

The implications of changing living arrangements for intergenerational relations in Chile

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Abstract

The past three decades have seen important transformations in family life in Chile: falling marriage and fertility rates, and increasing cohabitation and extramarital births. Increasing female employment has weakened the traditional male-breadwinner family. This article provides evidence of the effects of these changes in family living arrangements in Chile and their implications for intergenerational relations. We use 1990, 2000 and 2011 data from the National Socio-economic Characterisation Survey to explore why extended family living is increasingly important for young women in the early stages of family formation. We hypothesise two different processes to explain this increase. Firstly, due to the rise in women's employment, young women need greater assistance from their extended family to reconcile the demands of work and family responsibilities. Secondly, declining marriage rates and rising rates of cohabitation and lone parenthood increase the need for extended family support. Our findings show that family change is the main driver of the rise in extended family living, indicating that intergenerational dependence is often driven by the economic and social support needed by young families. Despite improvements in social welfare and female employment, better-designed housing and work–family reconciliation policies are needed to offer young families an alternative to intergenerational family support.

Keywords: living arrangements, intergenerational relations, sub-families, extended households, family change

Introduction

There has been a long-standing debate in family theory about the effects of modernisation on family living arrangements. The notion that economic and social development inevitably leads to the rise of the independent nuclear family, with a corresponding decrease in extended family living and a reduction of intergenerational support, was often promoted in early twentieth century functionalist social theory (Goode, 1963). Such notions have been widely criticised, based on empirical historical research on family change in Europe and the United States (Laslett, 1983; Ruggles, 1987; Ruggles & Heggeness, 2008). Nevertheless, the influence of such modernisation theories on family research in Latin America is still observed at the beginning of the twenty-first century (García & Rojas, 2002).

The expectation of convergence towards independent nuclear families in Latin America contrasts with the persistence of traditional extended family households, involving co-residence with other family members beyond the nuclear family (Arriagada, 2014). Extended family households are common in Latin America and their prevalence does not seem to be in decline. Overall, according to information from the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), extended households represented 29.4% of all urban households in Latin America in 1990 and 28.2% in 2010/11, with a slightly larger decline in rural areas from 28.4% in 1990 to 26.6% in 2010/11 (authors' calculations from data provided by ECLAC).

The persistence of traditional extended family households in Latin America contrasts with the significant transformations that have taken place in family life in the past three decades. Marked changes in family formation, with marriage rates falling, unmarried cohabitation increasing and a sharp rise in the number of out-of-wedlock births, have been observed (García & de Oliveira, 2011). Gender relations within the family are also changing, albeit slowly, with the rise in women's employment and female-headed households weakening the traditional male-breadwinner family (Chant, 2002; Arriagada, 2014).

Despite such contrasting trends, there is a dearth of research exploring the ways in which recent changes in family formation have affected household structures and the implications this may have for intergenerational relations. The analysis of living arrangements is important because co-residence facilitates the exchange of support and the pooling of resources among household members, including those of different generations. This issue is particularly important in Latin America, where it is less common than in Europe or the United States for family formation to involve setting up a residentially independent household. Indeed, co-residence with either the woman's parents or her in-laws is an important form of

support for young families, as most extended households in Latin America are three-generation family households (de Vos, 1995).

In Chile, extended households accounted for more than a quarter of urban households in the 1990–2011 period. However, for women aged 20–29 in family units, the prevalence of extended living arrangements was much higher, increasing from 38% in 1990 to 54% in 2011 (authors' calculations from the National Socio-economic Characterisation Survey, CASEN). This differentiates Chile from its neighbours in the Southern Cone, Argentina and Uruguay, which have the lowest prevalence of extended households in Latin America, despite the fact that all three countries share similar levels of economic development and demographic characteristics. Indeed, the persistence of extended households in Chile has taken place in a context of improving levels of welfare, a reduction in poverty, rising educational levels, and improvements in access to housing (García & de Oliveira, 2011; Murray & Clapham, 2015). Thus, although the question of how family living arrangements affect intergenerational relations is important to all countries, Chile offers an interesting specific case for study in the Latin American context because of its distinctive patterns of recent developments alongside modernisation and family change.

