

UNMARRIED COHABITATION AMONG
DEPRIVED FAMILIES IN CHILE

Alejandra Margarita Ramm Santelices

Newnham College

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Abstract

It is clear that unmarried cohabitation is increasing in Chile. It is less clear what unmarried cohabitation is and why is it rising. In Latin America cohabitation is common among low income groups, and has been described as a surrogate marriage for the disadvantaged. Cohabitation in the region entails conventional gender roles and having children. It has been explained by colonial dominance, poverty, kinship, and machismo. The evidence amassed here indicates that although in practice cohabitation is similar to marriage, they are not the same. In fact, cohabitation has decreased social visibility. Cohabitation does not entail any social ceremony or rite. As it is not institutionalised it remains concealed from both social recognition and social scrutiny. Thus it tolerates partners who are dissimilar, or can be sustained despite a higher level of difficulties in a relationship. The findings validate previous research as cohabitation is sparked by pregnancy, parental tolerance - mainly through not enforcing marriage -, a close mother-son bond -which inhibits marriage-, and the material costs of marriage. The research follows a life course perspective. It is based on twenty four qualitative life histories of urban deprived young people, women and men, involved in a consensual union and with children.

In Chile from the 1990s onwards cohabitation started to show a sharp increase. Prevalent views explain rising cohabitation as an outcome of processes of individualization, democratization of relationships, and female emancipation. This research suggests that rising cohabitation, among young people from low income groups in Chile, is linked to enhanced autonomy (i.e. declining patriarchy), and to social benefits targeted to single mothers. Young people are gaining autonomy as union formation is increasingly an outcome of romantic love and not of being forced into marriage. Furthermore cohabitation rose right at the end of Pinochet's dictatorship, at a time of enhanced freedom and autonomy. By contrast, rising cohabitation does not seem to be related to female emancipation. Interviewees themselves reproduce conventional gender roles, and social policies targeted to the single mother are based on conventional views on womanhood.

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Abbreviations

AF	Asignación Familiar
AFP	Administradora de Fondos de Pensiones
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AUGE	Acceso Universal con Garantías Explícitas
AVP	Acuerdo de Vida en Pareja (civil partnership agreement)
BCN	Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile
CASEN	Encuesta de Caracterización Socioeconómica Nacional
CEDAW	The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CELADE	Centro Latinoamericano y Caribeño de Demografía
CRLP	Center for Reproductive Law and Policy
ECLAC/CEPAL	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL in Spanish)
FONASA	Fondo Nacional de Salud
FPS	Ficha de Protección Social
GII	Gender Inequality Index
HDI	Human Development Index
ICSO	Instituto de Investigación en Ciencias Sociales, Universidad Diego Portales (Chile)
ILO	International Labour Office
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (Chile)
INJUV	Instituto Nacional de la Juventud
INTEGRA	Fundación Nacional para el Desarrollo Integral del Menor
ISAPRE	Institución de Salud Previsional
ISI	Import-substitution industrialization
IUD	Intrauterine device
Mideplan	Ministerio de Planificación y Cooperación
MINVU	Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo
NHS	National Health Service (UK)
PASIS	Pensión Asistencial
PNUD	Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo
PRODEMU	Fundación de Promoción y Desarrollo de la Mujer
SDT	Second Demographic Transition
SERNAM	Servicio Nacional de la Mujer
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
SUF	Subsidio Único Familiar
UNFPA	Fondo de Población de las Naciones Unidas (United Nations Population Fund)
UP	Unidad Popular
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development

INTRODUCTION

Unmarried cohabitation is a distinctive feature of family life in Latin America (Therborn 2004). It has been customary in the region from colonial times, and it is particularly common among young and deprived groups. People with low educational attainment and from low income groups tend to cohabit more frequently than those more educated and better off (Castro Martín 2002; García and Rojas 2004; Rodríguez Vignoli 2005). In addition, unmarried cohabitation is linked to early partnering and pregnancy, and it usually involves childbearing (Castro Martín 2002; Rodríguez Vignoli 2005). Owing to these features, cohabitation has been described as a surrogate marriage for the disadvantaged (Castro Martín 2002).

The region is seen as having a unique marriage regime, which mirrors its enduring inequalities. Those more educated and with better economic prospects marry formally, and those less educated and with poor economic prospects enter into unmarried cohabitation as a kind of substitute marriage (Castro Martín 2002:36). Unmarried cohabitation is variously referred to as cohabitation, consensual unions, informal marriage, non-legal marriage, informal unions, or concubinage; and its practitioners (partners) are often described, in Spanish, as *juntados* or *convivientes*. Throughout the text all these concepts will be used as synonyms for unmarried cohabitation.

Consensual unions are a cause for concern in the region. Evidence shows that they might be related to poorer child development, to increased women's subordination, and to enhanced marginalization of deprived groups by social, educational, and financial institutions. Unmarried cohabitation is a fragile arrangement. The weakness of its bonds translates into a lower rate of survival when compared to formal marriage (Goldman 1981; Heaton and Forste 2007); and seem to produce fragile families

(Larrañaga and Azócar 2008:137). This feeble commitment is linked to poorer parenting, particularly in the case of fathers (Castro Martín 2002; Castro Martín, Martín García et al. 2008). Cohabitation is connected to higher child and infant mortality (Carvajal 1978), to poorer children's nutrition (Desai 1992), and to low educational attainment in children (Larrañaga and Azócar 2008).

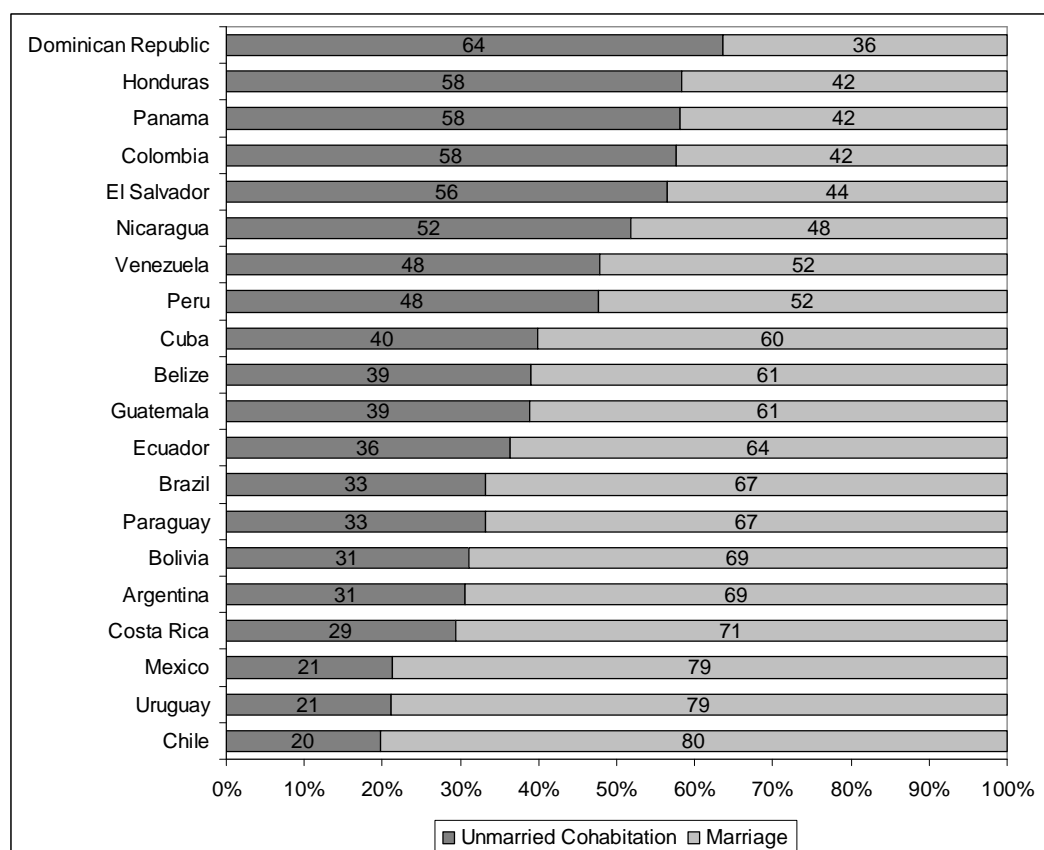
In addition, consensual unions are believed to be disadvantageous for women. Castro Martín (2008), reports that unmarried cohabitation increases women's chances of being subject to domestic violence. The probability of violence is enhanced by cohabitation, even after controlling for a range of demographic and socioeconomic variables. Furthermore, it is difficult to enforce family obligations upon men involved in a consensual union. Women in a cohabiting partnership will also face difficulties in gaining financial support from their partner, if the relationship ends (Castro Martín 2002:50-51). Accordingly, cohabiting mothers are more apprehensive about economic vulnerability than married ones (Larrañaga and Azócar 2008:138).

Lack of institutionalization promotes discrimination and marginalization (Rodríguez Vignoli 2005:13-14). Couples who live together informally are not given the same rights as married couples. They are excluded from social benefits, and face difficulty in accessing services. For example, cohabiting couples may not be covered by social welfare, or may not qualify to apply for loans, perform financial operations, or share in bequests. Their children can be rejected by educational institutions on the grounds of their parents' cohabitational status.

Unmarried cohabitation, albeit widespread, is not evenly distributed across Latin America. On average, consensual unions account for around two fifths of total unions in the region. Yet in some countries they represent around 60 percent of total unions. The Dominican Republic shows the highest proportion of cohabitation in the region, with 64 percent of its partnerships composed of cohabitees. At the other end of the scale, there are countries where it

is less significant. Mexico, Uruguay, and Chile show the lowest levels of cohabitation in the region, at around 20 percent (see figure I.1). In the case of Chile, low incidence of cohabitation has been explained with reference to two main factors. First, it is suggested that there may have been a relatively stronger influence of the Western European model of marriage, due to Chile's reception of significant European migration in the second half of the 19th century (see Chapter 2). Second, introduction of social welfare at the beginning of the 20th century is held to have led to an increase in marriage, with a correspondingly lower proportion of cohabitation (see Chapter 1).

