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The changing demographics of cohabiting unions in Latin America

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Etapas 3

Extended Abstract

Context

Cohabiting unions and marriages have coexisted in Latin America since the times of colonization. The level of cohabitation, however, has varied across and within countries. Traditionally, these unions were most common among population groups characterized by having lower socioeconomic status and belonging to specific regions within countries. Recent research has documented the significant rise of cohabitation in Latin American countries beginning in the 1970s but to a much larger extent during the 1990s (e.g., Esteve, Lesthaeghe and López-Gay 2012; Fussell and Palloni 2004). Esteve et al., suggest cohabitation arose in countries and regions with and without traditional forms of cohabiting unions, and across different social strata.

This paper follows this line of research and aims to contribute to the understanding of the continuity and change in the nature of Latin-American cohabitation. Most previous research analyzes cohabitation trends at the country level, which often hides the possibility of within-country diversity and therefore treats cohabitation as a singular, or one-dimensional, phenomenon. Nonetheless, it is quite possible that old and new forms of cohabitation are coexisting across the region. One way to explore this possibility is by exploring the extent to which the demographics of cohabitation have changed through time, across and within countries. We explore this avenue by pooling individual-level census data from IPUMS International (1970-2010) and estimating multilevel multinomial logistic models, to analyze within- and between-country cohort variation in the effects of demographic variables on the probability of cohabiting. Using one wave of mid-2000s data from the Luxembourg Income Study, we complement this analysis further by providing a snapshot picture of the role of income in this region on the probability of cohabiting.

Research Questions

This project is organized around four questions: the first investigates the extent to which cohabitation has increased across birth cohorts of Latin-American women (i.e., are younger cohorts more likely to cohabit?), and to what extent does this vary across countries. Second, we consider whether cohort differences are due to, or mediated, by the individual's level of education, labor force participation and occupation as these strong correlates of cohabitation have undergone important transformations during the focus period of study (for example, is cohort differences in the probability of cohabitation due to the changing educational composition of the population). The third research question analyzes the extent to which the effects of individual predictors have changed across generations (i.e., are the demographics of cohabitation

changing?). Finally, the fourth research question asks whether and to what extent country-level factors, such as level of cohabitation or level of development, explain cross-country variation in person-level cohabitation.

Method

In order to answer our research questions, we use data from two international data archives: IPUMS International and Luxembourg Income Study (LIS). Both sources provide harmonized data that facilitate international comparisons and include some Latin American countries. By providing multiple censuses per country, data from IPUMS-I allows the analysis of continuity and/or change in the demographics of cohabitation. The countries selected from this source are Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Mexico, Panama, Peru, Puerto Rico, Uruguay, and Venezuela. The period of analysis is 1970-2010. Unfortunately, most of the Latin American censuses lack reliable income information, thus we complement the analysis by using household income survey data provided by LIS. This latter analysis, however, only aims to provide a snapshot of the association between income and cohabitation since LIS has but one wave of Latin American data (collected circa 2005). Four countries are selected from this source: Colombia, Mexico, Peru and Uruguay.

For the analysis, we select female respondents aged 25-29 who are single, cohabiting or married at the time of census or survey. We estimate a set of nested multilevel multinomial logistic regression models with random intercepts and slopes. We use individuals and countries as levels and test the significance of cross-level interactions. This approach allows us not only to account for the dependency of observations within countries, but more importantly, to assess the extent to which the effect of key demographic variables on cohabitation vary significantly across countries and to what extent the variance of those effects can be explained by macro-level variables.

The dependent variable in the analysis is a categorical indicator of whether a woman is cohabiting, married or single (reference category). Individual level predictors include birth cohort, education, employment status and occupation. Control individual variables are rural/urban residency and motherhood status. Country-level predictors are the level of cohabitation as a measure of its “institutionalization” and, as a control variable, the Human Development Index (available from 1980). The analysis conducted with LIS data includes also a measure of personal income from labor.