In this research, we examine the changes in living arrangements of young families in Chile across recent decades, a period when marked transformations in family life took place. We use data from the CASEN Survey for Chile for the years 1990, 2000 and 2011 to distinguish between women living independently in nuclear households and those living in extended households. Among the latter, we further distinguish between those who self-identify as household heads, either as an individual or as part of a household head couple, and those in non-head (sub-family) units. In particular, we investigate the extent to which shifts in young families' living arrangements are associated with recent transformations in family composition and the increasing labour force participation of women. We draw out the implications of our findings for intergenerational relations and discuss how policy improvements could offer young families an alternative to intergenerational family support.

The Chilean context

Chile, along with most of Latin America, has experienced significant changes in family demography during the last few decades. Marriage rates have fallen and the importance of cohabitation or 'consensual unions' (*convivientes*) has grown. Indeed, over the 1990–2011 period, cohabiting unions increased from 10.4% to 28.0% of all women aged 15

and older living together with a partner (authors' calculations from Population Censuses and CASEN). In association with these trends, the percentage of out-of-wedlock births almost doubled, from 34.3% in 1990 to 67.7% in 2010 (Registro Civil e Identificación, 2015). Moreover, fertility rates fell from 2.6 children per woman in 1990–95 to 1.8 in 2010–15 (below the replacement level of fertility), although teenage fertility remained high (United Nations, 2011).

Changes in family demography have gone hand-in-hand with a marked change in the role of women in Chile. Female labour force participation increased from 28.0% of women aged 15 and older in 1992 to 43.5% in 2011 (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, 2012). Nevertheless, this level of participation in Chile is considerably lower than in other countries in Latin America with large economies, where participation rates for women in 2010 were already over 50% (with 51.4% in Argentina and 58.9% in Brazil) (García & de Oliveira, 2011). In Chile, as in other Latin American countries, women's employment often involves insecure contracts and low pay (Arriagada, 2014).

These changes in family demography and women's employment have taken place in a context of significant political and institutional transformations. With the return to democracy in Chile in 1990, new centre-left governments sought to reverse the reduction in social protection carried out by the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973–1989), which targeted only those deemed 'poor' in terms of inadequate housing and low income potential. The first democratic governments significantly expanded social protection, including other vulnerable groups along with the poor, such as ethnic minorities, people with disabilities, young and older people and women (Raczynski, 1999). Indeed, social spending almost doubled during the 1990s, and further increases were registered during the 2000s (Larrañaga, 2010).

Housing and childcare policies are especially relevant to changes in living arrangements and intergenerational relations. Democratic governments have begun to address the high level of housing shortages observed during the military dictatorship, and Chile has made considerable progress in promoting access to affordable good-quality housing. However, although Chile has a relatively low proportion of urban slums in comparison with other Latin American countries with large economies such as Brazil and Argentina, key shortages of housing and problems of affordability remain, particularly for low-income groups (Murray & Clapham, 2015). Housing shortages have been exacerbated by the dramatic increase in the number of households in the 1990–2011 period, from over three million to almost five million (authors' calculations from CASEN). In Chile, home ownership accounts

for almost three-quarters of housing tenure, with renting accounting for less than one-fifth; rental subsidies for low-income families are very limited (Salvi del Pero, 2016).

Childcare provision has improved rapidly. Provision for children under four years old was limited before 2006 and focussed almost entirely on women employed in the formal sector of the economy. However, this situation changed with the introduction of the Programa Chile Crece Contigo (Chile Grows with You Programme) in 2006. The number of pre-school institutions (for children aged two and three) doubled between 2005 and 2009 (from 1,469 to 2,944), while the number of state nurseries (for children under two) quintupled over the same period (from 539 to 3,259) (Junta Nacional de Jardines Infantiles - JUNJI, 2009). As a result, the coverage of pre-school education for children under four increased significantly between 2006 and 2011, from 16% in 2006 to 26% in 2011 (Ministerio de Educación, 2012).

During 1990–2011, a number of legal reforms aimed at regulating family relations were introduced. These included provisions in 1994 for a more egalitarian marital property regime, as well as the first law against domestic violence. However, the most important family reforms took place later, with the Ley de Filiación (filiation law) of 1998 and the subsequent Ley de Matrimonio Civil (law of civil marriage) of 2004. The main change introduced by the filiation law was the elimination of the legal discrimination that existed between children born outside and inside marriage (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile, 1998). Regardless of their birth status, children now have the same rights regarding parental economic support and inheritance. In addition, the 2004 law of civil marriage recognised the reality of marital breakdown in terms of annulment, legal separation and divorce. This has important implications for women's economic autonomy, by providing an entitlement to financial compensation for the unpaid work of raising a family.