Figure I.1: Consensual unions in Latin America, around the year 2000 (percentage of women aged 15-49 in a partnership at the time of data collection)



Data sources: For all countries except Belize: Castro Martín (2008:Figure 1). For Belize, Castro Martín (2002:Figure 1)

Unmarried cohabitation follows a geographical pattern of concentric circles (see distribution map, below). The core,

within which unmarried cohabitation represents 50 percent or more of total unions is formed almost exclusively by countries located in the Caribbean and Central America¹. Accordingly, as can be seen from figure I.1 and the distribution map, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Panama, Colombia, El Salvador, and Nicaragua score higher than 50 percent for rates of cohabitation. Surrounding the core we find a ring of countries with moderately high levels of unmarried cohabitation, accounting for between a third and half of all unions. This group is formed by Venezuela, Peru, Cuba, Belize, Guatemala. Finally, the countries where unmarried cohabitation represents no more than one third of total unions are geographically located in the outer circle.² Thus, the countries with relatively low rates of cohabitation are Brazil, Paraguay, Bolivia, Argentina, Mexico, Uruguay, and Chile.

¹ With only one country located outside of these regions scoring over 50 percent (Colombia, in the Andean region).

² With the sole exception of Costa Rica, with a low score of 29% despite its location in the inner circle (core).



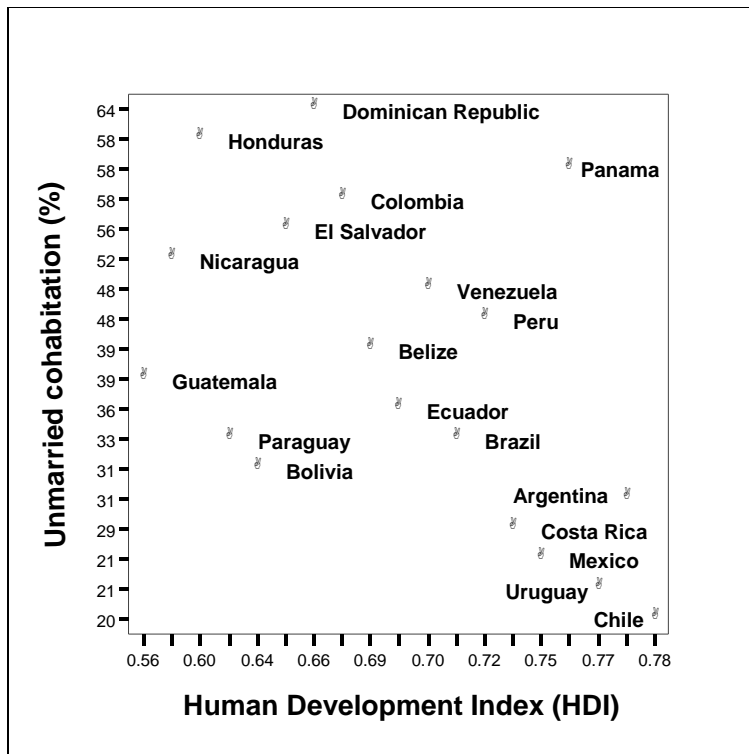
Elaborated using data from figure I.1

For the purposes of this study I identify four main approaches to the study of cohabitation. These are, respectively, the socio-historical, modernization, kinship,

and 'machismo' approaches. The socio-historical approach explains the geographical distribution of cohabitation as mirroring different cultural and economic trajectories. This perspective asserts the existence of a dual marriage system, based on race and sex, imposed by white elites in colonial times (Smith 1996a; Therborn 2004). This dual marriage system was held to be stronger in plantation economies and where large parts of the population were classified as 'coloured', meaning either Black, indigenous, or of mixed race. To this day, consensual unions remain more frequent in those countries with a plantation heritage and a significant coloured population: a category which would include large parts of Central America and the Caribbean.

A second approach links cohabitation with underdevelopment. The theory of modernization, focused on industrialization and urbanization, links consensual unions with lack of development. Cohabitation is therefore expected to be more common among less developed countries. Plotting data for rates of unmarried cohabitation against 2010 Human Development Index figures (HDI), we can, indeed, observe a pattern of negative correlation, in which higher rates of cohabitation are accompanied by lower HDI scores (see figure I.2). The suggestion that cohabitation is mainly an outcome of unequal development may also be borne out by its predominance among the more disadvantaged groups within each country (Castro Martín 2002; Larrañaga and Azócar 2008).

Figure I.2: Scatterplot of levels of unmarried cohabitation against the Human Development Index, HDI, in Latin America

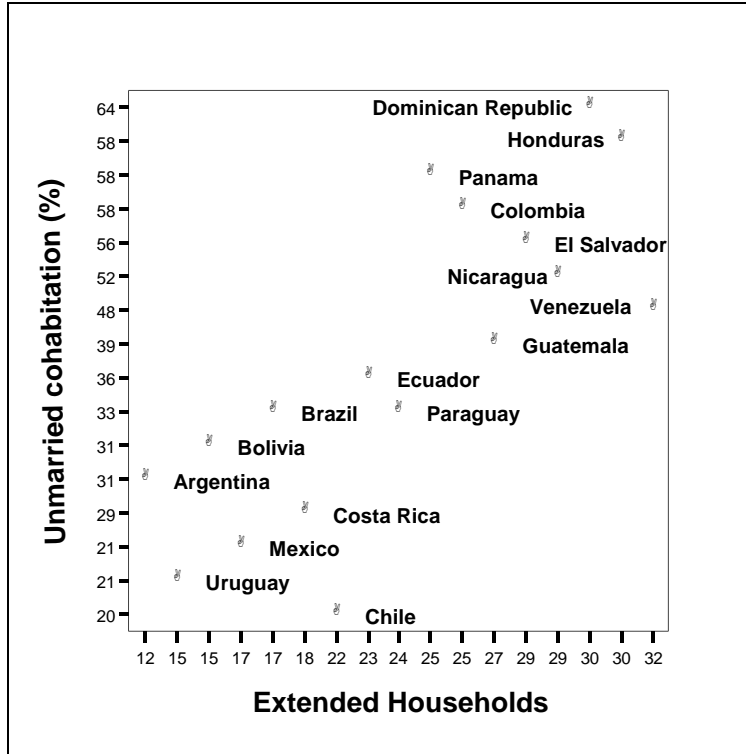


Data sources: data on cohabitation is taken from Figure I.1. HDI scores for 2010 are taken from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP 2011)

Unmarried cohabitation is significantly negatively correlated with HDI, $r_s = -.532$, $p < .05$

A third approach explains cohabitation in terms of a system of kinship based on blood ties (Lomnitz 1977; Lomnitz and Pérez-Lizaur 1984; Fonseca 1991; Smith 1996b). That blood ties are relevant is manifest in the relatively strong significance of the extended family in the region. Consensual unions, as a weak sexual bond, are consonant with this system of kinship, as they do not challenge blood ties. In fact there is a positive correlation between unmarried cohabitation and the extended family. The extended family is defined, for these purposes, as a household in which one or both parents, with or without children, lives together with other relatives (Arriagada 2006). As is illustrated in figure I.3, cohabitation tends to be more frequent in those countries with relatively large numbers of extended family households.

Figure I.3: Scatterplot of cohabitation against extended family households in Latin America

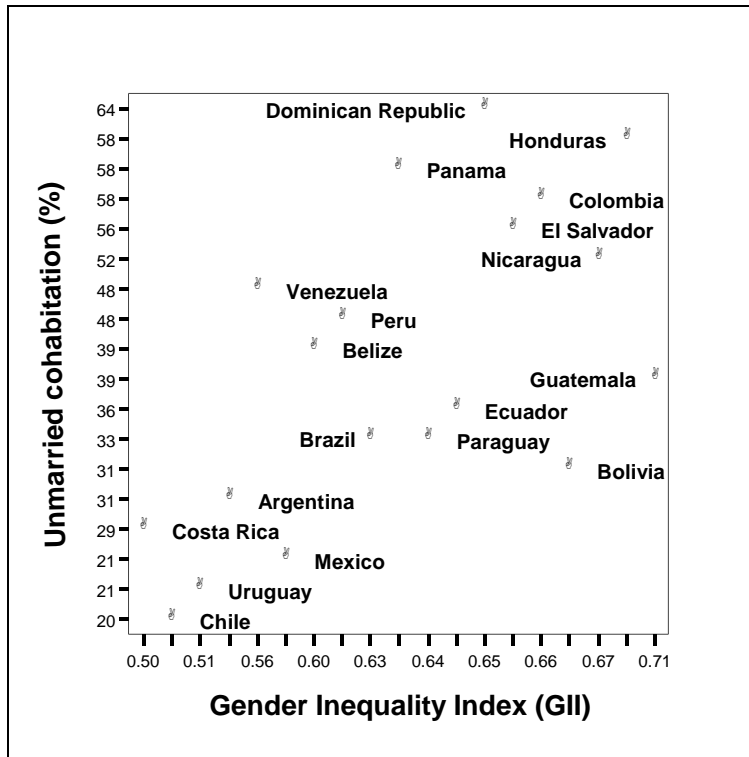


Data sources: data on cohabitation is taken from figure I.1. Data on extended households is taken from Arriagada (2006: table 1)

Unmarried cohabitation is significantly correlated with extended family households, $r_s = .807$, $p < .01$

A fourth perspective relates unmarried cohabitation to the predominance of traditional gender roles (Rodríguez Vignoli 2005:19). In this view a sexist, sexually rapacious, and violent 'macho' is seen as the hegemonic model of masculinity. Macho men are believed to reject marriage and favour cohabitation, because the latter neither demands paternal responsibility nor limits satisfaction of their sexual appetites. Women, it is claimed, are socialized to be attentive and submissive to men, and to find solace in motherhood. If we explore this hypothesis by plotting levels of cohabitation against the Gender Inequality Index (GII), we find a positive relationship in which high incidence of cohabitation is indeed associated with pronounced gender inequality (see figure I.4).