Model 1 includes the variable cohort (COH) and the control variables rural/urban residency (URB) and motherhood status (MOM). It also includes a random effect of cohort. This model addresses whether there is a cohort difference in the probability of cohabiting or being married (vs. being single) and

whether it varies across countries. In model 2 individual variables education (EDU), employment status (EMP) and occupation (OCC) are added. This model addresses whether the cohort change within and across countries can be explained by this individual-level factors. In model 3 interactions between individual-level variables and cohort are included to investigate if the association between these predictors and the probability of cohabiting have change over time, thus answering my main research question - the extent to which the effects of individual predictors have changed across generations. Finally, model 4 includes country-level predictors and examines cross level interactions.

Analysis with LIS data is limited to assess the association between income and the probability of cohabiting or marry (vs. raining single) while controlling for the other sociodemographic variables investigated with census data. Nonetheless, it assesses to what extent this relationship varies significantly across countries and to what extent the variance of those effects can be explained by macro-level variables. Unfortunately, no cohort change in this relation can be investigated.

Preliminary Descriptive Results

Table 1 presents the percent of women aged 25-29 that reported being in a consensual union in the various Latin American countries in our study. The data are grouped by decade and along the bottom edge of the table we present the average percent of women aged 25-29 who reported being in a consensual union for each decade. In general, we find that in the 1970s approximately 18.8% of women of this age group reported being in a consensual union, while this number more than doubles to 51.8% by 2010. Moreover, the Total Change column along the right side of table 1 presents the percentage point difference for each country in our study between the oldest and most recent data available of women who reported being in a cohabiting partnership. We find that both Brazil and Uruguay have experienced a 40-point gain in the percentage of consensual unions, while the smallest change (most stable) countries appear to be El Salvador and Puerto Rico (1.4 and 3.2, respectively). While the latter two countries experienced the lowest change, over 50% of women aged 25-29 report being in a consensual union in El Salvador, while Puerto Rico hovers around 11%. Note that even though a sizeable number of women in Bolivia and Cuba report being consensual unions, we drop and exclude these countries from the remainder of the analyses because the focus of this paper change and having only one cross-section of data for these countries disqualifies them from further analyses.

Table 2 reports the average number of children ever born to women aged 25-29 that report being either married or in a consensual union (single women will be included later). As with the previous table, table 2 presents data by

decade for each of the countries in our study and an overall average by decade at the bottom of the table. On average, the table shows that women report having birthed fewer children from the 1970s to 2010. Moreover, we find that women in consensual unions on average report having more children than their married counterparts.

Table 3 shows the average number of own children present in the home among women aged 25-29 for each of the countries in our study. As with the previous tables, table 3 also compares women in consensual unions versus married from the 1970s to 2010. Looking at the bottom row (All Countries), we find a similar pattern here as found for table 2 – on average women in consensual unions report having more children present in their homes than their married counterparts. Moreover, we find that the average number of children present in the home also appears to have decreased from the 1970s to the most recent 2010 data.

In an effort to better understand the similarity and differences between the women who report being in a consensual union, we investigate the average age of their eldest child present in their home. As one would expect, table 4 shows that the average age of the eldest child in these households for these women (all aged 25-29) is fairly constant at approximately 6.7 years of age. However, the table also makes clear that on average women who report being in a consensual union have slightly older children, suggesting that these women most likely begin their child-bearing at a slightly younger age than their married counterparts.

To compliment the previous table, in table 5 we look at the average number of children aged 5 years or younger reported by the women in our sample. On average we find that over time, from the 1970s to 2010, there has been a significant reduction in the number of younger children in the home of women aged 25-29. In the 1970s, we find a slight tendency for married women to have more children under the age of 5 than women who reported being in consensual unions; however, that slight tendency appears to have even out by now and might even be in favor of consensual union mothers.

Table 6 shows the percent of women in our sample that reported having completed secondary education or more in each of the countries in our data. In general, we find a significant improvement in the percentage of women who completed secondary education or more from the 1970s to the 2010. Moreover, we find a very consistent pattern suggesting that married women report having completed secondary education or more than women in consensual unions.

In table 7 we show the percent of women in our study that reported being

active in the labor force. In general, we find that over time there was been a significant number of women who have joined the labor force, from approximately 11% in the 1970s to over 50% in 2010. There does not appear to be a significant difference in labor force participation, however, between women who report being married relative those in consensual unions.