Increasing social protection, coupled with economic growth, has improved population wellbeing in Chile. For example, poverty rates – based on an absolute 'poverty line' related to basic needs and adjusted across time for inflation – decreased significantly, from 38.6% in 1990 to 14.4% in 2011 (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, 2011a). Educational indicators have also improved. In 1990, the population aged 18 and older had an average of 9.0 years of schooling, which increased to 10.6 years by 2011 (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, 2011b). Secondary education enrolment has increased further since 2003, when the law raised the compulsory minimum of schooling to twelve years.

These developments are important to consider because some scholars have understood the prevalence of extended household arrangements in Latin America as a response by families to economic deprivation (González de la Rocha, 1994; De Vos, 1995). Their implicit

assumption was that individuals, particularly in mostly urban and modern societies, would have a preference for independent residence, and they viewed extended households as the result of families' income proving insufficient to cover living costs and independent residence.

Economic and social modernisation and extended living arrangements

The idea that economic and social modernisation results in a decrease in the prevalence of extended households is well established in social theory. It goes back to the studies of Frédéric Le Play during the second half of the nineteenth century, who argued that in industrial societies children were more likely to leave the parental home on reaching adulthood because of the greater labour market opportunities resulting from economic development (Ruggles & Heggeness, 2008). The influence of functionalism in the mid-twentieth century reinforced such ideas. The expectation that economic and social development would lead to an increase in nuclear family households, a decline in extended family living, and a decrease in the importance of extended kin relations continues to have influence in contemporary analysis of Latin American families (García & Rojas, 2002).

In this section, we develop the rationale for two hypotheses that, in marked contrast to traditional social theory, suggest a positive relationship between socio-economic modernisation and extended living arrangements. The first relates to changes in women's roles, particularly concerning increasing female labour force participation among younger generations. The second relates to the ways in which changes in the process of family formation (including the decline in marriage, increasing unmarried cohabitation and births outside marriage) are associated with changes in living arrangements.

Female labour force participation

Increasing female labour force participation can be considered an indicator of economic modernisation, as well as a reflection of cultural transformation towards greater gender equality. Some scholars claim that women's new employment roles – and the difficulties that men, and institutional frameworks, appear to have in adapting to these new roles – help explain recent transformations in the patterns of family formation and dissolution in the developed world. Esping-Andersen & Billari (2015), for example, have criticised the hypothesis of ideational change as the main explanatory factor for recent changes in family life in Europe and the United States. They argue instead that high levels of gender inequality in the distribution of paid and domestic work within the family become increasingly problematic as women participate more fully in the labour force. Persistent gender inequalities

have acted as a disincentive for women to start families, because they see the responsibilities associated with motherhood as incompatible with their professional careers, although this relationship varies depending on the configuration of social policies in different countries.

The hypothesis that changes in the process of family formation and dissolution are the result of conflicts arising from women's new roles could be useful in understanding the persistence of extended households in Chile. The support traditionally provided by the extended family might nowadays play a central role in helping young women combine employment and domestic work, including childcare responsibilities. In Chile, the conflicts resulting from female employment and persistent gender inequalities within the family have not discouraged women from forming partnerships – either married or unmarried cohabitation – or from having children at a relatively early age. One possible reason could be the support provided by the extended family. By living in an extended household, young women's employment roles might be facilitated by having other women (particularly mothers) available to help with domestic chores and childcare responsibilities. Thus, our first hypothesis is that the increase in women's labour force participation is associated with an increase in the prevalence of young families living in extended households.

