of union by Migration status

	Cohabitation		Marriage	
	N	%	N	%
No	29506	23.31	97068	76.69
Yes	15085	26.68	41464	73.32
Total	44591	24.35	138532	75.65

5. Traditional and Modern Cohabitation in Latin America: A comparative typology

The existence of cohabitation is a historical feature of nuptiality in Latin America. Traditionally, cohabitation was common in less developed regions, among the lower social classes. But today, its occurrence is increasing and in social groups and regions in which it was not common. The features of this latter type of cohabitation remain unclear. We differentiate types of cohabitation in Latin America on the basis of relationship context at its outset and its outcomes in terms of childbearing. The comparability of these types over countries is attested, as well as their evolution over time and the educational and age profiles of cohabitants. Demographic and Health Survey data for the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s, for up to eight countries are analyzed by means of Multiple Group Latent Class Analysis. Three types of cohabitation are found. The traditional type includes young and lower educated women who start to cohabit during adolescence. They have more children at younger ages. The remaining two types of cohabitation included higher educated women and are considered modern. The innovative type groups women from all age groups, with fewer children born at a higher age and never as a single woman. The blended cohabitation refers to older women, who could negotiate a marriage, but they do not. They start to cohabit during adulthood, but always after single pregnancy. The persistence of historical trends is attested. It relates cohabitation to socioeconomic deprivation. However, two modern types of cohabitation also exist in Latin America, which are related to women's independence.

5.1. Introduction

Patterns of family formation have changed markedly over the past decades in the West. Economic, technological, social and ideational changes have led to significant transformations in family life, such as union formation, union stability and gender relations. In developed countries, new forms of living arrangements, especially unmarried cohabitations, are interpreted as outcomes of the modernization process, female economic independence, and the rising symmetry in gender roles (van de Kaa, 1987). Recent evidence has shown that cohabitation in the West is also related to economic deprivation and has been used as an alternative to marriage by people with few economic resources or poor economic expectations (e.g. Hiekel et al., 2012; Kalmijn, 2011; Kiernan et al., 2011 [for European results]; Sassler & Miller, 2011; Bumpass et al., 1991 [results for the US]).

Although the rise in consensual unions is present in developed countries as well as in Latin American countries, the features of these unions can differ. This study seeks to contribute to the existing literature by investigating the types of cohabitation which exist in Latin America, as well as their prevalence, main characteristics and evolution through time. Therefore, we differentiate types of cohabitation on the basis of the relationship features at their beginning (woman's age and occurrence of pre cohabitation pregnancy or childbearing) and their outcomes in terms of childbearing (number of children and mother's age at birth of first child).

The coexistence of marriage and cohabitation is a historical feature of nuptiality in Latin America. Cohabitation has always been marked by high fertility, it was most prevalent in rural regions and among the lower and less educated social classes (Parrado & Tienda, 1997). Today, there is evidence that another type of cohabitation is coming into existence alongside traditional cohabitation in the region (e.g. Castro-Martin, 2002; Esteve et al., 2012a). Yet, the exact interpretation of this new type of cohabitation, often characterized as a more modern type of union formation, remains unclear. Indications exist illustrating that this type of cohabitation is closely linked to the consensual union practiced by higher educated

groups in Western developed countries²¹ (Binstock & Cabella, 2011²²; Parrado & Tienda, 1997²³). In this case, cohabitation is usually a childless period, an alternative to marriage or singlehood, being more visible among younger cohorts (Heuveline & Timberlake, 2004; Kiernan, 2004). Thus, in Latin America, the choice for cohabiting instead of getting married can be related to either tradition or modernity.

Although several studies have explored different types of cohabitation in Latin America (Cabella et al., 2004; Castro-Martin, 2002; Esteve et al., 2012a; Parrado and Tienda, 1997), none of them empirically differentiate the traditional type of consensual union from modern ones. In addition, no research has been found which illustrates how these types of cohabitation develop over time in the region. This study seeks to bridge this gap by examining whether it is possible to differentiate types of cohabitation through information on union formation and childbearing. Next, it is analyzed how these types of cohabitation develop over time in different Latin American contexts. In addition, this study intends to assess whether the prevalence of the different types of consensual union varies across different family structures (extended, composite or nuclear), women's age and educational groups.

For this purpose we use data about first cohabitations²⁴ from Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) for eight Latin American countries (i.e. Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Guyana, Honduras, Nicaragua and Peru). Additionally, since these countries are quite heterogeneous in terms of colonization history, socioeconomic development and spoken language, we compare the

²¹For an empirical update of the meanings of cohabitation in Europe see Hiekel et al., (2012), for the United States Manning & Cohen (2012).

²²Results for Buenos Aires (Argentina) and Montevideo (Uruguay).

²³Results for Caracas, Venezuela.

²⁴ The choice for first cohabitations was made because the relationship context at beginning of the relationship, as well as its outcomes in terms of childbearing, are very different for second or higher order unions, than for first unions (Brown, 2000).

different types of consensual unions across these countries. Before abstract constructs can be compared in a valid cross-country comparison, it must be demonstrated that the concepts are measured in an equivalent or invariant way (Horn & McArdle, 1992; Johnson, 1998). We used multiple group latent class analysis (MGLCA; Kankaras et al., 2010; McCutcheon, 2002) to test the cross-country comparability of our typology of cohabitation. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first empirical attempt to disentangle the different types of cohabitation over time in Latin America, taking the issue of measurement invariance into account.

In the following section, we discuss the Second Demographic Transition (SDT) theory that is often used to explain the rise in cohabitation among higher educated groups in developed countries and its potential for the Latin American context. Next, the dataset is described as well as the operationalization of the observed indicators of different types of cohabitation and its covariates. Subsequently, the outcomes of the MGLCA-model are presented, followed by a discussion of the results and implications of our findings for the study on nuptiality in Latin America

5.2. Cohabitation in Latin America: Empirical evidence and theoretical explanation

Latin America has witnessed a significant increase in cohabitation since the 1970s. This increase is visible among all social groups. It includes higher social classes and higher educated women in countries where this type of union was not commonplace (see Chapter 3 in this thesis; Castro-Martin, 2002; Esteve et al., 2012a). This more innovative type of cohabitation has been related to women's increasing autonomy in countries where economic development is in a more advanced stage in comparison to others (Binstock & Cabella, 2011; Quilodr n-Salgado, 2011). This is the case of Argentina, Uruguay (Binstock & Cabella, 2011) and the southern regions of Brazil, as it was demonstrated in the fourth Chapter of this thesis (Covre-Sussai & Matthijs, 2010).

Table 5.1 presents the evolution of the propensity of partnered women living in cohabitation instead of being married, and in several age groups for the Latin American countries covered by this study.

Table 5.1 Women Living in Consensual Unions instead of in Marriages in Latin America

Age group	Bolivia			Brazil			Colombia			Nicaragua		
	1989	2008	Δ%	1970	2010	Δ%	1970	2005	Δ%	1971	2005	Δ%
15-19	6.1	11.6	90.2	11.5	81.1	604.6	33.6	89.4	166.0	57.9	80.9	39.8
20-24	18.8	31.4	67.0	8.3	63.2	661.8	24.2	79.7	229.1	47.5	65.9	38.6
25-29	15.7	33.8	115.3	7.5	51.0	579.6	19.7	67.4	242.9	42.8	55.5	29.6
30-34	9.4	26.2	178.7	7.1	43.4	511.0	18.2	58.3	220.3	36.0	49.4	37.0
35-39	10.2	19.3	89.2	7.0	37.5	433.3	17.7	51.2	190.1	36.1	44.4	22.8
40-44	6.8	17.3	154.4	6.7	31.9	374.3	15.9	45.2	184.1	31.8	40.9	28.6
45-49	5.9	13.9	135.6	6.1	26.6	333.5	14.6	40.5	177.6	29.6	36.5	23.3
50-54				5.7	21.8	281.0	13.2	34.7	162.8	26.6	31.4	18.0
55-59				4.6	17.4	276.5	12.5	29.6	137.5	22.5	26.9	19.4
60+				4.2	11.9	186.5	13.0	22.9	75.8	22.5	23.1	2.5
Age group	Dominican Republic			Guyana			Honduras			Peru		
	1970	2007	Δ%	2002	2009	Δ%	1974	2001	Δ%	1972	2007	Δ%
15-19	16.4	18.1	10.4	10.6	11.5	8.5	16.8	17.2	2.4	8.3	13.2	59.0
20-24	36.3	41.1	13.2	34.7	28.0	-19.3	37.4	35.9	-4.0	21.0	37.0	76.2
25-29	40.8	51.8	27.0	31.7	34.6	9.1	42.9	39.3	-8.4	22.8	44.0	93.0
30-34	39.2	54.0	37.8	29.9	33.0	10.4	42.4	37.8	-10.8	21.0	40.8	94.3
35-39	36.1	51.1	41.6	24.8	27.1	9.3	40.8	35.0	-14.2	19.9	35.2	76.9
40-44	30.7	46.0	49.8	19.6	24.3	24.0	36.1	31.3	-13.3	17.2	28.2	64.0
45-49	25.7	43.9	70.8	15.9	20.3	27.7	32.5	29.2	-10.2	15.4	22.6	46.8
50-54	21.5			12.6			26.4	25.8	-2.3	13.6	17.3	27.2
55-59	18.0			6.7			21.9	22.9	4.6	11.6	13.8	19.0
60+												

Source: For Brazil, Colombia and Nicaragua, IPUMS data (Minnesota Population Center, 2011), own calculations. For the remaining countries and years, World Marriage Data (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2013).

This table is quite revealing in several ways. First, the increase in the propensity to live in cohabitation instead of being married is evident for almost all age groups. Second, the speed of increase is faster in countries where the incidence of consensual union was historically low. Brazil, for example, was among the countries with lower levels of cohabitation in 1970. This country presented an approximate increase of 600 percent in the incidence of cohabitation among the younger cohorts, and is recently among the countries with higher levels of cohabitation in these groups. And finally, the probability of being in a consensual union rose in all countries. Even in Nicaragua, which already presented an incidence of cohabitation

as high as 58 percent in 1970, the incidence of cohabitation increased by 40 percent in three decades. Honduras is an exception and presents a decrease on the inclination to cohabit in almost all age groups.

Although new generations in Latin America are more likely to live in a consensual union, the meaning attached to this increase remains unclear. The literature on family formation and changes points to strong differences between countries and social groups. For the lower social strata cohabitation is traditionally a substitute for marriage, related to economic constraints, ethnic and gender inequality. At the same time, for the upper social classes, it has been suggested to represent possible outcomes of modernization and improved socioeconomic status of women (Binstock & Cabella, 2011; Castro-Martin, 2002; Vignoli-Rodríguez, 2005).

This leads us to the hypothesis that there are different types of cohabitation in Latin America: traditional and modern. The traditional type is related to social exclusion and inequalities while the modern type is linked socioeconomic development and can be explained by the Second Demographic Transition (SDT) theoretical framework. The SDT framework is commonly used to explain the wave of changes in norms and attitudes which have transpired in most Western developed countries since the 1960s. Since the first study on the SDT (Lesthaeghe and van de Kaa, 1987), the spread of innovative forms of living arrangements (such as cohabitation) are considered an expression of not only changing socioeconomic circumstances or expanding female employment, but also as outcomes of secular and anti-authoritarian sentiments of younger and better educated cohorts (Lesthaeghe, 2010; Surkyn & Lesthaeghe, 2004). Economic development, increasing educational opportunities, women's autonomy as well as desires for self-fulfillment and individualization are considered the main determinants of changes in demographic behavior (van de Kaa, 1987).

Although some studies suggest a division of cohabitation in Latin America in two types, traditional and modern, as well as the link between the modern type and the SDT (Binstock & Cabella, 2011; Binstock, 2010; Esteve et al., 2012a; Parrado & Tienda, 1997), an empirical differentiation between them is still lacking.

5.3. Traditional vs. modern types of cohabitation: an empirical hypothesis

The traditional type of cohabitation in Latin America is considered to be a result of social inequality. This type of consensual union is generally associated with a high level of fertility, a low level of female independence and a high employment rate for women in unskilled or domestic jobs. In this way, cohabitation is not considered a 'choice', but a constraint imposed upon women with relatively little bargaining power compared to men (Greene & Rao, 1995; Parrado & Tienda, 1997). As an alternative to marriage, this type of cohabitation could be considered a strategy for women to cope with the problems related to poverty, such as the need to take care of younger brothers and sisters, and single (and adolescent) motherhood (Arriagada, 2002).

At the same time, there is a lack of information about the modern types of cohabitation. It has been related to the increasing autonomy of women in certain social groups (Binstock & Cabella, 2011; Covre-Sussai & Matthijs, 2010; Esteve et al., 2012a; Parrado & Tienda, 1997) as well as to changes in values and attitudes (Esteve et al., 2012a). However, no such study exists which empirically differentiates modern and traditional cohabitations.

Therefore, we expect *traditional cohabitation to group women who cohabit at very young ages, with a higher incidence of pregnancy prior to cohabitation, bearing children at a younger age (of the mother), as well as bearing more children in general*. Conversely, we expect modern types of cohabitation to be similar to cohabitations practiced by higher educated groups in developed countries, as explained by the Second Demographic Transition theory. In this sense *the modern type of cohabitation are expected to group women who begin to cohabit during early adulthood, who have a lower incidence of pregnancy prior to cohabitation, who bear children at older ages, and who bear fewer children in general*.

We also expect *the traditional cohabitants to be lower educated than modern ones, and to live within three-generation families or other types of extended households*. The traditional type of cohabitation is found to be turned into marriage

with time (De Vos, 1998); therefore *we expect to find younger women living in this type of cohabitation*. In contrast, it is expected that *the modern form of cohabitation demonstrates a greater relation to higher educated women who live in nuclear families*. Because these are higher educated women, they have a greater ability to provide for themselves and their children and are in less need for institutional protection. Consequently, *we expect to find women from all age groups in the modern type*.

Previous empirical studies, as well as the third Chapter of this thesis have reported an increasing incidence of cohabitation among higher educated groups (Covre-Sussai, 2013b; Esteve et al., 2013a; Esteve et al., 2012a). Based on this evidence, *we expect to find an increase in the modern types of cohabitation over time in Latin America*.

5.4. Research Method

5.4.1. Data: Demographic and Health Survey

The main research questions are addressed by means of the most recent data from the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) collected for Latin American countries. These data range from 2001 in Nicaragua to 2010 in Colombia and is labeled 2000s. DHS are nationally representative surveys which collect comparable data on demographic and health issues in developing countries (Rutstein & Rojas, 2003). The surveys focus on women in their reproductive ages (15-49 years old). Data on timing and type of first unions, as well as complete childbearing histories, are available. However, information on transitions to second or higher-order relationships are not.

Considering this limitation and the fact that this is the first attempt to classify Latin American cohabitations, we decide to narrow the focus of our analysis to first unions (of women). This focus allows us to understand the relationship context when couples decide to move in together for the first time, as well as the

outcomes in terms of childbearing of such unions. The focus on first unions also allows us to understand how the age profile of cohabitants changes over time.

Subsequently, we selected women who had only one relationship, who were living with the same partner at the moment of the survey. This choice indicates that only 69 percent of all cohabitations in Latin America are included in the analysis and that this proportion ranges from 83 percent in Bolivia to 65 percent of cohabiting unions in Nicaragua²⁵.

Consequently, the countries and final sample sizes used in this study (2000s) are Bolivia (2008, n = 3,255), Brazil²⁶ (2006, n = 2,887), Colombia (2010, n = 12,627), Dominican Republic (2007, n = 6,773), Guyana (2009, n = 823), Honduras (2005/6, n = 4,732), Nicaragua (2001, n = 2,589) and Peru (2008, n = 4,372).

In order to document how the types of cohabitation developed over the last decades, we used available information from previous DHS rounds of the 1980s and the 1990s. Included in the sample from the 1980s are Bolivia (1989, n = 749), Brazil (1986, n = 328), Colombia (1986, n = 805), Dominican Republic (1986, n = 1,775) and Peru (1986, n = 736). For the sample from the 1990s Bolivia (1998, n = 1,026), Brazil (1996, n = 1,098), Colombia (1995, n = 2,072), Dominican Republic (1996, n = 1,984) and Peru (1996, n = 6,393) are included.

In order to avoid countries with larger sample sizes to dominate the results, we used equal size weighting of the samples.

5.4.2. Variables

²⁵ Detailed information about the sample, i.e. the share of first and higher order cohabitations as well as proportion of partnered women by marital status and country is presented in the appendix 4.1.

²⁶ The Brazilian DHS is called '*Pesquisa Nacional de Demografia e Saúde (PNDS)*' and can be found here: <http://bvsmis.saude.gov.br/bvs/pnds/index.php>. For methodological considerations and comparability of the PNDS with other DHSs, see Cavenaghi (2009b).

To create a typology of cohabitation in Latin America, we explored the observed variables that may have indicated these different types. Firstly, we combined information from age at start of cohabitation and age at birth of first child to identify women who had ‘pre-cohabitation pregnancy’ and included it as a binary variable in the model.

Next, an ordinal variable ‘age at the start of cohabitation’ was created to classify women who started to cohabit when they were (1) younger than 15 years old; (2) between 16 and 19 years old; (3) between 20 and 25 years old; or (4) older than 25 years old. Then, as the variables (i) age at birth of first child and (ii) number of children are highly correlated, we combined this information to create the categorical variable ‘child – age at first child’. This indicator classifies women who, at the moment of the survey, had (1) no children; (2) up to two children and the first child was born when they were younger than 20 years old; (3) up to two children and the first child was born when they were between 20 and 30 years old; (4) up to two children and their first child was born when they aged more than 30 years old; (5) more than two children and their first child was born when they were younger than 20 years old; or (6) more than two children and the first child was born when they were between 20 and 30 years old. No women responded that they had more than two children and that their first child was born when they were more than 30 years old.

Finally, three covariates are included in the analysis: ‘education’, which indicates women with (1) no education, (2) primary, (3) secondary or (4) higher levels of education; ‘age’, which separates women (1) younger than 26 years old; (2) between 26 and 36 years old and (3) older than 36 years old; and household composition, which classifies (1) nuclear families, composed by the couple and their children, (2) extended families, when other relatives also live in the household, and (3) composite families, when non-related people share the household with the family.

Listwise deletion was the method used for handling missing data. In our understanding the sample size of our data is large enough to not generate biased

results due to the deletion of missing data. Descriptive statistics of all variables are included in the appendix 4.1 and support this supposition.

In Table 5.2, we summarize the variables and the expected outcomes of this study. In Table 5.2 our hypotheses are presented in the form of '+' and '-' which represent the direction of expected effect of each observed variable (indicators) and covariate on the latent classes (traditional and modern cohabitation).

Table 5.2 Variables and hypotheses

Indicators	Traditional	Modern
Pre-cohabitation pregnancy	+	-
Age at the start of cohabitation		
Younger than 15 years old	+	-
Between 16 and 19 years old	+	-
Between 20 and 25 years old	-	+
Older than 25 years old	-	+
Children - Age at first child		
No child	-	+
1 or 2 children, mother younger than 20 years old	+	-
1 or 2 children, mother between 20 and 30 years old	-	+
Mother older than 30 years	-	+
More than 2 children, mother younger than 20 years old	+	-
More than 2 children, mother between 20 and 30 years old	+	-
Covariates		
Age		
Younger than 26 years old	+	+
Between 26 and 36 years old	+	+
Older than 36 years old	-	+
Education		
No education	+	-
Primary	+	-
Secondary	-	+
Higher	-	+
Household type		
Extended	+	-
Composite	+	-
Nuclear	-	+

5.4.3. Method

To explore the different types of cohabitation in Latin America, we conducted Multiple Group Latent Class Analysis (MGLCA). Concretely, this technique identifies a latent typology which explains the interrelations between a set of observed indicators. The classification is considered to be latent, because the variable is not observed directly (as in the case with types of cohabitation in this study). Relationships between observed indicators and the latent classes are studied in order to understand and characterize the nature of these latent types of cohabitations (McCutcheon, 1987).

The general Latent Class model proposed in this study can be expressed through Equation 1 (McCutcheon, 2002, p.58).

$$\pi_{ijklt}^{ABCDX} = \pi_t^X \pi_{it}^{A|X} \pi_{jt}^{B|X} \pi_{kt}^{C|X} \pi_{lt}^{D|X}, \quad (1)$$

where A, B, C and D represent the observed indicators and, i, j, k and l represent their respective categories. X refers to the latent classification variable, which has t classes. The model contains two types of parameters, namely conditional probabilities and latent class probabilities. Conditional probability, $\pi_{it}^{A|X}$, is the probability to be located in the category (i) of the observed variable (A), given that the individual is member of the latent class (t). The conditional probabilities indicate how likely a category of the observed variables is to be reported by the members of the different classes. As such they designate the strength of the association between the latent classes and the indicators. Latent class probabilities π_t^X represent how the observations in the sample are distributed over the latent typology (McCutcheon, 2002).

Because we use DHS data from eight countries and we want to compare the latent class model among those eight countries, we have extended our latent class model to a multiple group latent class (MGLCA) model. This implies that a grouping variable (namely by country) is added, and that latent class parameters

(i.e. conditional probabilities and latent class probabilities) can be estimated for the groups separately. Equation 2 formalizes the general MGLCA model (McCutcheon, 2002, p.77).

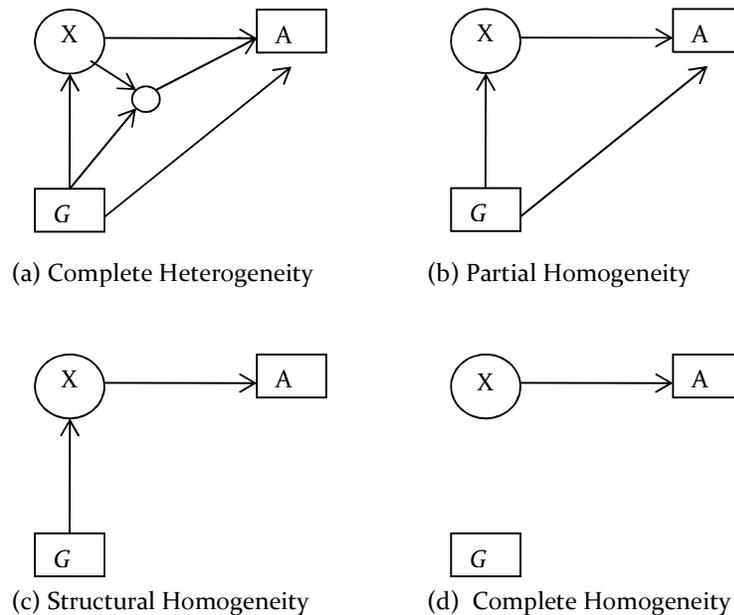
$$\pi_{ijklts}^{ABCDXG} = \pi_s^G \pi_{ts}^{X|G} \pi_{its}^{A|XG} \pi_{jts}^{B|XG} \pi_{kts}^{C|XG} \pi_{lts}^{D|XG} \quad (2)$$

Here, (s) indicates the membership of the grouping variable (G) and the conditional probability of class membership is now conditional on group membership. The model formalized in Equation 2 is called the heterogeneous model, since conditional probabilities as well as latent class probabilities are allowed to vary across groups. In this situation, however, it is not possible to make valid comparisons of the results across groups.

In order to compare the latent classification across groups, it is necessary to test whether measurement invariance (or equivalence) is present. By imposing cross-group equality restrictions on conditional probabilities, various levels of measurement equivalence can be assessed (Kankaras et al., 2011). Concretely, testing for measurement equivalence involves testing whether a model is completely homogeneous, structurally homogeneous or only partially homogeneous, against the hypothesis that it is completely heterogeneous.

Figure 5.1 contains a graphic representation of these various levels of measurement equivalence, ordered from less to more restrictive.

Figure 5.1 Levels of Measurement Invariance



Note: Based on the illustration proposed by Kankaras et al. (2011), p.367.

The complete heterogeneity model (Figure 5.1a) is the model described in equation 2, and assumes no equality of parameters across the groups (in our case Latin American countries). The partial homogeneity model (Figure 5.1b) restricts the relationships between the latent variable and the observed variables (slopes) to be the same, but allows for group-specific conditional response probabilities (intercepts). In the structurally homogeneous model (Figure 5.1c), both intercept and slope parameters are constrained to be the same across groups. This model implies that distributions of the observed variables within the latent classes (i.e. conditional probabilities) are independent of the grouping variable (countries). Latent class probabilities (i.e. the distribution of different types of cohabitation in the population), however, are still allowed to vary over groups. Finally, in the complete homogeneity model (Figure 5.1d), all parameters are restricted to be equal across groups, indicating that there is no group difference in terms of intercepts, slopes and class size (Kankaras et al., 2011). Since we want to examine differences across groups, the complete homogeneity model is less relevant for this study.

This MGLCA framework is particularly relevant for the research question at hand: It will identify whether different types of cohabitation (latent classes) exist.

These cohabitation types are not observed directly, but inferred from interrelations between observed characteristics such as the age at start of cohabitation and the number of children. The typology of cohabitations will then be compared over eight Latin American countries (groups). Before this comparison can be made, however, measurement equivalence will be tested applying the procedure proposed by Kankaras et al. (2011, pp.367-374)²⁷. Following this procedure, the number of latent classes should be firstly determined for each group separately and then to the pooled data with all countries together in the same dataset. If the number of latent classes is the same for each country and the pooled data, the heterogeneous model is fitted to the data as a baseline model. Next, a series of nested models is tested in which equality restrictions are applied. These models are evaluated in terms of model fit and comparability is attested if the restrictions do not deteriorate the model goodness of fit. Subsequently, we perform an item level analysis to guarantee that the observed indicators are not sources of invariance. Finally the covariates (type of household, age and education) are introduced in the model (Kankaras et al., 2011).

5.5. Results

First, as the expectation is to find more than one type of cohabitation, we contrast the goodness of fit²⁸ of a model with one latent class against the models with more latent classes for three DHS rounds: the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. Separate analysis for each Latin American country and sample show three different types of cohabitation emerging from the data²⁹. Consequently we proceeded with the MGLCA. The measurement invariance results are very similar for the three DHS

²⁷ Models were estimated with the Latent Gold 4.5 program (Vermunt and Magidson, 2008).

²⁸ Because of the large sample sizes, we use the BIC as the model selection criterion, which penalizes for sample size (for more details see McCutcheon (2002)).

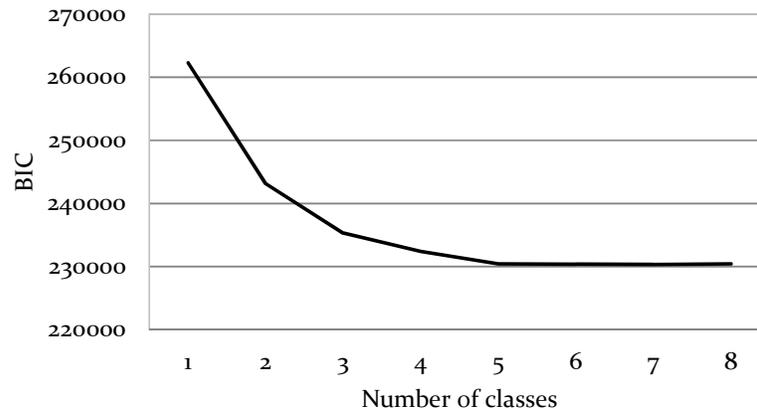
²⁹ Separate results of each country and sample are available upon request.

rounds. In order to be brief we decided to focus on the results for the most recent data: 2000s.

The Latent Class Analysis is conducted with the pooled country samples to examine whether, again, a structure of three classes emerges from the data. Because of our extremely large sample, it is not advisable to use BIC as an absolute criterion to determine the number of classes. It is an expected phenomenon that within large datasets, fit indices continue to improve (even BIC) when adding classes, leading to uninterrupted solutions. For this reason, we chose to evaluate the necessity to add a latent class by looking at the drop in BIC (see Figure 5.2) as well as the interpretability of the solution. If the additional classes only cause a very small drop in BIC or account for very small proportions of women, we favor a solution with fewer classes.

Figure 5.2 shows that the drop in the BIC starts to level off from the three classes' model. In analyzing the class profiles, from a substantive point of view, we recognize that the model with three clusters has a broader difference between classes (representing 48 percent, 32 percent and 20 percent of the total sample, respectively). For the model with four classes, the first class does not change when compared with the previous model (remains at 48 percent); the second and third classes show a change in their representation, at 27 and 18 percent, respectively, and the fourth class represents only 7 percent of our sample. The fourth class also does not differ substantively from the third and second class, thus it does not add any theoretical relevance. Therefore, we decided to continue using the MGLCA with the model with three classes.

Figure 5.2 Drop in BIC in Latent Class Analysis for sampled data of eight Latin American countries (2000s)



The level of measurement equivalence in the data is specified by the degree of homogeneity in the model with a better goodness of fit, namely a smaller BIC. Table 5.3 presents the goodness of fit for the various MGLCA which are estimated. In consonance with Kankaras et al. (2011), we first tested for measurement invariance (1); next, we examined whether each item is also invariant (2a and 2b); finally, we assessed the effect of age, educational level and household type on Latin American types of cohabitation (3a, 3b and 3c).

As presented in Table 5.3 (1), the partially homogeneous model best fits the data (BIC=-94,897.3). This implies that the relationship between observed indicators and latent classes (i.e. slopes) are invariant over countries, while the intercepts are not. In other words, the values of the conditional response probabilities are different across countries, but the relationship between the latent type of cohabitation and the observed indicators are the same, which guarantees cross country comparability (Kankaras et al., 2011).