Finally, based on these preliminary descriptive statistics, we expect to observe important cross-country variation in the effects of socioeconomic characteristics on the probability of cohabitating. Moreover, we expect that these observed differences by country in the institutionalization of cohabitation will account for at least some part of the variation. We also expect to see important cohort changes in the effect of education and employment status on cohabitation both within and across countries.

References

Esteve, Albert, Ron Lesthaeghe and Antonio López-Gay (2012). The Latin American Cohabitation Boom, 1970-2007. *Population and Development Review*, 38(1): 55-81.

Fussel, Elizabeth and Alberto Palloni (2004). Persisten Marriage Regimes in Changing Times. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 66(5): 1201-1213.

Table 1. Trends in the Percentage of Consensual Unions Among Women in Partnership (ages 25-29), 1970s-2010.

	1970s						1980s					1990s						2000s						2010s	Total Change
	'70	'71	'73	'74	'75	'76	'80	'81	'82	'84	'85	'90	'91	'92	'93	'95	'96	'00	'01	'02	'05	'06	'07	'10	
Argentina	11.1						13.3					22.7						40.0							28.9
Bolivia						--							--					34.1							--
Brazil	7.5						12.8					21.7						38.7						50.2	42.7
Chile	4.7								7.2				12.4						24.3						19.6
Colombia			18.7								31.9			48.8						65.6					46.9
Costa Rica			16.9						19.3									32.3							15.4
Cuba																				60.6					--
Ecuador			26.2						28.9			29.9							37.0					47.7	21.5
El Salvador													52.3									53.7			1.4
Mexico	14.8											14.3				19.4		22.3						36.2	21.4
Panama	57.4						52.7					52.8						61.2						73.1	15.8
Peru														43.7								70.1			26.4
Puerto Rico	8.2						5.0					11.4						--		--					3.2
Uruguay					9.9					14.8					23.5						53.1				43.2
Venezuela		31.5						34.9				37.9						52.7							21.2
Average			18.8						22.1					30.1						46.1				51.8	23.7

Notes: Total Change is the difference between the most recent and the oldest percentages available for each country using the available census data. All values reflect household sampling weights.

Source: Minnesota Population Center. 2011. "Integrated Public Use Microdata Series International: Version 6.1", Machine-readable database. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.

Table 2. Average Number of Own Children ever Born among Women (ages 25-29) in Partnerships by Country, 1970s-2010.