Change in the process of family formation and dissolution

New interpretations of family change in the developed world have emphasised the emergence of post-material values associated with growing individualism and the loss of centrality of the family in individuals' lives (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2001; Lesthaeghe, 2010). Such cultural transformations have been seen as major reasons for current patterns of family formation and dissolution. This suggests a greater acceptance of diverse family forms, which results in non-traditional patterns of household formation, including an increase in single-person households, cohabitation and lone-parent households (Lesthaeghe & Surkyn, 2002). However, such transformations could also lead to an increase in intergenerational co-residence. Indeed, existing research from the United States and Latin America shows not only that cohabiting couples are more likely to live in extended family households than married couples, but also that young lone mothers are far more likely to live in extended family households than are women with partners (Esteve, García-Román, & Lesthaeghe, 2012; Pilkauskas, 2012). Explanations for these differences are likely to vary across time and place. However, in most countries, lone mothers are seen to be economically and socially vulnerable. Moreover, in Latin America, despite recent reforms in family law, marriage still offers greater legal protection than cohabitation for both women and children, if the

relationship dissolves (Castro-Martin, 2002). In Chile, the vast majority of cohabiting women living in extended households between 1990 and 2011 were mothers (over 80%) (Binstock, Cabella, Salinas & López-Colás, 2016). Thus, our second hypothesis is that recent changes in family composition in Chile are associated with the increase in the prevalence of young families living in extended households.

Data, measures and analysis

We use data from the CASEN Survey for 1990, 2000 and 2011 to test our hypotheses. CASEN affords the most complete nationally and regionally representative data on the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the population in Chile. Moreover, unlike population censuses, CASEN provides information at the level of the family unit, identifying all couples and linking parent and child(ren) within the household. Along with demographic characteristics, it provides information on income, education and the employment status of all household members, as well as detailing access to health provision, housing, subsidies and social programmes. CASEN has a repeated cross-sectional design, which results in similar data being recorded for different samples at different points in time.

Our analysis is based on the sub-sample of young women living in family units. A family unit can include women in cohabiting or marital unions with or without children, as well as single (never-married) lone mothers, henceforth shortened in the text to ‘lone mothers’. Given our interest in the family formation stage, we limit our sample to women aged 20–29 who have either a partner (married or cohabiting) or a child or both. We exclude women under 20 because under-18s are legally dependent on parents, and some 19-year-olds are still in secondary education. Our sample includes 6,022 women in 1990, 11,651 in 2000 and 8,690 in 2011.

We identify the living arrangements of young women in family units by distinguishing between those living in nuclear or extended households. CASEN uses the United Nations (2008) definition of a household as a single person or a group of people, related or unrelated, who live in the same dwelling and have a common food budget. A family unit is a co-resident family group composed of one or both parents with their children of any age, or a couple without co-resident children (Hammel & Laslett, 1974). A nuclear household consists of only one family unit, as defined above. Extended households include one or more family units co-residing with other related family members.

We further distinguish between family units living within extended households by household headship. In CASEN, as in most Latin American household surveys, household

headship is based on a self- or proxy-reporting criterion. CASEN does not provide a measure of householder status, which refers to who owns the dwelling. Nevertheless, our measure of household headship is strongly related to owner-occupancy, with data from CASEN 2011 showing that, in 93.3% of owner-occupied households, the heads of household (and/or their partners) are owner(s) of the dwelling; home ownership accounts for almost three-quarters of household tenure. Similarly, our measure is strongly related to an economic measure of household headship, and data from CASEN 2011 show that 79.5% of household heads (either as an individual or as one member of a household head couple) are also the main income earners in the household. Thus, a family unit can either head an extended household or join it as a sub-family. A head-family unit is that of the individual or couple who are defined as the household head(s). In our analysis, though not in CASEN, when such a person has a spouse or cohabiting partner, both are considered household heads. A sub-family is one in which there is no household head.

The dependent variable of our analyses is whether or not the woman in our sample lives in a sub-family, as we consider this an indicator of residential dependence. The independent variables included in the analysis are listed in Table 1. We include two predictors: women's family status and women's employment. The latter contrasts full-time employment with those not working full time (whether unemployed or working part time). This is because full-time work involves greater challenges for reconciling work and family responsibilities and part-time work is relatively rare in Chile, representing less than one fifth of employment among women (Rau, 2010). We also control for variables that prior research has highlighted as affecting extended living arrangements. These include economic needs (income quintile of women's family unit, and women's education), life-course stage (women's age and number of children), and geographical factors (urban/rural zone of residence).

[Table 1 about here]

Our multivariate analysis uses binary logistic regression techniques to estimate the likelihood of living in sub-families, based on a pooled sample of women aged 20–29 in family units in 1990, 2000 and 2011.