Table 5.3 Goodness of Fit of the Three Latent Classes Models (2000s)

Test	Model	LL	BIC	Npar	df
(1) Measurement Invariance	Complete Heterogeneity	-154694.5	311382.8	193	183
	Partial Homogeneity	-94897.3	190703.7	88	288
	Structural Homogeneity	-95831.0	192064.8	39	337
(2a) Item-level analysis: Intercept invariant	Partial Homogeneity	-94897.3	190703.7	88	288
	Pre-cohabitation pregnancy	-97317.2	195522.9	86	290
	Age at first cohabitation	-104516.7	209921.8	86	290
	Number of children and age at first child	-105156.6	211119.1	78	298
(2b) Item-level analysis: Slope invariant	Partial Homogeneity	-94897.3	190703.7	88	288
	Pre-cohabitation pregnancy	-98326.9	197470.0	79	297
	Age at first cohabitation	-105543.0	211902.2	79	297
	Number of children and age at first child	-105715.9	211876.0	43	333
(3a) Covariate: Age	Partial Homogeneity	-94897.3	190703.7	88	288
	Age on Classes	-92267.4	185464.7	90	1038
	Age on Classes and Indicators	-86968.5	174939.1	97	1031
(3b) Covariate: Education	Age on Classes and Indicators	-86968.5	174939.1	97	1031
	Age on Classes and Indicators and Education on Classes	-85653.4	172329.5	99	4413
	Age and Education on Classes and Indicators	-84625.2	170345.5	106	4406
(3c) Covariate: Type of Family	Age and Education on Classes and Indicators	-84625.2	170345.5	106	4406
	Age and Education on Classes and Indicators and Type of family on Classes	-84610.3	170418.9	116	17462
	Age, Education and Type of family on Classes and Indicators	-84411.2	170382.5	151	17427

Note: LL: Log-likelihood; BIC: Bayesian information criterion; Npar: number of parameters; df: degrees of freedom.

In order to gain better insight as to whether one of the observed indicator(s) is a source of invariance, we performed an item-level analysis. This is shown in sections 2a and 2b of Table 5.3, both in terms of invariance in intercept and slope parameters. In 2a, invariance in the intercept is shown, which means that the direct effect from the latent variable to the indicator is excluded from the analysis. Next, 2b attests for slope invariance, meaning that the interaction between country and the indicator was removed from the equation. The goodness of fit of both models, without interaction or direct effects, is worse than that found in the partially homogeneous model. This indicates that the source of invariance is not situated at the item level. This evidence suggests that differences within Latin American types of cohabitations are one feature of cohabitation found throughout all of the countries investigated.

Next, in order to analyze whether types of cohabitation in Latin America differ according to the age group of the respondent at the moment of data collection, educational levels, and household type, we included ‘age’, ‘education’ and ‘household type’ as covariates in our model (sections 3a, 3b and 3c in Table 5.3). Comparing the goodness of fit of the partially homogeneous model to the model (3a) in which age has a direct effect on the types of cohabitation (classes), and also to the model in which age has a direct and also an indirect effect through the observed indicators on the types of cohabitation, one can see that the latter model better exemplifies the data. Similarly, the inclusion of a direct and an indirect effect of education (3b) on the indicators and on the types of cohabitation improve the goodness of fit of our model. However, neither the inclusion of a direct effect nor an indirect effect of the variable household type (3c) improved the goodness of fit of our model. As a consequence, the model shown in Table 5.3, section 3b is the one that best fits the data. The variable household type does not improve the model’s goodness of fit and is not included in the final analysis.

These results attest that both indicators and cohabitation profiles differ according to the age and the educational level of the respondent at the time of DHS interview, but not to their household type. The inclusion of the direct effect of age at the time of the DHS interview on each type of cohabitation combined with the indirect effect of this variable controls for two potential limitations of our analysis: First, the combination of data on the age when moving in together and the age at the moment of the survey controls for the length of the cohabitation; and second, the inclusion of the indirect effect of age of the woman at data collection on each indicator of class membership (observed variables) controls for the different degrees of exposure to the risk of fertility, getting married and union dissolution related to the age of the respondent.

After identifying the types of cohabitation in Latin America and attesting their comparison over countries, the next two steps refer to a substantive interpretation of the different types of cohabitation and the comparison of class sizes across countries. First, the ‘response probabilities’ obtained for the better goodness of fit model (3b) for DHS data from the 2000s is shown in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 Item response and types of cohabitation probabilities

Response probabilities		2000s		
		Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
Pre-cohabitation pregnancy				
	No	0.78	1.00	0.00
	Yes	0.22	0.00	1.00
Age at the start of cohabitation				
	Younger than 15 years old	0.42	0.00	0.00
	Between 16 and 19 years old	0.58	0.17	0.06
	Between 20 and 25 years old	0.01	0.69	0.62
	Older than 25 years old	0.00	0.14	0.32
Children - Age at first child				
	No child	0.06	0.22	0.00
	1 or 2 children, mother younger than 20 years old	0.44	0.00	0.20
	1 or 2 children, mother between 20 and 30 years old	0.02	0.47	0.35
	Mother older than 30 years	0.00	0.06	0.03
	More than 2 children, mother younger than 20 years old	0.46	0.00	0.20
	More than 2 children, mother between 20 and 30 years old	0.02	0.25	0.22
Covariates				
Age				
	Younger than 26 years old	0.51	0.33	0.23
	Between 26 and 36 years old	0.30	0.40	0.45
	Older than 36 years old	0.18	0.28	0.31
Education				
	No education	0.09	0.04	0.05
	Primary	0.53	0.34	0.33
	Secondary	0.35	0.46	0.47
	Higher	0.02	0.16	0.15
Latent class proportions				
	Latin America	0.48	0.32	0.20
	Brazil	0.36	0.43	0.21
	Bolivia	0.40	0.30	0.30
	Colombia	0.36	0.33	0.31
	Dominican Republic	0.52	0.38	0.10
	Honduras	0.57	0.33	0.10
	Nicaragua	0.62	0.30	0.07
	Guyana	0.38	0.31	0.30
	Peru	0.35	0.35	0.31

Note: Entries are class profiles for MGLCA

The first class or type of cohabitation starts to cohabit at very young ages. Practically all women in this class start to cohabit before they are 20 years old (99 percent) and, among them, 42 percent moved in together younger than 15 years old. 22 percent of them were pregnant or had a child before the start of cohabitation. Most of them (90 percent) have their first child before they are 20 years old and almost half of them have more than two children at the time of the survey.

The second type of cohabitation groups women who start to cohabit in their twenties. None of them experienced single pregnancy. Women in this second class tend to have a lower fertility: 22 percent of them do not have any children and half of them have only one or two children. The third type of cohabitation groups women who start to cohabit at somewhat older ages. Most of them (62 percent) aged between 20 and 25 years old when they move in together and 32 percent of them were older than 25 years old. Women in the third class all became pregnant before they started to cohabit³⁰, 36 percent of them had children in their twenties and none of these women were childless at the moment of the survey.

Looking at the covariates one can see that the first group of cohabitants includes predominantly younger and lower educated women. Half of them (51 percent) are younger than 26 years old and 62 percent of them had completed up to primary education at the time of the survey. The second group comprises women from all ages and with higher educational profiles. The third group is characterized by older women with the same education level as women within the second class.

Comparing these results to our proposed outcomes, we can say that we have found a traditional and two modern types of cohabitation in Latin America. The 'traditional' type is represented by class 1. The striking feature of this type of cohabitation is the early age in which these women start to cohabit. They do not always start cohabitation immediately following their first pregnancy, but deliver their first child at a young age and then have more children. Only 20 percent of them are older than 30 years old, meaning that this type of cohabitation is more visible among younger cohorts.

³⁰ It is interesting to note that while all innovative cohabiters started their unions without experiencing pre-cohabitation pregnancy, all blended cohabitants started their unions after pregnancy or childbearing. Although such a perfect match is very unusual in the statistical models, it seems to be the case for the different types of cohabitation in Latin America. The parameters and the factor loadings between the observed variable (pre-cohabitation pregnancy) and the latent classes (types of cohabitation) are significant at 0.001 level and the R^2 of the equation is 0.63. In addition, having verified models with more than three classes we realize that the same match appears in all models from 3 to 8 classes.

We labeled class 2 the 'innovative' type of cohabitation. This group of women starts to cohabit in early adulthood without experiencing single pregnancy. They are older when they have their first child, and have fewer children. This is the higher educated group, where 16 percent of women in this class have participated or completed some level of higher education. The innovative type of consensual union is present in all ages, demonstrating that it is not a recent phenomenon in Latin America.

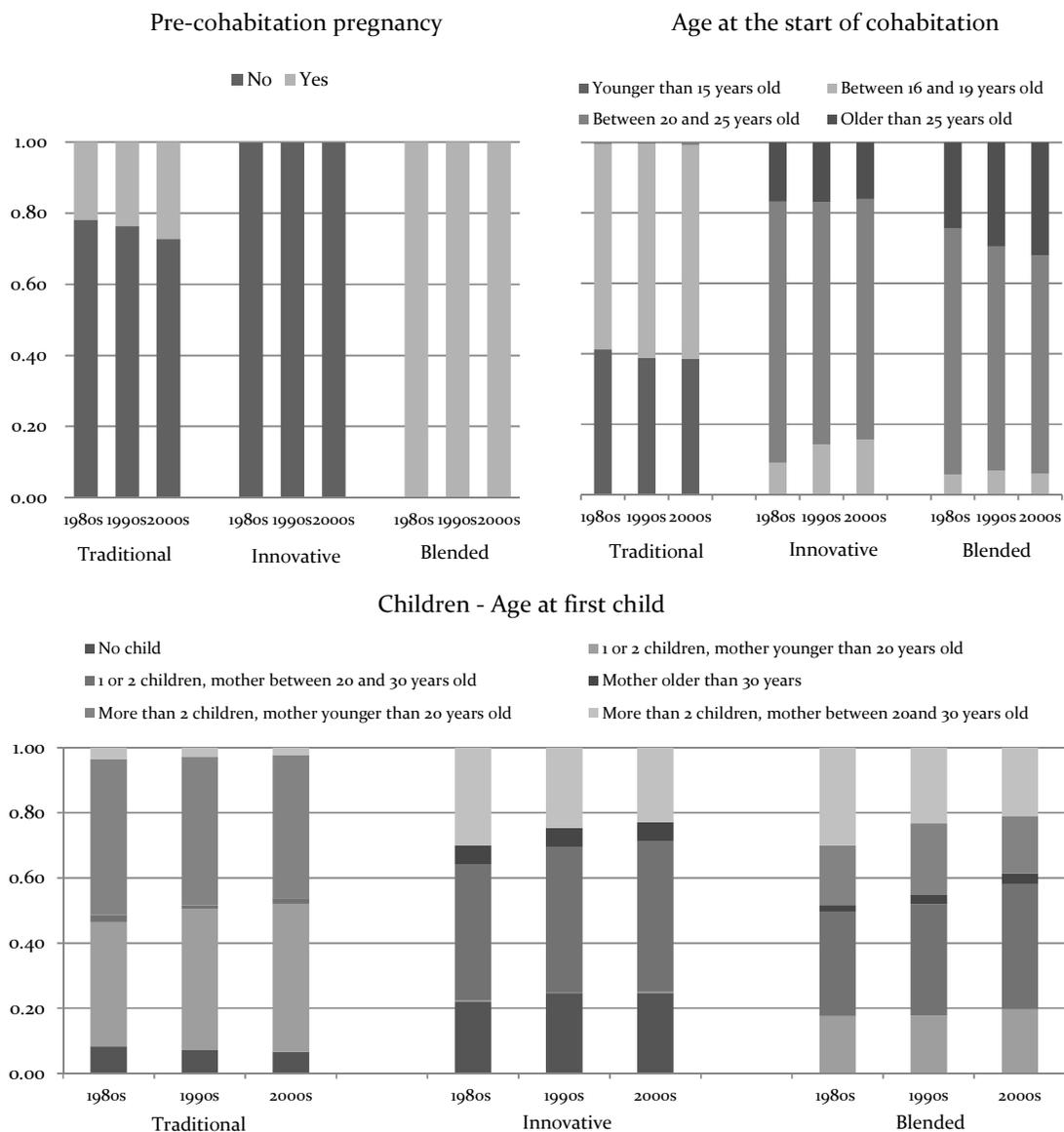
The third class was labeled 'blended' cohabitation. This type of union shares similar characteristics with both the traditional and the innovative types of cohabitation. Women in the blended type of cohabitation start to cohabit at an older age and have a similar level of education to the women in the innovative type of cohabitation. Nevertheless, all of the women in this class became pregnant before the start of their cohabitation. They also share similar fertility histories with women in the traditional type of cohabitation, being younger when delivering their first child, as well as having more children. Considering that we do not have information on the timing of education, we do not know the level of education of women living in the blended type of cohabitation at the moment of becoming pregnant and/or starting to cohabit. However, we do know that these women attained higher levels of education at the moment of the survey and we also know that they were still living in a consensual union. Thus, we cannot say if this cohabitation was started as a traditional or a modern type of cohabitation, but our results show that it became similar to the modern types of cohabitation, as a kind of alternative to a marriage relationship.

Turning now to the comparison of latent class proportions, it is possible to identify two groups of Latin American countries. The first group is composed of South American countries: Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Guyana and Peru. In this group 35-40 percent of the sample belong to the class of traditional cohabitation, while 21-31 percent belong to the class of blended cohabiters and the remaining 30-43 percent belong to the class of innovative cohabitations (respective of country). The second group of countries is formed by Central American countries (i.e. Honduras and Nicaragua) and the Caribbean Dominican Republic. In these

countries most of the women (52-62 percent) can be classified within the traditional cohabitation, while only 7-10 percent is classified as blended and 30-38 percent is classified as innovative cohabitants.

We finally turn to the comparison of the types of cohabitation over time. Figure 5.3 compares the response probabilities of the observed indicators of tree types of cohabitation for the DHS samples of the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s.

Figure 5.3 Response probabilities of indicators of types of cohabitation in Latin America (1980s, 1990s and 2000s)



Looking at the response probabilities of the observed indicators of different types of cohabitation, one can see that the relationship context at the beginning of cohabitation, as well as their outcomes in terms of childbearing are quite similar for the three types of cohabitation over time. Data from the three DHS rounds under analysis show that, at least since the 1980s, women in traditional cohabitation have approximately 22 percent probability of moving in together after pregnancy or childbearing. They cohabit at very young ages and have more children at younger ages than women in the remaining classes. In addition, since the 1980s, innovative cohabiters start to cohabit after their twenties, without experiencing pregnancy or childbearing, and have fewer children at older ages. Blended cohabiters present a similar profile, starting the cohabitation after the age of 20 (an increasing number of women in this class start their cohabitation older than 25 years old) and have fewer children later in their life. As stated previously, women from this group always start to cohabit after a pregnancy or childbearing.

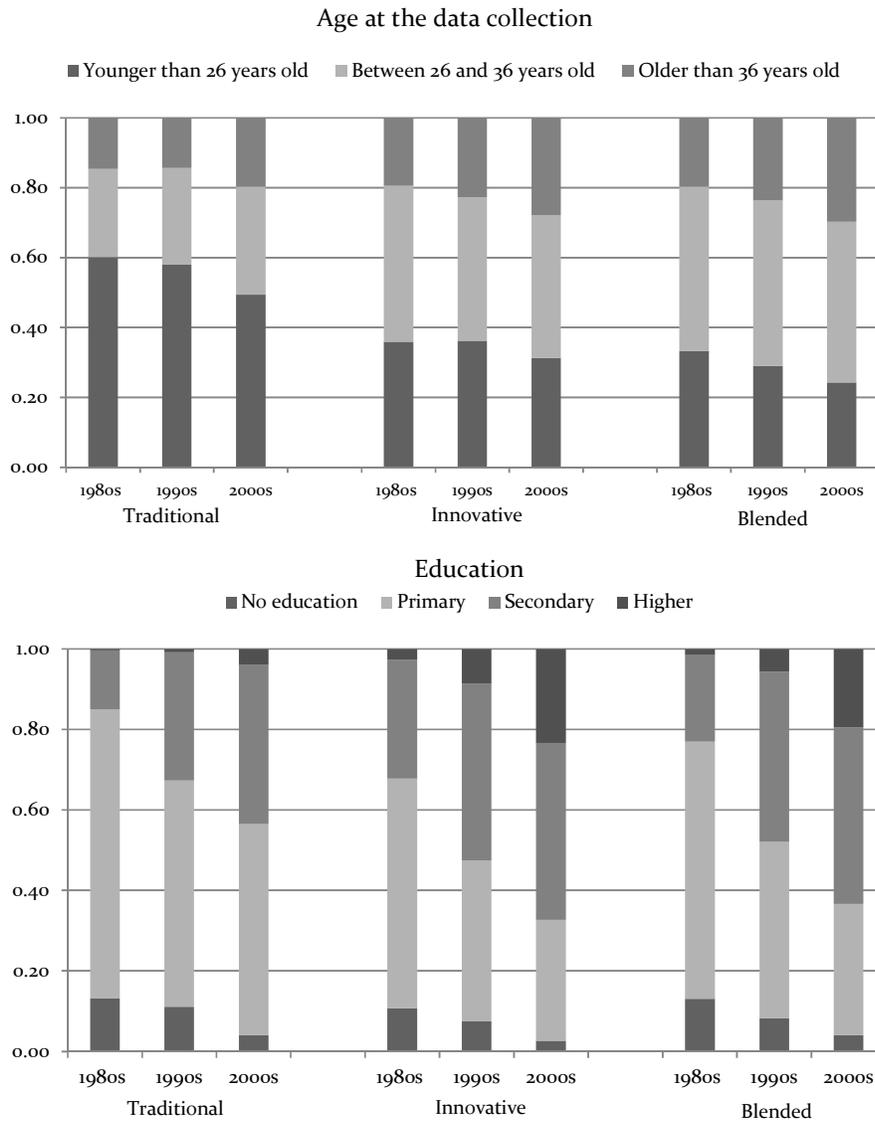
Figure 5.4 illustrates the evolution of the correlation between age at the moment of the survey and the educational profile of cohabitants with the different types of cohabitation over time in Latin America.

A noticeable change over time is attested when the analysis turns to the covariates: age and education. While in the 1980s 15, 19 and 20 percent of cohabiters who were older than 36 years old at the moment of the survey were still living in the traditional, innovative and blended types of cohabitation respectively, the figures for the same age-group for the 2000s are 18, 28 and 31 percent. It means that, although the age profile of traditional cohabitants is fairly constant over time, older women are becoming more likely to be found living in one of the modern types of cohabitation.

There is also a visible change in the educational profile of women in cohabiting unions. The proportion of lower educated women (no education and primary) in consensual unions has decreased for all types of cohabitation while the percentage of women with secondary education has increased over time. It is plausibly related to the expansion of education in the region. Interestingly, even though the proportion of higher educated women in the traditional cohabitation is

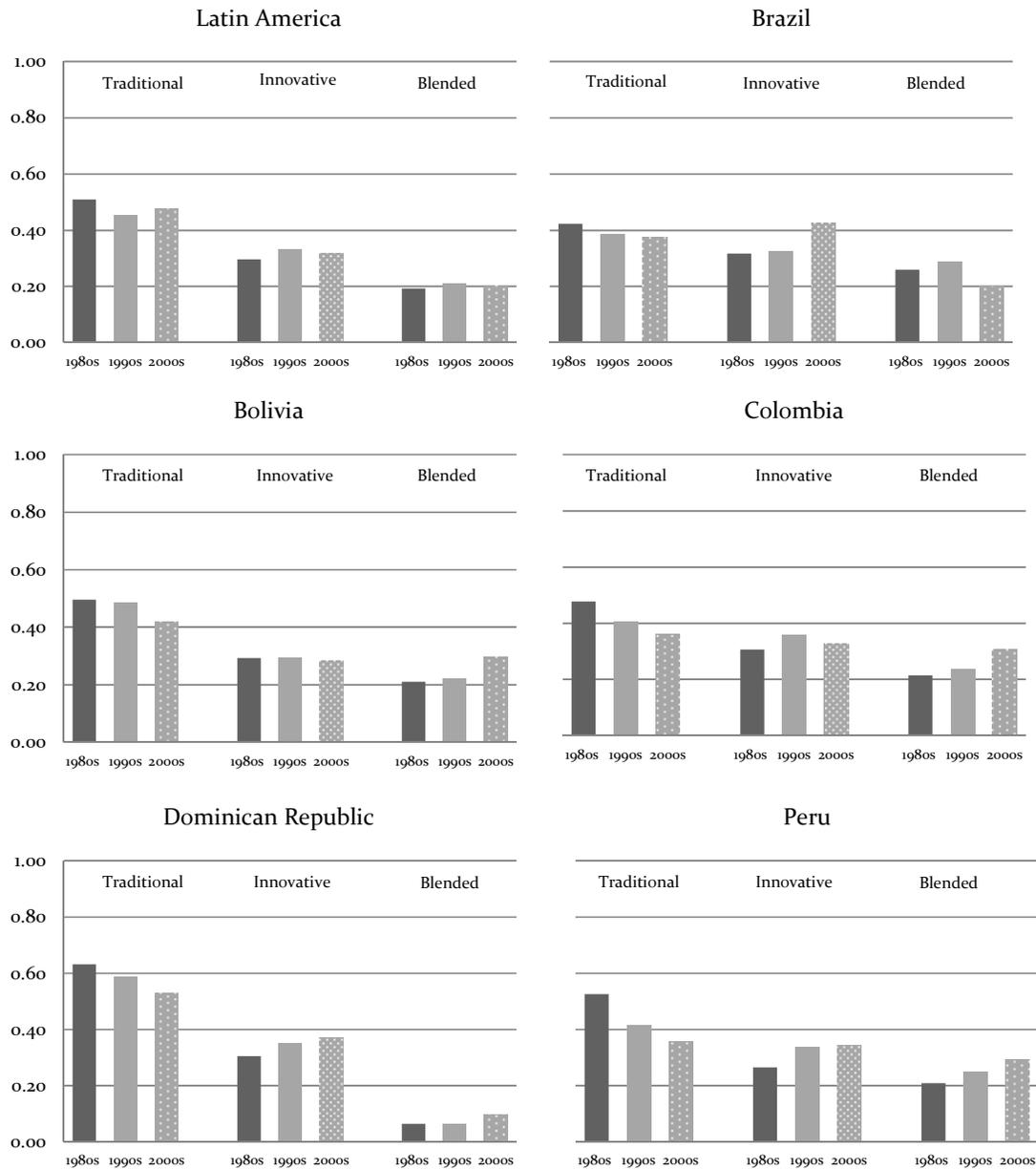
almost constant over time, the proportions of higher educated in innovative and blended types has jumped from 3 and 2 percent in the 1980s, to 16 and 15 percent in the 2000s.

Figure 5.4 Age at the moment of the survey and the educational profile of cohabitants over time (1980s, 1990s, 2000s)



Finally, Figure 5.5 compares the evolution over time of the incidence of types of cohabitations in different Latin American countries over time.

Figure 5.5 Incidence of types of cohabitations in different Latin American countries over time (1980s, 1990s, 2000s)



From figure 5.5 we can discern that, in most countries, the proportion of people living in one of the modern types of cohabitation is increasing over time, although changes in the traditional type are less evident. In order to verify if these changes in the proportions of women living in each type of cohabitation over time are statistically significant, we perform a Chi² independency test for different populations comparing the samples of the 1980s to the 2000s for each country and

type of cohabitation. The results are presented in table 5.5, and show that the differences between the periods are significant for all countries under analysis, but not for all types of cohabitation.

Table 5.5 Chi² independency test (1980s – 2000s)

Country	Chi-Square	df	p-value	Significant
Bolivia	14.929	2	< 0.0001	***
Blended	7.170	1	0.007	***
Innovative	4.830	1	0.028	**
Traditional	0.134	1	0.7143	
Brazil	16.839	2	< 0.0001	***
Blended	1.167	1	0.280	
Innovative	5.808	1	0.016	**
Traditional	8.147	1	0.004	***
Colombia	14.244	2	< 0.0001	***
Blended	5.628	1	0.0177	**
Innovative	0.345	1	0.557	
Traditional	7.417	1	0.006	***
Dominican Republic	804.033	2	< 0.0001	***
Blended	538.850	1	< 0.0001	***
Innovative	86.120	1	< 0.0001	***
Traditional	27.929	1	< 0.0001	***
Peru	29.723	2	< 0.0001	***
Blended	0.187	1	0.665	
Innovative	14.730	1	0.0001	***
Traditional	10.529	1	0.001	***

We now turn to Figure 5.5. The comparison of contemporary results with those from available previous DHS rounds shows an overall, although often modest decrease in the traditional type of cohabitation combined with a general increase in the proportion of women in at least one of the modern types of cohabitation over time. The reduction in the proportion of women living in the traditional type of cohabitation is shown in almost all countries, with exception of Bolivia, where this change is not statistically significant. In the remaining countries, the change in the proportion of women living in the traditional type of cohabitation is significant and ranges from 5 percent in Brazil to 17 percent in Peru.

In regard to the modern types of cohabitation, some countries experienced an increase in the innovative type while others demonstrate that the blended type is on the rise. Whereas Brazil shows a significant increase of 11 percent in the innovative type of cohabitation, the blended type had 10 percent growth in Colombia and 9 percent in Bolivia. Changes in the incidence of the innovative type in Colombia and in the blended type in Peru and Brazil are not statistically significant. The results for the Dominican Republic show a slight increase in both types of modern cohabitation: 6 percent for innovative and 4 percent for the blended cohabitation. In sum, among the modern types of cohabitation, Brazil is the Latin American country in which the innovative type is most evident, accounting for 43 percent of all types of cohabitation in the country. The blended type has a higher incidence in the remaining Latin American countries.

These results refer to the proportions of each type of cohabitation over time. In this sense the amount of couples living in the traditional type of cohabitation can be higher in comparison to previous years if the overall incidence of cohabitation increases.

5.6. Conclusion

Historical, socioeconomic and cultural roots make consensual unions an intriguing feature of nuptiality in Latin America. It is suggested that modernity, combined with recent socioeconomic development and existent social inequalities lead to the coexistence of different types of cohabitation in this region: traditional and modern.

This study used three rounds of Demographic and Health Survey data to differentiate the types of cohabitation in Latin America and to document the evolution of these types of cohabitation over time. Our results point to a persistence, though with a general decrease, of the traditional type of cohabitation across the countries. It refers to half of the women in the most recent sample who started to cohabit at a younger age (often as adolescents). They experience high fertility at a young age. It is possible that these women are under social or

economic pressure. Although cohabitation is not always a strategy to cope with single pregnancy, starting a new family can be seen as a means to handle other types of problems such as extreme poverty or the need to take care of household work, as well as younger brothers and sisters (Arriagada, 2002).

Two modern types of cohabitation are on the rise in Latin America. These modern types of consensual unions are present in all countries under analysis and represent between 34 and 64 percent of those women whose family formation started by way of cohabitation. While the innovative type of cohabitation show similar features with the cohabitation observed among higher educated people in developed countries, the blended type of cohabitation gives the impression to be a more complex type of consensual union. It shares similar features with the traditional form of cohabitation (i.e. pre cohabitation pregnancy), as well as with the innovative one (i.e. later union formation and higher level of education). It is not possible to say that this type of cohabitation started as a traditional or modern type of consensual union. However, we can interpret it as a 'transitional' type of cohabitation, with some modern features at the time of data collection. In this sense, both modern types of cohabitation have characteristics which are consistent with the pattern described by the SDT theory, in a sense that these modern types of cohabitation group higher educated women with lower fertility, who started to cohabit later in life.

Similar to the cohabitation found in developed countries, Latin American cohabitation is chosen by a very heterogeneous group (Bumpass et al., 1991; Hiekel et al., 2012; Sobotka & Toulemon, 2008). Women move in together in the traditional type of cohabitation at very young ages. This type of union is found among the lower educated groups, with higher fertility and it is probably a strategy to cope with economic hardship. There is also some heterogeneity between the modern types of cohabitation. While the innovative type can represent a trial period before marriage or an alternative to singlehood, couples in the blended type are probable to cohabit as an alternative to marriage.

The same analysis was conducted with earlier DHS data (1980s and 1990s) aiming to analyze the evolution of the different types of cohabitation in the region. It was shown that traditional cohabitation is giving space to the modern ones. In addition, while the age at the moment of the survey and the educational profile of traditional cohabitants are quite stable over time, the ages of women living in the modern types of cohabitation are increasing and they are also higher educated. Considering that our sample is limited to first unions, and that the average age at start of cohabitation is quite constant to these types of cohabitation over time, it is possible that these unions are lasting longer. However, the cross sectional nature of our data does not allow us to examine this assumption. To this point, it is only possible to indicate an older and more mature profile of women in the modern types of cohabitation in Latin America in comparison to the traditional ones.

Besides, while the greatest increase in the majority of the countries was in the blended cohabitation, the innovative cohabitation was the type of consensual union which developed more in Brazil. Brazil is the Latin American country under analysis which has experienced the sharpest growth in cohabitation over time. The increase of cohabitation in Brazil is comparable to the one observed in the countries from the region called the Southern Cone, namely Argentina, Chile and Uruguay (Esteve et al., 2013a). These countries were not included in the analysis due to a lack of data, but there are socioeconomic similarities among them and Brazil. Therefore, considering the previous evidence about the rise of cohabitation in these countries (e.g. Binstock & Cabella, 2011; Quilodrán-Salgado, 2011) and our results about Brazil, one could expect to find higher levels of the innovative type of cohabitation in the Southern Cone as well.