	1970-1979				1980-1989				1990-1999				2000-2009				2010			
	married		consensual		married		consensual		married		consensual		married		consensual		married		consensual	
Argentina	2.01	(1.5)	3.03	(1.9)	2.07	(1.4)	2.61	(1.9)	1.95	(1.4)	2.46	(1.8)	1.92	(1.4)	2.18	(1.7)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Brazil	3.27	(2.2)	3.33	(2.4)	2.51	(1.8)	2.83	(2.0)	2.08	(1.5)	2.41	(1.7)	1.69	(1.3)	2.12	(1.5)	1.24	(1.1)	1.70	(1.3)
Chile	3.16	(1.9)	3.48	(2.1)	2.19	(1.3)	2.38	(1.4)	1.84	(1.1)	2.09	(1.3)	1.59	(1.0)	1.63	(1.1)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Colombia	3.38	(2.1)	3.92	(2.2)	2.39	(1.5)	2.88	(1.7)	2.06	(1.3)	2.48	(1.5)	1.64	(1.1)	2.07	(1.4)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Costa Rica	3.12	(2.0)	3.98	(2.2)	2.36	(1.4)	3.01	(1.7)	--	(--)	--	(--)	1.82	(1.2)	2.38	(1.4)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Ecuador	3.38	(1.9)	4.15	(2.2)	2.95	(1.7)	3.53	(1.9)	2.49	(1.5)	2.94	(1.8)	2.17	(1.3)	2.52	(1.4)	1.91	(1.3)	2.25	(1.4)
El Salvador	--	(--)	--	(--)	--	(--)	--	(--)	2.37	(1.6)	2.53	(1.6)	1.96	(1.3)	2.25	(1.3)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Mexico	3.84	(2.4)	3.89	(2.5)	--	(--)	--	(--)	2.62	(1.6)	2.91	(1.7)	2.15	(1.3)	2.43	(1.4)	1.93	(1.2)	2.13	(1.3)
Panama	2.91	(2.0)	3.84	(2.0)	2.38	(1.5)	3.29	(1.7)	2.07	(1.4)	2.94	(1.7)	1.79	(1.3)	2.48	(1.6)	1.55	(1.2)	2.17	(1.5)
Peru	--	(--)	--	(--)	--	(--)	--	(--)	2.68	(1.5)	2.82	(1.5)	1.99	(1.2)	1.93	(1.2)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Puerto Rico	2.63	(1.8)	4.04	(1.9)	2.06	(1.3)	2.79	(1.6)	1.50	(1.3)	2.24	(1.5)	--	(--)	--	(--)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Uruguay	1.91	(1.5)	2.84	(1.9)	1.73	(1.3)	2.53	(1.8)	1.59	(1.2)	1.91	(1.6)	1.51	(1.2)	1.62	(1.4)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Venezuela	2.84	(1.9)	3.74	(2.1)	--	(--)	--	(--)	2.18	(1.5)	2.98	(1.7)	1.88	(1.3)	2.57	(1.6)	--	(--)	--	(--)
<i>All Countries</i>	3.23	(2.2)	3.65	(2.3)	2.42	(1.7)	2.86	(1.9)	2.21	(1.5)	2.58	(1.7)	1.89	(1.3)	2.19	(1.5)	1.52	(1.2)	1.84	(1.3)

Table 3. Average Number of Own Children in Household among Women (ages 25-29) in Partnerships by Country, 1970s-2010.

	1970-1979				1980-1989				1990-1999				2000-2009				2010			
	married		consensual		married		consensual		married		consensual		married		consensual		married		consensual	
Argentina	1.79	(1.3)	2.37	(1.8)	1.97	(1.4)	2.25	(1.8)	1.92	(1.4)	2.29	(1.7)	1.84	(1.4)	2.02	(1.6)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Brazil	2.82	(1.8)	2.46	(1.9)	2.29	(1.6)	2.29	(1.7)	1.94	(1.3)	2.02	(1.5)	1.64	(1.2)	1.89	(1.3)	1.23	(1.0)	1.57	(1.2)
Chile	2.64	(1.6)	2.63	(1.8)	2.01	(1.2)	1.97	(1.4)	1.70	(1.0)	1.73	(1.2)	1.42	(1.0)	1.35	(1.0)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Colombia	2.91	(1.8)	2.92	(1.9)	2.18	(1.4)	2.43	(1.5)	1.83	(1.3)	2.05	(1.4)	1.63	(1.1)	1.92	(1.3)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Costa Rica	2.90	(1.8)	3.17	(1.8)	2.23	(1.3)	2.42	(1.6)	--	(--)	--	(--)	1.76	(1.1)	2.07	(1.4)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Ecuador	2.78	(1.6)	3.21	(1.9)	2.52	(1.4)	2.84	(1.7)	2.20	(1.3)	2.40	(1.6)	1.90	(1.3)	2.05	(1.4)	1.78	(1.1)	1.94	(1.3)
El Salvador	--	(--)	--	(--)	--	(--)	--	(--)	2.26	(1.4)	2.27	(1.4)	1.89	(1.2)	2.04	(1.2)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Mexico	3.38	(1.8)	3.14	(1.8)	--	(--)	--	(--)	2.33	(1.4)	2.45	(1.5)	2.02	(1.2)	2.18	(1.3)	1.83	(1.1)	1.94	(1.2)
Panama	2.68	(1.9)	3.24	(1.9)	2.20	(1.5)	2.88	(1.7)	1.91	(1.4)	2.46	(1.6)	1.64	(1.3)	2.15	(1.5)	1.41	(1.2)	1.91	(1.4)
Peru	--	(--)	--	(--)	--	(--)	--	(--)	2.24	(1.4)	2.31	(1.4)	1.83	(1.2)	1.76	(1.2)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Puerto Rico	2.52	(1.6)	3.33	(1.9)	2.00	(1.2)	2.46	(1.5)	1.42	(1.2)	2.03	(1.4)	--	(--)	--	(--)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Uruguay	1.72	(1.3)	1.87	(1.6)	1.62	(1.2)	2.04	(1.6)	1.50	(1.2)	1.60	(1.4)	1.5	(1.2)	1.55	(1.4)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Venezuela	2.83	(1.8)	3.51	(2.0)	2.34	(1.6)	2.85	(1.8)	2.07	(1.4)	2.61	(1.6)	1.81	(1.3)	2.31	(1.4)	--	(--)	--	(--)
<i>All Countries</i>	<i>2.81</i>	<i>(1.8)</i>	<i>2.90</i>	<i>(1.9)</i>	<i>2.22</i>	<i>(1.5)</i>	<i>2.43</i>	<i>(1.7)</i>	<i>2.09</i>	<i>(1.4)</i>	<i>2.22</i>	<i>(1.5)</i>	<i>1.79</i>	<i>(1.2)</i>	<i>1.94</i>	<i>(1.3)</i>	<i>1.47</i>	<i>(1.1)</i>	<i>1.68</i>	<i>(1.3)</i>