Empirical results

This section presents the empirical results of our analysis. Firstly, we evaluate how residential independence and extended living arrangements changed among young women over the 1990–2011 period. Secondly, we examine how these trends relate to recent transformations in women’s labour force participation and family composition.

Trends in living arrangements among young women in family units

A marked increase in the prevalence of sub-family living arrangements among young women in family units is observed over this period, as Figure 1 shows. At first sight, this contradicts the claim that the social and economic developments experienced in Chile during recent decades should have led to a family formation process increasingly associated with residentially independent nuclear family households, as discussed above.

[Figure 1 about here]

Young women are more likely to live in extended households – particularly in sub-families – when they are lone mothers than when they are in a union (either married or unmarried cohabitation). This finding, shown in Table 2, is consistent with previous research. However, unlike the general trend of increasing sub-family living arrangements observed in Figure 1, the proportion of lone mothers living in sub-families decreased over the period. This could be related to a compositional shift resulting from the substantial increase in lone parenthood over the period, which could include lone mothers of higher income with sufficient resources to live independently. Young women in both married and unmarried cohabiting unions had a similar likelihood of living in sub-families in 1990. However, in subsequent years women in unions diverged markedly in their propensity to live in sub-families. Women aged 20–29 in unmarried cohabiting unions were far more likely to live in sub-families across time, whereas married women in this age-group were, if anything, less likely to live in sub-families in later years. Table 2 also reflects how family composition in Chile changed across this period, with a marked increase in lone motherhood and unmarried cohabitation and a drastic drop in marriage.

[Table 2 about here]

Multivariate analysis of sub-family living arrangements

Our two hypotheses for why sub-family living arrangements have increased focus on changes in women's employment and family composition. Table 3 presents the odds ratios from logistic regressions predicting the likelihood of living in sub-families, based on a pooled sample of women aged 20–29 in family units, from 1990, 2000 and 2011 data. In order to differentiate the influences of changes in women's employment and family composition on trends in sub-family living arrangements, the analysis includes three models. The first is a baseline model (Model 1), which contains a measure for the year, plus socio-economic and demographic controls for income, education, woman's age, number of children, and urban zone. In Model 2 we use the same variables as Model 1 and include a dummy variable of women's employment status showing whether or not women work full time. In Model 3, we use the same variables as Model 2 and add family status, comparing lone mothers and unmarried cohabiting women with those in marital unions.

[Table 3 about here]

When changes in family composition and women's employment are not taken into account (see Model 1), the odds of living in sub-families are significantly higher in 2000 and 2011 than in 1990. An odds ratio of more than 1 means that the odds of an event occurring are higher for this category than in the comparison or reference category. Thus, Model 1 confirms the upward trend, with the odds of women in 2011 living in sub-families being 59% higher than those of women in 1990, once the socio-economic and demographic controls are taken into account.

When women's employment status is controlled for (Model 2), we find that the upward trend in sub-family living arrangements continues over time. The odds of women in 2000 living in sub-families are 12% higher than those of women in 1990 and 44% higher in 2011 than in 1990. Living in extended households may help women to combine their new productive roles with their traditional reproductive roles related to caring and domestic chores. This can be seen in the positive effect of women's full-time employment – and the interaction of full-time employment and number of children – on the odds of living in sub-families in Model 2. However, the increase in young women's full-time employment over the period was not sufficient to drive the upward trends in sub-family living arrangements.

Once women's family status is included (Model 3), the upward trend in sub-family living arrangements changes dramatically. No significant difference is found in the odds of living in sub-families for women in 2000 compared to 1990. Moreover, in 2011, instead of the odds ratio increasing in comparison to 1990, the odds ratio is less than 1 (0.86). This fall in the odds of sub-family living, once family status is taken into account, shows that the rise of sub-family living arrangements is linked to family composition change. Lone mothers and women in unmarried cohabiting relationships, with and without children, are more likely than married women in the same age range to live in extended households. Thus, as noted in Table 2, the increase in partnerships and parenthood outside marriage has gone hand-in-hand with the rise of sub-family living arrangements.