The results presented in this study are in line with previous theoretical arguments and give additional evidence that the cohabitation boom in Latin America is related to the increasing empowerment of certain groups of women. However, at the same time, women's social exclusion in the region makes sure that traditional types of cohabitation persist. While the modern types of cohabitation are practiced by older, higher educated women with lower fertility, the traditional

type is started very early in the life course and is practiced by lower educated women with high fertility at at young ages.

The identification of these types of consensual unions can help the development of efficient public policies aimed at protecting partners and children. Considering that the institutional protection required for couples living in the traditional form of consensual union is different from the protection required by couples living in the modern types, the information provided in this study can be used to develop targeted interventions aimed at these different groups of cohabiters. For example, according to our results, almost 50 percent of cohabitations in Latin America are practiced by women who form a family and have children before they are able to complete, at minimum, their secondary education. In this sense public policies are urgently needed to assist these women and their families. In addition, childbearing is related to the three identified types of cohabitation, meaning that children's rights should not be connected to marriage.

A number of important limitations to this study must be acknowledged. First, these findings are limited by the use of a cross-sectional design, which brings some restrictions related to which specific research questions can be addressed. For instance, the absence of (at least) retrospective information on education limits the interpretation of the blended type of cohabitation, as we do not know when women in this type of cohabitation completed their education. Second, the absence of retrospective data also does not allow us to assess the stability of these consensual unions. Third, information for the younger cohorts is incomplete, in the sense that they are still in an early stage of their life trajectory. They have had less time and opportunities to get married and to have children, for instance. The inclusion of an interaction effect between age at the time of the survey and each indicator helps to minimize the problems caused by this data limitation. However, it is important to keep in mind that the number of children in each type of cohabitation can increase with time due to the well-known higher fertility of cohabiting unions in Latin America or to the postponement ingredient of the SDT. Finally, another important drawback is related to the absence of information on values and attitudes of

cohabiters, such as religious (secular) values, or the meaning given to cohabitation, which could enrich this typology enormously.

This research has led the way to proposing new research questions regarding cohabitation in Latin America. Supplementary work can be done to establish the factors related to the transition to one type of cohabitation or another. Furthermore, the meanings of the different types of cohabitation (and marriage) to couples living in these different arrangements should be analyzed in depth in future research. The analysis of the meaning given to cohabitation as well as the transitions made by these couples would certainly improve the understanding of causes and effects of cohabitation in different Latin American social groups. Additionally, considering that the so-called modern cohabitations are supposed to be discernible by egalitarian gender relations, the level of gender symmetry on each of these types of cohabitation needs further investigation. Finally, marriage also should be included in the analysis in order to examine the strength of this institution in the region and to identify who is taking advantage of its institutional protection. These later research gaps are addressed in the Chapter seven which investigates the level of gender symmetry of these cohabitations and compare them to marriage.

Appendix Chapter 5. 1 Data description³¹

Proportion of partnered women by marital status in Latin America (2000s)

Country	First union: Marriage	First union: Cohabitation [†]	Higher order Marriage	Higher order Cohabitation	Total
Bolivia	5992 59.1%	3255 32.1%	220 2.2%	678 6.7%	10145 100%
Brazil	5230 52.6%	2887 29.0%	338 3.4%	1484 14.9%	9939 100%
Colombia	8346 30.5%	12627 46.1%	794 2.9%	5629 20.5%	27396 100%
Dominican Republic	2812 18.3%	6773 44.1%	619 4.0%	5169 33.6%	15373 100%
Honduras	4696 40.1%	4732 40.4%	470 4.0%	1805 15.4%	11703 100%
Nicaragua	3226 42.1%	2589 33.8%	478 6.2%	1375 17.9%	7668 100%
Guyana	1617 54.3%	823 27.6%	169 5.7%	368 12.4%	2977 100%
Peru	4043 42.3%	4372 45.8%	218 2.3%	921 9.6%	9554 100%
Latin America	35962 38.0%	38058 40.2%	3306 3.5%	17429 18.4%	94755 100.0%

[†]: Selected sample

³¹ Listwise deletion for missing values

Proportion of first and higher order cohabitations in Latin America (2000s)

Country	First union: Cohabitation [†]	Higher order Cohabitation	Total
Bolivia	3255 32.1%	678 6.7%	3933 100%
Brazil	2887 29.0%	1484 14.9%	4371 100%
Colombia	12627 46.1%	5629 20.5%	18256 67%
Dominican Republic	6773 44.1%	5169 33.6%	11942 78%
Honduras	4732 40.4%	1805 15.4%	6537 56%
Nicaragua	2589 33.8%	1375 17.9%	3964 52%
Guyana	823 27.6%	368 12.4%	1191 40%
Peru	4372 45.8%	921 9.6%	5293 55%
Latin America	38058 68.6%	17429 31.4%	55487 100.0%

[†]: Selected sample

Latin American country by Occurrence of Pre-cohabitation pregnancy

Country	No	Yes	Total
Brazil	2016 70.0%	863 30.0%	2879 100.0%
Bolivia	1818 55.9%	1437 44.1%	3255 100.0%
Colombia	7572 60.0%	5055 40.0%	12627 100.0%
Dominican Republic	5452 80.5%	1321 19.5%	6773 100.0%
Honduras	3985 84.2%	747 15.8%	4732 100.0%
Guyana	511 62.1%	312 37.9%	823 100.0%
Nicaragua	1124 81.4%	257 18.6%	1381 100.0%
Peru	2788 63.8%	1584 36.2%	4372 100.0%
Latin America	25266 68.6%	11576 31.4%	36842 100.0%

Latin American country by Age at start of cohabitation

Country	Younger than 15 years old	Between 16 and 19 years old	Between 20 and 25 years old	Older than 25 years old	Total
Brazil	493 17.1%	970 33.7%	1022 35.5%	392 13.6%	2877 100.0%
Bolivia	528 16.2%	1089 33.5%	1238 38.0%	400 12.3%	3255 100.0%
Colombia	2164 17.1%	3909 31.0%	4652 36.8%	1902 15.1%	12627 100.0%
Dominican Republic	1922 28.4%	2501 36.9%	1999 29.5%	351 5.2%	6773 100.0%
Honduras	1325 28.0%	1772 37.4%	1365 28.8%	270 5.7%	4732 100.0%
Guyana	142 17.3%	293 35.6%	284 34.5%	104 12.6%	823 100.0%
Nicaragua	466 33.7%	529 38.3%	329 23.8%	57 4.1%	1381 100.0%
Peru	639 14.6%	1374 31.4%	1733 39.6%	626 14.3%	4372 100.0%
Latin America (total)	7679 20.8%	12437 33.8%	12622 34.3%	4102 11.1%	36840 100.0%

Latin American country by Children - Age at first child

Country	No child	1 or 2 children, mother younger than 20 years old	1 or 2 children, mother between 20 and 30 years old	Mother older than 30 years	More than 2 children, mother younger than 20 years old	More than 2 children, mother between 20 and 30 years old	Total
Brazil	506 17.5%	778 27.0%	745 25.8%	96 3.3%	528 18.3%	232 8.0%	2885 100.0%
Bolivia	321 9.9%	881 27.1%	704 21.6%	63 1.9%	863 26.5%	423 13.0%	3255 100.0%
Colombia	1474 11.7%	3398 26.9%	3324 26.3%	391 3.1%	2652 21.0%	1388 11.0%	12627 100.0%
Dominican Republic	799 11.8%	1483 21.9%	1232 18.2%	108 1.6%	2110 31.2%	1041 15.4%	6773 100.0%
Honduras	517 10.9%	1356 28.7%	792 16.7%	62 1.3%	1408 29.8%	597 12.6%	4732 100.0%
Guyana	98 11.9%	194 23.6%	159 19.3%	20 2.4%	239 29.0%	113 13.7%	823 100.0%
Nicaragua	67 4.9%	365 26.4%	219 15.9%	17 1.2%	508 36.8%	205 14.8%	1381 100.0%
Peru	403 9.2%	1053 24.1%	1201 27.5%	146 3.3%	986 22.6%	583 13.3%	4372 100.0%
Latin America (total)	4185 11.4%	9508 25.8%	8376 22.7%	903 2.5%	9294 25.2%	4582 12.4%	36848 100.0%

Latin American country by Age at moment of the survey

Country	Younger than 26 years old	Between 26 and 36 years old	Older than 36 years old	Total
Brazil	1189 41.2%	1109 38.4%	589 20.4%	2887 100.0%
Bolivia	1466 45.0%	1262 38.8%	527 16.2%	3255 100.0%
Colombia	4552 36.0%	4524 35.8%	3551 28.1%	12627 100.0%
Dominican Republic	2555 37.7%	2280 33.7%	1938 28.6%	6773 100.0%
Honduras	2294 48.5%	1521 32.1%	917 19.4%	4732 100.0%
Guyana	328 39.9%	290 35.2%	205 24.9%	823 100.0%
Nicaragua	562 40.7%	498 36.1%	321 23.2%	1381 100.0%
Peru	1502 34.4%	1747 40.0%	1123 25.7%	4372 100.0%
Latin America	14448 39.2%	13231 35.9%	9171 24.9%	36850 100.0%

Latin American country by Educational attainment

Country	No education	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Total
Brazil	12 0.4%	1718 61.2%	942 33.5%	136 4.8%	2808 100.0%
Bolivia	138 4.2%	1791 55.0%	1072 32.9%	254 7.8%	3255 100.0%
Colombia	368 2.9%	3953 31.3%	6385 50.6%	1921 15.2%	12627 100.0%
Dominican Republic	400 5.9%	3234 47.7%	2332 34.4%	807 11.9%	6773 100.0%
Honduras	444 9.4%	3373 71.3%	857 18.1%	58 1.2%	4732 100.0%
Guyana	25 3.0%	217 26.4%	549 66.7%	32 3.9%	823 100.0%
Nicaragua	343 24.8%	651 47.1%	342 24.8%	45 3.3%	1381 100.0%
Peru	182 4.2%	1499 34.3%	1877 42.9%	814 18.6%	4372 100.0%
Latin America	1912 5.2%	16436 44.7%	14356 39.0%	4067 11.1%	36771 100.0%

6. Measuring gender equality in family decision making in Latin America: A key towards understanding changing family configurations

This study investigates gender equality in terms of decision making in Latin American families. A step-by-step multi-group latent class analysis (MGLCA) is applied to extract the construct of gender equality in terms of family decision making from DHS data. Its cross-cultural validation for seven Latin American countries (N=62,554) is attested and the influence of women's age, education and type of union on family decision making is shown. The types of union included in this analysis are marriage and three previously identified types of cohabitation: traditional, innovative and blended. Three types of decision making are found. In the first two types, women make household decisions alone or jointly with their husbands or partners. These are married, older and higher educated women. The third type groups women who have the decisions in their household made by their partners. These are lower educated women, who tend to live in the traditional cohabitation. The differences in terms of decision making for the innovative and blended types of cohabitation in Latin America are not clear. Results are consistent with earlier evidence that changes in gender roles happen in different rhythms for different social classes: in the upper social strata the gender revolution is in a more advanced stage than in the lower ones.

This chapter is published as: Covre-Sussai, M., Meuleman, B., Bavel, J. Van, & Matthijs, K. (2013a). Measuring gender equality in family decision making in Latin America: a key towards understanding changing family configurations. *Genus*, 69(3), 47–73. doi:10.4402/genus-500

6.1. Introduction

Family formation patterns have witnessed a noticeable change in Western countries since the 1960s. With greater social acceptance of non-marital cohabitation, marriage is no longer considered to be the only way to establish a family, and the incidence of divorce has been increasing as well. In fully developed countries, changes in nuptiality patterns, such as increasing cohabitation, postponement of marriage and decreases in fertility are interpreted by sociologists and demographers as consistent with a shift in the ideational domain, meaning values and beliefs, as well as increasing gender symmetry (e.g. Esteve et al., 2013; Esteve et al., 2012a; Lesthaeghe, 2010; Lesthaeghe & Surkyn, 1988).

Statistics indicate that Latin America follows these Western trends with its growing divorce and cohabitation rates. Census data show, although with marked heterogeneity, that there is a rising trend in cohabitation in Latin America. For example, the percentage of cohabitation for partnered women aged 25-29 in Colombia increased from approximately 20 percent in 1973 to over 65 percent in 2007 (Esteve et al., 2012a). At the same time, the incidence and, sometimes, prevalence of cohabitation is a historical feature of nuptiality in the region, with different meanings from those usually observed in fully developed countries.

In contemporary Latin America, the choice for cohabiting instead of getting married is related to either tradition or innovation. This choice depends on the social group under study (Castro-Martin, 2002). While cohabitation has always been prevalent in rural regions among the lower and less educated social classes (Arriagada, 2002), there is evidence that modern types of cohabitation are booming in the region (Esteve et al., 2012). These modern types of cohabitation are closely linked to the consensual union observed in developed Western countries (Parrado & Tienda, 1997; Cabella et al., 2004). In this case, cohabitation is usually a childless period, an alternative to marriage or singlehood, being most visible among younger and higher educated cohorts.

The different types of cohabitation in Latin America were identified in a recent study by Covre-Sussai and colleagues (2012), which is the Chapter 5 of this

thesis. These types of cohabitation were differentiated on the basis of the relationship context at the beginning of cohabitation (age at start of cohabitation and existence of pre-cohabitation pregnancy or childbearing) and its outcomes in terms of childbearing (age [of the mother] at first child and number of children). The choice of the indicators was grounded on the argument that the timing and circumstances of union formation and childbearing, as well as the number of children raised, have different meanings for traditional and modern types of cohabitations in Latin America.

Multiple group latent class analysis (MGLCA) was applied and three different types of Latin American cohabitations were found, the traditional and two modern types which were labeled as ‘innovative’ and ‘blended’ cohabitations. The traditional type of cohabitation is practiced by women who moved in together at very young ages and have high fertility. The innovative cohabitation groups women who moved in together during early adulthood, have fewer children born at a higher age of the mother and never as a single woman. The blended cohabitation refers to women who start to cohabit later in life in comparison to the other types, but always after single pregnancy or childbearing. Traditional cohabitants were found to be low educated, while modern ones present higher educational attainment (Covre-Sussai et al., 2012). An open question for this study is whether Latin American modern cohabitations present more egalitarian relationships than the traditional one.

While postponement of marriage, decreasing fertility and increasing cohabitation are relatively easy to measure with available data (e.g. demographic censuses), it is not possible to say the same about the social forces behind this phenomenon, as well as its outcomes. The study of gender relations inside families, for example, requires the use of specific surveys aiming at couples’ dynamics. Unfortunately, nationally representative surveys of this type are not available for Latin American countries (Vignoli-Rodríguez, 2005). However, the last phases of the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) include a section on ‘Women Status and Empowerment’, which provides some information about gender relations in terms of decision making.

The main goals of this study are (i) to identify whether it is possible to measure gender equality, in terms of family decision making, through the information provided by DHS collected in seven Latin American countries (i.e. Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Guyana and Peru); (ii) to check whether this information is comparable across these countries; and (iii) to examine whether decision making in Latin American couples varies according to women's age, educational level and type of union: marriage, or one of the different types of cohabitation previously identified in the region.

Concerns about measurement invariance are becoming evident in the methodological literature of the social sciences. Invariance deals with similarities in which latent concepts, such as decision making, are interpreted among different cultures or groups. It implies that a latent concept can be meaningfully discussed over these groups (Billiet & Welkenhuysen-Gybels, 2004). Consequently, comparisons between countries are not valid without first assessing whether the latent concepts used are in fact invariant (Billiet & Welkenhuysen-Gybels, 2004; Billiet, 2003).

Women's empowerment in family decision making is one of the central aspects in the study of forms of family life from a gender perspective, and one of the least explored subjects in a comparative perspective in Latin America (García & de Oliveira, 2011). To the best of our knowledge, this is the first study analyzing gender relations in different types of union, as well as its construct equivalence among Latin American countries, using the section 'Women's Status and Empowerment' of DHS. For this purpose, a step-by-step multi-group latent class analysis (MGLCA - Kankaras et al., 2011) is applied in order to verify whether the concept of gender equality can be extracted from the data and be meaningfully compared across the analyzed countries.

We start by contextualizing gender relations inside Latin American families, as well as Latin American socioeconomic and demographic diversity. We then present the theoretical framework of the study as well as its hypotheses. Subsequently, data and methods used, as well as the main results are shown. These results are discussed in the last section.

6.2. Gender relations and socioeconomic diversity in Latin America

In Latin America, the institutions of marriage and the family were historically constructed based on hierarchic, authoritarian and patriarchal relationships. This legacy attaches great importance to traditional gender roles and the division of labor inside the family. Nowadays, although the patriarchal model of family and social organization is eroding, the interaction of gender, social classes and ethnic relations is seen in modern family studies as the foundation of inequality in Latin America. They “define very different conditions of life and structures of opportunities, while looking closely at the interactions between individual time-frames, family cycles and social processes” (Arriagada, 2002, p.138).

In this sense, until the middle of the 20th century, family relations were marked by submission to the father/husband, control of female sexuality and the concept of family honor. The control over female sexuality was intensified by ethnic and class differences. Historically, men were permitted to have relationships with women from different social and ethnic groups, following different rationalities and moral codes (Arriagada, 2002). Traditionally, women from the same (higher) social class and ethnicity (white) were ‘to be married with’, although extra-marital relationships (concubinage) with women from lower social classes and different ethnic groups were common (Caulfield, 2001; Fernández-Aceves, 2007).

With socioeconomic development, the patriarchal model of family is being questioned in both the public and private spheres, although with evident heterogeneity. While increased legal protection has been given to women in the public domain (Arriagada, 2004, 2007; Vignoli-Rodríguez, 2005), socio-economic development is opening space for greater autonomy. Increasing women’s education and participation in the labor force, as well as the separation between sexual and reproductive lives (as a result of contraception) have favored some individuation and independence (Jelin & Díaz-Muñoz, 2003).

Recent socioeconomic indicators show that gender roles in Latin America are changing toward some form of egalitarianism between women and men. Women’s gross school enrolment at the tertiary level rose from 22 percent to 39

percent between 1999 and 2007 and their participation in the labor force increased from approximately 20 percent in the 1950s to over 55 percent in 2008 (World Bank, 2010). The use of modern contraceptive methods by women in reproductive ages in the region is 67.1 percent, which is among the highest in the world (United Nations, 2012). At the same time, the regional total fertility rate for 2010 was 2.1, but it ranges from 1.5 in Cuba to 3.7 in Guatemala (ECLAC, 2012). Esteve and colleagues even show that, since the 1990s, women are higher educated than men in several Latin American countries (i.e. Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Panama and Venezuela), but not in all of them, such as Bolivia, Peru and Mexico (Esteve et al., 2012b). Simultaneously, studies indicate that working women are still the main person responsible for household labor in their families and childcare (Arriagada, 2002; Soares, 2008; Sorj et al., 2007).

Changes in women's status are expected to influence family relationships through more egalitarian relations. The expectation of having more egalitarian family relationships raises the importance of finding a construct which is able to measure this egalitarianism. This increases the research interest on gender relations and the need for a reliable construct to measure it. Consequently, the first research questions of this study are raised: *'Is it possible to differentiate types of gender relations based on Latin American DHS questions? And 'Do these types of gender relations differ in terms of age, education and type of union?'*

Considering that gender, social class and ethnic relations are interrelated, one could expect that different levels of socioeconomic development and ethnic composition lead to different levels of gender equality in a given country. In this sense, Latin American heterogeneity in terms of socioeconomic development and ethnic composition must be taken into consideration when a construct for the measurement of gender equality is to be computed.

Following the debt crisis which affected the region in the 1980s, the 1990s were characterized by economic restructuring in most Latin American countries. Rapid urbanization, internal rural to urban migration, transition to democratic governments in the political domain as well as the expansion of mass education transformed the organization of Latin American society enormously. At the same

time, economic development has not yet reached the majority of the population and social inequality is another important feature of the region.

Data shows that while the proportion of people classified as poor or indigent decreased from 44 percent in 2002 to 29.4 percent in 2012 (ECLAC, 2012), the region is still the most unequal in the world (Cavenaghi, 2009a). Although socio-economic development increased during the last decades, significant differences can be observed between and within countries. The differences within countries can be illustrated by the GINI index, while the figures for Human Development Index (HDI) demonstrate their socioeconomic development. With the exception of Haiti, the HDI increased in all Latin American countries between 1980 and 2010. In 2010, while the majority of the countries (i.e. Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Panama, Mexico, Costa Rica, Peru, Brazil, Venezuela, Ecuador and Colombia) saw their HDI increase from medium to high, some of them improved from low to a medium level (i.e. Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Suriname, Bolivia, Paraguay, Guyana, Honduras, Nicaragua, Guatemala). At the same time, inequality is still one of the main features of the region where the GINI coefficients range from a minimum of 0.43 in Guatemala to more than 0.59 in Haiti.

Latin American heterogeneity is also visible in terms of ethnic composition. While many countries are marked by the presence of the indigenous population, in other countries such groups are very few. On the other hand, European and African populations have immigrated into the region over the centuries, and miscegenation has created numerous racial groups within and across national boundaries (Heaton et al., 2002). The self-declared ethnic composition of some Latin American countries is presented in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Latin American self-declared ethnic distribution (%)

Country	Amerindians	Whites	Mestizos	Mulattos	Blacks	Creoles & Garifunas	Asians
Argentina	0.1	85.0	11.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9
Bolivia	55.0	15.0	28.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Brazil	0.4	53.8	0.0	39.1	6.2	0.0	0.5
Chile	8.0	52.7	39.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Colombia	1.8	20.0	53.2	21.0	3.9	0.1	0.0
Costa Rica	0.8	82.0	15.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.2
Cuba	0.0	37.0	0.0	51.0	11.0	0.0	1.0
Dominican Republic	0.0	14.6	0.0	75.0	7.7	2.3	0.4
Ecuador	39.0	9.9	41.0	5.0	5.0	0.0	0.1
El Salvador	1.0	9.0	90.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Guatemala	53.0	4.0	42.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.8
Honduras	7.7	1.0	85.6	1.7	0.0	3.3	0.7
Mexico	14.0	15.0	70.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.5
Nicaragua	6.9	14.0	78.3	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.2
Panama	8.0	10.0	32.0	27.0	5.0	14.0	4.0
Paraguay	1.5	20.0	74.5	3.5	0.0	0.0	0.5
Peru	45.5	12.0	32.0	9.7	0.0	0.0	0.8
Puerto Rico	0.0	74.8	0.0	10.0	15.0	0.0	0.2
Uruguay	0.0	88.0	8.0	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Venezuela	2.7	16.9	37.7	37.7	2.8	0.0	2.2
Total	9.2	36.1	30.3	20.3	3.2	0.2	0.7

Source: Fernandez (2005), several sources of data. Adapted and translated by author.

Table 6.1 demonstrates that the general ethnic composition of Latin America (total) reflects the interracial miscegenation that has marked its history: at the present time, more than 50% of the population is identified as mixed (Mullatos, Mestizos, Creoles or Garifunas). Additionally, enormous variations can be found between and within countries.

While some countries present certain homogeneity in their ethnic composition, others are marked by ethnic diversity and internal miscegenation. The former is the case of Uruguay, Argentina and Costa Rica which present predominance in European descents (whites) and of Peru, Bolivia and Guatemala which present high proportions of Amerindians. In addition, the other countries are marked by the existence of particular ethnicities originating from specific colonization and miscegenation histories.

This socioeconomic and cultural diversity raises the concern about how meaningful would be a comparison survey of the gender relations concept over the

Latin American countries. This drives the last research question of this study: *'Is the latent variable of gender relations equivalent among Latin American countries?'*

6.3. Theoretical Framework and Hypothesis

The increased economic independence of women is an important driving force of social change towards more egalitarian gender relations, as well as modifications in patterns of family formation, fertility and family dissolution. Socioeconomic development opened opportunities for women in the education system and labor market, which, therefore, increased female labor force participation among all women, including married and mothers. It resulted in a significant transformation in relative spousal power resources, which is expected to change family relations in the direction of some egalitarianism between women and men. Changes in women's status are also related to changes in family formation and outcomes, such as delay and decline in marriage and fertility, as well as increase of divorce and cohabitation (e.g. Lesthaeghe, 2010; McDonald, 2000, 2013; Prinz, 1995).

However, changes in gender roles do not happen in the same rhythm and in all spheres of a society. While improvements in women's status are visible in terms of educational attainment and participation in the labor market, the division of household tasks and family decision making are still largely influenced by traditional gender norms and expectations, mainly among the lower social strata (for a literature review on developed countries see Esping-Andersen, 2009, pp. 19–54; for Latin American evidence see Arriagada, 2002; Soares, 2008; Sorj et al., 2007). Overall, studies on time use reported by Esping-Andersen (2009) show a clear decrease in women's contribution to household tasks, a significant increase in joint time spent on these chores and some increase in men's participation in household jobs, mainly in tasks related to child care. However, these changes are mostly observed for higher educated couples. Among lower educated couples, traditional forms of division of household tasks, based on gender specialization, are still predominant, even when couples' homogamy is taken into consideration (Esping-Andersen, 2009).

Homogamous couples are assumed to have equilibrated bargaining power and as a consequence, symmetric gender relations. However, evidence shows that, while higher educated and homogamous couples tend to behave in a more egalitarian way, traditional gender roles and the division of labor are still prevalent for lower educated couples (especially when homogamous). It seems that social norms play different roles in different social classes, and that it is intensified by couples' level of homogamy. In this sense, while homogamy in the lower social classes leads to the prevalence of traditional gender roles and division of labor, in the upper social strata it leads to egalitarian gender relations (Esping-Andersen, 2009).

This ambiguity can be explained by the idea of 'incomplete revolution', which distinguishes gender equality in terms of individual-level (education, participation in the labor market) and family-level (availability of day care, maternity leave, division of household tasks) institutions (Esping-Andersen, 2009; McDonald, 2000, 2013). According to McDonald (2000, 2013), the first part of the gender revolution is almost complete and has changed women's roles in individual-level institutions, such as education and participation in the job market and public life. Conversely, the second part of this revolution is happening in family-oriented institutions in a much slower rhythm. Family organization and decision making based on the patriarchal model still persists, even for two-income families, especially for the lower social classes (McDonald, 2000, 2013; Esping-Andersen, 2009).

In his recent study, Peter McDonald (2013) states that gaps between individual-level and family-level institutions influence family decisions in the direction of lower fertility and reduced propensity to start formal unions, depending on women's human capital. As stated before, Latin American women have reached a certain level of gender equality in individual-level institutions. A good example of this development is the level of education achieved by them over a short period of time. Accordingly, considering the evidence that higher educated couples tend to be more egalitarian (Esping-Andersen, 2009; McDonald, 2013), we expect that higher educated women make private decisions by themselves or jointly

with their husbands and partners. At the same time, there is evidence that gender equality in family relations has not been completely achieved and the patriarchal model of the family is not totally obsolete, especially among the lower social classes. Therefore, it is expected *that lower educated women make daily decisions related to the household by themselves, but that important household decisions are still mostly made by men.*

The historical incidence of the traditional Latin American cohabitation is an example of the effect of women's lower bargaining power (and lower human capital) in family life. This type of union is considered an alternative to marriage, practiced as a strategy to cope with the hardships of poverty and single, sometimes adolescent pregnancy or childbearing (Arriagada, 2002). Faced with the need of taking care of younger brothers and sisters or with domestic violence, young women from the lower social classes tend to prefer to move in together in a cohabiting union than wait and negotiate a marriage (Greene & Rao, 1995). At the same time, higher educated women are able to negotiate a marriage, which is preferable and provides greater institutional protection in comparison to cohabiting unions (Greene & Rao, 1995). In this sense, *women living in the traditional cohabitation are expected to have lower bargaining power and, as a consequence less authority in family decision making. At the same time, married women are expected to be found in families with more egalitarian decision making.*

The research of Greene and Rao (1995) was done with data from the 1980s. Since then, the incidence of cohabitation has increased in Latin America, also among higher educated groups. As stated before, the Second Demographic Transition (SDT) framework explains the spread of innovative forms of living arrangements as an expression of not only changing socioeconomic circumstances or expanding female employment, but also as outcomes of egalitarian sentiments of younger and higher educated groups (Surkyn & Lesthaeghe, 2004). The increasing incidence of the so-called modern types of cohabitation among Latin American higher educated groups is considered a signal of the SDT in the region (Covre-Sussai et al., 2012; Esteve et al., 2012a). To be explained by the SDT framework, cohabitation should reflect some level of women's empowerment and more

egalitarian gender relations. Consequently, *we expect that previously identified modern types of cohabitation in Latin America are more egalitarian than the traditional cohabitation.*

6.4. Research Method

6.4.1. Data: Demographic and Health Survey

The research questions have been addressed by means of the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) data. The DHS are nationally representative surveys that collect comparable data on demographic and health issues in developing countries (Rutstein & Rojas, 2006). The surveys focus on women in their reproductive years (15-49 years old). We use the most recent data collected for seven Latin American countries, which included a section called ‘women’s status and empowerment’. These are Bolivia (2008, n = 8,999), Brazil³² (2006, n = 7,285), Colombia (2010, n = 17,950), Dominican Republic (2007, n = 9,349), Guyana (2009, n = 2,394), Honduras (2005/6, n = 9,138) and Peru (2008, n = 7,439). In order to avoid countries with larger sample sizes which could have dominated the results we used equal size weighting of the samples (Kankaras et al., 2011).