Table 4. Average Age of Eldest Own Child in Household among Women (ages 25-29) in Partnerships by Country, 1970s-2010.

	1970-1979				1980-1989				1990-1999				2000-2009				2010			
	married	consensual			married	consensual			married	consensual			married	consensual			married	consensual		
Argentina	5.14	(3.6)	6.63	(4.3)	5.42	(3.7)	6.86	(5.1)	5.65	(3.6)	7.11	(4.3)	6.02	(3.7)	6.83	(3.9)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Brazil	6.52	(3.9)	7.23	(4.6)	5.75	(3.7)	6.62	(4.4)	5.99	(3.5)	6.62	(4.1)	6.24	(3.7)	6.79	(3.9)	6.22	(3.9)	7.19	(4.0)
Chile	6.29	(3.9)	7.07	(4.4)	6.37	(4.1)	7.20	(4.9)	5.73	(3.7)	6.69	(4.4)	6.27	(3.7)	6.53	(3.9)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Colombia	7.03	(4.0)	7.61	(4.1)	6.62	(4.1)	7.41	(4.2)	6.27	(3.8)	7.04	(4.2)	6.28	(3.6)	7.12	(3.9)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Costa Rica	6.59	(3.6)	7.51	(3.8)	6.44	(3.5)	7.16	(3.9)	--	(--)	--	(--)	6.26	(3.5)	7.55	(4.1)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Ecuador	6.63	(3.7)	7.73	(4.2)	7.06	(6.5)	8.27	(7.8)	6.40	(3.7)	7.17	(4.3)	6.76	(4.1)	7.49	(4.5)	6.74	(3.8)	7.15	(3.8)
El Salvador	--	(--)	--	(--)	--	(--)	--	(--)	6.78	(4.1)	7.36	(3.8)	7.14	(4.1)	7.58	(3.9)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Mexico	7.49	(4.2)	8.44	(4.6)	--	(--)	--	(--)	6.82	(4.4)	7.47	(4.5)	6.48	(3.8)	7.22	(4.0)	6.61	(3.7)	7.07	(3.8)
Panama	6.59	(3.9)	7.66	(4.0)	6.51	(4.0)	7.96	(4.1)	6.20	(4.0)	7.29	(4.1)	6.16	(3.9)	6.96	(3.7)	6.25	(3.8)	7.31	(3.9)
Peru	--	(--)	--	(--)	--	(--)	--	(--)	6.62	(3.7)	6.84	(4.1)	6.92	(4.1)	6.84	(4.0)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Puerto Rico	6.12	(3.7)	8.13	(4.3)	5.75	(3.5)	7.38	(3.7)	4.87	(3.9)	6.79	(3.2)	--	(--)	--	(--)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Uruguay	5.28	(3.6)	6.28	(4.2)	5.42	(3.4)	6.98	(4.0)	5.36	(3.5)	6.41	(3.9)	6.07	(3.7)	6.83	(3.8)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Venezuela	6.69	(4.1)	8.24	(4.1)	6.30	(3.9)	7.53	(4.2)	6.36	(4.0)	7.47	(3.9)	6.60	(3.9)	7.52	(3.8)	--	(--)	--	(--)
<i>All Countries</i>	6.62	(4.0)	7.73	(4.4)	5.91	(3.9)	7.10	(4.7)	6.33	(4.0)	7.05	(4.2)	6.36	(3.8)	6.98	(4.0)	6.40	(3.8)	7.16	(3.9)