Conclusions

Our findings show that recent transformations in the process of family formation in Chile have been associated with changes in the living arrangements of young families. In particular, the increase in cohabitation and lone motherhood coincides with the rising prevalence of young women starting family life in non-headship sub-family units in extended family households. Socio-economic modernisation and family change in Chile go hand-in-hand with the increasing importance of the support provided by the extended family. Moreover, as most extended households in Chile are three-generational households, our findings indicate that such living arrangements reflect an increase in intergenerational dependence that is driven mainly by the needs of the young adult generation.

In Chile, the extension of the economic dependence stage among younger people could be associated not only with increasing education but also with a rise in job insecurity following market-led economic restructuring. This trend is likely to increase young adults' need for support during the early stages of family formation. This explanation applies not only to lone mothers but also to unmarried women who are cohabiting, regardless of whether or not they have children. Greater union instability, together with the ongoing gender inequalities in domestic labour in Chile, make young women economically vulnerable, with no legal redress if the union breaks down. Moreover, the relatively low rates of female employment in Chile mean that very few women, regardless of whether or not they have children, have sufficient income for independent living. Recent legal changes offer partial economic protection for unmarried cohabiting mothers (via filiation law), but childless cohabiting women who are not married have no such protection, if the couple splits up. By living as sub-families in extended family households, young women increase the economic

and social support available to them. However, further research is needed to investigate what goes on within the ‘black box’ of the household, in terms of exchanges of other forms of both intra- and inter-generational support.

Another significant finding from this research is the positive effect of women’s full-time employment on the odds of living in sub-families. This observation is important, despite the fact that the rise in female labour force participation in Chile has not been the main driver for the increase in the prevalence of sub-families. Female employment does not appear to have brought sufficient economic autonomy to secure greater residential independence for women. Part of the explanation lies in the insecure and poorly-paid jobs that many women have to take. Other reasons include the persistence of a traditional gendered division of labour within households, as well as extremely limited work–family reconciliation policies (Arriagada, 2014). Employed women need all the support that they can get from their relatives – particularly their mothers – if they are to succeed in juggling family responsibilities and paid work. However, the redistribution of unpaid care work and household chores among women of different generations helps to perpetuate the notion that domestic labour is women’s responsibility. It does nothing to mitigate the ongoing gender inequalities in the distribution of paid and unpaid work. For employed mothers, better public childcare programmes could help to reduce such reliance on intergenerational family support, along with flexible working hours and family-friendly policies.

In Chile, access to affordable housing is problematic for many low-income families because of the lack of savings and long waiting times for state housing subsidies. In addition, current housing policies do not take into consideration the geographical proximity of families. Housing policy has frequently resulted in limited state-provided housing for middle- and low-income families being built on the outskirts of cities (Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo 2004). Rehoused families therefore have reduced contact with their extended families and increased travel time to access jobs. Such factors are likely to influence the decisions of young families to stay in or return to the parental home.

Further research is needed to help inform targeted policies that could reduce young women’s residential dependence on extended family households. While much of this dependence is due to economic factors, our findings indicate that this relationship persists even when women’s socio-economic characteristics are taken into account. Young women may have additional non-economic needs for support, including emotional support and other forms of practical assistance, whether or not they are mothers. Wide-ranging policies are needed to mitigate ongoing social inequalities that prevent young women from having a

realistic choice of residential independence. It is possible that, even if social policies supported young women living independently, the pervasive patriarchal culture would militate against young women and unpartnered mothers living in non-male-headed households (Chant, 2002). It is clear that feminist aspirations to form autonomous households free from dominance and dependence in families remain elusive (Orloff, 1993). At the same time, defamilialisation – ‘the degree to which individuals can uphold a socially acceptable standard of living independent of family relationships, either through paid work or social security provision’ (Lister, 1994, p. 37) – remains a challenge for twenty-first century family life in Chile.