The DHS section on women’s status and empowerment includes the following questions: Who usually makes decisions about (i) health care for yourself; (ii) making major household purchases; (iii) making purchases for daily household needs; (iv) visits to your family or relatives; and (v) who usually decides how the money you earn will be used? The possible answers are: mainly you (the woman); mainly your husband/partner; you and your husband/partner jointly; or someone else. These questions are used to construct the indicators (observed variables) of the latent construct called ‘family decision making’. Women who were not working at the moment of the survey are coded by DHS as missing in the variable ‘who

³² The Brazilian DHS is called ‘*Pesquisa Nacional de Demografia e Saúde (PNDS)*’ and can be found here: <http://bvsmis.saude.gov.br/bvs/pnds/index.php>. For methodological considerations and comparability of the PNDS with other DHSs, see Cavenaghi (2009b).

usually decides how the money you earn will be used'. In order to keep them in the analysis we created a new category by coding them as, 'Responded not working'.

The focus of this study is on couples' gender relations. As a result, only women in a relationship (marriage or cohabitation), and who answered "mainly you", "mainly your husband/partner", or "you and your husband/partner jointly" were selected. In addition, in order to examine whether gender relations vary according to the type of union, we followed the procedures adopted by Covre-Sussai et al. (2012) and focused on first unions. Consequently, only women who had only one relationship, who were living with the same partner or husband at the moment of the survey were selected. This choice implies that only 78 percent of all unions in Latin America are included in the analysis and that this proportion ranges from 91 percent in Bolivia to 62.3 percent of cohabiting unions in Dominican Republic³³. The final sample was composed of 62,554 women.

6.4.2. Variables

As stated before, the information about types of cohabitation used as covariate in this study is extracted from a typology that differentiates the types of cohabitation in Latin America. These types of cohabitation were identified through multi-group latent class analysis (MGLCA), based on the relationship context at the beginning of cohabitation (age in which the woman started to cohabit and the existence of pre-cohabitation pregnancy or childbearing) and its outputs in terms of childbearing (age in which the woman had her first child and the number of children she had up to the moment of the survey).

Besides identifying different classes of cohabitants, latent class analysis allows for the calculation of the conditional probabilities of a woman to live in one type of cohabitation instead of another (for detailed information see Covre-Sussai et al., 2012). For the purpose of including marriage as one of the types of union we

³³ Detailed information about the sample, i.e. the share of first and higher order unions as well as proportion of partnered women by marital status and country is presented in the appendix 5.1.

categorize this information based on the highest probability of living in one of the three types of cohabitation. Consequently, we identify (1) marriage, (2) traditional cohabitation, (3) innovative cohabitation and (4) blended cohabitation.

The remaining two covariates included in the analysis are: 'Education', which indicates women with (1) no education, (2) primary, (3) secondary or (4) higher levels of education; and 'age', which differentiates women (1) younger than 26 years old, (2) between 26 and 36 years old and (3) older than 36 years old.

Listwise deletion was the method used for handling missing data. In our understanding the sample size of our data is large enough to not generate biased results due to the deletion of missing data. Descriptive statistics of all variables are included in the appendix 5.1 and support this supposition.

In Table 6.2, we summarize the variables and the expected outcomes of this study. In Table 6.2 our hypotheses are presented in the form of '+' and '-' which represent the direction of expected effect of each observed variable (indicators) and covariate on the latent classes (gender equality in family decision making).

Table 6.2: Variables and Hypotheses

Indicators	Gender Equality in family decision making
Who usually decides how the money you earn will be used	
Respondent alone	+
Respondent and husband/partner	+
Husband/partner alone	-
Respondent not working	-
Decision about health care for yourself	
Respondent alone	+
Respondent and husband/partner	+
Husband/partner alone	-
Decision about making major household purchases	
Respondent alone	-
Respondent and husband/partner	-
Husband/partner alone	+
Decision about making purchases for daily household needs	
Respondent alone	+
Respondent and husband/partner	+
Husband/partner alone	-
Decision about visits to your family or relatives	
Respondent alone	-
Respondent and husband/partner	+
Husband/partner alone	+
Covariates	
Age	
Younger than 26 years old	+
Between 26 and 36 years old	+
Older than 36 years old	-
Education	
No education	-
Primary	-
Secondary	+
Higher	+
Type of Union	
Marriage	+
Traditional Cohabitation	-
Innovative Cohabitation	+
Blended Cohabitation	+

6.4.3. Method

In order to analyze whether the concept of ‘gender equality in family decision making’ extracted from the DHS is equivalent across Latin American countries, its measurement equivalence will be tested using multiple group latent class analysis (MGLCA). Because ‘gender equality in family decision making’ is a construct that cannot be observed directly, we look at the observed indicators that may define this latent concept as unobserved types of relationships. Patterns of interrelationships between observed indicators are studied in order to understand and characterize gender equality in Latin America (McCutcheon, 1987). For more information about MGLCA, see McCutcheon (1987, 2002). A similar application of this method can be found in Chapter 5 of this thesis and in Kankaras et al. (2011).

In order to examine if the theoretical concept of gender equality in family decision making is comparable across the Latin American countries under study, it is necessary to check for measurement invariance. Measurement invariance is attested when the class-specific conditional probabilities are equal across groups. Imposing some group equality restrictions on these conditional probabilities, it is possible to test various levels of homogeneity as well as measurement invariance (Kankaras et al., 2011).

In order to check if gender equality in family decision making has the same meaning and implications across Latin American countries, we will apply the general procedure of analyzing measurement invariance proposed by Kankaras et al. (2011, pp.367-374). Consequently, we will test whether our model is completely homogeneous, structurally homogeneous or only partially homogeneous, against the hypothesis that it is completely heterogeneous. The complete heterogeneity model assumes that no similarity exists across the Latin American countries. The partial homogeneity model restricts the relationships (i.e., the slopes) between the latent variable and the observed variables to be the same, but allows for country-specific conditional response probabilities (intercepts). It means that the slopes are equal across groups, but the conditional response parameters can be different. In the structurally homogeneous model, both intercept and slope parameters are set

to be the same across countries. It makes the observed variables independent of the grouping variable (countries), while controlling for the latent variable (gender relation, Kankaras et al., 2011).

Following the procedure proposed by Kankaras and colleagues (2011), the number of latent classes should first be determined for each country separately, and then for all countries together. If the pooled data presents the same number of classes found for each country then the heterogeneous model is fitted to the data, as a baseline model. Next, a series of nested models is fitted to the data. Equality restrictions are applied to these models and they are evaluated in terms of model fit. Comparability is attested if the restrictions do not deteriorate the model's goodness of fit. Afterwards, we repeat this procedure for each item in order to guarantee that the observed indicators are not sources of invariance. Finally the covariates (age, education and type of union) are introduced into the model (Kankaras et al., 2011).

6.5. Results

As stated previously, in order to examine how many classes the latent variable 'gender equality in family decision making' presents, we contrast the goodness of fit³⁴ of a model with one latent class against the models with more latent classes. Separate analysis for each Latin American country demonstrates a dimension with three classes emerging from the data³⁵. A Latent Class Analysis with the pooled samples is then conducted in order to check whether, again, a structure of three classes emerges from the data.

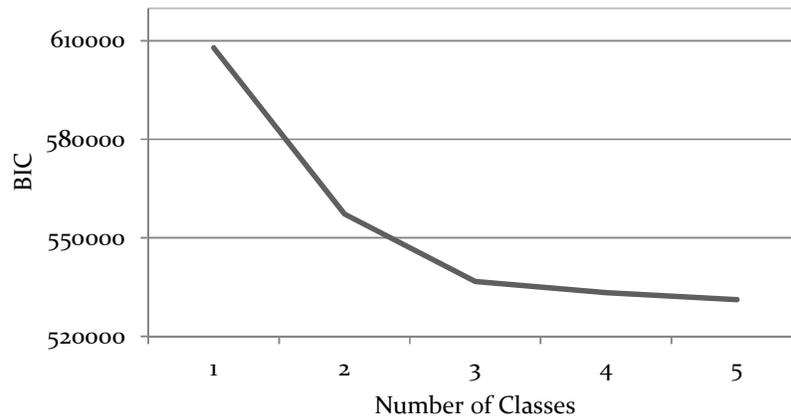
Probably due to our large sample, it was not possible to find a best fit in terms of BIC for the pooled data. It is a common phenomenon that within very large datasets, fit indices continue to improve (even BIC) when adding classes. For

³⁴ Because of the large sample sizes, we used the BIC as the model selection criterion, which penalizes for sample size (for more details see McCutcheon (2002)).

³⁵ Separate results of each country available upon request.

this reason, with the pooled data, we chose to analyze the drop in BIC in order to define the number of classes. The results are presented in Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1. Drop in BIC in Latent Class Analysis for seven Latin American countries



Considering that the decrease in the BIC levels off from the three-classes-models onward, we can assume that the three-classes model fits our data better than the others. We can continue the measurement invariance tests with the model with three classes.

As declared previously, the level of measurement equivalence in the data is specified by the degree of homogeneity in the model with a better goodness of fit, in this case, the smaller BIC (Kankaras et al., 2011). Table 6.3 presents the goodness of fit for the various multiple group models which were estimated.

Table 6.3. Goodness of Fit of the Three Latent Classes Models

Test	Model	LL	BIC(LL)	Npar	df
(1) Measurement Invariance	Complete Heterogeneity	-367833.6	738439.1	251	2010
	Partial Homogeneity	-256829.8	514907.5	113	2148
	Structural Homogeneity	-270039.6	540598.3	47	2214
(2a) Item-level analysis: Intercept invariant	Partial Homogeneity	-256829.8	514907.5	113	2148
	Who usually decides how the money you earn will be used	-262657.4	526363.9	95	2166
	Decision about health care for yourself	-260506.6	522128.7	101	2160
	Decision about making major household purchases	-257356.2	515827.9	101	2160
	Decision about making purchases for daily household needs	-257574.8	516265.1	101	2160
	Decision about visits to your family or relatives	-256931.9	514979.1	101	2160
(2b) Item-level analysis: Slope invariant	Partial Homogeneity	-256829.8	514907.5	113	2148
	Who usually decides how the money you earn will be used	-258388.7	517959.0	107	2154
	Decision about health care for yourself	-266771.3	534746.2	109	2152
	Decision about making major household purchases	-272908.1	547020.0	109	2152
	Decision about making purchases for daily household needs	-272127.7	545459.1	109	2152
	Decision about visits to your family or relatives	-269171.7	539547.1	109	2152
(3a) Covariate: Age	Partial Homogeneity	-256829.8	514907.5	113	2148
	Age on Classes	-256597.7	514487.4	117	6666
	Age on Classes and Indicators	-255931.1	513397.3	139	6644
(3b) Covariate: Education	Education on Classes and Age on Classes and Indicators	-254835.2	511271.7	145	26987
	Education and Age on Classes and Indicators	-253349.5	508664.8	178	26954
(3c) Covariate: Type of union	Education and Age on Classes and Indicators, Type of Union on Classes	-199233.5	400455.6	184	49202
	Education, Age and Type of Union on Classes and Indicators	-199102.5	400550.2	217	49169

Note: LL: Log-likelihood; BIC: Bayesian information criterion; Npar: number of parameters; df: degrees of freedom.

As presented in Table 6.3, the partially homogeneous model best fits the data (BIC=514,907.5). Therefore, the loadings in the measurement model are invariant over countries, but the intercepts are not. It means that values in the conditional response probabilities are different across countries, but the relationship between the latent construct of gender relations and the observed variables are the same, guaranteeing cross country comparability (Kankaras et al., 2011). In other words, if we would have two types of family decision making, one in which women decide more often about visits to family or relatives and another in which men decide about this issue more frequently, the proportion of decision made by women or men can be different across countries, but the structure of the classes - decisions mostly made by women or men - is similar. This similarity guarantees that the same concept is being measured across Latin American countries, and that a comparison among them is meaningful.

Considering that the source of invariance could be found in a non-invariant item, we performed an item-level analysis. Sections 2a and 2b in Table 6.3 show the item-level analyses, both in terms of invariance in intercept and slope parameters. The BIC values of both models, without interaction or direct effects, are smaller than the values in the partially homogeneous model. It indicates that the source of invariance is not situated at the item level. This possibly indicates that differences within Latin American gender relations are a feature of gender relations across the countries³⁶ being researched.

Next, in order to examine whether gender relations in Latin America differ over generations, educational levels and type of union, we include 'age', 'education' and 'type of union' as covariates in our model (sections 3a, 3b and 3c in Table 6.3). Comparing the goodness of fit of the partially homogeneous model with the models in which age has a direct effect (3a) on the types of family decision making (classes), and with the model in which age has a direct and also an indirect effect

³⁶ In order to check whether the exclusion of second or higher order unions affect our findings, the same analysis was performed with the full sample. Results are very similar (not shown, but available upon request) and indicate that decision making in reconstituted families does not differ from intact families. In addition, the focus on first unions does not bias our outcomes.

through the observed indicators on the types of decision making, one can see that the later one is a better fit for the data. Similarly, the inclusion of a direct and an indirect effect of education (3b) on the indicators and on the types of family decision making improve the goodness of fit of our model even more. Finally, the best model's goodness of fit is found for the model (3c) which includes a direct and an indirect effect of age and education and a direct effect of the type of union on the types of gender relations. Subsequently, it is possible to attest that family decision making differ according to the age, educational level and the type of union of the respondent.

Finally, after estimating a proxy to measure gender relations in terms of family decision making in Latin America and attesting its comparison over countries, the last three steps refer to a substantive interpretation of this construct, its differentiation in terms of education, age and type of union, and the comparison of class sizes across countries. Results are presented in terms of response probabilities, for observed variables and covariates and in terms of class proportions for countries. The analysis of the parameters was made (not shown and available under request) and indicates that all parameters are significant at 0.001 level. The item and covariate response probabilities and class proportions obtained for the partially homogeneous model with age, education and type of union as covariates are shown in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4. Item and covariates response probabilities and class proportions

Response Probabilities: Observed variables	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
Who usually decides how the money you earn will be used			
Respondent alone	0.28	0.45	0.26
Respondent and husband/partner	0.29	0.14	0.15
Husband/partner alone	0.01	0.01	0.04
Respondent not working	0.41	0.4	0.55
Decision about health care for yourself			
Respondent alone	0.32	0.78	0.36
Respondent and husband/partner	0.64	0.18	0.17
Husband/partner alone	0.04	0.05	0.47
Decision about making major household purchases			
Respondent alone	0.02	0.52	0.05
Respondent and husband/partner	0.94	0.34	0.08
Husband/partner alone	0.04	0.14	0.87
Decision about making purchases for daily household needs			
Respondent alone	0.29	0.92	0.36
Respondent and husband/partner	0.69	0.05	0.05
Husband/partner alone	0.03	0.03	0.59
Decision about visits to your family or relatives			
Respondent alone	0.08	0.67	0.21
Respondent and husband/partner	0.89	0.28	0.31
Husband/partner alone	0.03	0.05	0.48
Response Probabilities: Covariates			
Age			
Younger than 26 years old	0.24	0.21	0.3
Between 26 and 36 years old	0.37	0.36	0.33
Older than 36 years old	0.39	0.42	0.37
Education			
No education	0.03	0.03	0.07
Primary	0.37	0.35	0.5
Secondary	0.41	0.46	0.34
Higher	0.19	0.17	0.08
Type of Union			
Marriage	0.54	0.53	0.43
Traditional Cohabitation	0.19	0.2	0.28
Innovative Cohabitation	0.17	0.16	0.19
Blended Cohabitation	0.1	0.11	0.09

(Table 6.4 continuation)

Latent Class Proportions: Countries			
Brazil	0.51	0.25	0.24
Bolivia	0.52	0.39	0.09
Colombia	0.54	0.31	0.15
Dominican Republic	0.56	0.28	0.16
Honduras	0.45	0.28	0.26
Guyana	0.47	0.43	0.1
Peru	0.55	0.31	0.14
Latin America	0.51	0.34	0.15

Note: Entries are conditional probabilities for MGLCA

The third class is aligned with our hypothesis that husbands and partners still dominate the family decision making when the woman is less educated. Class three includes women who affirm that most decisions in their household are made by their husbands or partners alone. These are younger, lower educated and typically unemployed women.

We can only partially accept our hypothesis that husbands or partners tend to make decisions about important household issues by themselves. Looking at the indicator regarding decision making about major household purchases, one can see that this item groups a high portion of decisions made by husbands and partners alone. However, this item also groups the highest divide of joint (respondent and husband/partner) decisions, which can be evidence of a movement toward greater gender equality in family decision making.

Our hypothesis that younger women tend to make decisions by themselves, while older women have their decisions mostly made by their husbands or partners was rejected. As Table 6.4 indicates, although a slightly higher proportion of younger women are found in the group in which the decisions are mostly made by men, in general it is not possible to differentiate the construct of family decision making with regard to women's age.

The hypothesis about gender relations in different types of union was also only partially accepted. In line with our hypothesis, while married women have more egalitarian relationships, making decisions by themselves or jointly with their husbands, women living in the traditional cohabitation tend to have household

decision made by their partners. Conversely, it is not possible to attest that decision making in modern types of cohabitation differs.

Overall, these results indicate three different profiles of decision making in Latin American families. Class 1 encompasses couples in which the decision making is mostly made by the women and husbands/partners jointly, Class 2 includes couples in which the decision making is mostly made by the woman herself and Class 3 comprises couples in which the decision making about household organization is mostly made by men. The groups of 'joint decision making' and 'women's decision making' are composed by older, higher educated and married women, while the group of 'men's decision making' is mostly formed by younger, lower educated and living in the traditional type of cohabitation women.

The final step is to analyze the latent class proportions by country. We can see that in all countries the majority of women declared that they make joint decisions with their husbands or partners. The second, more expressive group in all countries is that in which women make decisions by themselves. The cluster grouping the smaller proportion of women is the one where the decisions are declared to be made by husbands or partners alone. Guyana is the country where women's solo decisions are taken more frequently. Bolivia and Peru present the highest proportion of joint decisions while Honduras and Brazil show the highest proportion of husbands and partners solo decisions.

6.6. Conclusion

Increasing gender equality is one of the factors related to changing family relations. However, the measurement of gender relations in developing countries remains confined to case studies of limited samples due to the absence of comparable large scale surveys on the topic. This research gap is especially visible when the gender relation aspect under analysis is female participation in family decision making.

This study has utilized questions from the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) for seven Latin American countries to identify the construct of gender

equality in family decision making, its differentiating factors in terms of age, education and type of union, as well as its measurement equivalence across these countries. The results indicate that the DHS items can be reliably used for measuring gender relations and that this construct can be meaningfully compared across Latin America.

Considering the increase in women's educational opportunities and participation in the job market, one could expect that higher educated Latin American women demonstrate active participation in family decision making. However, the patriarchal model of family is not completely obsolete in the region, and traditional gender roles are still visible. In this sense, we used the theoretical background of women's 'incomplete revolution' (Esping-Andersen, 2009; McDonald, 2000, 2013) to anticipate that women's empowerment in family decision making would be more visible among younger and higher educated women especially regarding personal issues or minor household decisions. According to this theoretical framework, women's empowerment is more visible in socioeconomic spheres (individual-level institutions) and among higher educated groups, while among lower social classes and in the domestic sphere of family life, old forms of organization, such as the patriarchal model, are still playing a more dominant role.

In accordance with our hypotheses, we found that women's participation in family decision making is more evident for higher educated women, especially on private issues and minor household decisions. Additionally, the indicators with smaller proportions of women's solo decisions are the ones regarding important economic decisions, such as decisions about large household purchases. This is in agreement with the idea that changes in the direction of higher egalitarianism between women and men are happening faster for women with higher human capital and in individual-level institutions than in family-level ones.

Considering the historical coexistence of marriage and cohabitation in Latin America, and the increasing incidence of modern types of cohabitation among higher educated groups in the region, we set out to examine if gender relations differ according to type of union in the region. Four types of union were

considered, marriage and three types of cohabitation previously identified: the traditional and two considered modern, which are called innovative and blended. The traditional cohabitation, commonly found among the lower social classes, was expected to show less egalitarian relations between woman and man than marriages and also than the modern types of consensual union. Our results suggest that women in the traditional cohabitation have less decision making power than women in the other types of union. Marriages are also found to be more egalitarian in terms of family decision making. However, it was not possible to differentiate the modern types of cohabitation in terms of gender relations.

Another important finding was that in every country the majority of women relate a predominance of decisions made jointly with their husbands or partners or even by themselves alone. It is evident that some egalitarianism is emerging from DHS data. However, in accordance with the idea of incomplete revolution, gender relations in Latin America are social-class sensitive, or in the words of Esping-Andersen (2009), they indicate a 'bipolar scenario'. While the upper social classes show more egalitarian gender relations, traditional forms of decision making are predominant among the lower social strata. In addition, although it was possible to show that some egalitarianism is emerging in Latin America, results presented in this chapter did not support the Second Demographic Transition hypothesis that modern types of cohabitation would be more egalitarian than the traditional cohabitants and married couples. It is possible that Latin American married couples are indeed more egalitarian than modern cohabitants. However, this result can also be biased by the lower number of modern cohabitants in comparison to traditional cohabitants and married couples, which sum up almost 73 percent of our sample.

The information provided in this study can be used to develop targeted interventions aimed at improving women's status and empowerment among the lower social classes in Latin America. Considering that the improvement of women's status would help reduce poverty and improve overall societal development via more investment in their children's education, health, and overall

wellbeing (UNDP, 2013), women living in traditional cohabitation relationships deserve the attention of policy makers.

A number of caveats need to be noted regarding the present study. First, the cross-sectional design of our data does not allow for cause-effect interpretations. In this sense, we cannot demonstrate the social forces behind improvements in gender relations. Second, our sample is limited to women in reproductive ages (15-49 years old), which limits the analysis of cohort change. Third, our results are limited to women's answers. Accordingly, we do not have information about husbands/partners' evaluation about the decision making in their household, which can differ from the views of women. Fourth, information on women's income and time use in terms of division of household tasks would enrich this analysis enormously. Finally, extra information on couple's homogamy would help to better explain the level of gender equality of couples living in different types of unions. This drawback is addressed in the last chapter of this thesis.

Our findings contribute to the sociological and demographic research on gender relations in several ways. First, we show that, as in fully developed countries, women's education is an important feature of couples with more egalitarian gender relations in Latin America. Second, it was shown that the idea of women's incomplete revolution is applicable to developing countries as well. Finally, the validity of the family decision making construct is attested and researchers can use this construct and other indicators provided by the DHS to identify the remaining associations related to it. In addition, further research is encouraged to check if the construct of family decision making can be meaningfully compared among other developing countries covered by the DHS.

Appendix Chapter 6.1 Data description³⁷**Proportion of partnered women by marital status in Latin America**

Country	First union: Marriage [†]	First union: Cohabitation [†]	Higher order Marriage	Higher order Cohabitation	Total
Bolivia	5992 59.1%	3255 32.1%	220 2.2%	678 6.7%	10145 100%
Brazil	5230 52.6%	2887 29.0%	338 3.4%	1484 14.9%	9939 100%
Colombia	8346 30.5%	12627 46.1%	794 2.9%	5629 20.5%	27396 100%
Dominican Republic	2812 18.3%	6773 44.1%	619 4.0%	5169 33.6%	15373 100%
Honduras	4696 40.1%	4732 40.4%	470 4.0%	1805 15.4%	11703 100%
Guyana	1617 54.3%	823 27.6%	169 5.7%	368 12.4%	2977 100.0%
Peru	4043 42.3%	4372 45.8%	218 2.3%	921 9.6%	9554 100.0%
Latin America	32736 37.6%	35469 40.7%	2828 3.2%	16054 18.4%	87087 100.0%

[†]: Selected sample

Who decides how to spend money

Country	Respondent alone	Respondent and husband/partner	Husband/partner alone	Respondent not working	Total
Brazil	3142 43.3%	1117 15.4%	261 3.6%	2739 37.7%	7259 100.0%
Bolivia	2130 26.8%	3003 37.8%	166 2.1%	2655 33.4%	7954 100.0%
Colombia	11231 65.7%	2956 17.3%	283 1.7%	2630 15.4%	17100 100.0%
Dominican Republic	2033 22.4%	1769 19.5%	167 1.8%	5097 56.2%	9066 100.0%
Honduras	1685 19.0%	1639 18.5%	82 0.9%	5454 61.6%	8860 100.0%
Guyana	377 16.5%	320 14.0%	30 1.3%	1563 68.3%	2290 100.0%
Peru	2403 40.7%	1234 20.9%	93 1.6%	2172 36.8%	5902 100.0%
Latin America	23001 39.4%	12038 20.6%	1082 1.9%	22310 38.2%	58431 100.0%

³⁷ Listwise deletion for missing values

Final say on own health care

Country	Respondent alone	Respondent and husband/partner	Husband/partner alone	Total
Brazil	6002 82.5%	856 11.8%	418 5.7%	7276 100.0%
Bolivia	3349 37.3%	4749 52.8%	888 9.9%	8986 100.0%
Colombia	13319 74.2%	2890 16.1%	1741 9.7%	17950 100.0%
Dominican Republic	2904 31.3%	5281 56.9%	1092 11.8%	9277 100.0%
Honduras	2592 28.4%	4621 50.6%	1911 20.9%	9124 100.0%
Guyana	823 34.6%	1363 57.4%	190 8.0%	2376 100.0%
Peru	4346 58.4%	1825 24.5%	1268 17.0%	7439 100.0%
Latin America	33335 53.4%	21585 34.6%	7508 12.0%	62428 100.0%

Final say on making large household purchases

Country	Respondent alone	Respondent and husband/partner	Husband/partner alone	Total
Brazil	1299 18.0%	3896 54.0%	2015 27.9%	7210 100.0%
Bolivia	1189 13.2%	6393 71.1%	1404 15.6%	8986 100.0%
Colombia	4149 23.1%	9570 53.3%	4231 23.6%	17950 100.0%
Dominican Republic	1062 11.5%	5944 64.1%	2267 24.4%	9273 100.0%
Honduras	871 9.5%	4866 53.3%	3387 37.1%	9124 100.0%
Guyana	607 25.5%	1493 62.7%	283 11.9%	2383 100.0%
Peru	1457 19.6%	4376 58.8%	1606 21.6%	7439 100.0%
Latin America	10634 17.1%	36538 58.6%	15193 24.4%	62365 100.0%

Final say on making household purchases for daily needs

Country	Respondent alone	Respondent and husband/partner	Husband/partner alone	Total
Brazil	2734 37.9%	3142 43.5%	1341 18.6%	7217 100.0%
Bolivia	5747 64.0%	2796 31.1%	439 4.9%	8982 100.0%
Colombia	7720 43.0%	7233 40.3%	2997 16.7%	17950 100.0%
Dominican Republic	3119 33.6%	4565 49.2%	1590 17.1%	9274 100.0%
Honduras	3256 35.7%	3659 40.1%	2209 24.2%	9124 100.0%
Guyana	1188 49.8%	1012 42.4%	184 7.7%	2384 100.0%
Peru	4317 58.0%	2420 32.5%	701 9.4%	7438 100.0%
Latin America	28081 45.0%	24827 39.8%	9461 15.2%	62369 100.0%

Final say on visits to family or relatives

Country	Respondent alone	Respondent and husband/partner	Husband/partner alone	Total
Brazil	1945 27.2%	4170 58.4%	1028 14.4%	7143 100.0%
Bolivia	2532 28.2%	5721 63.7%	730 8.1%	8983 100.0%
Colombia	5194 28.9%	10530 58.7%	2226 12.4%	17950 100.0%
Dominican Republic	2808 30.3%	5369 57.9%	1093 11.8%	9270 100.0%
Honduras	2609 28.6%	4887 53.6%	1627 17.8%	9123 100.0%
Guyana	775 32.6%	1414 59.5%	189 7.9%	2378 100.0%
Peru	1699 22.8%	4743 63.8%	995 13.4%	7437 100.0%
Latin America	17562 28.2%	36834 59.1%	7888 12.7%	62284 100.0%

Highest educational level

Country	No education	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Total
Brazil	40 0.6%	4131 57.4%	2321 32.3%	699 9.7%	7191 100.0%
Bolivia	537 6.0%	4472 49.7%	2540 28.2%	1450 16.1%	8999 100.0%
Colombia	418 2.3%	5503 30.7%	8418 46.9%	3611 20.1%	17950 100.0%
Dominican Republic	440 4.7%	3843 41.1%	3205 34.3%	1861 19.9%	9349 100.0%
Honduras	805 8.8%	6210 68.0%	1765 19.3%	358 3.9%	9138 100.0%
Guyana	53 2.2%	644 26.9%	1559 65.1%	138 5.8%	2394 100.0%
Peru	362 4.9%	2694 36.2%	2727 36.7%	1656 22.3%	7439 100.0%
Latin America	2655 4.3%	27497 44.0%	22535 36.1%	9773 15.6%	62460 100.0%

Age

Country	Younger than 26 years old	Between 26 and 36 years old	Older than 36 years old	Total
Brazil	1584 21.7%	2678 36.8%	3023 41.5%	7285 100.0%
Bolivia	2038 22.6%	3463 38.5%	3498 38.9%	8999 100.0%
Colombia	4031 22.5%	6370 35.5%	7549 42.1%	17950 100.0%
Dominican Republic	2755 29.5%	3158 33.8%	3436 36.8%	9349 100.0%
Honduras	2959 32.4%	3309 36.2%	2870 31.4%	9138 100.0%
Guyana	584 24.4%	815 34.0%	995 41.6%	2394 100.0%
Peru	1392 18.7%	2720 36.6%	3327 44.7%	7439 100.0%
Latin America	15343 24.5%	22513 36.0%	24698 39.5%	62554 100.0%

Type of Union

Country	Marriage	Traditional Cohabitation	Innovative Cohabitation	Blended Cohabitation	Total
Brazil	4850 66.6%	970 13.3%	981 13.5%	484 6.6%	7285 100.0%
Bolivia	5854 65.1%	1387 15.4%	887 9.9%	871 9.7%	8999 100.0%
Colombia	7458 41.5%	4191 23.3%	3496 19.5%	2805 15.6%	17950 100.0%
Dominican Republic	2770 29.6%	3575 38.2%	2411 25.8%	593 6.3%	9349 100.0%
Honduras	4602 50.4%	2678 29.3%	1457 15.9%	401 4.4%	9138 100.0%
Guyana	1586 66.2%	353 14.7%	259 10.8%	196 8.2%	2394 100.0%
Peru	3678 49.4%	1548 20.8%	1315 17.7%	898 12.1%	7439 100.0%
Latin America	30798 49.2%	14702 23.5%	10806 17.3%	6248 10.0%	62554 100.0%

7. Disentangling the different types of cohabitation in Latin America: Gender symmetry and contextual influences

While Latin American union patterns have long featured comparatively high levels of traditional cohabitations amongst lower social classes, more modern forms of consensual unions are booming in the region. Here we consider the emergence of these modern types in terms of the Second Demographic Transition framework, which relates new forms of romantic relationships to socioeconomic development and to ideational shift towards post materialistic values such as egalitarianism. Data from the DHS (N=65,765) of fifty Latin American regions from six countries are used to (i) enrich the depiction of various types of cohabitation in Latin America and (ii) to distinguish them from marriage in terms of gender symmetry and contextual influences. Multilevel linear probability regression is applied to describe previously identified types of cohabitation: traditional, innovative and blended (Covre-Sussai et al., 2012). Next, these types of cohabitation are compared to marriage in a multilevel multinomial logistic analysis. The traditional cohabitation is related to lack of women's empowerment and found in places of higher socioeconomic deprivation. The innovative and blended types of cohabitation show higher levels of gender symmetry, when compared to the traditional type and to marriage. In addition, these unions are shown to be occurring in ethnic and religious contexts where cohabitation was never common before.