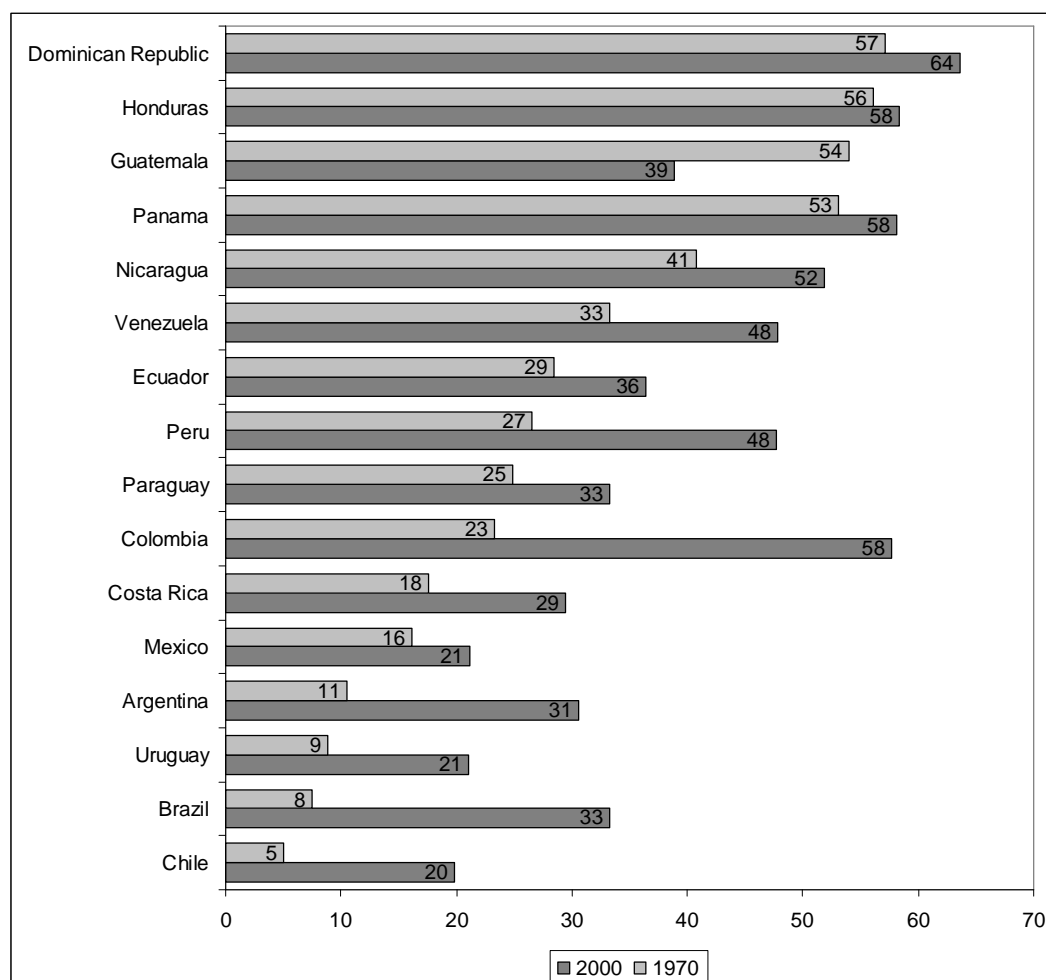
Figure I.4: Scatterplot of cohabitation against Gender Inequality Index scores for in Latin America



Data sources: data on cohabitation is taken from figure I.1. GII data for 2010 is taken from UNDP (2011)
 Unmarried cohabitation is significantly correlated with GII, $r_s = .634$, $p < .01$

Recent changes in cohabitation nonetheless call into question each of these approaches. From around 1970 to around 2000, cohabitation increased in every country of the region except Guatemala (see figure I.5). Yet cohabitation grew faster in those countries where it was not very significant to begin with. Thus Chile and Brazil show the steepest growth rates, with cohabitation quadrupling over the three decades. Argentina, Colombia, Uruguay, Peru, and Costa Rica also show a substantial increase. By contrast, countries with a historically high incidence of consensual unions have experienced smaller increases.

Figure I.5: Changes in levels of cohabitation in Latin America between circa 1970 and circa 2000 (percentage of women aged 15-49 in an unmarried partnership at the time of data collection)



Data sources: Data for 1970 taken from Castro Martín (2002: table 2). Data for 2000 taken from Castro Martín (2008: figure 1).

In present day Latin America, cohabitation is becoming more frequent in those countries which are relatively more developed, less gender unequal, and in which the extended family is less relevant. Evidence also shows that rates of cohabitation are going up in every socioeconomic group. Furthermore, this increase has been more pronounced among groups with higher educational attainment (Rodríguez Vignoli 2005:32). Scholars have turned to the theory of the second demographic transition, SDT, to try to explain these recent changes (Castro Martín 2002; García and Rojas 2004; Rodríguez Vignoli 2005).

The SDT attempts to explain rising cohabitation in developed countries as an outcome of cultural change due to the process of modernization (Lesthaeghe 1995). As with the first demographic transition, which was linked to the theory of modernization, SDT theory is connected to current debates on modernity and secularization. But while the focus of the first demographic transition was on processes of industrialization and urbanization, the SDT focuses on cultural transformation, albeit without abandoning structural economic factors, (1995:56). In particular, SDT theory states that increased cohabitation is linked to female emancipation and increased individual autonomy.

Cohabitation in Latin America is not generally believed to be a modern arrangement which involves individual autonomy, gender equality, or female emancipation (Castro Martín 2002; García and Rojas 2004; Rodríguez Vignoli 2005; Castro Martín, Martín García et al. 2008). As Castro Martín asserts, 'the large majority of consensual unions [in Latin America] correspond to the "traditional" type, and can be best characterized as a substitute for formal marriage among social strata with low education and poor economic prospects' (2002:36). Some studies have nonetheless described patterns of cohabitation among educated groups in the region as modern, suggesting that more highly educated people cohabit as a trial period before marriage (Parrado and Tienda 1997). Cohabitation has also been associated with lower fertility, another supposed indicator of modernity. Latin American societies have accordingly been conceptualized as dual systems, in which affluent elites are seen as following a modern pattern of cohabitation, while the majority of the population is believed to continue to reproduce a traditional type.

In this research I question the adequacy of this particular variant of the modernization approach, asserting as it does that Latin American societies are essentially bifurcated between modernity and tradition. In my opinion, such categorical distinctions between modern and traditional behaviours do not advance our understanding of social phenomena. To classify the upper class style of

cohabitation as modern, by contrast with a lower class style categorised as 'traditional' , does not in itself tell us much about cohabitation itself. Moreover, differentiating between modern and traditional cohabitation does not help us to discover the concrete social mechanisms by which cohabitation is produced and reproduced; nor does it throw much light on the phenomenon's possible implications.

Even though current approaches have been challenged or called into question by recent changes in cohabitation, these approaches continue to provide valuable insights. Thus I seek to conduct a grounded account of cohabitation, drawing on contributions from previous research complemented and extended by the results of the present investigation. From the existing literature on cohabitation, I borrow, firstly, the idea that cohabitation implies a specific sexual order; secondly, a recognition of the importance of kinship and of gender roles, and, thirdly, the hypothesis that living conditions affect union formation. This research will show that we should also study cohabitation in relation to the influence of previous generations, patterns of social welfare, sexuality, and the relative social visibility of different kinds of partnership.

The case of Chile is of particular interest for the field. Cohabitation has increased in Chile in a context of accelerated socioeconomic change. Advances that have been made in the situation of the national population as a whole across t by the beginning of the twenty-first century can be summarized as below (and see (Tironi 2003)). The Chilean population has improved its general levels of wellbeing as measured by increased access to new opportunities, goods, and services. These improvements have been especially relevant for poorer groups (Raczynski 2000). Successful social policies have contributed to the inclusion of traditionally excluded groups, and massive rural-to-urban

migration has ceased. Primary and secondary education has become almost universal, and average educational qualifications among the labour force have also increased. The service sector has become the most important economic sector, increasing demand for qualified workers.

Women's role in Chilean society is changing. Female employment is growing, fertility rates have dropped, and average ages at marriage and first birth have risen. The extended family is becoming less ubiquitous. Family law has also changed, with new legislation restricting men's and parents' authority in accordance with greater recognition of women's and children's rights. Marriage has also lost some of its previous privileged status, with legal discrimination against children born out of wedlock eliminated, and a divorce law introduced.

Despite improved living conditions, there are ongoing problems. Poverty has declined, but remains significant, and the poverty line has been challenged as an adequate indicator (Raczynski 2006; Larrañaga and Herrera 2008). Moreover, Chile presents pronounced income inequality in relation to its level of economic development (CEPAL 2010). Economic growth has not been accompanied by an improvement of the labour market, as unemployment, informal employment, and short-term employment are endemic (Sehnbruch 2006a). Social welfare has also contributed to the reproduction of inequality by promoting a dual labour market, hampering female employment, and excluding the most deprived groups (Valenzuela 2006b). Only in recent decades have social policies begun to reach disadvantaged groups. In addition traditional attitudes, in particular in relation to gender, remain prevalent (PNUD 2010).