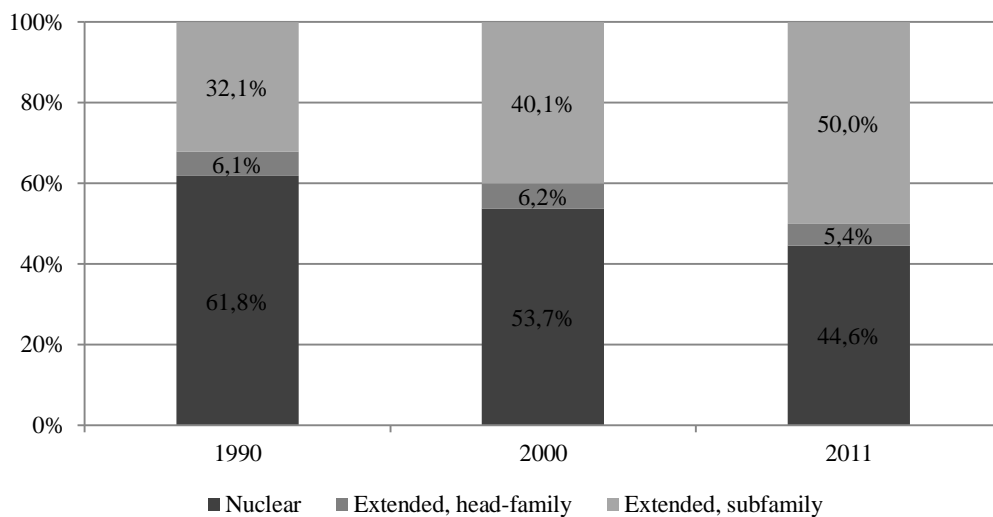
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Figure 1. Women aged 20–29 in family units (women in marriages or cohabiting unions and never-married lone mothers) by living arrangements. Chile, 1990, 2000 and 2011.



Notes: Samples weights applied. All differences by living arrangement are significant across time at $p < .001$.

Source: Authors' analysis of CASEN data.

Table 1. Independent variables.

| Variables | Definitions |
|------------------------------|--|
| Income quintile | The income quintile consists of five dummy variables that correspond to an ascending order of per capita family-unit income based on the full sample of women of all ages for each year. Quintile I represents the poorest 20% of family units and Quintile V represents the richest 20% of family units. |
| Women's education | Women's education is based on the variable of 'years of education', which is recoded into three dummy variables: a) incomplete high school education, which includes people who have not finished the obligatory curriculum of 12 years of schooling; b) complete high school education, people who have completed the obligatory curriculum only; and c) some or complete higher education. |
| Women's full-time employment | Women's employment is included through a dummy variable that measures whether women are full-time employed (45 hours or more per week, which represents legal working hours in Chile). |
| Family status | Family status is measured according to a combination of family structure and marital status. It consists of three dummy variables: a) single lone mothers; b) married cohabiting couples; c) unmarried cohabiting couples. CASEN does not have information on the legal status of unmarried cohabiting women. |
| Number of children | A first dummy variable measures whether women have one child. A second dummy variable measures whether women have two or more children. |
| Woman's Age | Age is included as a continuous variable (20–29). |
| Urban zone of residence | A dummy variable measures whether women live in urban area. |

Table 2. Single lone mothers, women in unmarried cohabiting unions, and married women aged 20–29 by living arrangements, Chile, 1990, 2000 and 2011 (in %, N = sample size).

| Living arrangements | 1990 | 2000 | 2011 |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| Single lone mothers | | | |
| Nuclear | 4.5 | 5.7 | 15.5 |
| Extended, head-family | 2.1 | 3.9 | 2.9 |
| Extended, sub-family | 93.3 | 90.4 | 81.6 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| N | 841 | 2,609 | 3,144 |
| Unmarried cohabiting women | | | |
| Nuclear | 70.9 | 59.8 | 53.5 |
| Extended, head-family | 8.2 | 6.5 | 6.4 |
| Extended, sub-family | 20.8 | 33.7 | 40.1 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| N | 647 | 2,746 | 3,708 |
| Married cohabiting women | | | |
| Nuclear | 70.8 | 69.3 | 73.8 |
| Extended, head-family | 6.6 | 7.0 | 7.6 |
| Extended, sub-family | 22.6 | 23.7 | 18.6 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| N | 4,534 | 6,296 | 1,838 |
| Total sample | | | |
| Nuclear | 61.8 | 53.7 | 44.6 |
| Extended, head-family | 6.2 | 6.3 | 5.4 |
| Extended, sub-family | 32.1 | 40.1 | 50.0 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| N | 6,022 | 11,651 | 8,690 |

Notes: Samples weights applied. All differences by living arrangement and family status are significant at $p < .001$.

Source: Authors' analysis of CASEN data.