7.1. Introduction

The study of nuptiality in Latin America is complicated by the history of substantial cohabitation in the region. Traditionally, cohabitation is related to social exclusion, rooted in the lower social classes, among less educated women and disadvantaged ethnic groups (Arriagada, 2002), such as indigenous populations and those of African descent. Conversely, the incidence of cohabitation is booming in this region, and in countries and among social groups in which it was never predominant. Recent studies have shown that this increase reflects the coexistence of traditional and modern types of cohabitation in the region, which is associated with the advent of the Second Demographic Transition (SDT, e.g. Castro-Martin 2002; Covre-Sussai & Matthijs 2010; Esteve et al., 2012a; Parrado & Tienda 1997). However, an empirical differentiation of Latin American types of cohabitation remained lacking until recently.

A recent study by Covre-Sussai and colleagues (2012 - Chapter 5 in this thesis) differentiated the types of cohabitation in Latin America based on the relationship features at the beginning of cohabitation (age at start of cohabitation and existence of pre-cohabitation pregnancy or childbearing) and its outcomes in terms of childbearing (age [of the mother] at first child and number of children). The choice of the indicators was grounded on the argument that the timing and circumstances of union formation and childbearing as well as the number of children raised, have different meanings for traditional and modern types of cohabitations in Latin America. Multiple group latent class analysis was applied and suggest the existence of three different types of Latin American cohabitations, the traditional and two modern types which were labeled as innovative and blended cohabitations. While the traditional type is practiced by women who started to cohabit at very young ages and have high fertility, the modern types group women who move in together with their partners during adulthood (i.e. older than 20) and have less children, later in life (Covre-Sussai et al., 2012).

In this study we explore gender symmetry (in terms of couples' education and decision making power) of the three previously identified types of cohabitation

in Latin America and compare them to marriage. Considering the heterogeneity found within the region, compositional measures of cultural environment and socioeconomic situation are used to demonstrate the context where these relationships occur.

Current socioeconomic indicators show increasing gender balance in Latin American countries, although with noteworthy dissimilarity over the region. Women's gross school enrolment at the tertiary level rose from 22 to 39 percent between 1999 and 2007 and their participation in the labor force increased from approximately 20 percent in the 1950s to over 55 percent in 2008 (World Bank, 2011). The regional total fertility rate for 2010 is 2.1, but it ranges from 1.5 in Cuba to 3.7 in Guatemala (ECLAC, 2012). Esteve and colleagues even found that, since the 1990s, women are higher educated than men in several Latin American countries (i.e. Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Panama and Venezuela), but not in all of them, such as Bolivia, Peru and Mexico (Esteve et al., 2012b). Simultaneously, studies indicate that working women are still the main person responsible for household labor in their families and childcare (Arriagada, 2002; Soares, 2008; Sorj et al., 2007). This ambiguity drives the main research question of this study: *to what extent do Latin American relationships (cohabitations and marriage) differ with regards to gender symmetry?*

Meanwhile, economic development has not yet reached the majority of the Latin American population and social inequality remains a dominant feature of the region. Recent data shows that while the proportion of poor or indigent people decreased from 44 percent in 2002 to 29.4 percent in 2012 (ECLAC, 2012), the region is still one of the most unequal in the world (Cavenaghi, 2009a). With the exception of Haiti, the Human Development Index³⁸ (HDI) has increased in all Latin American countries. In 2010, while HDI of the majority of the countries was classified as high (i.e. 0.69 in Colombia to 0.78 in Chile and Argentina), some of them improved from a low to a medium level (i.e. 0.56 in Guatemala to 0.66 in Dominican Republic). At the same time, inequality is still one of the main features

³⁸ HDI is calculated by the mean of three sub-indexes relating to longevity, education and income (UNDP, 2010).

of the region where the GINI³⁹ coefficients range from a minimum of 0.43 in Guatemala to more than 0.59 in Haiti (World Bank, 2011). Accordingly, it is asked: *to what extent does the probability of a couple living in one of the three types of cohabitation or being married vary according to contextual socioeconomic situation in Latin American regions?*

Comparable to the aforementioned socioeconomic heterogeneity, the cultural environment of Latin American countries also presents significant variations between and within countries, which can be illustrated in terms of religious orientation and ethnic composition. Brazil is a typical example of this variety, where the ethnic composition substantially differs from one region to another. For instance, the proportion of self-declared whites ranges from 78 percent in the South to 23.45 percent in the North of the country (IBGE, 2013a). A strong relationship between ethnic composition and consensual unions has been reported in the literature: Besides the socioeconomic influence, differences in nuptiality patterns are found to be related to the prevalence of indigenous, mixed and afro-descendent populations (Covre-Sussai & Matthijs, 2010, Chapter 4 in this thesis), as well as to the occurrence of interethnic marriage (De Vos, 1998). Differences in miscegenation processes lead to significant variation of family composition not only between countries, but also within them (Covre-Sussai & Matthijs, 2010; Heaton et al., 2002). Therefore, it is asked: *to what degree does the probability of a couple living in different types of cohabitation or being married vary according to contextual ethnic composition and religious denomination in Latin America?*

The research questions are addressed with the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) data for fifty Latin American regions from six countries (Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Honduras and Peru). The effect of gender symmetry indicators, as well as the cultural and socioeconomic environment on the conditional probabilities of living in the traditional, innovative and blended types

³⁹ GINI index measures the extent to which the distribution of income among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution. Thus, a Gini index of 0 represents perfect equality, while an index of 1 implies perfect inequality (World Bank, 2011).

of cohabitation is investigated through multilevel linear probability analysis. Following, the types of cohabitation are categorized and the same individual and compositional indicators are used to compare them to marriage by means of multilevel multinomial logistic regression analysis⁴⁰.

This chapter is structured as follows: Section two contextualizes the study of consensual unions in Latin America and gives more details about the typology of traditional and modern types of cohabitation in the region. Section three discusses the theoretical background and hypotheses, while section four presents the data and methods used. The results are described in section five and discussed in section six.

7.2. Cohabitation in Latin America

A distinguishing attribute of Latin American family formation pattern is the historical incidence of cohabitation as a socially accepted form of conjugal union. During the colonization period, Spanish and Portuguese colonizers used to cohabit (*amancebamiento*) as a way to sanction sexual relationships with indigenous women (Castro-Martin, 2002) and as a strategy to explore the land with the help of natives (Ribeiro, 1997). With the advent of slavery (from the middle of the 16th to the end of the 19th century), African slaves were massively introduced into the region coming from different parts of the African continent, some of them from polytheist societies. Slave masters used to restrict the legal marriage among slaves due to the impossibility of selling married slaves separately (Holt, 2005).

While consensual unions were common among the lower social strata and disadvantaged ethnic groups, such as the mestizo population, the institution of marriage was highly valorized by the upper classes in Latin American societies (Castro-Martin, 2002; De Vos, 1998; Samara & Costa, 1997). This traditional form of cohabitation, common among the lower social classes, is practiced by less educated

⁴⁰ Because of the cross-sectional nature of our data, it is difficult to infer to infer about causation. The results of our analyses are, instead, a rich description of different types of cohabitation at the moment of survey collection.

couples who have more children earlier in life (Parrado & Tienda, 1997). It was established as a strategy to overcome poverty and single or adolescent motherhood and they commonly end up in separation or in marriage (Castro-Martin, 2002).

Contemporary evidence has shown that while cohabitation persists as a common form of union among lower social classes, from the second half of the 20th century on its popularity has increased among higher educated social groups and in countries where it was never a common practice (Vignoli-Rodríguez, 2005). The literature on family formation and changes shows that these consensual unions differ considerably among Latin American countries and social classes. For the lower social strata cohabitation is traditionally an alternative to marriage, driven by economic constraints, ethnic and gender inequality (Arriagada, 2002; Parrado & Tienda, 1997). Meanwhile, for the upper social classes, cohabitation represents possible outcomes of the improved socioeconomic status of women (Binstock & Cabella, 2011; Covre-Sussai & Matthijs, 2010; Vignoli-Rodríguez, 2005) and related to ideational shift towards post-materialistic values (Esteve et al., 2012a).

Parrado and Tienda (1997) showed the role played by women's increasing education and labor force participation on the spread of a modern type of cohabitation in Venezuela, among younger and higher educated women. Their results illustrate the coexistence of both the traditional and the modern types of cohabitation. While traditional cohabitants were common in rural areas, among unskilled or domestic workers and with larger family sizes, the modern type of cohabitation was practiced by women with higher education, who worked in skilled jobs and had fewer or no children at all. In addition, Esteve and colleagues found similar patterns of educational homogamy when comparing Latin American cohabiting and married couples. They interpret this result in terms of the existence of a modern cohabitation in the region, similar to the one observed in fully developed countries (Esteve et al., 2009).

Covre-Sussai and Matthijs (2010) analyzed the socioeconomic and cultural correlates of living in cohabitation instead of being married in different Brazilian states. They pointed to significant social-class differences and noteworthy variance in the probabilities of living in cohabiting unions within the country. The authors

show that consensual unions are more likely to occur among the lower social classes. However, they also found evidence that this type of union is present in the upper social strata. For this social group, though, unmarried cohabitation is characterized as a childless union (Covre-Sussai & Matthijs, 2010, Chapter 4 in this thesis).

The typology by Covre-Sussai and colleagues (2012), Chapter 5 of this PhD thesis, identified the traditional and two modern types of cohabitation in the region through multiple group latent class analysis. These unions differ in terms of relationship features at the beginning of cohabitation (age at the beginning of cohabitation and existence of pre-cohabitation pregnancy and childbearing) and outcomes in terms of childbearing (age [of the mother] at first child and number of children). The traditional cohabitation encompasses women who start to cohabit during adolescence and have more children at younger ages. The first modern cohabitation was labeled 'innovative' and referred to cohabitation by women with fewer or no children born at a higher age and never as a single woman. The second modern cohabitation was called 'blended'. This type of cohabitation groups women who started to cohabit later in their life course, after being pregnant or having children. Women in the blended type started to cohabit at older ages and have more children than those in the innovative type, but fewer children than women in the traditional type of cohabitation (Covre-Sussai et al., 2012).

The inclusion of education as a covariate in the latent class analysis shows that the types of cohabitation group women according to their dissimilar socioeconomic backgrounds. The traditional type groups lower educated women, most of them with only primary education or less, while the two modern types group higher educated ones, with at least secondary education. The educational profile of blended cohabiters indicates that this group of cohabiters could negotiate a marriage if they want, but they keep living in a consensual union (Covre-Sussai et al., 2012).

7.3. Theoretical background and hypotheses

Norms and attitudes on family life have changed since the 1960s, both in Western developed countries and Latin America. According to the Second Demographic Transition (SDT) theory these changes are related to socioeconomic development and transformations in the ideational domain (Lesthaeghe, 2010). Since the first study on the SDT (Lesthaeghe & van de Kaa, 1986), the spread of innovative forms of living arrangements are considered an expression not only of changing socioeconomic circumstances or expanding female employment, but also as outcomes of egalitarian sentiments of younger and higher educated cohorts (Surkyn & Lesthaeghe, 2004, pp. 51-52).

The main changes in values and beliefs related to the SDT are: (i) secularization, characterized by the decline in religiosity and religious practice and the refusal of traditional religious beliefs; (ii) egalitarianism, with indicators of gender equality and denial of social class distinctions; (iii) enhanced importance given to individuality and self-fulfillment; and (iv) companionship and unconventional marital ethics, stressing the quality of a relationship, such as communication, tolerance and understanding, happy sexual relationship, over the conventional and institutional foundations of marriage and parenthood (Surkyn & Lesthaeghe 2002, pp.51-52).

As stated before, recent socioeconomic indicators suggest that gender roles in Latin America are changing in the direction of egalitarianism. Women's education is increasing and, in some Latin American countries women are even more highly educated than men (Esteve et al., 2012). Women are also participating in public life and in the job market in skilled activities. The proportion of seats held by women in National Parliament has increased in Latin America from 13 to 23 percent between 2000 and 2012, even though it ranges from 4 percent in Haiti to 45 percent in Cuba. Also, the share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector has also increased over the years, but varies from 35.5 percent in Chile to 46.6 percent in Colombia (ECLAC, 2012). Simultaneously, studies indicate

that working women are still the main person responsible for household labor and childcare (Arriagada, 2002; Soares, 2008; Sorj et al., 2007).

This discrepancy can be explained by the idea of ‘incomplete revolution’, which distinguishes gender equity in terms of individual- and family-level institutions (Esping-Andersen, 2009; McDonald, 2000). According to McDonald (2000), the first part of the gender revolution is almost complete and has changed women’s roles in individual-level institutions, such as education, job market and public life. Conversely, the second part of this revolution is happening in family-level institutions but at a much slower pace, especially among lower educated groups. Family organization and decision making based on the single-breadwinner model still persists, even for two-income families (Esping-Andersen, 2009; McDonald, 2000).

Combining the SDT framework with the idea of incomplete revolution we state our hypotheses. The traditional type of cohabitation is known to be related to social exclusion and female subordination to man (Arriagada, 2002). *In comparison to the other types of cohabitation and to marriage, women in this type of cohabitation are expected to have low educated partners and themselves to be even less educated than their partners⁴¹. They are also expected to have lower decision-making power than their partners, as already illustrated in Chapter 6.* In Latin America, the traditional type of cohabitation is historically practiced by people from the lower social classes and disadvantaged ethnic groups, such as indigenous populations and those of African descent (e.g. Castro-Martin, 2002; De Vos, 1998). Thus, *this type of cohabitation is expected to be found in regions with lower proportions of European descent (whites) and higher proportion of people evaluating their socioeconomic situation as ‘bad’.* Previous research has already revealed that the traditional type of cohabitation is negatively related to secularization (e.g. Covre-Sussai & Matthijs, 2010; Parrado & Tienda, 1997). Consequently, we would

⁴¹ Differences in terms of age and education are related to couples’ power relations. Couples in which the woman is much younger or lower educated than the man are expected to have a similar imbalance in other aspects of life (Di Giulio & Pinnelli, 2007).

expect to find traditional cohabiters in places with smaller incidence of secularized values, in comparison to the other types of cohabitation and to marriage.

The two modern types of cohabitation are assumed to be a signal of the SDT in the region, marked by secularization, individualization, female economic independence and the rising symmetry in gender roles. Earlier work by Esteve and colleagues analysed several rounds of censuses from 1970 to 2000 and did not find significant differences in educational homogamy between Latin American cohabitant and married couples (Esteve et al., 2009). Keeping their results in mind, *we expect to find differences in terms of education among modern cohabitants and married couples, but, most of these differences are expected to be found in terms of effect sizes and not in the direction of the effect.* According to the SDT theory, cohabitation by higher educated women should involve more symmetric relationships. Consequently, compared to the traditional type of cohabitation and to marriage, *we expect that couples in the modern types of cohabitation are more egalitarian in terms of decision-making, as well as to find some degree of women's empowerment in these relationships.*

Both modern types of cohabitation are expected to be related to secularization and socioeconomic development. This is the case because socioeconomic development usually diminishes people's concerns about basic material needs, such as survival, education or employment. This change switches people's values in the direction of more secular-rational orientation, as well as diminishes the marriage's institutional protection required under socioeconomic uncertainties. Therefore, modern types of cohabitation are *expected to be found in regions with lower proportions of religious people and less emphasis on religious values.* Socioeconomic development is another possible driving force for these types of cohabitation, thus *we expect to find them in places with a lower proportion of people who evaluate their socioeconomic status as 'bad'.*

7.4. Research Method

7.4.1. Data: Demographic and Health Surveys

The individual-level research questions are addressed by means of the most recent data from the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) collected for fifty regions from six Latin American countries: Bolivia (2008, n = 9,247), Brazil⁴² (2006, n = 8,117), Colombia (2010, n = 20,973), Dominican Republic (2007, n =9,585), Honduras (2005/6, n =9,428) and Peru (2008, n =8,415)⁴³. DHS are nationally representative surveys which collect comparable data on demographic and health issues in developing countries (Rutstein & Rojas, 2003). The surveys focus on women in their reproductive ages, from 15 to 49 years old. Data on timing and type of first unions are available, as well as detailed information about the current union at the time of the survey. However, there is no information on the transitions to second or higher order relationships. Considering this limitation, and that the inclusion of second or higher order relationships would increase the complexity of our results enormously (Brown, 2000), we only focus on first unions (of women). Consequently, we selected women who had only one relationship, who were living with the same husband or partner at the moment of the survey.

The questions regarding contextual influences were computed based on information provided by Latinobarómetro, round 2007. Latinobarómetro is an annual public opinion survey conducted by Latinobarómetro Corporation, a non-profit NGO based in Santiago, Chile. Each survey uses representative samples of the adult population of each country. In all countries adulthood begins at 18 except in Brazil where it is 16. In total, it consists of approximately 19,000 interviews and represents over 400 million inhabitants covering all Latin American countries (Giusto, 2009).

⁴² The Brazilian DHS is called 'Pesquisa Nacional de Demografia e Saúde (PNDS)' and can be found here: <http://bvsmis.saude.gov.br/bvs/pnds/index.php>. For methodological considerations and comparability of the PNDS with other DHSs, see Cavenaghi (2009b).

⁴³ Additional information about the regional sample is provided in the Appendix 5.1.

7.4.2. Variables

The information about types of cohabitation used as dependent variables in this study is extracted from a typology that differentiates the types of cohabitation in Latin America. These types of cohabitation were identified through multi-group latent class analysis (MGLCA), based on the relationship features at the beginning of cohabitation (age at which the woman started to cohabit and the existence of pre-cohabitation pregnancy or childbearing) and its outputs in terms of childbearing (age at which the woman had her first child and the number of children she had up to the moment of the survey). The comparability of these types of cohabitation over the countries was verified.

Besides identifying different classes of cohabitants, latent class analysis allows for the calculation of the conditional probabilities of a woman to live in one type of cohabitation instead of another (for detailed information see Covre-Sussai et al. 2012). In order to improve our understanding about the three types of cohabitation in Latin America, we compared these cohabitations using these probabilities as dependent variables. Next, for the purpose of comparing the types of cohabitation to marriage, we categorized this information based on the higher probability of living in one of the three types of cohabitation and included married women as the reference category in the analysis. In this sense, the outcome variable for this analysis is type of union, meaning marriage (0), traditional cohabitation (1), innovative cohabitation (2) and blended cohabitation (3).

The individual-level explanatory variable 'decision making' was also extracted from a MGLCA (Covre-Sussai et al., 2013a) Chapter 6 in this thesis. The DHS questions used to compute this latent variable were: Who usually makes decisions about (i) health care for yourself; (ii) making major household purchases; (iii) making purchases for daily household needs; (iv) visits to your family or relatives; and (v) who usually decides how the money you earn will be used. The possible answers are: mainly you (the woman); mainly your husband/partner; you and your husband/partner jointly; or someone else. Women who were not working at the moment of the survey are coded by DHS as missing on the variable 'who

usually decides how the money you earn will be used'. In order to keep them in the analysis we created a new category by coding them as 'Responded not working'.

Three types of decision-making are found: (i) in the first type women make the household decisions alone; (ii) in the second type decisions are mostly made jointly – women with their husbands or partners; and (iii) the third type groups together women who report that the decisions in their household are made mostly by their husbands or partners (Covre-Sussai et al., 2013a). The probability of being in each type of decision-making couple is included in our analysis, as an indicator of decision-making power. As the probabilities of having one type of decision making instead of another sum up one, the category 'decisions mostly made by husband/partner' is used as reference.

The educational gap between woman and man is used as a proxy for gender symmetry. In this sense, information on years of education for men and women were contrasted in order to compute the variable 'education-gap'. This variable categorizes (1) couples with similar level of education (difference of up to one year); (2) couples in which the woman is higher educated than man; and (3) couples in which man is higher educated than woman.

In order to have more information about couple's educational profile the educational attainment of the man was also included in the analysis. 'Husband/partner's education' categorizes their educational attainment in (1) no education, (2) primary, (3) secondary or (4) higher levels of education.

In addition, the 'age difference' between the woman and her husband or partner is included as a control variable: The first category (1) specifies couples with less than two years difference in the ages of women and men; the second (2) indicates couples in which women were two or more years older than their husbands or partners; the third (3) categorizes couples in which the man was up to three years older than his wife or partner; the fourth (4) designates couples in which men were between three and eight years older than their wives or partners; and finally the fifth (5) groups couples in which the husband or partner is more than eight years older than his wife or partner.

The investigation of the factors related to between country heterogeneity would be substantively meaningful. However, the number of Latin American countries with the necessary information to answer our research questions is not enough (i.e. six) to include country as an independent level, nor to guarantee an accurate estimation of the country effect if it exists. In this sense, we decided to split the countries into regions, which should lead to a more accurate estimation of the underlying relationships. The compositional variables used in this study were extracted from Latinobarómetro collected in 2007 (Giusto, 2009). The measures for cultural environment were secularization and ethnic composition. Although Protestantism is flourishing in Latin America, recent evidence has shown that Catholic mass attendance is also rising, attesting that Latin America is still a predominantly Roman Catholic region (Stark & Smith, 2012). Consequently, the proportion of self-declared Catholics was computed as an indicator for secularization, as well as the proportion of people who agree that abortion can be justifiable. The proportion of self-declared whites was computed as a measure of contextual ethnic composition. The compositional socioeconomic situation was measured by the proportion of people who consider their socioeconomic status as 'bad' or 'very bad'.

Listwise deletion was the method used for handling missing data. The sample size of our data is large enough to not generate biased results due to the deletion of missing data. Descriptive statistics of all variables are included in appendix 6.2 and support this assumption.

The variables, categories and hypotheses of this study are summarized in Table 7.1. In Table 7.1 our hypotheses are presented in the form of '+' and '-' which represent the direction of expected effect of each explanatory variable (covariates) on the outcome variables (traditional, innovative and blended cohabitation, as well as marriage).

Table 7.1 Variables and Hypotheses

Covariates: Individual level	Traditional	Innovative	Blended	Marriage
Husband/partner's education				
No education	+	-	-	-
Primary	+	-	-	-
Secondary	-	+	+	+
Higher	-	+	+	+
Education gap				
Similar level of education	-	+	+	+
Woman higher educated than man	-	+	+	+
Man higher educated than woman	+	-	-	-
Decision-making				
Decisions mostly made jointly	-	+	+	+
Decisions mostly made by woman herself	-	+	+	+
Decisions mostly made by husbands/partners	+	-	-	-
Covariates: Contextual level				
Whites in the region	-	+	+	+
Catholics in the region	-	-	-	+
Abortion justifiable	-	+	+	-
Socioeconomic status: bad	+	-	-	-

7.4.3. Method

We use multilevel regressions to examine the differences between consensual unions in Latin America and to distinguish them from marriage. The outcome variables of all analyses presented in this chapter are obtained through the latent variables extracted from the typology of cohabitation in Latin America (Chapter 5 in this thesis). In this chapter, these latent variables are treated as observed variables. The major implication of this choice is that the measurement errors of the latent class analysis are brought into the multilevel regression analyses, which can increase the standard errors presented here.

In the first analyses, the outcome variables are the latent probabilities of living in each type of Latin American cohabitation, which can range from zero to one. Consequently, in order to use all information provided by the latent class analysis, the three types of cohabitation are analyzed independently. Multilevel linear probability analysis is applied, which is a type of generalized linear model with binomial random component and identity link function (Agresti, 2002, p. 120).

In order to include marriage in the analysis, cohabiting women were assigned to the latent class with the highest probability of cohabitation (traditional, innovative or blended). Married women were then included in the analysis as a fourth category. Consequently, in the outcome variable in this analysis women are assigned to one of the four categories of partnership: married (0), traditional cohabitation (1), innovative cohabitation (2) or blended cohabitation (3). Finally, the odds of being in one of these four categories is modeled using multinomial logistic regression (Agresti, 2002, p. 267).

The advantage of analyzing first the probabilities of living in each one of the three types of cohabitation and then to compare them to marriage is that in the first analysis all information obtained from the latent class analysis is used (except for the error terms). To compare the three types of cohabitation with marriage it is necessary to categorize each type of cohabitation based the highest probability to live in one of the three types, meaning that some important information is lost. In other words, in the linear probability model all information obtained from the latent class model is used, while in the multinomial logistic regression the information about living in one of the three types of cohabitation is reduced to 1 (for the highest probability) or zero (for lower probabilities).

In multilevel modeling, the residual variance is subdivided into between-regions and within-regions variance. There is an individual-level micro-model which represents the within-region equation, and an environmental, macro-model in which the parameters of the within region model are the responses in the overall, between-regions model. This simultaneous specification accounts for the

quantitative division of the individual from the contextual⁴⁴, the micro-model, from the macro-model (Duncan et al., 1998)⁴⁵.

Our empirical question regarding the Latin American contextual influences on couples' nuptial behavior is whether the regional variation will be significant when other contextual variables are included in the overall model. For instance, if the regional variance is related to cultural differences, it will disappear (or decrease significantly) when we include the proportion of self-declared whites or Catholics in the model.

7.5. Results

All models were fit stepwise. We started with the null model with the response variables and only a constant term in the model. Subsequently we test models with increasing complexity until reaching the model with better goodness-of-fit. Finally, models are selected based on their goodness-of-fit (deviance for the multilevel linear probability analyses and Wald-test for the multilevel multinomial analysis) as well as the amount of contextual variance explained by contextual level variables.

The models' goodness of fit and contextual variances for the linear probability regression analysis is presented in Table 7.2.

⁴⁴ There is a distinction between 'contextual' and 'compositional' effects in the literature on multilevel modeling. While composition relates to the characteristics of the individuals who live in a given place, context refers to the characteristics of the location itself (Macintyre et al., 2002). All region-level variables used in this study are, in fact, compositional variables. This is the case because these variables are computed with the objective of estimate the effect of living in a place with higher or lower proportions of people with a specific characteristic or opinion. In this sense, the effects of these regional-level variables are all compositional effects but interchangeably referred as contextual or compositional effects.

⁴⁵ Multilevel modeling is discussed in more details in the Chapter 4.