On the whole, Chile is a privileged case for the study of unmarried cohabitation. On the one hand, as elsewhere in Latin America, Chile presents consensual unions that involve childbearing and are more prevalent among young, deprived groups. On the other hand, cohabitation has experienced a sharp increase in a context of profound economic, political, social, and cultural change. Hence a primary aim of this study is to understand the meaning of

cohabitation from the point of view of cohabitees themselves. The questions I will address include: Why and how do people come to live together without marrying? How do cohabitees experience their relationship in relation to marriage? What future expectations do they have for their relationship? A secondary aim is to find out why cohabitation has increased in Chile in recent decades. I seek to offer a tentative explanation for rising cohabitation not only among deprived groups, but also among the general population.

The study of cohabitation is difficult, as the term can refer to and involve diverse living arrangements. It can refer to couples living together permanently, but also to couples who live together occasionally, whether because one partner already has another family; for work reasons; or because each partner keeps a different residence. Cohabitation can also involve children, stepchildren from previous relationships, or no children at all. Although cohabitation might be a common practice, it does not have legal recognition. It is more of a process than an event, and usually culminates either in marriage or in the separation of the couple. Unmarried cohabitation is accordingly a personal, and frequently temporary, arrangement. These characteristics suggest something that is not openly acknowledged, which entails a challenge for the researcher.

In Latin America, consensual unions receive less protection than marriage or no protection at all (CRLP 1997:11). Yet the trend is towards gradual recognition. New legislation is being enacted to enhance the protection of consensual unions, although this protection is still less than for married couples (CRLP 1997). In the case of Chile, the current government has proposed giving legal recognition to both heterosexual and same-sex unmarried couples, through civil partnership. It is however too soon to know if this proposal is going to prosper.

The coding of marital status in Latin America is problematic, as it creates a false dichotomy between marriage and all other kinds of informal relationships (De

Vos 1999). On the one hand, cohabitation is a loose definition, as it can refer to visiting partnerships, trial marriages, and surrogate marriages, to name but a few possibilities. On the other hand, cohabitation is a limited concept because it does not record past relationships, as such as the case of people who were previously married and then separate. Nor does it capture other types of partnerships, such as visiting unions.

In Chile, the national census codes consensual unions as marital status, despite their lack of actual legal status. Thus we have no information about the exact legal marital status of people who report for census purposes that they cohabit. It is at least possible that respondents largely report only legal marital status for census purposes, with cohabitation thereby concealed or underreported. However, as the census is focused on households, it does at least tend to identify those partners who regularly live together in the same household. The exact magnitude of cohabitation nonetheless remains unknown, and there is no sampling frame from which to draw a statistically representative sample. To obtain such a sampling frame would require conducting a large survey, based on a probabilistic sample, so as to collect an adequate number of cases. Such an alternative exceeds the possibilities of the present research.

Current research on cohabitation in the region takes a macro approach, based on quantitative analysis of demographic data (De Vos 1998; Castro Martín 2002; García and Rojas 2004; Rodríguez Vignoli 2005). This demographic approach predominates in Chile (Herrera 2006; Herrera and Valenzuela 2006; Salinas 2009; Salinas 2011), in combination with economic perspectives (Irrarrázaval and Valenzuela 1993; Larrañaga 2006a). A focus on the macro level nonetheless makes it difficult to identify how broad tendencies such as increased cohabitation relate to changes taking place at intermediate and micro levels. A micro level approach is more adequate for the discovery of possible mechanisms that link these different levels. Moreover, attention to the micro helps to account for human

agency, which is particularly relevant in intimate matters, such as union formation. Another problem with existing research is that it is mainly based exclusively on women (Castro Martín 2002; Larrañaga 2006a; Salinas 2011).

As a consequence, I have conducted exploratory research based on the in-depth study of a few cases. My focus was on the most typical kind of cohabitation in Chile: I selected never-married young people who have had a child with their cohabiting partner, and who face no legal restrictions to marriage. The sample was formed by twenty-four cases recruited from *Cerro Navia* and *La Pintana*, which are the two most deprived boroughs of the Greater Santiago metropolitan area. Half of the interviewees were women, and the other half were men. Information was collected about each participant, their partner, and their parents. Two interview sessions were conducted with each interviewee, lasting on average three hours in total. The fieldwork was carried out between September 2008 and January 2009.

For the purposes of the study, I adopt a working definition of cohabitation as an intended action, and I follow a life course perspective based on qualitative biographies. The qualitative approach and the life course perspective are two methodologies which share a focus on human agency, or the capacity to act in pursuit of certain goals. The qualitative approach also emphasizes the study of meanings, or the cultural dimension of human behaviour, and is typically characterised by in-depth study of a limited number of cases. The life course perspective underscores the significance of individuals as located in a particular time and place, of social ties as intermediate agents, and of timing as the element that brings all these aspects together.

My view of the social realm is shaped by elements highlighted by the qualitative approach and the life course perspective. I seek to account for continuity and change, intended action, self-reflection, and the role of the past in the present. In addition, I want to avoid both methodological individualism and structuralism. I consider the social sphere to be formed by three interconnected

levels: macro, intermediate, and micro. At the macro level, culture, power relations, and social structures both enable and determine human action. At the micro level, individuals have the capacity to perform purposive actions, or actions that are guided by particular meanings or intentions. Social ties, family bonds in particular, mediate between the macro and the micro level. Purposive actions produce intended and unintended consequences, which, in turn, bring about social reproduction and change. The time flow brings everything together. Time also enables individuals to reflect upon the past, assess the consequences of their actions, and to change their conduct. This reflective capacity is of particular relevance to the introduction of social change.

I collected the data for the present study through life histories, defined as in-depth interviews focusing on people's lives, their significant experiences, and the meanings that people attach to those events. Life histories convey the influences of historical events, and of economic, political, and social conditions. Personal accounts are also social, since people share similar experiences across variables such as age, gender, and social class. Personal accounts also capture the effect of time on people's lives. As people report their past experiences, it is possible to find out how those events have shaped their current self-understanding. Personal accounts also consider relations and mediations between structures and personal lives, since they are populated by other people including relatives, friends, and colleagues. These personal ties are crucial in terms of how people are affected by and deal with their living conditions, and how they relate to both older and younger generations.

I adopt a pragmatic view in relation to validity. I seek to increase the validation of this research, not its validity. I aim to show that the research results are convincing interpretations based on what is known, rather than claiming them to be 'true' in the sense of reflecting a pre-existent and immutable reality. I wanted to question prevalent views about consensual unions in the region. I

will suggest an alternative and tentative perspective to account for changing cohabitation in Chile. Yet the test for the potential usefulness of this research will be whether it helps to stimulate and/or illuminate other studies.

In Chapter 1, I review the main changes experienced by Chile in the closing decades of the previous century, and the beginning of the current century, in relation to factors that may be relevant for cohabitation. I often also go further back in time, as a longer historical perspective often helps to shed light on current trends. The chapter focus firstly on the demographic context in which rising cohabitation is taking place. It moves to consider the economic background, paying attention to issues of economic development and labour market changes, including female employment. Educational attainment is also analysed in this section. The third part of Chapter 1 deals with the relevant normative framework in terms of specific women's, children's, and family legislation. The chapter closes with an analysis of social policies and how they might have affected changing cohabitation. In Chapter 2, I explain and critique the existing approaches to cohabitation already mentioned above (the socio historic approach focused on race and sex; kinship and the importance of family obligations and the extended family, machismo, and how gender roles connect the intimate with social structures). I also consider views on modernity and development in relation to cohabitation. Chapter 3 gives an overview of the research design, explaining the sample selection criteria, the instruments used to collect the data, the analytical approach utilised, and ethical considerations.

The first results chapter, Chapter 4, shows how unmarried cohabitation is linked to precarious living conditions and gender. The labour market and provision of social welfare are analysed as support networks, as is the wider family. Gender roles, especially womanhood, are also

considered, as they introduce significant differences in terms of employment, social benefits, and family relations.

In Chapter 5 I focus on how families of origin affect subsequent family formation. I begin by describing the families in which the young people in the study were reared, and discussing their reports of their own relationships with their parents. This background is useful for understanding young people's experiences of family life, as it provides a backdrop against which they are starting their own families. I also explore how daughters and sons are given different family obligations, which impact on their own willingness and capacity to form a family. In the last section I turn my attention to older generations, parents in particular, and their role in shaping younger generations' possibilities for and styles of partnering.

Chapters 6 and 7 are focused on how young people come to live together, and on how the actual experience of cohabiting differs from marriage. First, I examine how views on gender, sexuality, birth control, and pregnancy influence union formation. The core of chapter 7 consists of an exploration of issues of gender, power, and visibility, as I examine what cohabitation entails for young people, and their expectations about the future of their partnership.

In the conclusion, I summarize the research results and discuss existing literature on cohabitation in the light of research results. I also analyse the wider implications of the study, in particular for public policy. I also suggest further possible lines of research on the subject of consensual unions.

Chapter 1 - CHILE: SOCIAL CHANGE AND FAMILIES

Family life does not take place in a vacuum, as the privacy of family relations is affected by very public forces. Intimate matters such as sex, love, partnering, and having children are shaped by social structures. Cohabitation is not exempt from the influence of social conditions. Even those who choose to live together because they do not desire institutional intervention are subject to broader conditions. The focus of this chapter is on how these changing conditions have affected Chilean families, in particular in relation to cohabitation. The aim is to understand how different structures might be connected to patterns of cohabitation, and what kind of cohabitation might be encouraged by those conditions.