Table 3. Odds ratios from logistic regressions predicting sub-family living arrangements among women aged 20–29 who are living with partners and/or children, Chile, pooled years 1990, 2000 and 2011.

| PREDICTORS | Model 1 | | | Model 2 | | | Model 3 | | |
|---|-----------|-------|--------|-----------|-------|--------|-----------|-------|--------|
| | β | SE | OR | β | SE | OR | β | SE | OR |
| Year (Ref: 1990) | | | | | | | | | |
| 2000 | 0.167*** | 0.039 | 1.182 | 0.113** | 0.039 | 1.119 | -0.015 | 0.043 | 0.985 |
| 2011 | 0.462*** | 0.049 | 1.587 | 0.364*** | 0.042 | 1.439 | -0.157** | 0.050 | 0.855 |
| Employment | | | | | | | | | |
| Women full-time employed | | | | 0.245** | 0.090 | 1.278 | 0.067 | 0.088 | 1.069 |
| Family status (Ref: Married) | | | | | | | | | |
| Single lone mothers | | | | | | | 2.516*** | 0.050 | 12.377 |
| Cohabiting | | | | | | | 0.428*** | 0.039 | 1.534 |
| SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTROLS | | | | | | | | | |
| Income (Ref: Income quintile V) | | | | | | | | | |
| Income quintile I | 2.865*** | 0.069 | 17.551 | 3.265*** | 0.072 | 26.167 | 2.216*** | 0.077 | 9.167 |
| Income quintile II | 1.824*** | 0.066 | 6.197 | 2.033*** | 0.069 | 7.636 | 1.579*** | 0.072 | 4.848 |
| Income quintile III | 1.407*** | 0.066 | 4.085 | 1.451*** | 0.069 | 4.266 | 1.228*** | 0.071 | 3.416 |
| Income quintile IV | 0.689*** | 0.068 | 1.992 | 0.665*** | 0.069 | 1.945 | 0.587*** | 0.071 | 1.799 |
| Education (Ref: Complete high school education) | | | | | | | | | |
| Incomplete high school education | -0.485*** | 0.035 | 0.615 | -0.473*** | 0.036 | 0.623 | -0.418*** | 0.039 | 0.658 |
| Some or complete higher education | 0.356*** | 0.041 | 1.428 | 0.380*** | 0.042 | 1.462 | 0.299*** | 0.046 | 1.348 |
| DEMOGRAPHIC CONTROLS | | | | | | | | | |
| Woman's Age | -0.148*** | 0.006 | 0.862 | -0.163*** | 0.006 | 0.850 | -0.161*** | 0.006 | 0.851 |
| Urban zone | 0.353*** | 0.043 | 1.424 | 0.357*** | 0.044 | 1.429 | 0.235*** | 0.048 | 1.265 |

| Table 3. Continued | Model 1 | | | Model 2 | | | Model 3 | | |
|---|----------------|-------|------------|----------------|-------|------------|----------------|-------|------------|
| Number of children (Ref: no children) | | | | | | | | | |
| One | -0.006 | 0.050 | 0.994 | -0.342*** | 0.061 | 0.711 | -0.649*** | 0.060 | 0.522 |
| Two or more | -1.213*** | 0.057 | 0.297 | -1.526*** | 0.068 | 0.217 | -1.487*** | 0.067 | 0.226 |
| INTERACTIONS | | | | | | | | | |
| Women full-time employed*One child | | | | 0.895*** | 0.099 | 2.447 | 0.520*** | 0.101 | 1.683 |
| Women full-time employed*Two or more children | | | | 0.940*** | 0.114 | 2.560 | 0.476*** | 0.119 | 1.609 |
| Intercept | 1.561*** | 0.160 | 4.761 | 1.819*** | 0.167 | 6.166 | 2.222*** | 0.180 | 9.224 |
| Sample size | | | 26,358 | | | 26,358 | | | 26,358 |
| -2 log-likelihood | | | 28,567.085 | | | 27,726.477 | | | 24,522.628 |
| Cox & Snell R Square | | | .219 | | | .244 | | | .333 |
| Nagelkerke R Square | | | .295 | | | .328 | | | .448 |

Notes: Samples weights applied. OR = odds ratio. *p< .05. **p< .01. ***p< .001.

Source: Authors' analysis of CASEN data.