Table 7. 2 Models predicting the odds of living in different types of Cohabitation in Latin America - goodness of fit

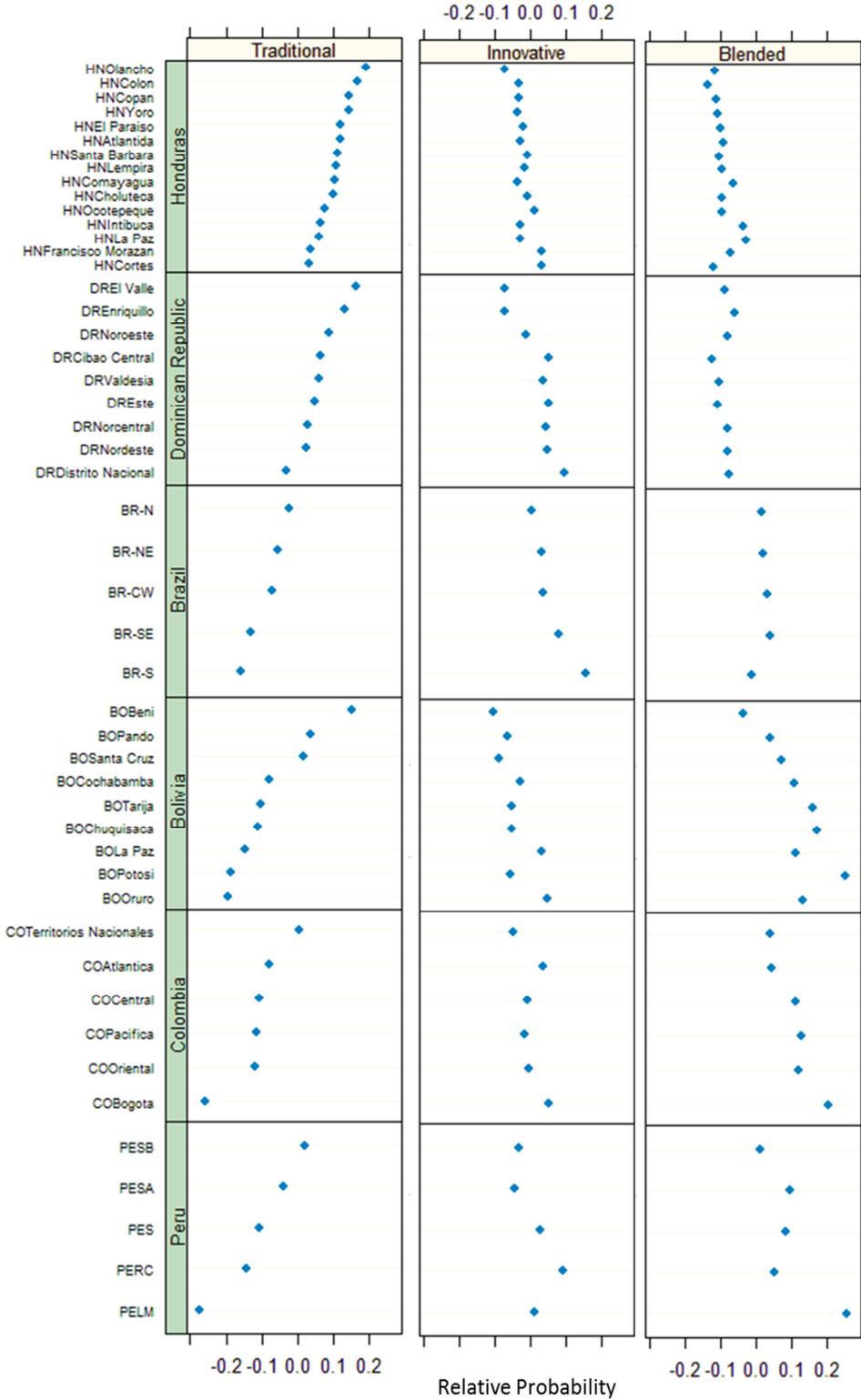
	Traditional		Innovative		Blended	
	Contextual variance	Deviance	Contextual variance	Deviance	Contextual variance	Deviance
Mo: Null model	0.014 (0.003)	44416.46	0.003 (0.001)	42087.11	0.012 (0.002)	31688.96
M1: Individual-level variables	0.006 (0.001)	31446.10	0.003 (0.001)	32585.75	0.008 (0.002)	24253.87
M2: Self-declared whites in the region	0.005 (0.001)	30956.62	0.003 (0.001)	32108.46	0.008 (0.002)	24076.08
M3: Catholics in the region	0.004 (0.001)	30945.74	0.002 (0.001)	32104.58	0.006 (0.001)	24059.73
M4: Socioeconomic status: bad	0.004 (0.001)	30944.44	0.002 (0.001)	32101.76	0.006 (0.001)	24059.70
M5: Abortion justifiable	0.004 (0.001)	30944.42	0.002 (0.001)	32098.30	0.006 (0.001)	24061.82

Note: Standard error between brackets

The question addressed in the null model (Mo) is if there is a between regions difference in the probability to cohabit in one of the Latin American types of cohabitation. The intercepts for the null models (not shown) of the traditional, innovative and blended types of cohabitation are 0.5, 0.3 and 0.2, respectively. These are the probabilities of living in these types of cohabitation throughout Latin America, or for every couple, everywhere. However, Table 7.2 presents significant evidence that these probabilities vary over the region. The contextual variance between regions is estimated as 0.014 for the traditional, 0.003 for the innovative and 0.012 for the blended types of cohabitation. Subsequently, the fitted line for a given region will differ from the Latin American average line in its intercept, by an amount of 0.014, 0.003 and 0.012 for the different types of cohabitation under analysis.

By analyzing the residuals, it is possible to show the latent variable at the contextual level, or the regional effect as shown in Figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1 Regional effect of the odds of living in different types of cohabitation against the Latin American average



The X axis characterizes the contextual level regional relative probability of living in one of the three types of cohabitation. The zero point represents the mean probability of that type of cohabitation across Latin America. For the regions situated at point zero in Figure 7.1, the probability of cohabiting in one of the three types of cohabitation is very similar to the Latin American averages. On the left side are the regions in which a couple has a lesser chance to live in the referred type of cohabitation, while on the right, couples present the higher probability.

Figure 7.1 shows a great deal of Latin American regional heterogeneity. The first interesting result which emerges from Figure 7.1 is the overall negative correlation between the traditional and modern types of cohabitation. Besides, comparing the graphs shown in Figure 7.1 we found South-American regions (from Brazil, Peru, Colombia and Bolivia) with lower incidence of the traditional type of cohabitation and higher incidence of the blended type of consensual union. This evidence is especially clear for the Metropolitan region of Lima in Peru (PELM). Couples in Lima have the highest chances of living in the blended type of cohabitation and the lowest to live in the traditional type. Central-American regions from the Dominican Republic and Honduras are found to have the opposite outcome: below the average for the blended type of cohabitation and above it for the traditional type. The Honduran province of Colon (HNColon) is a good example of this, being among the regions with lower incidence of blended cohabitation and among regions with higher incidence of the traditional type.

Countries are less homogeneous with regard to the innovative cohabitation. Couples from all Brazilian regions have higher chances of living in this type, but the remaining countries present significant regional variance. Apart from Brazil, Latin American countries present some regions with high and some with low incidence of the innovative type of consensual union. A good example of this is the Dominican Republic: While Distrito Nacional (DRDistrito Nacional) presents one of the highest chances of having couples living in the innovative type of cohabitation, El Valle (DRElValle) and Enriquillo (DREnriquillo) are among the regions with lowest incidence of this type of cohabitation.

Turning back to Table 7.2, the deviance statistic and the explained contextual variance show that model 4 (M4) best fits the data. In addition, the inclusion of the variable ‘abortion justifiable’ (M5) is not significant, does not explain the remaining contextual-level variance, nor does it improve the models’ goodness-of-fit. Results for model 4 are presented in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3 Models predicting the odds living in different types of Cohabitation in Latin America

<i>Individual level variables</i>	Traditional		Innovative		Blended	
	β	Sig	β	Sig	β	Sig
Husband/partner's education: None (ref.)						
Primary	-0.037 (0.014)	***	0.020 (0.015)		0.017 (0.013)	
Secondary	-0.140 (0.015)	***	0.106 (0.015)	***	0.031 (0.013)	***
Higher	-0.359 (0.017)	***	0.261 (0.017)	***	0.094 (0.015)	***
Education Gap: Similar level of education (ref.)						
Woman higher educated than man	-0.017 (0.006)	***	0.014 (0.006)	**	0.003 (0.005)	
Man higher educated than woman	0.032 (0.009)	***	-0.030 (0.009)	***	-0.001 (0.008)	
Decision making: Decisions mostly made by husband/partner (ref.)						
Decisions mostly made jointly	-0.140 (0.008)	***	-0.140 (0.008)		-0.140 (0.007)	***
Decisions mostly made by women	-0.052 (0.009)	***	0.001 (0.009)		0.049 (0.008)	***
Age difference (<i>control</i>): About the same age (ref.)						
Woman two years older than man or more	-0.201 (0.011)	***	0.073 (0.011)	***	0.128 (0.01)	***
Man up to three years older than woman	0.172 (0.009)	***	-0.096 (0.009)	***	-0.075 (0.008)	***
Man between three and eight years older than woman	0.256 (0.008)	***	-0.142 (0.008)	***	-0.112 (0.007)	***
Man more than eight years older than woman	0.219 (0.008)	***	-0.128 (0.008)	***	-0.089 (0.007)	***
<i>Contextual variables</i>						
Self-declared whites in the region (proportion)	-0.200 (0.066)	***	0.154 (0.053)	***	0.034 (0.08)	
Catholics in the region (proportion)	-0.241 (0.067)	***	-0.088 (0.054)		0.333 (0.08)	***
Socioeconomic status: bad (proportion)	0.096 (0.085)		0.000 (0.068)		0.000 (0.103)	
<i>Random Part</i>						
Intercept	0.666 (0.048)	***	0.384 (0.04)	***	-0.047 (0.056)	
Contextual variance	0.004 (0.002)	***	0.002 (0.002)	***	0.006 (0.001)	***

Note: Standard error between brackets; *** coefficient significant at $p < 0.001$, ** coefficient significant at $p < 0.05$.

Our results were in line with our expectations about the traditional type of cohabitation. In comparison to the other types of cohabitation, couples living in this traditional type achieved lower levels of education. Men have lower chances to have higher education rather than no education. They often have even lower educated partners. As expected, in the traditional cohabitation men tend to make decisions about household organization by themselves. Looking at the control variable we see that men also tend to be much older than their partners. Couples in the traditional consensual union live in places with lower frequency of self-declared whites as well as Catholics. The effect of neither measure of socioeconomic environment (proportion of people who evaluate their socioeconomic status as bad and their future personal economic situation as worse) was not significant.

Most of our results are in accordance to the hypotheses regarding the modern types of cohabitation. Men are more likely to have attained higher education rather than no education and, for the innovative cohabitation women are (slightly) higher educated than their partners. There is no significant difference in the probability of couples with similar or different levels of education to live in the blended type of cohabitation. Decisions about household organization are more likely to be made jointly or by women than by their partners alone in the blended cohabitation, but we do not find differences in terms of decision-making for the innovative type of cohabitation. Couples in these types of unions are likely to pertain to similar age groups or have women who are older than their partners.

With regard to structural influences, the contextual variance of the probabilities of living in the innovative type of cohabitation is very low, although significant (see Table 7.2). This suggests that this type of cohabitation is driven by individual motivations instead of contextual ones. Yet, couples in the innovative cohabitation tend to live in places with higher proportions of whites. Surprisingly, the existence of Catholics in the region increases the chances of a couple to live in the blended cohabitation. However, the interpretation of these results must be made with caution. In this model we include contextual variables without having an individual level counterpart in the analyses. In this sense, the results presented here reflect both individual and contextual level effects.

Comparing now the different types of cohabitation to marriage, we present the results of the multilevel multinomial logistic regression. First, the results of the model selection procedure are presented in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4 Models predicting the odds living in different types of Cohabitation in Latin America instead of being married - Goodness of fit

	Contextual variance						Wald
	Traditional		Innovative		Blended		
M ₀ : Null model	0.315	(0.066)	0.143	(0.031)	0.358	(0.076)	62.300
M ₁ : Individual-level variables	0.246	(0.052)	0.152	(0.033)	0.335	(0.072)	6108.376
M ₂ : Self-declared whites in the region	0.223	(0.047)	0.154	(0.033)	0.316	(0.068)	6176.364
M ₃ : Catholics in the region	0.222	(0.047)	0.151	(0.033)	0.208	(0.046)	6643.752
M ₄ : Socioeconomic status: bad	0.222	(0.047)	0.150	(0.033)	0.208	(0.046)	6721.524
M ₅ : Abortion justifiable	0.219	(0.044)	0.150	(0.029)	0.21	(0.045)	6615.357

Note: Standard error between brackets

The null model (M₀) shows between-regions variances in the odds of cohabiting instead of being married of 0.32, 0.14 and 0.36 for the traditional, innovative and blended cohabitations, respectively. It means that a multilevel analysis is meaningful. The intercepts (β_0 , not shown) are -0.673, -1.038 and -1.749. Accordingly, the expected odds ($\exp(\beta_0)$) of living in the traditional, innovative and blended cohabitations instead of being married are 0.51, 0.35 and 0.17, respectively.

A significant part of this contextual variance is explained by the inclusion of individual-level variables (M₁) and the contextual-level variables indicating the proportion of whites (M₂), Catholics (M₃) and proportion of people who evaluate their socioeconomic situation as 'bad' in the region (M₄). However, this is only true for the traditional and blended types of cohabitation. Again, the contextual variance of living in the innovative type of cohabitation was not explained by the inclusion of individual-level variables, or the contextual-level variables.

Again, the contextual variable 'abortion justifiable', included in model five (M₅), is not significant (not shown), does not explain any contextual variance, nor does it improve the model's goodness-of-fit. Consequently, it was not included in

the final model. The random intercept model that better fits the data (M₄) is shown in Table 7.5. The results of this multinomial logistic regression are interpreted in terms of odds ratios obtained by $\exp(\beta)$.

The results are in line with our expectations about the differences between the traditional type of cohabitation and marriage. From the odds ratios we can see that the odds of living in the traditional cohabitation instead of in marriage decreases sharply as the husbands/partners' level of education increases. In addition, the odds of living in the traditional cohabitation instead of in marriage are 1.42 times higher for couples in which the man is higher educated than the women. Couples in which the making decision about household organization is made by women or jointly are less likely to live in the traditional cohabitation instead of in marriage than couples in which the making decision is made by men. Looking at the control variable we see that, in comparison to marriage, women in the traditional cohabitation are more likely to be much younger than men than to have similar age. For example, the odds of living in the traditional type of cohabitation instead of in marriage are 2.18 times higher for couples in which the man is more than eight years older than the woman instead of having the same age.

We turn now to the results about the differences between the modern types of cohabitation and marriage. Table 7.5 illustrates that, in comparison to marriage, the odds of living in the innovative type of cohabitation are 1.32 times higher for couples in which the man is higher educated than the woman. Similarly, the odds of living in the blended type of cohabitation 1.36 times higher for couples in which the man is higher educated than the woman. There is no difference in the odds of living in the innovative or blended types of cohabitation rather than in marriage for couples in which the husband/partner has attained secondary education or lower instead of no education. However, contrary to our expectations, the odds of living in both types of cohabitation instead of being married decrease if husbands'/partners' attained higher education instead of having no education.

Table 7.5 Models predicting the odds of living in different types of Cohabitation in Latin America instead of being married

<i>Individual level variables</i>	Traditional			Innovative			Blended		
	β	Sig	exp(β)	β	Sig	exp(β)	β	Sig	exp(β)
Husband/partner's education: None (ref.)									
Primary	-0.201 (0.057)	***	0.818	-0.050 (0.074)		0.951	-0.023 (0.101)		0.977
Secondary	-0.595 (0.06)	***	0.552	0.056 (0.076)		1.058	-0.088 (0.103)		0.916
Higher	-2.134 (0.073)	***	0.118	-0.409 (0.081)	***	0.664	-0.619 (0.11)	***	0.538
Education Gap: Similar education (ref.)									
Woman higher educated than man	0.001 (0.025)		1.001	0.073 (0.028)	***	1.076	0.036 (0.036)		1.037
Man higher educated than woman	0.348 (0.038)	***	1.416	0.280 (0.036)	***	1.323	0.310 (0.048)	***	1.363
Making decision: Decisions mostly made by husband/partner (ref.)									
Decisions mostly made jointly	-0.379 (0.031)	***	0.685	-0.234 (0.036)	***	0.791	-0.095 (0.049)		0.909
Decisions mostly made by women	-0.254 (0.037)	***	0.776	-0.153 (0.041)	***	0.858	0.174 (0.055)	***	1.190
Age difference (<i>control</i>): Same age (ref.)									
Woman two years older than man or more	-1.216 (0.079)	***	0.296	0.195 (0.042)	***	1.215	0.472 (0.049)	***	1.603
Man up to three years older than woman	0.424 (0.037)	***	1.528	-0.247 (0.036)	***	0.781	-0.380 (0.048)	***	0.684
Man between three and eight years older than woman	0.663 (0.033)	***	1.941	-0.316 (0.032)	***	0.729	-0.546 (0.043)	***	0.579
Man more than eight years older than woman	0.780 (0.035)	***	2.181	-0.056 (0.035)		0.946	-0.138 (0.046)	***	0.871
<i>Contextual variables</i>									
Self-declared whites in the region (proportion)	-1.198 (0.476)	***	0.302	-0.312 (0.407)		0.732	0.156 (0.485)		1.169
Catholics in the region (proportion)	-0.011 (0.472)		0.989	0.219 (0.409)		1.245	2.230 (0.505)	***	9.300
Socioeconomic status: bad (proportion)	1.535 (0.614)	***	4.641	0.771 (0.53)		2.162	1.452 (0.639)	***	4.272
<i>Random Part</i>									
Intercept	-0.508 (0.33)		0.602	-0.972 (0.291)	***	0.378	-3.382 (0.365)	***	0.034
Contextual variance	0.207 (0.044)	***		0.150 (0.033)	***		0.210 (0.047)	***	

Note: Standard error between brackets; ***coefficient significant at $p < 0.001$, **coefficient significant at $p < 0.05$.

The results for the decision making hypothesis differ when we compare the odds of living in the innovative and in the blended cohabitations instead of in marriage. In agreement with our hypothesis, couples in which decisions about household organization are made by women are 1.19 times more likely to live in the

blended cohabitation instead of in marriage than couples in which these decisions are made by men. However, contrary to our assumption, couples in which the decisions about the household organization are made by women or by women jointly with their husbands/partners are less likely to live in the innovative cohabitation instead of in marriage than couples in which these decisions are made by men.

Couples living in both modern types of cohabitation instead of in marriage are more likely to be similar in age or have women who are older than their partners than married couples. The odds of living in the innovative and blended cohabitations instead of in marriage are lower for couples in which the man is older than the woman. Also, the odds of a woman, who is older than her partner instead of having similar age, to live in the innovative or blended type of cohabitation instead of being married, are 1.22 and 1.60 times higher, respectively.

With regard to contextual influences, traditional cohabitations are less likely than marriage to occur in places with higher proportions of whites, but the presence of whites does not interfere with the odds of a couple to choose the innovative or the blended cohabitations rather than marriage. Living in a place with high proportion of people reporting socioeconomic constraints increase the odds of living in the traditional and blended cohabitations instead of being married. Again, the most striking result to emerge from the data is the influence of the proportion of Catholics on the odds of living in the blended cohabitation rather than being married. The odds of living in this type of consensual union instead of in marriage are 9.3 times higher in places with all Catholics compared to places with no Catholics (proportion=0 vs. proportion=1). Considering that the variance of this variable across Latin American regions is very low (0.023) and that there is no place with all Catholics or no Catholics, the magnitude of the estimated odds ratio should be interpreted with care. Nevertheless, this result indicates that relative to marriage, the blended type of cohabitation tends to occur in places with higher proportions of Catholics. Once again, since we include contextual variables without having an individual level counterpart in the analyses, the interpretation of

contextual results must be made with caution. In this sense, the results presented here reflect both individual and contextual level effects.

7.6. Conclusion

This study set out to improve our understanding about the different types of cohabitation in Latin America with regard to gender symmetry and environmental influences. For this purpose, Demographic and Health Survey data was used to differentiate these types of cohabitation and to compare them to marriage with regard to couples' homogamy in terms of age and education, as well as to decision-making power in these relationships. Taking into account the socioeconomic and cultural heterogeneity existent in Latin America, the socioeconomic and cultural environments where these relationships happen were also investigated.

Our results are in line with our hypotheses (and earlier evidence) of the continual subordination of women in the traditional cohabitation. In comparison to the other types of cohabitation and to marriage, women in the traditional type of cohabitation are much younger and lower educated than their partners. The absence of women's empowerment is also observed in terms of decision-making: in the traditional cohabitation, decisions about household organization are mostly made by men.

We expected the types of cohabitation that we have identified as modern cohabitations to be explained by the Second Demographic Transition (SDT) theory, by showing higher gender symmetry than traditional consensual union or even marriages. In several aspects, these are indeed more egalitarian relationships. Couples living in the innovative and blended cohabitations are more likely than traditional cohabiters and married couples to have similar ages or to have a woman who is older than her partner. In comparison to married couples with similar levels of education, women in the innovative type of cohabitation are also more likely to be higher educated than their partners.

Women in the modern cohabitations also present higher levels of empowerment than their traditional counterparts. However, contrary to our expectations, only the women in the blended cohabitation showed higher decision-making power than married women. The innovative cohabitation is practiced by younger women with higher levels of education, possibly students (Covre-Sussai et al., 2012). It can explain the fact that women in this cohabitation present lower decision-making power than their partners in comparison to married women, older women and those with more experience.

Blended cohabitations are found to be very common among regions of high Catholicism. Although this result must be interpreted with caution, it is an indication of secularization in the region. A possible explanation to this finding is that blended cohabitants are secular members of Latin American society who are not influenced by peer pressure. An alternative explanation is that these couples are Catholics themselves who do not follow the Catholic dogmas. This explanation is in line with previous results that suggest that Latin American (i.e. Brazilian) Catholics are far more liberal than they should be if they followed the rules imposed by the Catholic Church (Longo et al., 2009). This evidence, combined with increased gender symmetry and empowerment of women in this type of cohabitation, reinforces the argument that these couples do not get married because they do not want to or do not see marriage as an important institution. Yet, while traditional cohabitations have lower chances of occurring in communities with high proportion self-declared whites, modern ones are more likely to be found among this ethnic group. The South of Brazil, with 78 percent of whites - mostly German and Italian descent, is a good example of this. This is the Latin American region with the highest probability of having innovative cohabiters (see Figure 7.1 – innovative graph). Cohabitation practiced by higher educated and egalitarian couples, and among Catholics or European descendants, suggests changes in the ideational domain and an indication of the SDT in Latin America.

A number of important limitations need to be considered. First, the use of a cross-sectional design limits the type of research questions that can be addressed. In this case, the most important drawback is the impossibility to attest cause-effect

relations: we cannot attest if the subordination of women leads them to the traditional type of cohabitation or if living in traditional cohabitation reduces the opportunities of empowerment for these women. Second, DHS samples are focused on women in their reproductive ages, from 15 to 49 years old, which does not allow for the verification of cohort change. Finally, what is perhaps the most important constraint is the absence of information on the meaning, quality and stability of these unions. We do not know if couples in one or the other types of cohabitation are happy or if they want to get married or separate in the near future.

Future research should therefore concentrate on the investigation of the meaning of the different types cohabitations in Latin America, as well as in the transitions related to them. In this direction, additional work can be done to establish the factors related to the transition to one type of cohabitation or another. Further developments also need more investigation, such as the transition from different cohabitations to marriage or to separation.

Appendix Chapter 7.1 Latin American regions

Country	Region	Abbreviation	Sample size	Whites	Catholics	SES: bad	Abortion
Brazil	North	BR-N	1286	0.24	0.69	0.26	0.08
	Northeast	BR-NE	1520	0.29	0.70	0.16	0.13
	Southeast	BR-SE	1724	0.50	0.60	0.11	0.08
	South	BR-S	1903	0.75	0.81	0.08	0.04
	Central West	BR-CW	1684	0.32	0.74	0.21	0.07
Bolivia	Chuquisaca	BOChuquisaca	825	0.04	0.93	0.16	0.03
	La Paz	BOLa Paz	1778	0.03	0.74	0.24	0.07
	Cochabamba	BOCochabamba	1259	0.09	0.80	0.24	0.04
	Oruro	BOOruro	824	0.00	0.78	0.16	0.07
	Potosi	BOPotosi	1032	0.00	0.81	0.21	0.12
	Tarija	BOTarija	909	0.00	0.87	0.18	0.13
	Santa Cruz	BOSanta Cruz	1640	0.06	0.79	0.18	0.05
	Beni	BOBeni	581	0.20	0.82	0.32	0.04
	Pando	BOPando	399	0.10	0.60	0.00	0.30
Colombia	Atlantica	COAtlantica	4635	0.15	0.78	0.10	0.02
	Oriental	COOriental	3434	0.44	0.87	0.17	0.04
	Central	COCentral	4884	0.31	0.86	0.11	0.09
	Pacifica	COPacifica	2814	0.28	0.86	0.18	0.01
	Bogota	COBogota	1415	0.46	0.73	0.05	0.07
	Territorios Nacionales	COTerritorios Nacionales	3791	0.10	0.80	0.46	0.00
Dominican Republic	Cibao Central	DRCibao Central	1004	0.13	0.80	0.12	0.02
	Distrito Nacional	DRDistrito Nacional	826	0.10	0.79	0.05	0.17
	El Valle	DREl Valle	869	0.21	0.79	0.46	0.05
	Enriquillo	DREnriquillo	1125	0.20	0.75	0.43	0.00
	Este	DREste	1190	0.09	0.74	0.18	0.04
	Norcentral	DRNorcentral	1111	0.10	0.81	0.17	0.00
	Nordeste	DRNordeste	1224	0.08	0.67	0.12	0.00
	Noroeste	DRNoroeste	1001	0.20	0.75	0.10	0.00
Valdesia	DRValdesia	1235	0.06	0.75	0.20	0.06	
Honduras	Atlantida	HNAtlantida	382	0.03	0.25	0.22	0.00
	Colon	HNColon	405	0.05	0.60	0.26	0.00
	Comayagua	HNComayagua	607	0.10	0.52	0.30	0.00
	Copan	HNCopan	584	0.13	0.50	0.04	0.08
	Cortes	HNCortes	918	0.15	0.47	0.12	0.02
	Choluteca	HNCholuteca	484	0.20	0.57	0.28	0.00
	El Paraiso	HNEl Paraiso	499	0.03	0.70	0.04	0.00
	Francisco Morazan	HNFrancisco Morazan	1063	0.11	0.39	0.08	0.06
	Intibuca	HNIntibuca	680	0.10	0.40	0.13	0.00
	Lempira	HNLempira	644	0.05	0.55	0.04	0.10
	Ocotepeque	HNOcotepeque	525	0.25	0.70	0.09	0.10
	Olancho	HNOlancho	578	0.09	0.50	0.04	0.04
	Santa Barbara	HNSanta Barbara	494	0.17	0.40	0.13	0.18
Yoro	HNYoro	510	0.14	0.49	0.19	0.01	
Peru	Lima Metropolitana	PELM	441	0.10	0.73	0.26	0.05
	Resto Costa	PERC	2742	0.08	0.73	0.31	0.07
	Sierra	PES	3129	0.07	0.75	0.05	0.08
	Selva Alta	PESA	227	0.06	0.74	0.40	0.03
	Selva Baja	PESB	1876	0.05	0.78	0.40	0.15

Appendix Chapter 7.2 Data description⁴⁶

Husband/ Partner's Education by Country and Type of Union

Country	Husband/ Partner's Education	Marriage		Traditional		Innovative		Blended		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Brazil	No education	49	1.0	16	1.6	7	.6	2	.4	74	1.0
	Secondary	1402	28.1	223	21.8	356	32.6	133	26.5	2114	27.8
	Higher	506	10.2	15	1.5	109	10.0	17	3.4	647	8.5
	Total	4981	100.0	1025	100.0	1092	100.0	501	100.0	7599	100.0
Bolivia	No education	94	1.6	27	1.9	16	1.7	16	1.8	153	1.7
	Primary	2510	41.9	779	55.1	361	39.1	416	45.6	4066	44.0
	Secondary	1893	31.6	529	37.4	384	41.6	343	37.6	3149	34.1
	Higher	1493	24.9	79	5.6	162	17.6	137	15.0	1871	20.3
Total	5990	100.0	1414	100.0	923	100.0	912	100.0	9239	100.0	
Colombia	No education	198	2.4	290	5.8	129	3.1	95	2.9	712	3.4
	Primary	2797	33.6	2226	44.2	1189	28.4	1117	33.9	7329	35.2
	Secondary	3438	41.3	2257	44.8	2083	49.8	1556	47.3	9334	44.8
	Higher	1896	22.8	261	5.2	785	18.8	523	15.9	3465	16.6
Total	8329	100.0	5034	100.0	4186	100.0	3291	100.0	20840	100.0	
Dominican Republic	No education	66	2.4	332	9.4	123	5.2	36	6.1	557	6.0
	Primary	1018	36.7	2128	60.1	1097	46.2	302	51.2	4545	49.0
	Secondary	859	31.0	886	25.0	832	35.0	170	28.8	2747	29.6
	Higher	831	30.0	197	5.6	322	13.6	82	13.9	1432	15.4
Total	2774	100.0	3543	100.0	2374	100.0	590	100.0	9281	100.0	
Honduras	No education	474	10.1	301	11.0	127	8.1	49	11.6	951	10.1
	Primary	3005	64.0	2097	76.7	1066	67.7	276	65.6	6444	68.4
	Secondary	876	18.7	311	11.4	329	20.9	81	19.2	1597	16.9
	Higher	340	7.2	24	.9	52	3.3	15	3.6	431	4.6
Total	4695	100.0	2733	100.0	1574	100.0	421	100.0	9423	100.0	
Peru	No education	54	1.3	15	.9	12	.8	20	1.9	101	1.2
	Primary	1116	27.7	613	35.5	320	20.1	232	22.1	2281	27.2
	Secondary	1568	38.9	924	53.6	784	49.2	498	47.5	3774	44.9
	Higher	1296	32.1	173	10.0	477	29.9	299	28.5	2245	26.7
Total	4034	100.0	1725	100.0	1593	100.0	1049	100.0	8401	100.0	
Latin America	No education	935	3.0	981	6.3	414	3.5	218	3.2	2548	3.9
	Primary	13470	43.7	8614	55.7	4653	39.6	2692	39.8	29429	45.4
	Secondary	10036	32.6	5130	33.2	4768	40.6	2781	41.1	22715	35.1
	Higher	6362	20.7	749	4.8	1907	16.2	1073	15.9	10091	15.6
Total	30803	100.0	15474	100.0	11742	100.0	6764	100.0	64783	100.0	

⁴⁶ Listwise deletion for missing values.