I will begin by reviewing the demographic context in which rising cohabitation takes place. The focus is on the possible drives of changing unmarried cohabitation. Changes in relation to fertility, out of wedlock births, and marriage are analysed. I go on to discuss economic development, employment in particular, and its relation to cohabitation. The structure and quality of the labour market is the single factor that has the greatest impact on the survival of families. I focus here on unemployment, short-term employment, female employment, and on how social welfare has affected the labour market. In the third section I delve into the trajectory of family legislation over time: from the nineteenth century to its radical transformation in the twentieth century. In the last section I study social welfare more generally. Social welfare impacts upon families because of its capacity to provide a safety net, and through the criteria used to decide who should be assisted and who should not. I study the social welfare provision from its origins at the beginning of the twentieth century to its decisive

modification by Pinochet's dictatorship and the following democratic governments of the *Concertación*. I will show how, thanks to neoliberal reforms marriage began to be displaced as the privileged form of access to social welfare for women/ mothers not involved in formal employment.

Nuptiality and Fertility

The immediate demographic context of rising cohabitation in Chile shows significant changes in relation to fertility and union formation. On the one hand, the majority of births are now out of wedlock. On the other hand, marriage is declining. Thus it would be possible to assume that rising cohabitation is the main factor promoting out of wedlock childbearing. Yet, as I will show here, this would be an erroneous conclusion.

In this section I will analyse the demographic drivers of the recent increase in cohabitation, as well as describing the main features found among those who cohabit. The section deals first with assessing the adequacy of the demographic transition for explaining declining fertility in Chile, and on how cohabitation and childbearing are linked. Then the focus is on the increase of out-of wedlock births and its connection to rising cohabitation. I go on to discuss how patterns of marriage and cohabitation are related to issues of first sexual intercourse, first union, and first birth. The final part of the chapter gives a portrait of socio demographic characteristics associated with people who cohabit.

Chile was one of the first countries in Latin America to experience a sharp decline in the overall fertility rate. In 1960, the number of children per woman was 4.3. This

decreased to 2.4 in 2000 (Larrañaga 2006a: table 1). As in the rest of Latin America, lower fertility in Chile has not followed the pattern predicted by the demographic transition (Guzmán 1996).

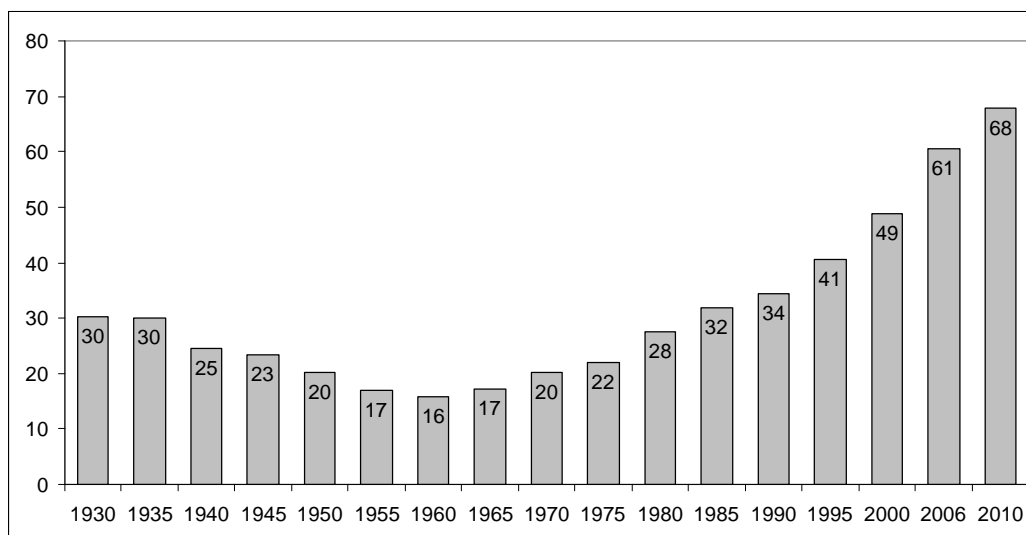
The demographic transition theory relates demographic growth, through both birth and death rates, to development or modernization. It asserts a two-step movement that starts with high birth rates and high death rates, producing a low-growth population. Then there is a transitional phase where death rates go down and birth rates remain high, leading to a significant growth in population. Finally, birth rates decrease, and the population reaches a new low growth equilibrium (Das 1980:9; Therborn 2004:229-230). According to the demographic transition, industrialization reduces death rates by improving living conditions. Industrialization also transforms society, producing an urban industrial society which values small families, leading to a decrease in birth rates (Therborn 2004:230).

In the case of Chile, evidence suggests that between the 1960s and the 1980s, declining fertility was not prompted by economic growth, higher levels of women's education, or increased female employment (Larrañaga 2006a). In fact, women from low socioeconomic groups account for most of the drop in fertility in that period. At that time Chilean women, especially married ones, limited their fertility primarily thanks to access to contraception and, to a lesser extent, to lower child mortality. Though women's schooling doubled between 1960 and 2000, it was only in the 1990s that it translated into higher female employment. Therefore it was just in the 1990s that female employment began to have a negative effect on fertility.

In Chile the proportion of children born outside marriage has a U shape for most of the twentieth century, but with a sharp increase at the turn of the century (see figure 1.1).

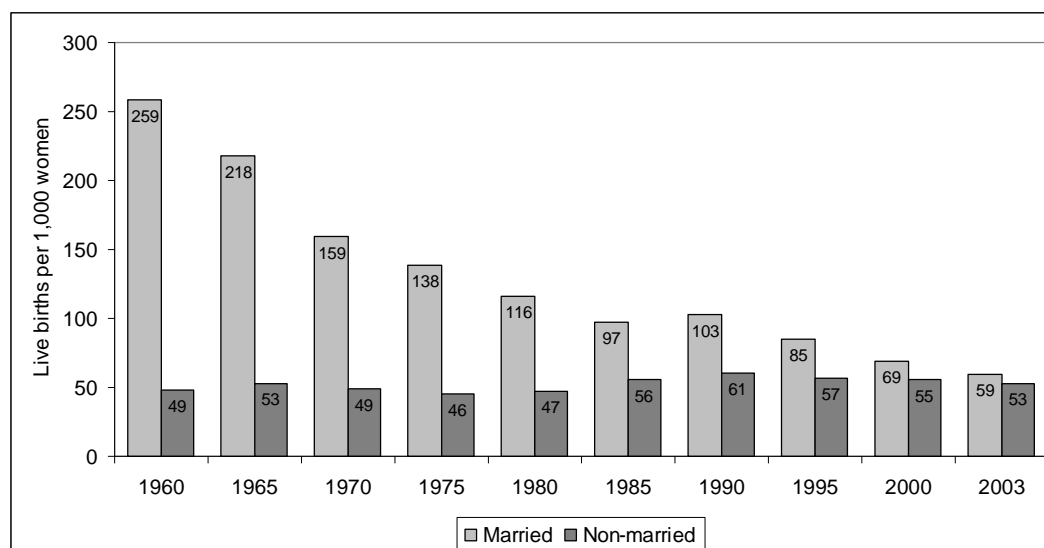
In 1930 out of wedlock births accounted for a third of total births. From then up to 1960 out of wedlock births declined reaching a lowest of 16 percent in that year. In this period non marital fertility remained stable, so out of wedlock births did not decrease because unmarried mothers limited their fertility (Valenzuela 2006a). In fact, married mothers were the ones who increased their fertility, and, as a consequence, the proportion of children born out of wedlock decreased. In addition, in this period the proportion of unmarried women declined, thus further contributing to fewer out of wedlock births.

Figure 1.1: Out of wedlock births, Chile 1930- 2010 (as percentage of total births)



Data sources: Years 1930 to 1955: Valenzuela (2006a: table 3). Years 1960 to 2000: Larrañaga (2006a:table1). Years 2006 and 2010: Servicio de Registro Civil e Identificación (2011)

Between 1960 and 1990, the proportion of out of wedlock births began to increase again, reaching a level similar to the beginning of the century in 1990 (around a third of total births). Between 1960 and 1985 non marital fertility continued to be stable so it did not lead this decline (see figure 1.2). By contrast, as said above, by the mid 1960s marital fertility began to decrease. Hence declining marital fertility is the main driver of increased out of wedlock births from 1960 to 1990 (Larrañaga 2006a).

Figure 1.2: Birth rate by marital status, Chile 1960-2003

Source: Larrañaga (2006a: table 1)

The sharpest increase in out of wedlock births took place from the 1990s onwards (see figure 1.1). A similar tendency, although starting earlier, in 1970, has been described for the Latin American region as a whole. In 2000 out of wedlock births accounted for more than 50 percent of births in the region (Castro Martín, Cortina et al. 2011). In the case of Chile, this further rise in out of wedlock childbearing cannot be fully accounted for by lowered marital fertility (Larrañaga 2006a). From 1990 the proportion of unmarried women began to increase and so to contribute to non marital childbearing. Unmarried women increased as an outcome of delayed and declining marriage, which was paralleled by single and cohabiting mothers becoming more frequent (see below). A slight increase in non-marital fertility in the 1990s also helps to explain the latest increase in unmarried childbearing (see figure 1.2).

Available evidence shows that in Chile in 2003, unmarried mothers reached 46 percent of total mothers (Larrañaga 2006a: table 12). More recent evidence suggests

that the proportion of cohabiting mothers continues to grow, as in Santiago in 2009 unmarried mothers reached 52 percent of total mothers. This in turn mirrors a tendency present across the country as a whole (Salinas 2011: Footnote 8).

If we turn to the issue of the marital status of the mother of out of wedlock children, available research shows that in Chile in 2002 children born to single mothers were in the majority (Castro Martín, Cortina et al. 2011: figure 2). However, the biggest single increase has been in the proportion of births to cohabiting women. Between 1970 and 2002, the proportion of births to cohabiting women increased fourfold, from 5 to 20 percent of total births. In the same period, births to single women increased by almost three times, from 9 to 25 percent, and births to married women decreased from 86 to 54 percent of total births.