Table 5. Average Number of Own Children (< age 5) in Household among Women (ages 25-29) in Partnerships by Country,

	1970-1979				1980-1989				1990-1999				2000-2009				2010			
	married		consensual		married		consensual		married		consensual		married		consensual		married		consensual	
Argentina	1.03	(0.9)	1.25	(1.0)	1.14	(0.9)	1.17	(1.0)	1.02	(0.8)	1.09	(1.0)	0.90	(0.8)	0.91	(0.9)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Brazil	1.47	(1.0)	1.26	(1.1)	1.26	(0.9)	1.20	(1.0)	0.96	(0.8)	0.97	(0.9)	0.75	(0.7)	0.85	(0.8)	0.54	(0.6)	0.61	(0.7)
Chile	1.33	(1.0)	1.36	(1.0)	0.94	(0.8)	0.89	(0.8)	0.91	(0.7)	0.84	(0.8)	0.65	(0.7)	0.59	(0.7)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Colombia	1.35	(1.0)	1.37	(1.0)	1.03	(0.8)	1.09	(0.9)	0.87	(0.8)	0.92	(0.8)	0.74	(0.7)	0.8	(0.8)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Costa Rica	1.33	(1.0)	1.44	(1.0)	1.09	(0.8)	1.12	(0.9)	--	(--)	--	(--)	0.82	(0.7)	0.84	(0.8)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Ecuador	1.44	(0.9)	1.51	(1.0)	1.29	(0.9)	1.33	(1.0)	1.07	(0.8)	1.06	(0.9)	0.87	(0.8)	0.87	(0.8)	0.77	(0.7)	0.81	(0.8)
El Salvador	--	(--)	--	(--)	--	(--)	--	(--)	1.06	(0.9)	1.00	(0.9)	0.75	(0.7)	0.76	(0.7)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Mexico	1.66	(1.0)	1.45	(1.0)	--	(--)	--	(--)	1.08	(0.8)	1.07	(0.9)	0.94	(0.8)	0.92	(0.8)	0.82	(0.7)	0.83	(0.8)
Panama	1.35	(1.0)	1.56	(1.0)	1.04	(0.8)	1.20	(0.9)	0.91	(0.8)	1.09	(0.9)	0.80	(0.7)	0.99	(0.9)	0.67	(0.7)	0.81	(0.8)
Peru	--	(--)	--	(--)	--	(--)	--	(--)	1.05	(0.8)	1.12	(0.8)	0.82	(0.7)	0.8	(0.7)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Puerto Rico	1.27	(1.0)	1.35	(1.3)	1.08	(0.9)	1.06	(0.9)	0.83	(0.8)	0.86	(0.9)	--	(--)	--	(--)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Uruguay	0.96	(0.9)	0.99	(1.0)	0.87	(0.8)	0.94	(0.9)	0.82	(0.8)	0.80	(0.9)	0.70	(0.7)	0.66	(0.7)	--	(--)	--	(--)
Venezuela	1.43	(1.0)	1.63	(1.1)	1.16	(0.9)	1.31	(1.0)	0.99	(0.8)	1.15	(0.9)	0.79	(0.8)	0.94	(0.9)	--	(--)	--	(--)
<i>All Countries</i>	<i>1.44</i>	<i>(1.0)</i>	<i>1.39</i>	<i>(1.1)</i>	<i>1.19</i>	<i>(0.9)</i>	<i>1.19</i>	<i>(1.0)</i>	<i>1.01</i>	<i>(0.8)</i>	<i>1.02</i>	<i>(0.9)</i>	<i>0.82</i>	<i>(0.7)</i>	<i>0.85</i>	<i>(0.8)</i>	<i>0.65</i>	<i>(0.7)</i>	<i>0.68</i>	<i>(0.7)</i>

Table 6. Percent Secondary Education Completed or More among Women (ages 25-29) in Partnerships by Country, 1970s-2010.