Education Gap by Country and Type of Union

Country	Education Gap	Marriage		Traditional		Innovative		Blended		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Brazil	Same level of education	2675	54.2	426	42.0	540	50.1	212	42.8	3853	51.2
	Woman higher educated than man	1308	26.5	319	31.5	326	30.2	158	31.9	2111	28.1
	Man higher educated than woman	950	19.3	269	26.5	212	19.7	125	25.3	1556	20.7
	Total	4933	100.0	1014	100.0	1078	100.0	495	100.0	7520	100.0
Bolivia	Same level of education	2874	51.6	468	34.2	422	47.5	397	46.5	4161	47.9
	Woman higher educated than man	1988	35.7	763	55.7	343	38.6	357	41.9	3451	39.8
	Man higher educated than woman	707	12.7	139	10.1	124	13.9	99	11.6	1069	12.3
	Total	5569	100.0	1370	100.0	889	100.0	853	100.0	8681	100.0
Colombia	Same level of education	3255	39.7	1943	39.8	1499	36.3	1169	36.0	7866	38.4
	Woman higher educated than man	4077	49.7	2498	51.2	2087	50.5	1702	52.4	10364	50.7
	Man higher educated than woman	870	10.6	439	9.0	548	13.3	374	11.5	2231	10.9
	Total	8202	100.0	4880	100.0	4134	100.0	3245	100.0	20461	100.0
Dominican Republic	Same level of education	1351	49.3	1094	32.1	949	40.0	223	39.8	3617	39.8
	Woman higher educated than man	899	32.8	1861	54.6	940	39.6	242	43.2	3942	43.4
	Man higher educated than woman	492	17.9	452	13.3	484	20.4	95	17.0	1523	16.8
	Total	2742	100.0	3407	100.0	2373	100.0	560	100.0	9082	100.0
Honduras	Same level of education	1257	29.2	634	25.8	382	26.3	106	28.3	2379	27.7
	Woman higher educated than man	2914	67.6	1779	72.3	1031	71.1	261	69.6	5985	69.6
	Man higher educated than woman	138	3.2	47	1.9	37	2.6	8	2.1	230	2.7
	Total	4309	100.0	2460	100.0	1450	100.0	375	100.0	8594	100.0
Peru	Same level of education	2119	55.5	755	45.9	845	54.6	532	53.5	4251	53.1
	Woman higher educated than man	1045	27.3	675	41.0	387	25.0	248	24.9	2355	29.4
	Man higher educated than woman	657	17.2	216	13.1	315	20.4	215	21.6	1403	17.5
	Total	3821	100.0	1646	100.0	1547	100.0	995	100.0	8009	100.0
Latin America	Same level of education	13531	45.7	5320	36.0	4637	40.4	2639	40.5	26127	41.9
	Woman higher educated than man	12231	41.4	7895	53.4	5114	44.6	2968	45.5	28208	45.2
	Man higher educated than woman	3814	12.9	1562	10.6	1720	15.0	916	14.0	8012	12.9
	Total	29576	100.0	14777	100.0	11471	100.0	6523	100.0	62347	100.0

Decision Making by Country and Type of Union (probability means)

Country	Decision Making	Marriage	Traditional	Innovative	Blended
Brazil	Joint	0.54	0.48	0.51	0.49
	Woman	0.23	0.27	0.25	0.30
	Husband/ Partner	0.23	0.25	0.24	0.21
Bolivia	Joint	0.52	0.51	0.53	0.51
	Woman	0.40	0.37	0.38	0.39
	Husband/ Partner	0.08	0.12	0.10	0.10
Colombia	Joint	0.56	0.45	0.49	0.49
	Woman	0.29	0.30	0.31	0.35
	Husband/ Partner	0.15	0.25	0.19	0.16
Dominican Republic	Joint	0.60	0.51	0.54	0.53
	Woman	0.27	0.27	0.27	0.27
	Husband/ Partner	0.14	0.23	0.19	0.20
Honduras	Joint	0.48	0.39	0.44	0.39
	Woman	0.26	0.27	0.26	0.28
	Husband/ Partner	0.26	0.34	0.29	0.33
Peru	Joint	0.59	0.52	0.57	0.56
	Woman	0.28	0.30	0.30	0.32
	Husband/ Partner	0.13	0.18	0.13	0.13
Latin America	Joint	0.54	0.47	0.51	0.50
	Woman	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.33
	Husband/ Partner	0.17	0.24	0.20	0.17

Age Difference by Country and Type of Union

Country	Age Difference	Marriage		Traditional		Innovative		Blended		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Brazil	Similar age	1012	19.4	143	12.8	258	22.7	125	23.1	1538	19.2
	Woman two years older than man or more	474	9.1	30	2.7	171	15.0	119	22.0	794	9.9
	Man up to three years older than woman	1002	19.2	213	19.1	194	17.1	76	14.1	1485	18.5
	Man between three and eight years older than woman	1899	36.4	460	41.3	267	23.5	101	18.7	2727	34.0
	Man more than eight years older than woman	837	16.0	267	24.0	247	21.7	119	22.0	1470	18.3
	Total	5224	100.0	1113	100.0	1137	100.0	540	100.0	8014	100.0
Bolivia	Similar age	1700	28.4	245	17.3	294	31.9	310	34.0	2549	27.6
	Woman two years older than man or more	641	10.7	27	1.9	120	13.0	163	17.9	951	10.3
	Man up to three years older than woman	1213	20.3	284	20.0	173	18.7	135	14.8	1805	19.5
	Man between three and eight years older than woman	1673	27.9	558	39.4	202	21.9	152	16.7	2585	28.0
	Man more than eight years older than woman	759	12.7	304	21.4	134	14.5	152	16.7	1349	14.6
	Total	5986	100.0	1418	100.0	923	100.0	912	100.0	9239	100.0
Colombia	Similar age	1790	21.4	617	12.1	974	23.1	806	24.3	4187	20.0
	Woman two years older than man or more	696	8.3	72	1.4	462	10.9	566	17.1	1796	8.6
	Man up to three years older than woman	1566	18.8	868	17.0	662	15.7	513	15.5	3609	17.2
	Man between three and eight years older than woman	2767	33.2	2033	39.9	1177	27.9	761	22.9	6738	32.1
	Man more than eight years older than woman	1527	18.3	1501	29.5	945	22.4	670	20.2	4643	22.1
	Total	8346	100.0	5091	100.0	4220	100.0	3316	100.0	20973	100.0

(continuation)

Dominican Republic	Similar age	464	16.6	268	7.3	435	17.7	141	23.4	1308	13.8
	Woman two years older than man or more	188	6.7	33	.9	207	8.4	61	10.1	489	5.1
	Man up to three years older than woman	471	16.8	558	15.3	400	16.3	97	16.1	1526	16.1
	Man between three and eight years older than woman	954	34.1	1537	42.1	766	31.3	174	28.9	3431	36.1
	Man more than eight years older than woman	723	25.8	1255	34.4	643	26.2	130	21.6	2751	28.9
	Total	2800	100.0	3651	100.0	2451	100.0	603	100.0	9505	100.0
Honduras	Similar age	950	20.2	380	13.9	420	26.7	104	24.7	1854	19.7
	Woman two years older than man or more	389	8.3	40	1.5	216	13.7	81	19.2	726	7.7
	Man up to three years older than woman	894	19.0	517	18.9	274	17.4	73	17.3	1758	18.7
	Man between three and eight years older than woman	1573	33.5	1113	40.7	418	26.5	88	20.9	3192	33.9
	Man more than eight years older than woman	888	18.9	683	25.0	247	15.7	75	17.8	1893	20.1
	Total	4694	100.0	2733	100.0	1575	100.0	421	100.0	9423	100.0
Peru	Similar age	1002	24.8	252	14.6	422	26.5	295	28.1	1971	23.4
	Woman two years older than man or more	314	7.8	25	1.4	182	11.4	162	15.4	683	8.1
	Man up to three years older than woman	807	20.0	331	19.1	288	18.1	166	15.8	1592	18.9
	Man between three and eight years older than woman	1267	31.3	719	41.6	443	27.8	238	22.7	2667	31.7
	Man more than eight years older than woman	652	16.1	402	23.3	259	16.2	188	17.9	1501	17.8
	Total	4042	100.0	1729	100.0	1594	100.0	1049	100.0	8414	100.0
Latin America	Similar age	6918	22.3	1905	12.1	2803	23.6	1781	26.0	13407	20.4
	Woman two years older than man or more	2702	8.7	227	1.4	1358	11.4	1152	16.8	5439	8.3
	Man up to three years older than woman	5953	19.1	2771	17.6	1991	16.7	1060	15.5	11775	18.0
	Man between three and eight years older than woman	10133	32.6	6420	40.8	3273	27.5	1514	22.1	21340	32.5
	Man more than eight years older than woman	5386	17.3	4412	28.0	2475	20.8	1334	19.5	13607	20.8
	Total	31092	100.0	15735	100.0	11900	100.0	6841	100.0	65568	100.0

8. Conclusion

In this concluding chapter we summarize and discuss the general conclusions of previous chapters and highlight the limitations and directions for future research that result from this doctoral thesis. We start by reaffirming the thesis objectives and theoretical framework. Following, we present a summary of the most important conclusions derived from the empirical studies presented. Next, we evaluate the theoretical framework used to describe changes in family life in Latin America. Third, we discuss the most important policy related issues that arise from our results. We finally end with some directions for future research on cohabitation in Latin America.

8.1. Thesis statement

The historical coexistence of marriage and cohabitation is an intriguing feature of nuptiality in Latin America. Traditionally common among lower social classes and in Central American or Caribbean countries, the incidence of consensual union is on the rise, especially among higher educated groups and in the southern countries of the region. The literature about nuptiality in Latin America suggests that the form and meaning of cohabitation is different in the region than in other Western developed countries and also depends on the social group under analysis (e.g. Arriagada, 2002; Castro-Martin, 2002). While for the lower social classes cohabitation is traditional and driven by women's subordination to men (due to low levels of education and independence, as well as low bargaining power relative to them [e.g. Greene & Rao, 1995; Parrado & Tienda, 1997]), for the upper social strata it can be related to modernity, socioeconomic development and ideational changes toward post-materialistic values and egalitarian gender roles (Binstock & Cabella, 2011; Binstock, 2010; Castro-Martin, 2002; Esteve et al., 2012a). The present study was designed to examine the different patterns of cohabitation in Latin

America and to investigate the main dissimilarities among traditional and modern consensual unions with regard to socioeconomic, cultural features and gender relations.

For this purpose the theoretical framework of the Second Demographic Transition (SDT) is used to investigate the increasing incidence of the modern type of cohabitation in the region. According to the SDT, socioeconomic development opens space for deeper demographic changes. Consequently, the way in which change in demographic behavior occurs in a given society is determined by the development of both social and economic circumstances in this society (e.g. Lesthaeghe, 2010; Surkyn & Lesthaeghe, 2004). Lesthaeghe and Neels (2002) use Coale's model to demonstrate that new forms of behavior only develop when a society is ready, willing and able to change. Applying this model to understand the increasing incidence of cohabitation among higher educated groups, it is proposed that the occurrence of this type of living arrangement increases faster in a society where there are more benefits than disadvantages to couples cohabiting when compared to getting married or to remaining single. It means that this society is ready to adopt this new type of living arrangement. Also, couples should be willing to choose cohabitation as a way to form their families, in the sense that there are no religious, cultural, moral or ethical barriers to this type of union in this social group. Finally, to decide to cohabit instead of getting married or remain single, a couple should be able, or have means to do this without restrictions on housing availability and legal obstacles, for example.

Several socioeconomic developments are related to changes in family life. Among them, women's empowerment seems to play a crucial role on these changes. The dissociation between sexual and reproductive lives, along with women's increasing educational opportunities and participation in the labor market, improved women's bargaining power relative to men thus reducing the need for marriage's institutional protection (e.g. Lesthaeghe, 2010; Prinz, 1995). Besides, economic development and the expansion of education reduces people's preoccupations with basic material needs and opens space for the rise of non-material goals, such as self-fulfillment and freedom (Maslow, 1954). All these

changes combined led to enormous modifications in family relations. Increasing divorce and cohabitation rates, gender symmetry, as well as low and late fertility are consistent evidence of the SDT (e.g. Lesthaeghe, 2010; Surkyn & Lesthaeghe, 2004).

In order to be understood in terms of the SDT framework, consensual unions in Latin America should be found among upper social strata, formed during adulthood, with no child or low and late fertility, as well as marked by egalitarian relationships between partners. In contrast with the historical incidence of cohabitation among indigenous and black populations, marriage was always highly valorized by European descendants in Latin America. Consequently, cohabitation among whites can be considered evidence of ideational change in the region and also be associated to the SDT in the region.

While modern cohabitation is expected to be related to the SDT, traditional cohabitation is usually interpreted as one of the outcomes of poverty and women's subordination in Latin America (Arriagada, 2002; Greene & Rao, 1995; Parrado & Tienda, 1997). Consequently, to be considered traditional, cohabitation should be found among lower social strata, formed at young ages, practiced by lower educated women, who have high fertility and is characterized by lower gender symmetry between women and men. This traditional cohabitation is historically practiced by indigenous and black populations. Consequently it is expected to be found in places with higher proportions of these ethnic groups.

8.2. Summary and discussion of research findings

The modern type of consensual union is often compared to the cohabitation found among higher educated groups in developed countries, meaning a trial period before marriage or an alternative to it. Accordingly, in order to differentiate the types of cohabitation in Latin America, several sources of data (e.g. Integrated Public Use Microdata Series [IPUMS], European Social Survey [ESS] and the National Survey of Family Growth [NSFG]) were employed to investigate the macro-level association between socioeconomic development and the prevalence of

unmarried cohabitation by social class in Latin American and developed countries. The prevalence of cohabitation by social class was examined, using educational attainment as a proxy, women with less than secondary degree are considered low educated and those with some college education considered high educated. The correlation between the level of cohabitation and a selection of indicators on human development, social and gender inequalities, as well as value orientations, was demonstrated.

Results indicate that unmarried cohabitation is found in different social classes in Latin America and developed countries alike. However, consensual union in different social classes does not correlate in the same manner with the socioeconomic indicators. The Latin American countries with the highest rates of cohabitation among the lowest educated women are characterized by low levels of socioeconomic development, high levels of gender inequality, a predominance of traditional values, and intolerance to outgroups. By contrast, the highest rates of cohabitation among the most educated women are typically found in developed countries, with high levels of socioeconomic development, low levels of gender inequality and with inclination to post-materialistic ethics (such as individual freedom, tolerance, gender symmetry and political activism).

Moreover, there are exceptions to this pattern. Some fully developed countries, especially those where religion bears a strong influence on people's lives, are presented as outliers in the relationship between socioeconomic development and the incidence of unmarried cohabitation among higher educated groups. This evidence aligns with the idea that socioeconomic development is one of the conditions which drives changes in demographic behavior, but that the values systems in a given society also play a role in this change. In other words, a society can be ready and able (have the means) to change, but changes will not happen while this society is not willing to do it.

Chapter 4 turns back to Latin America, looking closely at the Brazilian case. In line with our macro-level evidence, individual-level data demonstrates that religious affiliation (independent of the type) reduces the chances of living in cohabiting unions in Brazil. Furthermore, the predominance of cohabitation among

the lower social classes is shown, as well as its existence among the upper social strata. Findings from the Brazilian census data demonstrate that consensual unions are more commonly practiced by younger and less religious groups, mainly among the lower social classes. Yet, this type of union is present in the upper class, but most often as being childless. Likewise, the cultural diversity found between Brazilian states is also reflected in nuptial behavior. While the likelihood to live in cohabitation varies significantly between Brazilian states, part of this variation is related to ethnic differences. In this sense, cohabitation is much more likely to happen in places with lower proportions of whites than other ethnic groups. This result suggests that marriage is still more valorized by European descendants than by the remaining ethnic groups in Brazil.

The results presented, so far, are aligned with previous arguments and evidence that both socioeconomic inequality and ethnic differences (Arriagada, 2002; Castro-Martin, 2002; De Vos, 1998; Esteve et al., 2012c) contribute, not only to the coexistence of marriage and cohabitation in Latin America, but also to the coexistence of different types of consensual unions in the region. Considering this supposition, one could ask whether the cohabitation found among the upper social classes occurs in places with lower proportions of whites or whether there is evidence of changes in nuptial behavior in this group in the region. Similarly, one can presume that not only the form, but also the meaning of different types of cohabitation in Latin America conceivably differs. Consequently, in order to try to comprehend the role of cohabitation in Latin American people's life an empirical classification of types of cohabitation is needed.

The three final chapters of this study used Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) data to address this need. First, the types of cohabitation in Latin America were differentiated on the basis of relationship context at the moment when the couple moves in together and their outcomes in terms of childbearing, for eight Latin American countries (i.e. Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Guyana, Honduras, Nicaragua and Peru). It was shown that the traditional type of cohabitation coexists with two types of modern consensual unions. The '*traditional type*' includes women who start to cohabit during adolescence, remembering that

42 percent of women in the traditional cohabitation moved in with their partner when they were younger than 15 years old. Traditional cohabiters also have more children at younger ages. The remaining two types of cohabitation are both considered modern. The '*innovative cohabitation*' groups women who moved in with their partner during early adulthood, have fewer children born at a higher age of the mother and never as a single woman. The '*blended cohabitation*' refers to women who start to cohabit later in life in comparison to the other types, but always after single pregnancy or childbearing.

Considering the heterogeneity across Latin American countries, the comparability of these types of cohabitation over countries is attested and the educational and age profiles of cohabitants are presented. Traditional cohabiters are low educated. Most (62 percent) have finished no more than primary education. They were also young at the moment of data collection, suggesting that this type of consensual union tends to be finished or formalized with time. At the same time, women living in modern types of cohabitation were higher educated and older than traditional cohabiters at the moment of data collection which indicates a more mature profile. This is mainly true for women living in the blended cohabitation where 76 percent of these women were older than 26 years old and, among them, 31 percent were older than 36 years old at the moment of the interview. Considering that the DHS sample only includes women in reproductive ages (15-49 years old), 31 percent of women older than 36 years old is a relevant number. In addition, this study showed that family composition (extended, composite or nuclear) does not relate to the types of cohabitation in Latin America in a different way.

Besides the age and educational profiles, the main difference of the innovative cohabitation in comparison to the blended cohabitation is the fact that women in this latter type all experienced single pregnancy or childbearing before forming a cohabiting union. Contrasted with the innovative type, couples in the blended cohabitation also have more children, although later in life if the reference is the traditional cohabitation. In fact, the categorization of the blended cohabitation as modern was mainly derived from the age at beginning of cohabitation and the educational profile of women living in this type of consensual

union. These women were adults when they decided to move in with their partner: 94 percent of them were older than 20 years old and, within of this group, 32 percent were older than 25 years old. They were also higher educated at the moment of data collection, meaning that they could negotiate a marriage if they wanted, but they did not do it.

Bearing in mind that the incidence of cohabitation is increasing in almost all Latin American countries, the same analysis was repeated with previous DHS rounds (1980s and 1990s) to analyze which type of cohabitation had the highest increase over time. An overall, although modest, decrease in the traditional cohabitation was shown in most Latin American countries and the expansion of education created the space to the modern ones. Caribbean (Dominican Republic) and Central American (Honduras and Nicaragua) countries present the highest share of traditional cohabitation in Latin America. It is probably related to the maintenance of the historical incidence of this type of cohabitation in these regions. Actually, as was discussed in the third Chapter of this thesis, Caribbean and Central American countries are the main areas responsible for the historical incidence and prevalence of cohabitation in Latin America. Furthermore, while the blended type of cohabitation has increased more in most countries under analysis, the innovative type of cohabitation was the consensual union which developed more in Brazil.

Brazil is the Latin American country included in this study which has experienced the sharpest increase in cohabitation over time. As was noted in the third Chapter, the increase of cohabitation in Brazil is comparable to the one observed in some countries from the region called the Southern Cone, specifically Argentina and Uruguay. These countries were not included in the typology of cohabitation in Latin America due to lack of data, but there are visible socioeconomic similarities among them in comparison to Brazil. Consequently, seeing the previous evidence about the rise of cohabitation in these countries (e.g. Binstock & Cabella, 2011; Quilodrán-Salgado, 2011) and the results found for Brazil, one could expect to find higher levels of the innovative type of cohabitation in the Southern Cone as well.

The sixth Chapter of this study investigated gender equality in family decision making in Latin America. It was found that gender relations are changing in the direction of more egalitarian relationships. However, the participation of women in important household decisions, such as about making major household purchases, is less than in daily ones, such as about making purchases for daily household needs. In addition, as it happens in fully developed countries, higher educated couples tend to be more egalitarian than lower educated ones. This evidence is explained by the idea of women's 'incomplete revolution' (McDonald, 2000, 2013; Esping-Andersen, 2009). According to McDonald (2000, 2013), the first part of the gender revolution is almost complete and has changed women's roles in individual-level institutions, such as education, participation in the job market and public life. Conversely, the second part of this revolution is happening in family-oriented institutions in a much slower rhythm. Family organization and decision making based on the male bread winner model still persists, even for two-income families, but especially for the lower social classes (McDonald, 2000, 2013; Esping-Andersen, 2009).

The association between the type of union in which couples live and the type of family decision making was analyzed. When including the type of union, marriage or one of the previously identified types of cohabitation (traditional, innovative and blended), to our analysis, married women tend to report more egalitarian gender relations, while women living in the traditional cohabitation report more traditional gender roles, with men making the decisions in their household by themselves. Probably due to the smaller number of women living in the modern types of cohabitation, or to the lack of other important variables, such as couples' level of homogamy, it was not possible to distinguish the level of gender equality for the modern types of cohabitation in this study. Consequently, this open question was addressed in the last empirical chapter of this thesis.

The last empirical chapter of this study seeks to explain different types of cohabitation in Latin America and to distinguish them from marriage in terms of gender symmetry, meaning couples' level of homogamy and egalitarian gender relations in terms of family decision making. Based on the heterogeneity found not

only between Latin American countries, but also within them, the context where these cohabitations take place was also investigated. As anticipated, traditional cohabitation was related to female subordination to men and found in places of perceived socioeconomic deprivation. Women in the traditional cohabitation are much younger and lower educated than their partners. They also present lower decision making power when compared to modern types of cohabitation and to marriage.

The innovative and blended types of cohabitation show higher levels of gender symmetry and women's decision making power when compared to the traditional type and, sometimes, to marriage. Couples in the modern types of cohabitation also have similar age and educational profiles. In this study, the blended type of cohabitation is endorsed as a modern union by showing the most egalitarian profile among all types of union in Latin America, i.e. cohabitations and marriages. In addition, while the traditional cohabitation is still more common in the Dominican Republic and Honduras (Caribbean and Central American countries respectively) both modern types of cohabitation occur in groups where consensual unions were not historically common, such as among whites and Catholics. The increasing incidence of egalitarian types of cohabitation, among groups that are historically conservative with regard to marriage and gender roles is, undeniably, a signal of ideational change in Latin America.

This final empirical study also reinforces our expectation that the innovative type of cohabitation is probably similar to the consensual union that is spreading in countries of the Southern Cone. The South of Brazil is the Latin American region in which a couple has the highest chances of living in the innovative cohabitation. Besides its geographic location, the South of Brazil borders Uruguay and Argentina, this Brazilian region shares with these countries similar socioeconomic development levels and ethnic composition. The ethnic composition of these countries and the south of Brazil stand out for the large majority of European descendants, mainly Italian and German. Yet, as already stated and shown in the third Chapter, the spread of cohabitation over time, in

different educational groups, happened in a very similar way in Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay.

The results presented in this study suggest that the cultural environment is shaping nuptial behavior. However, it also seems that education and, consequently, women's economic independence are important drivers of social change in terms of nuptial behavior. Historically, Latin American families were based on two strong institutions: cohabitation among the poor and marriage among the wealthier. What has happened in the region that changed wealthier people, but not poor people's nuptial behavior? The answer for this question is probably rooted in the expansion of education and women's economic independence. Perhaps, it was education that drove upper classes couples towards more egalitarian (gender) relations, with more freedom and less need of institutional protection. On the other hand, it is probably the lack of education and economic independence that keeps women from lower classes, and their children, submitted to traditional forms of family organization.

As suggested by Kiernan (2001, 2004) and Prinz (1995), it is possible that the meaning given to cohabitation by cohabitants, e.g. trial period before marriage or an alternative or substitute to it, depends on the value that couples or social groups give to marriage as a social institution. Following this reasoning, we can propose that marriage is still a goal for lower educated women, but they do not have negotiation power to 'choose' it as a nuptial arrangement due to their disadvantaged socioeconomic situation (as already suggested by Arriagada [2002], Goode [1960, 1961] and Rodman [1966, 1967]). For couples living in the innovative type of cohabitation, possibly a trial relationship before marriage, it seems that marriage is still important and desirable especially in framing other key transitions in the couples' life, such as having children. At the same time, we can hypothesize that blended cohabitants, view their arrangements as more definitive, but do not see marriage as an essential institution for their own family plans.

In this sense, it is likely that the incentives for women and men to live in one of the different types of cohabitation vary considerably. For lower classes' women, it is possible that the life conditions in their household are precarious enough to assume the risk of an untimely out of wedlock union (the traditional

cohabitation). These women are too young, and often under all sorts of social pressure, when they move into a cohabitating union. Consequently, they do not have maturity or negotiation power to build their own households differently than the ones built by their parents, leading to the so-called intergenerational transmission of poverty and poverty related social problems. At the same time, the historical cultural acceptance of this type of union, combined to the fact that these unions are easier to dissolve and that the consequences of union dissolution are smaller for men than for women, lead men to prefer cohabitation instead of marriage. It was shown in Chapter seven that these men have advantages over their partners, such as being older, higher educated and with higher negotiation power, which culminates in families based on traditional roles. We can also hypothesize that all these advantages combine to reinforce the Latin American “macho” identity among the lower social class men, and thus serves a reinforcing role in the persistent incidence of the traditional type of cohabitation in the region.

The motivations of choosing to cohabit instead or before getting married seem different for higher educated groups of couples, living in the modern types of cohabitation. Innovative cohabiters, possibly living in a trial period before marriage, are likely to choose this type of union because the financial or emotional rewards of living together with a dating partner are higher than living separately. We presume that, for these couples (or for their families), marriage is still a valuable and safe institution to have and raise children. Consequently, as stated previously, they perhaps choose to get married when this decision is made. The blended type of cohabitation is expected to be a more definitive arrangement, practiced by older couples. Women living in this type of cohabitation have economic independence and are able to live on their own and take care for their children. These are more symmetric couples in terms of age, education and family decision making. In this sense, they do not need marriage in its institutional protection and they are free to choose which type of union to form. And they chose to cohabit. This study demonstrated that the modern types of consensual union are more egalitarian. Consequently we can presume that the incentives to cohabit in a

modern type of cohabitation instead of being married may be quite similar for women and men.

Taken together, the results of this thesis make several contributions to the current literature. First, the empirical categorization of the types of cohabitation in Latin America gives additional evidence about the occurrence of modern types of cohabitation in the region. It opens space for a better understanding of this phenomenon, as well as the role played by the existence children on the chances of a couple to cohabit instead of being married in the different social classes. Second, the comparison of the different types of cohabitation to marriage provides new evidence about the divergences and similarities among these types of romantic relationships. Third, the analysis of the socioeconomic features and spatial distribution of each type of union, marriage and the types of cohabitation, contributes to a deeper characterization of individuals living in these unions, as well as about the environments where they occur. Fourth, the examination of gender relations inside these unions provides insightful evidence about the role played by education on women's family roles in Latin America. Finally, all these findings help to understand the mechanisms behind both the maintenance of the traditional type of cohabitation and the development of modern ones in the region.

8.3. Was the theoretical framework useful to understand different types of cohabitation in Latin America?

This doctoral thesis used the theoretical framework of the Second Demographic Transition, as well as the idea of postmodern values of Ronald Inglehart (e.g. Inglehart, 1971) and the concept of incomplete gender revolution as reported by Esping-Andersen (Esping-Andersen, 2009) and the gender equity theory as stated by Peter McDonald (McDonald, 2000, 2013) to analyze different types of cohabitation in Latin America. This section evaluates the contribution of these theories to understand the incidence of different types of consensual union in the region.