Cohabitation in Chile, as in the rest of Latin America, usually involves childbearing (Rodríguez Vignoli 2005; Herrera and Valenzuela 2006). Indeed census data from 2002 show that 86 percent of cohabiting women have children (Herrera and Valenzuela 2006: table 13).

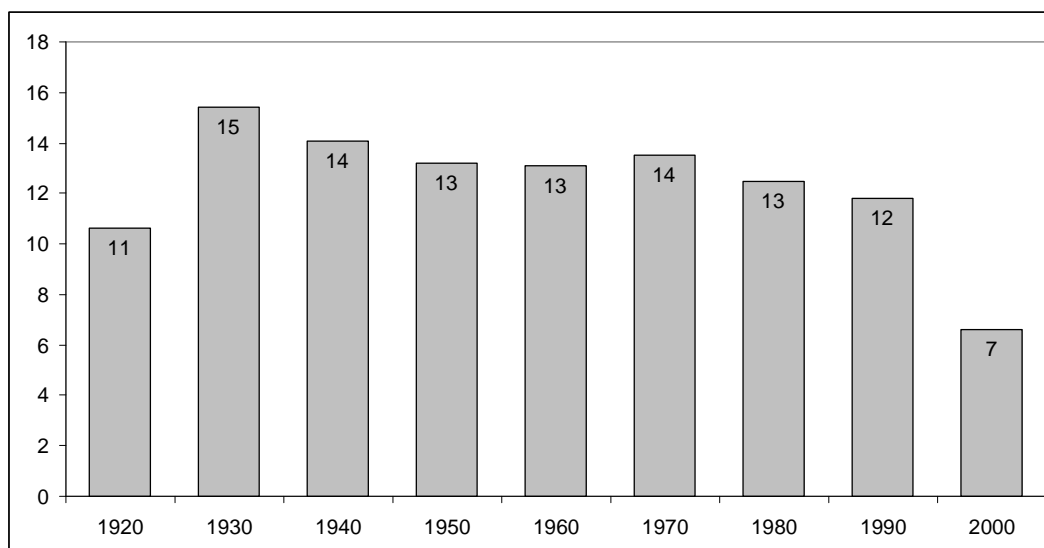
In Chile, age at first union (defined as marriage or cohabitation) has increased for both, women and men. In 1970 the average age at first union for men was 26, and for women 23. In 2002, ages at first union increased to 28 and 25, respectively (UN 2009). It is reasonable to assume that increased age at first union has mainly been an outcome of delayed marriage, as evidence suggests that people in Chile enter into cohabitation at a younger age than into marriage (Rodríguez Vignoli 2005; Herrera and Valenzuela 2006; Larrañaga 2006a; Salinas 2009).

Similarly, age at first birth has increased more among married women than among unmarried ones. Overall, women's age at first birth has remained constant between 1960 and 2003, at around 23 years of age. However, the relevant figure for married mothers shows an increase from 24 to 27, while among unmarried mothers the increase was more modest: from 21 to 22. Thus married mothers are those who show a

clearer pattern of delayed motherhood (Larrañaga 2006a: table 9).

On average, age at first sexual intercourse in Chile is 17 years old, according to figures for 2010 based on surveys of the 15 to 29 year old age cohort. Men report a slightly lower age of first intercourse than women: 16 and 17 years, respectively (INJUV 2010: figure 169). Seventy-six percent of people aged 15 to 29 reported having had sexual intercourse, of whom only 1 percent experienced their first sexual intercourse within marriage or cohabitation. The majority had their first sexual intercourse with a boyfriend or girlfriend. This category was more frequently reported by young women (84 percent) than by young men (57 percent) (INJUV 2010: figure 163 & table 119).

A third realm of significant demographic change, together with declining fertility and rising out of wedlock childbearing, refers to union formation through marriage or cohabitation. In Chile the marriage rate has been relatively stable for most of the twentieth century, at around 13 marriages for every 1,000 people aged 15 to 64 (see figure 1.3). Yet it is possible to observe that at the beginning of the twentieth century the marriage rate increased, owing perhaps to the introduction of social welfare. Later in this chapter I explore how the provision of social benefits might be related to marriage and cohabitation. The biggest change however took place in the last decade of the twentieth century, when the marriage rate dropped to almost half of its historical value.

Figure 1.3: Marriage rate, Chile 1920-2000 (per 1,000 people aged 15 to 64)

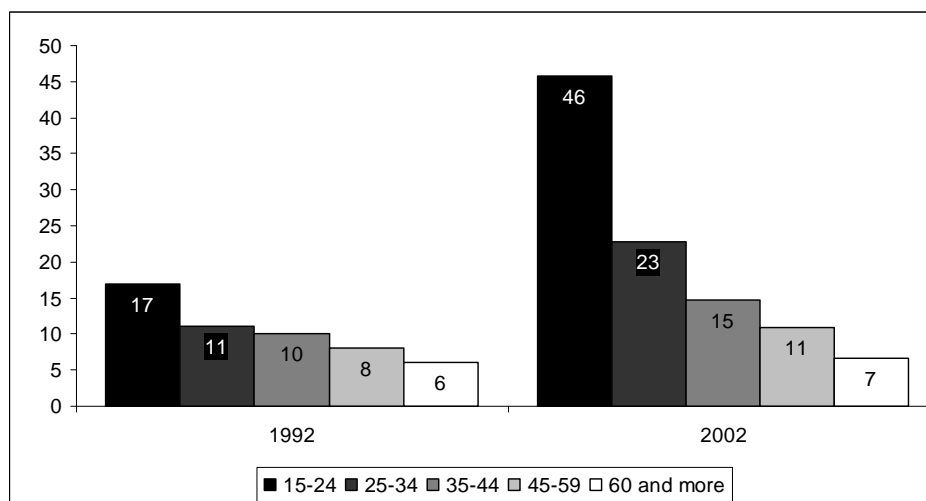
Source: Data from Herrera (2006: figure 2)

In the same period, between 1990 and 2000, cohabitation began to rise sharply. Census data show that from 1950 to 1990 cohabitation accounted for around 6 percent of people aged 30 to 59 who were in a partnership (Herrera and Valenzuela 2006). The lowest point of cohabitation was in 1970, at around 4 percent. This was also a period when marriage increased. Yet between 1990 and 2000, cohabitation increased from around 8 to 14 percent in the same age group. Evidence suggests that rising cohabitation has not entailed an overall increase in partnerships, but has gone hand in hand with a decrease and also a delay of marriage (Herrera and Valenzuela 2006).

As in Latin America as a whole, cohabitation in Chile has been more frequent among young people, low-income groups, and those with low educational attainment. Between 1990 and 2000, cohabitation increased the most in absolute terms precisely among these groups. In that period cohabitation showed a sharp increase among young people, particularly

those aged 15 to 24, but also in the 25 to 34 age group (see figure 1.4).

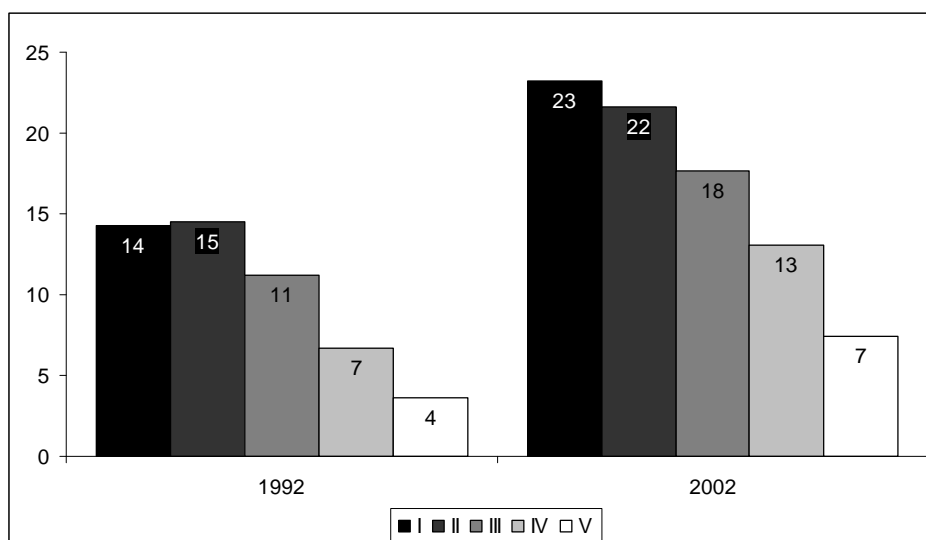
Figure 1.4: Cohabitation by age cohort, Chile 1992-2002 (percentage of people aged 15 or more in a cohabitation partnership at the time of data collection)



Data source: Herrera (2006:figure 11)

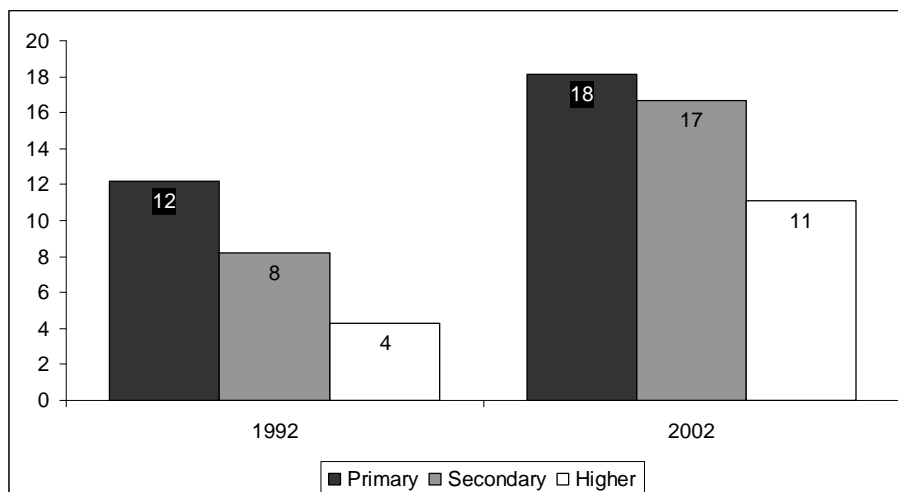
Low income groups and those with only secondary education account for most of the increase in cohabitation, (see figures 1.5 and 1.6 respectively). It should however be emphasized that cohabitation is not restricted to the very disadvantaged. Cohabitation is present and fairly common across Chilean society, except the upper strata, meaning those with higher education and from the two higher income quintiles. In other words, cohabitation is most prevalent in the first three income quintiles, among members of low and middle-low income groups, and among those with only primary or secondary education.