	1970-1979		1980-1989		1990-1999		2000-2009		2010	
	married	consensual	married	consensual	married	consensual	married	consensual	married	consensual
Argentina	16.70	1.23	28.24	8.24	40.11	15.93	50.82	33.43	--	--
Brazil	5.43	1.02	15.25	5.75	25.22	11.61	33.27	16.79	61.55	39.69
Chile	11.70	1.17	27.00	10.10	38.55	19.73	51.08	40.13	--	--
Colombia	7.41	0.43	25.66	7.30	33.98	14.09	60.60	37.23	--	--
Costa Rica	8.29	1.19	14.80	3.11	--	--	31.07	13.09	--	--
Ecuador	7.65	0.76	19.32	4.68	32.48	12.41	37.76	18.84	48.95	32.74
El Salvador	--	--	--	--	29.89	7.08	32.11	14.42	--	--
Mexico	2.61	0.74	--	--	19.26	8.84	26.30	12.02	36.22	23.11
Panama	24.58	2.37	41.27	8.68	50.30	17.92	58.25	27.77	71.18	44.49
Peru	--	--	--	--	43.36	23.97	54.77	48.46	--	--
Puerto Rico	42.09	5.45	65.76	27.78	90.22	58.09	--	--	--	--
Uruguay	19.61	4.71	32.45	15.07	19.76	11.66	38.38	28.59	--	--
Venezuela	8.38	0.48	24.12	4.84	31.63	8.02	54.37	24.23	--	--
<i>All Countries</i>	<i>7.32</i>	<i>0.93</i>	<i>20.11</i>	<i>6.44</i>	<i>27.05</i>	<i>12.78</i>	<i>35.58</i>	<i>24.07</i>	<i>51.80</i>	<i>35.37</i>

Table 7. Percent Active in Labor Force among Women (ages 25-29) in Partnerships by Country, 1970s-2010.

	1970-1979		1980-1989		1990-1999		2000-2009		2010	
	married	consensual	married	consensual	married	consensual	married	consensual	married	consensual
Argentina	20.63	16.43	23.75	22.77	43.61	41.34	51.27	52.91	--	--
Brazil	10.37	11.61	21.96	24.89	33.13	32.96	53.76	51.59	67.35	60.54
Chile	13.55	10.85	18.64	18.75	21.03	20.99	35.92	38.42	--	--
Colombia	13.22	11.51	35.18	30.58	30.23	26.29	38.93	31.05	--	--
Costa Rica	13.86	5.64	17.59	12.74	--	--	26.84	23.62	--	--
Ecuador	12.56	4.41	20.71	9.37	28.39	15.90	37.07	21.51	52.31	36.68
El Salvador	--	--	--	--	33.42	22.80	41.14	36.51	--	--
Mexico	8.73	9.46	--	--	24.32	24.86	26.83	26.49	33.14	31.09
Panama	33.99	15.42	44.64	21.43	37.58	19.19	49.44	31.31	56.58	39.13
Peru	--	--	--	--	26.33	23.29	34.95	33.94	--	--
Puerto Rico	--	--	--	--	59.83	45.45	--	--	--	--
Uruguay	29.08	21.12	43.69	36.35	59.15	54.72	67.85	67.08	--	--
Venezuela	19.53	8.87	28.52	18.82	33.81	21.18	37.40	27.52	--	--
<i>All Countries</i>	<i>12.16</i>	<i>10.84</i>	<i>23.89</i>	<i>24.02</i>	<i>30.25</i>	<i>28.23</i>	<i>41.86</i>	<i>40.63</i>	<i>54.24</i>	<i>52.01</i>