Bearing in mind that socioeconomic development is a precondition for the SDT, and that social inequality is a dominant feature of Latin American countries, one could argue whether it is not ambiguous to speak about the applicability of this theoretical framework in the region. Yes, poverty is a dominant issue in Latin America and it is central to the explanation of the traditional type of cohabitation. However, an undeniable wave of socioeconomic development took place in Latin America after the transition to democratic governments in the 1990s. Remarkably, much of this development is observed in women's empowerment and gender equality issues, which are important drivers for changes in family life. As stated earlier, women are higher educated than men in several Latin American countries (Esteve et al., 2012b). In addition, the share of women in reproductive ages using modern contraceptive methods in the region (67.1 percent) is higher than this same measure for the group of most developed countries in the world (62.6 percent) and almost as high as the one for Western European countries, which is 68 percent (United Nations, 2012). When reviewing these indicators, it is not possible to deny that the increasing incidence of modern types of cohabitation, along with several other demographic indicators (for a broader discussion see Esteve et al., 2013a), are consistent with the idea of the Second Demographic Transition in Latin America.

A comparison of the foundations and ingredients of the Second Demographic Transition with the results found in this study will help to assess whether this theoretical framework is useful to understand the coexistence of different types of nuptial arrangements in Latin America. According to the foundations of the SDT socioeconomic development reduces people's preoccupations about basic material needs, and opens space to the rise of higher order needs, such as self-actualization and individual autonomy (Maslow's theory of human motivation). This changes people's values, toward rejection of traditional forms of authority and of family organization, as well as their motivations for having children (as stated by Ariès, 1980). It leads to postponement and reduction of fertility, postponement of union formation, rise in cohabitation, divorce and in definitive childlessness in unions. In this sense, in order to be explained by the SDT framework, a consensual union should be found in positive socioeconomic

contexts, among upper social strata, formed during adulthood, with no child or low and late fertility, as well as marked by egalitarian relationships between partners. Actually, according to the SDT, symmetric gender relations are not exclusive of cohabiting unions, but also found among married couples or other types of relationships (e.g. LAT or same sex relationships).

The results presented in this study show that the SDT framework is a useful concept to understand the increasing incidence of modern types of cohabitation in Latin America, but unable to help the understanding of traditional types of consensual unions in the region. Couples living in the modern types of cohabitation tend to move in together during adulthood and have fewer children later in their life course. They are higher educated and have more egalitarian relationships between women and men. These modern unions also happen in places and among social groups where cohabitation was never acceptable a couple of decades ago. Accordingly, the existence of modern types of consensual union in Latin America suggests the advent of the SDT in the region, which reflects a rupture with long-lasting pre-structured patterns of family formation and organization. In other words, changes in family formation patterns and structures observed in Latin America reflect the de-traditionalization of customs and beliefs that rooted people's lives in predictable, socially accepted, intergenerational practices.

Our results also provide evidence about the erosion of the patriarchal model of family organization among higher educated Latin American groups as suggested by Jelin and Díaz-Muñoz (2003) and explained by the gender equity theory and the idea of incomplete gender revolution (Esping-Andersen, 2009; McDonald, 2000, 2013). As shown in Chapters five, six and seven, higher educated Latin American couples, married or living in unmarried cohabitation, have similar profiles in terms of age and education, as well as more egalitarian family decision making than lower educated couples. They also have fewer children than traditional cohabitants, which is another indicator of the decline of the patriarchal form of family in the region. Comparing these results with the gender equity theory of McDonald and the idea of incomplete revolution of Esping-Andersen we see that this can be the case for higher educated Latin American women. These women

have better opportunities in the job market, but receive an inadequate support to combine work and family lives by the State (Goldani, 2007). Following McDonald's (2000, 2013) reasoning, this reality combined with possible patriarchal vestiges in family organization, such as difficulties in sharing household tasks (as shown by Arriagada, 2002; Soares, 2008; Sorj et al., 2007), is likely to force women to make strong decisions about family life, such as having less children or choosing informal living arrangements. According to Esping-Andersen (2009), if Latin American countries do not improve its welfare state, this situation is likely to affect other aspects of family life such as child development, the intergenerational transfer of disadvantage and in the availability of support for elderly.

Although symmetric gender relations appear to be an important feature of the modern types of cohabitation and even of marriages, we cannot say the same about the traditional type of consensual union. As stated before, men living in the traditional type of cohabitation are in charge of family decision making in their households. This empirical evidence supports the idea that the traditional type of cohabitation is driven by the lower bargaining power of women related to men. As suggested by historical ethnographic evidence (reported by Goode, 1960 and Rodman, 1966) and by contemporary theoretical statements (e.g. Arriagada, 2002; Greene & Rao, 1995), "choosing the type of union" or "negotiating a marriage" do not appear to be a role that is available for lower educated Latin American women.

The concept of postmaterialism as developed by Ronald Inglehart states that socioeconomic development shifts people's value orientations from materialist, physical and economic to new individual values of autonomy and self-expression (e.g. Inglehart & Baker, 2000). It was not possible to demonstrate that this is the case for Latin America. We did not analyze the role played by value orientations on nuptial behavior at individual level. However, the macro-level results show that the incidence of cohabitation among lower educated groups is related to the incidence of traditional values in this group, while there is no significant correlation between structural value orientations and the incidence of cohabitation among higher educated groups in Latin America. Also, indicators of secularization used in an attempt to explain contextual differences, among Latin American regions, in the

odds of living in one of the three types of cohabitation or in marriage were not significant. It can be related to the fact that the socioeconomic development observed in Latin America was not enough to change people's values. It can also be related to the fact that the socioeconomic development in the region occurred quite recently. The post materialist theory of Ronald Inglehart, states that socioeconomic development change people's values in their formative years (Inglehart, 1971). Consequently it is possible that the increasing incidence of the modern types of cohabitation in Latin America was driven by increasing socioeconomic opportunities for women, e.g. education, participation in the labor market or availability of modern contraception, and not by value orientations.

We did not empirically analyze the driving forces of changes in nuptial behavior in Latin America. However, our results support previous statements that the expansion of education and the dissociation between sexual and reproductive lives play important roles in these societal modifications. As it was shown in previous research, the participation of Latin American women in the labor force, mostly in unskilled or domestic jobs, is not new (e.g. Arriagada, 2002; Parrado & Tienda, 1997). However, the expansion of education in the region opened space for these women in better jobs which improved their negotiation power relative to men and their opportunities in the marriage market. Along with these developments, the spread of the use of modern contraceptive methods, mainly among the higher educated groups (Rosero-Bixby et al., 2009) opened the possibility for individual autonomy. Consequently, less rigid gender roles, sexual identities and less conservative values systems enabled a greater degree of personal choice. One of the consequences of these societal changes is the reduction of the individual desire/need of marriage's institutional protection and of the value given to it as a social institution, leading to an unprecedented increase of cohabitation among this group.

In Western European countries, where the SDT is already in a more advanced stage, it is well known that the meaning of cohabitation for cohabitants varies enormously (e.g. Heuveline & Timberlake, 2004; Hiekel et al., 2012; Sobotka & Toulemon, 2008). This variation persists even if we consider only higher

educated cohabitants. While for some couples cohabitation is a trial period before marriage, for others it is a substitute or an alternative to it (e.g. Heuveline & Timberlake, 2004; Hiekel et al., 2012; Prinz, 1995). The existence of two modern cohabitations in Latin America suggests a similar heterogeneity in the region.

Data limitations do not allow us to assess the meanings given by cohabitants to the different types of cohabitation in Latin America. However, looking at the profiles of modern cohabitants in the region, it is possible to propose that the innovative cohabitation is similar to the cohabitation found in the developed countries, being consistent with the idea of a trial period before marriage or a substitute to singlehood, while the blended type indicates a Latin American alternative or substitute to it. The innovative cohabitation is practiced by young, higher educated (upper class) couples with no or few children. This type of consensual union is more commonly found in Brazil, where upper classes' cohabiting unions tend to be finished before or turned into marriage when children are born. Consequently, this profile is consistent with the idea of cohabitation being used as a substitute to singlehood or a trial period before marriage, which is the chosen institution in which to have and raise children. It seems that, for this group of cohabitants, the rupture with previous generations' family formation practices was not complete and that marriage is still an important institution in which to bear and raise children.

On the other hand, along with the traditional cohabitation, the modern blended type of cohabitation can be also considered a Latin American specificity. This type of cohabitation is practiced by older women, who moved into a cohabiting union later in life, always after single pregnancy or childbearing. These women have more children than those living in the innovative cohabitation and have more egalitarian relationships than couples in other types of unions (including marriage). They also appear to be more secular, since they live in areas with higher proportions of Catholics, without following Catholic religious dogmas. In addition, the blended cohabitation looks like a more definitive arrangement, consistent with the idea of an alternative or substitute to marriage, but in a Latin American way of doing it. It is possible that this group of women does not see

marriage as an important social institution or, as suggested by Samara and Costa in their interpretation about cohabitation in Colonial times (Samara & Costa, 1997), refuse to get married as an attempt to behave differently and to create independent forms of organization.

While the existence of modern types of consensual union is probably driven by improved socioeconomic conditions in Latin America, its coexistence with the traditional cohabitation is certainly an outcome of the evident and persistent social inequality in the region. Poverty and the incidence of cohabitation among the poor has been a striking feature of nuptiality in Latin America, since colonial times. Currently it accounts for more than 40 percent of all cohabitations in Latin America. It appears that, while the importance given to marriage is weakening at the top of the social pyramid in the region, the traditional cohabitation is a persistent practice at the bottom. Couples living in this type of union are definitely under all sorts of social pressure. They are both, man and woman, low educated and have more children. Women living in this type of union have low levels of empowerment and the gender relations in these families are far from symmetric. In fact, looking at the traditional type of cohabitation, one can see that in Latin America, while the gender revolution is still incomplete among the wealthy and higher educated, it is about to start among the poor.

The evident coexistence of modern and traditional cohabitations is an outcome of Latin American social organization: promising, developing, but marked by enormous social inequality (with a touch of racial and social segregation). In this sense, while cohabitation among the upper social classes is driven by increased gender symmetry, the lower social classes are still (and increasingly) cohabiting as a strategy to cope with all sorts of poverty related issues: low education, high fertility and subordination of women. Nevertheless, this study is in line with previous evidence that cohabitation is also an alternative living arrangement among the lower social classes in fully developed countries (e.g. Bumpass et al., 1991; Hiekel et al., 2012; Kalmijn, 2011; Sassler & Miller, 2011), and is consistent with the idea that cohabitation is a very heterogeneous phenomenon (Hiekel et al., 2012; Sobotka & Toulemon, 2008).

To the best of our knowledge, there is no theoretical framework able to deeply explain cohabitation in its heterogeneity. Although the framework of the Second Demographic Transition can be enough to describe cohabitation as one indicator of overall changes in demographic behavior that are happening in advantaged segments of Western societies, several features of this same phenomenon remain without theoretical explanation. How can different meanings given to cohabitation be explained? How can the motivation to have children in cohabiting unions, or to get married when the decision for children is made, be explained? And finally, how can the fact that this heterogeneity is often visible within the same society be explained?

The development of a theoretical framework which could answer these questions is needed in order to better understand the increasing incidence of cohabitation in Western societies. Said theory should disentangle the driving forces that lead individuals to break away from solid social institutions, such as marriage. Another important feature of cohabitation in Western societies in need of a theoretical explanation is the heterogeneity of the meaning given to cohabitation by couples living in such arrangements. The mechanisms leading some couples to cohabit as a trial period before marriage or as a substitute to singlehood, while others live together as a substitute to marriage, definitely need deeper theoretical explanation.

8.4. Policy relevance

Our results also have some important implications for family policy. These policy issues all relate, directly or indirectly, to the central focus on women's empowerment.

Women's empowerment and gender equality are Millennium Goals, as well as eradicating extreme poverty. Seeing that the improvement of women's status helps to reduce poverty and increase societal development via more investment in their children's education, health, and overall wellbeing (UNDP, 2013), couples living in the traditional cohabitation definitely deserve the attention of social

workers and policy makers. Considering that family legislation in most Latin American countries guarantees children's and often couples' rights in case of separation from cohabiting unions, it is not plausible to say that cohabitation leads to or reinforces poverty, nor that promoting these couples' marriage will help in any way. Moreover, it is undeniable that this study points to the existence of a target group in need of action to promote their social inclusion.

Therefore, priority public policies and actions should be to plan for the long- and short-term care of families living in the traditional cohabitation. In the long-term, policies aiming at family planning and improvement of education must be taken and, of course, not only for traditional cohabitants but also to the whole population. At the same time, it is unacceptable that 15 year old women are out of school and starting new families. Families living in traditional cohabitation would certainly benefit from actions aimed at promoting women's empowerment and gender equality in these unions. Social investments in women's education and the balance between family and work lives would improve the welfare of their children and create better scenarios for these families now and for their children when they become adults. Targeted actions in this direction, such as expansion of adults' education and in child care facilities, would help to avoid the perpetuation of the framework portrayed in this study and, as a consequence, the intergenerational transmission of poverty.

Since the outcomes of modern unions are not always positive, the findings regarding the modern types of cohabitation also require the attention of policy makers. Higher educated women tend to postpone childbearing and are found to be at risk of definitive childlessness in the region (Rosero-Bixby et al., 2009). At the couple's level, awareness actions about the risks of excessive postponement of parenthood, such as involuntary childlessness and smaller families than desired, should be taken. At the same time, countries and regions should be prepared to cope with the consequences of long-term sub-replacement fertility for the economy and social organization. In addition, another problem to be addressed is related to the instability of modern living arrangements. Although the legislation of Latin American countries is written to protect the property rights of couples and the

rights of children, the law is not always enforceable and problems related to family dissolution go far beyond a fair division of property and alimony allowance. In this sense, the outcomes of modern types of unions for children, such as consequences of less stable family configurations for their wellbeing (depression, lower school performance, delinquent behavior), must be investigated and addressed by policy makers and planners.

8.5. Limitations

Although this study provides new and important insights about the phenomenon of cohabitation in Latin America, there are also limitations to be highlighted, as well as needs for further investigation. The choice for first unions, due to both lack of information and previous evidence about the heterogeneity of second and higher order unions limits the interpretations of our findings. This limitation is mainly important for Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic which had 24 and 38 percent, respectively, of formed unions excluded from our samples. Results for these countries must be interpreted with caution. The focus on formed unions is another important drawback. The absence of single people in the analysis limits our understanding about the value given to marriage and the family in the region. Considering that we did not take into account people who decided to remain single, we do not know if it is marriage or life as a couple that is losing its appeal in Latin America.

The remaining drawbacks of this study are related to data constraints. The absence of data on the meaning given to cohabitation and value orientations of cohabitants, for instance, is an important restriction. With the information available, it is possible to categorize couples and realize what is going on. However, deeper research on these topics would be valuable for the elaboration of final conclusions about the different types of cohabitation in Latin America, as well as their outcomes. In addition, the absence of specific surveys on the theme, as well as scarce information on marital dynamics, are additional barriers to a sound analysis of nuptiality in Latin America. The absence of longitudinal information on family

transitions following the first union, such as legalization, separation, divorce and age at second and higher order unions are also drawbacks. Moreover, due to the absence of retrospective information about other important variables, such as educational evolution and labor market transitions, important processes related to women's autonomy are missing. Under these limitations, the analysis of nuptiality trends in Latin America from a life course perspective was unfeasible.

More in-depth research is needed to better understand the driving forces behind the increasing incidence of cohabitation in Latin America, as well as the meaning of cohabitation in this region. Up to the time of this study, and again due to data restrictions, one can only speculate about the driving forces behind the choice for cohabitation instead of marriage or remaining single in Latin America. The motivations for further transitions, such as separation or marriage, are in need of further analysis.

Investments should be made in the collection of longitudinal or retrospective information in order to make it possible to analyze the effect of improving the educational level, changes in the job market and the arrival of children on the chances of living in different types of cohabitation in Latin America. The first rounds of DHS data provided a calendar with retrospective information about employment situations, contraceptive use and marital/union status. In recent rounds the calendar was dropped from the survey and there is no other source of comparable and, at least, retrospective information about nuptial dynamics in Latin America. At the same time, a pilot longitudinal data collection was completed recently in Peru, under the title of 'Continuous DHS'. Both initiatives, the return of the calendar and/or the expansion of continuous DHS would contribute to the development of further research about nuptiality in the region.

8.6. Lessons for the future

We finalize by setting some topics that should motivate new research. Some of these issues have already been mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, but are briefly reintroduced in this section.

One of the most important lessons for future studies is the need to understand Latin American cohabitation in its heterogeneity. This is especially important in the region because the number of traditional cohabiters is usually much higher than the one of modern cohabitants and tends to dominate results in quantitative analysis. The results shown in Chapter four are a good example of it. In this sense, in case of quantitative studies using secondary data sets, if it is not possible to create a typology of cohabitation, at least interaction terms should be used in an attempt to differentiate the traditional cohabitation from the modern ones (as it was made in Chapter four and by Parrado & Tienda, 1997 for instance). Following the same reasoning, researchers aiming at own quantitative data collection or the selection of individuals for qualitative studies should be aware about the social class division of cohabitation in Latin American countries.

Our results also indicate the need for future exploration about the real motivations for moving in together in a cohabitating union, the quality of these relationships, as well as future plans of couples living in consensual unions. As stated before, based on our typology of cohabitation we can only speculate about the meaning of each type of cohabitation. Deeper and even qualitative information about the circumstances and motivations for moving in together in a cohabiting union, for individuals with different socioeconomic backgrounds, would improve our knowledge about the increasing incidence of consensual unions in Latin America. In addition, data about the quality of these relationships, as well as these couples' plans for having children or making the union official, would improve our understanding about the meaning of this type of union for Latin Americans enormously.

To conclude, this study points to important developments related to women's social and family roles. On one hand, women from the lower social classes

are found in a persistent situation of subordination to men. On the other hand, higher educated women show some level of empowerment which is probably changing more than just patterns of union formation and organization. Such scenarios have the potential to bring very negative, as well as positive outcomes to Latin American society and need further investigation by family sociologists and demographers.

9. References

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English Summary

The coexistence of marriage and cohabitation is an intriguing feature of Latin American nuptiality. Historically common among lower social classes in Central America and the Caribbean, the incidence of cohabitation is also increasing among higher educated groups and southern Latin American countries. This study uses census and survey data to investigate the characteristics of Latin American cohabitation.

First, the countries' socioeconomic characteristics, related to the incidence of cohabitation among different social classes, are described. Cohabitation among the lowest educated is related to low socioeconomic development, high social and gender inequality, and traditional values. Cohabitation among the highest educated is related to high socioeconomic development and low social and gender inequality. Next, individuals' socioeconomic characteristics linked to cohabitation in Brazil are shown. Cohabitation is mostly found among lower social classes, younger, less religious people, and childless couples from higher social classes. This suggests the existence of different types of cohabitation in Latin America, which are characterized by relationship context at its outset and childbearing outcomes.

Three cohabitation types are found. The first type is labeled *traditional* and groups women of high fertility, who cohabit and have their first child very young. The remaining two types of cohabitation are labeled *innovative* and *blended*. Women living in these modern cohabitations move in together with their partners during early adulthood and have their first child later in life. *Blended* cohabitants experience pre-cohabitation pregnancy, while *innovative* cohabitants do not. *Innovative* cohabitants have the lowest fertility. *Traditional* cohabitants are the youngest and lowest educated, while *blended* and *innovative* cohabitants are older and higher educated.

Hereafter, gender symmetry and decision making power in different cohabitation types is compared to marriage. In comparison to marriage, men in *traditional*

cohabitation are more educated and older than women. They also have the highest decision making power. In *innovative* and *blended* cohabitations men are more educated than women and they have a similar age or are younger than women. Decisions are mostly made by men in the *innovative* cohabitation and by women in the *blended* one. Regional differences between cohabitation and marriage are also explored. Compared to marriage, *traditional* cohabitation is less common among whites and Catholics and is found among people who perceive their socioeconomic status as bad. *Blended* cohabitations are found among Catholics and people who also perceive their socioeconomic status as bad. Less regional differences are related to the *innovative* cohabitation.

This study shows that historical cohabitation patterns among disadvantaged social and ethnic groups persist. However, education and economic independence is increasing women's negotiation power and freedom, resulting in more symmetric gender relations. It suggests that different types of cohabitation have distinct meanings for different social groups. While *traditional* cohabitation can be a strategy to cope with poverty related issues, *innovative* cohabitation seems to be a temporary arrangement and the *blended*, a definitive one. The main policy implication of this study is that legal protections should not be linked to union type. Further, social inclusion of *traditional* cohabitants and negative outcomes of modern cohabitation (e.g. instability, lower fertility than desired) also need policy attention.

Nederlandse samenvatting

Dat gehuwde en ongehuwde koppels naast elkaar leven, vormt een intrigerend kenmerk van de Latijns Amerikaanse nuptialiteit. Terwijl in het verleden ongehuwd samenwonen vooral onder de lagere sociale klassen in Centraal Amerika en de Caraïben voorkwam, zien we tegenwoordig ook meer en meer mensen uit de hoger opgeleide groepen, en uit de zuidelijke landen van het Latijns Amerikaanse continent ongehuwd samenwonen. In deze studie worden de kenmerken van het ongehuwd samenwonen in Latijns Amerika onderzocht op basis van data uit volkstellingen en enquêtes.

Eerst worden de socio-economische kenmerken van landen beschreven die in verband gebracht worden met de mate waarin koppels van verschillende sociale klassen ongehuwd samenwonen. Onder de lager opgeleide klassen blijkt ongehuwd samenwonen samen te hangen met een laag socio-economisch ontwikkelingsniveau, grote sociale ongelijkheid, alsmede grote gender-ongelijkheid, en traditionele waarden. Onder de hoger opgeleide klassen is ongehuwd samenwonen gerelateerd aan een hoog socio-economisch ontwikkelingsniveau en relatief beperkte sociale ongelijkheid, alsmede geringe gender-ongelijkheid. Daarnaast werden de socio-economische kenmerken van individuen onderzocht, die in Brazilië ongehuwd samenwonen. Ongehuwd samenwonen komt daar het vaakst voor onder de lagere sociale klassen, de jongere en minder religieuze bevolking, en onder kinderloze stellen van de hogere sociale klassen. Dit suggereert dat er verschillende types van ongehuwd samenwonen bestaan, die gerelateerd zijn aan de context waarbinnen een relatie start, alsmede uitkomsten inzake vruchtbaarheid.

Drie verschillende types van ongehuwd samenwonen werden aangetroffen. Het eerste type wordt gevormd door koppels, waarvan de vruchtbaarheid hoog is en de vrouw haar eerste kind op jonge leeftijd krijgt. Dit type van ongehuwd samenwonen krijgt het label *traditioneel*. De twee andere vormen van ongehuwd

samenwonen worden respectievelijk als *innovatief* en *gemengd* bestempeld. Vrouwen die deel uitmaken van deze moderne samenlevingsvormen gingen reeds op jonge leeftijd met hun partner samenwonen, maar kregen hun eerste kind pas op een later moment in de levensloop. Vrouwen uit het *gemengde* type waren reeds zwanger voordat zij met hun partner gingen samenwonen. Voor vrouwen uit het *innovatieve* type is dat niet het geval. Koppels uit het innovatieve type hebben de laagste vruchtbaarheid. Partners behorende tot het *traditionele* type zijn het jongst en laagst opgeleid, terwijl koppels uit het *gemengde* en *innovatieve* type ouder en hoger opgeleid zijn.

Vervolgens wordt de gendergelijkheid en de besluitvormingskracht binnen de verschillende types van ongehuwd samenwonen vergeleken met die binnen het huwelijk. Vergeleken met gehuwden, zijn mannen in het *traditionele* type hoger opgeleid en ouder dan hun partners. Deze mannen hebben ook de meest macht ten aanzien van het nemen van beslissingen. In het *innovatieve* en *gemengde* type zijn mannen ook beter opgeleid dan hun vrouwelijke partners en zij hebben dezelfde leeftijd als hun partner of zijn jonger. In het *innovatieve* type worden beslissingen meestal door mannen genomen; in het *gemengde* type nemen vrouwen vaker de beslissingen. Regionale verschillen tussen gehuwde en ongehuwde koppels werden ook bestudeerd. Vergeleken met gehuwden, komt het *traditionele* type van ongehuwd samenwonen minder vaak voor onder blanken en katholieken, en komt het juist vaker voor onder mensen die hun socio-economische status als slecht beschouwen. Het *gemengde* type komt voor onder katholieken en eveneens onder diegenen die hun socio-economische status als slecht beschouwen.

Deze studie toont aan dat het historische patroon van ongehuwd samenwonen onder minder bevoorrechte sociale en etnische groepen blijft voortbestaan. Echter, onderwijs en economische onafhankelijkheid vergroten de onderhandelingspositie en vrijheid van vrouwen, wat resulteert in gelijkere genderrelaties. Het suggereert dat verschillende types van ongehuwd samenwonen verschillende betekenissen hebben voor verschillende sociale groepen. Het *traditionele* type is een strategie om met armoede en daarmee gerelateerde uitdagingen om te gaan. Het *innovatieve* type lijkt een tijdelijke samenlevingsvorm te zijn. Het *gemengde* type is dan weer

een definitievere samenlevingsvorm. De belangrijkste beleidsimplicatie van deze studie is dat wettelijke bescherming niet aan samenlevingsvormen gekoppeld dient te worden. Tot slot verdienen de sociale insluiting van de traditioneel samenwonenden, alsmede de negatieve uitkomsten van de moderne vormen van ongehuwd samenwonen (bv. instabiliteit, lagere vruchtbaarheid dan gewenst), de aandacht van beleidsmakers.

Résumé français

L'existence simultanée du mariage et de la cohabitation est une caractéristique intrigante de la nuptialité Américaine latine. Dans le passé, la cohabitation était fréquente entre les classes sociales les plus basses en Amérique Central et les Caraïbes. Aujourd'hui, la cohabitation est de plus en plus fréquente entre les personnes à haut niveau d'instruction et dans les pays de l'Amérique latine du Sud. Cet étude utilise des données du recensement et des enquêtes pour investiguer la cohabitation en Amérique latine.

Je commence avec une description des caractéristiques socio-économique nationales qui sont relatées à l' incidence de la cohabitation entre des classes sociales différentes. La cohabitation entre des personnes à faible niveau d'instruction est associée avec un pauvre développement socio-économique, une grande inégalité sociale, une grande inégalité entre hommes et femmes, et des valeurs traditionnelles. La cohabitation entre les personnes à haut niveau d'instruction est plus fréquente dans les pays avec un grand développement socio-économique et dans les pays plus égalitaires.

En suivant, je présente le lien entre des caractéristiques socio-économique individuelles et la cohabitation au Brésil. La cohabitation est la plus fréquente entre les classes sociales les plus basses, les plus jeunes, les personnes moins religieuses et entre les couples sans enfants de la classe sociale supérieure. Ces résultats suggèrent l' existences de types de cohabitation différentes en Amérique latine, caractérisés par le contexte de la relation entre partenaire et la parentalité suivante cette relation.

Je trouve trois types de cohabitation. Le premier type (*traditional*) se compose de femmes avec une haute fertilité, qui cohabitent très vite et ont leur premier enfant très tôt. Les deux autres types s' appelle *innovative* et *blended*. Les femmes dans ces unions modernes conjoignent avec leurs partenaires quand elles sont adultes et conçoivent leur premier enfant plus tard dans la vie. Le type *blended* expérience la

grossesse avant le concubinage, le type *innovative* pas. Les concubins *innovatives* ont la fertilité la plus basse. Les concubins traditionnelles sont les plus jeunes et des personnes à faible niveau d'instruction, pendant que les types *blended* et *innovative* sont plus âgées et des personnes à haut niveau d'instruction.

Après, la symétrie des sexes et le pouvoir de décision sont comparés entre les types de cohabitation différents et le mariage. En comparaison avec le mariage, les hommes dans des concubinages traditionnelles ont un niveau d'instruction plus haut que leurs femmes et ils sont plus âgés que leurs femmes. Ils ont aussi le plus haut pouvoir de décision. Dans les cohabitations *innovative* et *blended*, les hommes ont un niveau d'instruction plus haut que les femmes et ils ont le même âge ou ils sont plus jeunes que leur femmes. Les décisions sont largement prises par les hommes dans le type *innovative*, et par les femmes dans le type *blended*. J' ai aussi exploré des différences régionales entre les types de cohabitations différents et le mariage. La cohabitation *traditionnal* est moins fréquente que le mariage entre les blancs et entre des Catholiques. Ce type est surtout fréquent entre des personnes avec une situation socio-économique faible. Moins de différences régionales sont associées avec la cohabitation *innovative*.

Cette étude prouve que la cohabitation historique est encore fréquente entre certains groupes sociales and ethniques désavantagées. Pourtant, la niveau d'instruction et l'indépendance économique plus haute des femmes augmentent leur pouvoir de négociation, leur liberté, et des relations entre les sexes plus symétriques. Les résultats suggèrent que les types de cohabitations différentes ont une valeur distinctive pour des groupes sociales différentes. La cohabitation *traditionnal* peut être une stratégie pour battre la pauvreté, la cohabitation *innovative* est une arrangement temporelle et la cohabitation *blended* est une arrangement définitive. L'implication politique la plus importante de cette étude est que les protections légales sont de préférence identiques pour des types d'unions différentes. En plus, l'inclusion social des concubins *traditionnal* et les conséquences négatives des cohabitations modernes (par exemple l'instabilité et une fertilité bas) désire plus d'attention.

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