Figure 1.5: Cohabitation by income quintile, Chile 1992-2002 (percentage of people aged 15 or more in a partnership at time of data collection)



Data source: (Herrera and Valenzuela 2006: table 11)

Figure 1.6: Cohabitation by educational level, Chile 1992-2002 (percentage of people aged 15 or more in a partnership at time of data collection)



Data source: (Herrera and Valenzuela 2006: table 11)

As far as living arrangements are concerned, cohabiting and married couples in Chile tend to live in nuclear households (Light and Ureta 2004; Larrañaga 2006a). However, those cohabiting couples who do live in extended households

usually live in the parental home of the male partner. By contrast, married couples living in extended households usually live in the parental home of the female partner (Larrañaga 2006a: Footnote 22). In addition there is preliminary evidence showing that young cohabiting couples frequently start their life together living in an extended household (Salinas 2011).

It should be highlighted that extended households are significant in Chile, accounting for example for almost 20 percent of all households in 2009 (Mideplan 2009e). Extended households are more frequent among disadvantaged groups (Raczynski 2006). Similarly, household size has a negative relation to income. In 2006, the average number of people per household was 4.5 in the poorest decile and 2.9 in the richest (Larrañaga and Herrera 2008:table 13).

Available evidence suggests that cohabiting mothers are less likely to be involved in paid work and education than are single mothers (Larrañaga 2006a: table 13) (see below, section on Poverty, Employment, and Education, for further discussion of the issue of female employment). In addition, cohabitation seems to present lower levels of homogamy than does marriage. Evidence shows that cohabiting partners in Chile are less similar to one another than are married couples as regards religion, education, and age (Herrera and Valenzuela 2006)

On the whole, available evidence suggests that union formation started to change in Chile after 1990. From that date onwards, delayed and declining marriage was paralleled by increasing cohabitation. A look at the major points of contrast and similarity between cohabitation and marriage in this period throws up the following: in comparison to married couples, those who cohabit are younger, less educated, and have lower incomes. Cohabiting partners are additionally more dissimilar than are married ones in relation to religious beliefs, age, and education. They typically enter into partnerships at a younger age than

their married counterparts. They do not have restricted their fertility or delayed having children. Cohabiting women are usually not involved in paid work, and young cohabiting couples frequently start their lives together in an extended household. By contrast, married couples have delayed union formation and first birth, and have also limited their fertility. Cohabitation is nonetheless similar to marriage in that both usually involve childbearing, albeit at different stages of life and partnership.

This evidence points to a gap between married and cohabiting couples. For Latin America, we moreover find an extensive literature highlighting how deprived families have favoured living in extended and complex households so to join forces in order to survive (see Chapter 2). Lack of means and family arrangements appear, therefore, to be related in specific ways. Consensual unions, which are more frequent among less privileged groups, are at the core of these particular family arrangements. In the next section I will discuss how poverty, economic growth and employment are related to family life, and, in particular, to cohabitation.

Poverty, Employment, and Education

The Western pattern of marriage, which was adopted in Latin America, is distinctive in implicitly requiring young couples to have sufficient means to set up a new household (Therborn 2004). Thus union formation is related to economic conditions. Pervasive cohabitation in the region has consequently been explained as a result of enduring poverty and income inequalities (Castro Martín 2002; Therborn 2004; Rodríguez Vignoli 2005). Yet the evidence from Chile challenges this view, as cohabitation in Chile has increased precisely at a time of significant economic

growth accompanied by an absolute decrease in poverty. In this section I will analyse the economic context in which cohabitation in Chile has become more frequent. I focus initially on figures for economic growth, poverty, and income inequality. I go on to explore how the labour market has been negatively affected by being charged with providing social benefits such as childcare and severance pay. Finally I pay attention to issues of education; in particular, educational coverage and quality.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, Chile experienced significant economic, social, and political changes (Ponce de León, Rengifo et al. 2006). Between 1835 and 1920 the population increased more than three times. This period saw the beginnings of massive rural-urban migration began, since the traditional agrarian economy could not absorb these levels of increase in the labour force. A mobile mass of impoverished men began to circulate through the country, seeking temporary jobs. Women and children migrated to the city, where they lived in *conventillos*, a term used to describe cramped, poor housing conditions. After the First World War and the economic crisis of 1929, the state promoted industrialization to deal with mounting social problems (Filgueira, Neil et al. 2001:8432). After the Second World War, industrialization was further backed by the economic theory of import-substitution industrialization (ISI).

The ISI approach encouraged industrialization oriented towards the domestic market. The state was the leading agent of ISI, as it developed policies to encourage industrialization and to protect domestic industry from outside competition (Filgueira, Neil et al. 2001:8432). Industrialization and economic growth, together with education and urbanization, were seen as key factors in becoming a modern nation (Lavrin 2005:16).

Latin America experienced significant economic growth between the postwar period and the economic crisis of the

1970s (Ffrench-Davis, Muñoz et al. 1994). Economic development went hand in hand with urbanization (Merrick 1994); and to a lesser extent with industrialization (Ffrench-Davis, Muñoz et al. 1994), and the expansion of mass education (Oliveira and Roberts 1994). Chile's urban population increased from 32 percent of total population in 1930 to 58 percent in 1950, and 81 percent in 1980 (Merrick 1994). In parallel, illiteracy declined from 20 percent in 1950 to 9 percent in 1980 (Oliveira and Roberts 1994).

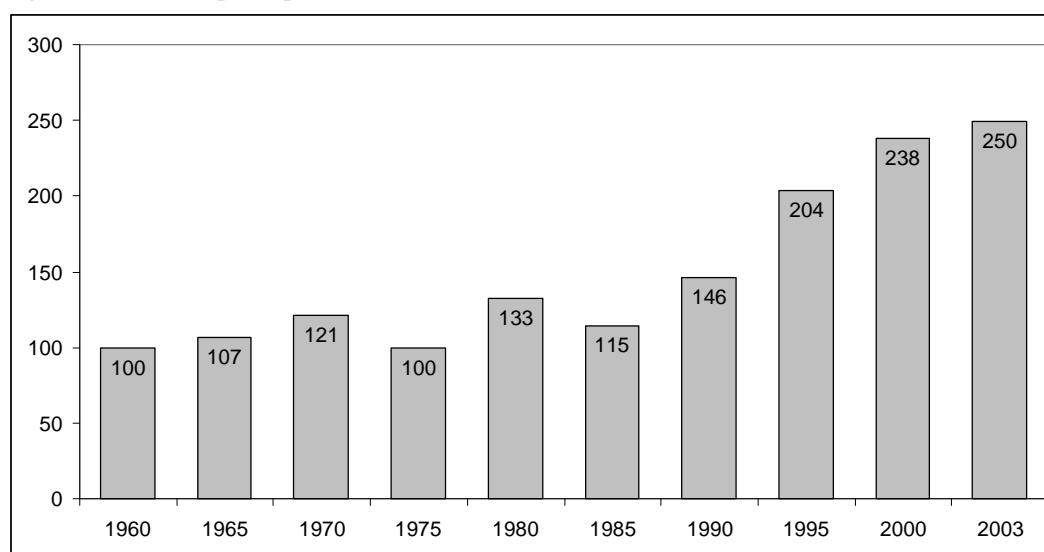
In spite of this apparent economic bonanza, poverty and social inequality did not decrease as expected. Latin American intellectuals began to critically analyse modernization theory. Cardoso and Faletto (1979) posited that Latin American countries experience structural dependency on the economic centre, formed by developed countries. This dependency is not the same as traditional colonialism: in the new dependency dynamic, internal elites promote foreign interests because these match their own agendas. Local elites therefore help to produce and perpetuate dependency. ISI is also believed to have promoted a dual labour market by focusing on industrialization at the expense of agriculture and rural labour. The resulting labour market is split between a reduced number of privileged formal urban workers and a mass of workers excluded from the formal market (Haggard and Kaufman 2008). Indeed, available data shows that industrial growth has brought only a marginal decline of the informal labour force (Castells and Portes 1989). In addition, ISI's emphasis on the importance of technological inputs entailed a tapering off of domestic employment.

The oil price crisis of the 1970s, and the resultant breakdown of the Bretton Woods currency system, pushed the region into an economic crisis. This soon deepened into the debt crisis of the 1980s, which in turn opened the door to a new economic approach: neoliberalism. International agencies including the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank promoted neoliberal economic theories and, particularly in the case of the IMF, recommended or mandated that Latin American governments adopt neoliberal

market-based models in exchange for much needed loans. Latin America became the favoured locus for the 1980s' most radical experiment in social and economic change (Filgueira, Neil et al. 2001). Chile was a particularly enthusiastic exponent of the new economic theories. Structural adjustment policies were applied in many countries. The 1980s often came to be referred to as a 'lost decade' for Latin America as many major social and economic development indicators stagnated or regressed.³

The neoliberal perspective introduced over the course of the 1980s posited the need to return to free markets and open economies, and to reduce state participation in the economy (Filgueira, Neil et al. 2001). By the 2000s, after well over twenty years of predominance of this neoliberal approach, its record in Chile is undoubtedly mixed (Sehnbruch 2006a). Chile has certainly been one of the best economic performers in the region more than doubling its per capita GDP between 1985 and 2003 (see figure 1.7).

Figure 1.7: Chilean per capita GDP, 1960 -2003 (where 1960 GDP level =100)

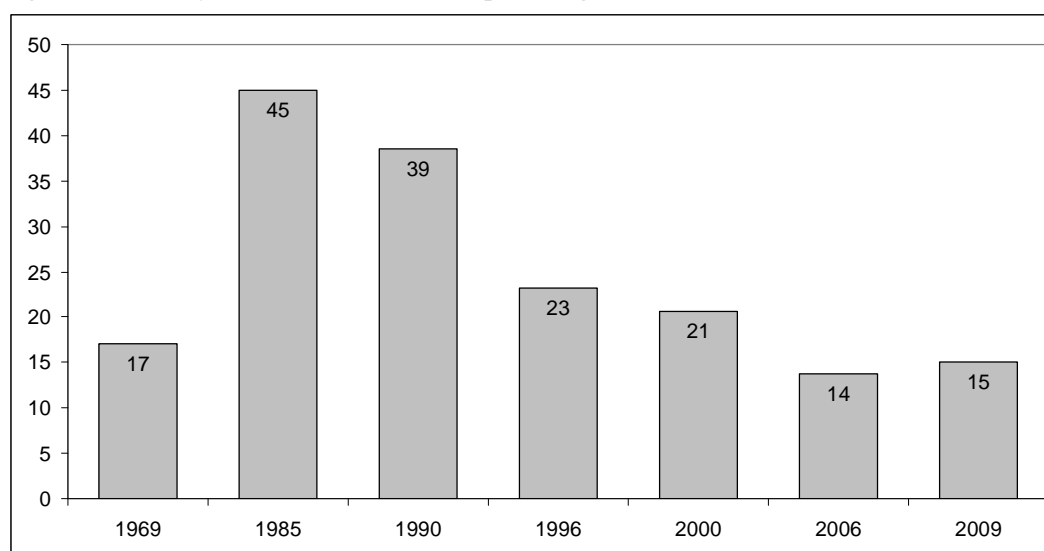


Data source: Larrañaga (2006a: table 4)

³ Whether because of or despite the neoliberal turn being, of course, a matter of continuing controversy.

Nonetheless, Chile's macroeconomic growth has not entailed income equality, and has had only limited success in reduction of absolute poverty. Although levels of absolute poverty have dropped from the mid-1980s onwards, when pre-1980s poverty indices are considered, the overall reduction of poverty is less evident. For example, according to UN figures, in 1969 poverty affected 17 percent of the Chilean population in 1989 and almost the same percentage in 2009 (see figure 1.8)

Figure 1.8: Poverty in Chile, 1969-2009 (as a percentage)



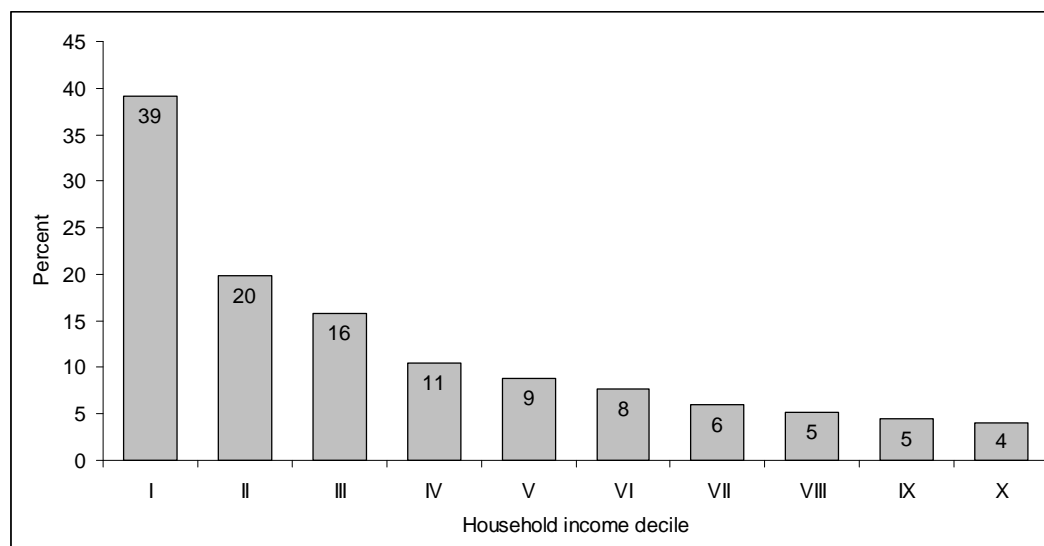
Note: The figure shows poverty levels based on the definition offered by UN agency ECLAC. The ECLAC definition is based on a poverty line reflecting the minimum value of goods and services considered essential to satisfy essential needs. People whose incomes place them below this poverty line are considered poor.
Data sources: For the years 1969, 1985, 1990, 1996 and 2000: Raczynski (2006). For the years 2006 and 2009: Mideplan (2009f:3)

The decline in poverty in Chile was especially pronounced in the 1990s, as shown in figure 1.8. This drop was due to economic growth, which does not automatically close the income gap, and in fact, inequality remained steady in this period (Larrañaga and Herrera 2008:149). A second fall in poverty took place between 2000 and 2006, from 21 to 14 percent. In this case, declining poverty was associated with diminished inequality (Larrañaga and Herrera 2008:168-69). In fact, the income ratio of the richest to the

poorest decile decreased from 30 to 24 times in this period (Mideplan 2009a). More recent figures on inequality, from 2009, nonetheless show either a slight increase or no change in relation to 2006 levels (Mideplan 2009a:13).

Consequently, although poverty and inequality are subject to change, in practice they have been pervasive in Chile. Enduring poverty is explained, in part, because households can easily move above or below the poverty line due to high levels of income instability (Raczynski 2006). Indeed, figures for 2006 show that 45 percent of those classified as poor in that year were not considered poor in the year 2001 (Arzola and Castro 2009). Because of the high numbers of households concentrated near the poverty line, its adequacy for the case of Chile as an indicator of poverty has been called into question (Larrañaga and Herrera 2008). Unemployment and job instability, on which I focus next, have been identified as the two most important factors in the eradication of poverty in Chile (Arzola and Castro 2009:21).

Figures show that lack of employment, short-term employment, and informality are not equally distributed across Chile's different socio economic groups. Deprived groups have higher rates of unemployment and informality, and are more likely to obtain only short-term employment or employment not providing a formal contract. For example, overall national unemployment was 10 percent in Chile in 2009. However, it stood at 39 percent in the poorest income decile and 20 percent in the next poorest. By contrast, unemployment in the richest decile was only 4 percent (see figure 1.9).

Figure 1.9: Unemployment levels by income decile, Chile 2009 (percentage)

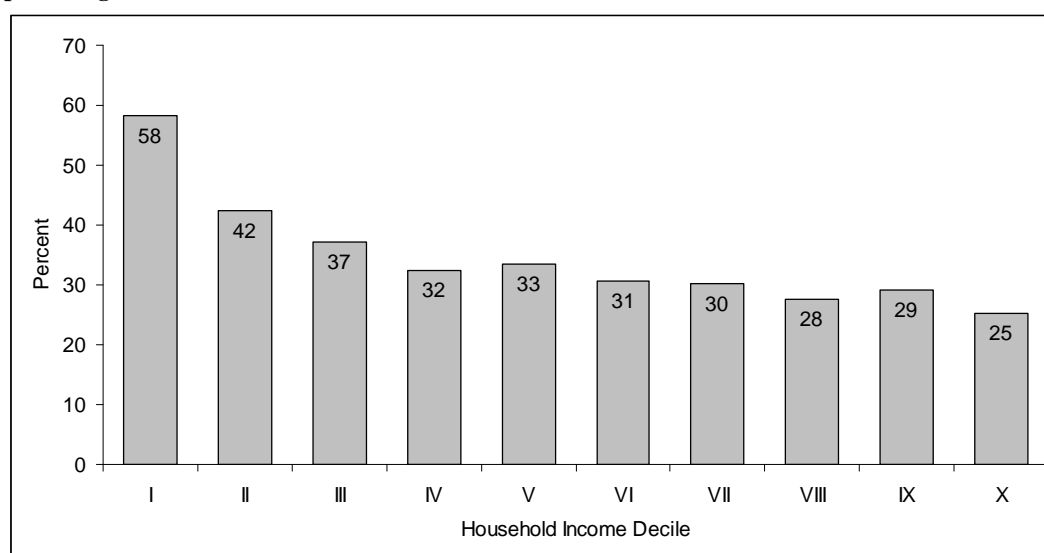
Note: Unemployment is defined here according to the International Labour Organization, ILO, definition of people who had actively sought work within the four weeks prior to the survey.
Data source: Mideplan (2009g:4)

In the same year, 2009, 43 percent of wage earners in the poorest decile, and 29 percent in the next poorest did not have a work contract. By contrast, a mere 10 percent of wage earners in the richest decile did not have a work contract (Mideplan 2009g:14). Short-term work contracts are also inversely related to household income. Thus 60 percent of employees in the poorest decile have a short-term contract, whereas in the richest decile the relevant proportion is only 18 percent (Mideplan 2009g:16).

Employment and social welfare are closely related, as access to social welfare in Chile is mostly dependent on having formal long-term employment. Therefore inequalities of the labour market also entail less access to social welfare for those involved in more precarious employment. Those who do not contribute to social security are usually those who are unemployed, work without a contract, or perform short-term jobs. Indeed, the proportion of employees who do not contribute to social security increases as household income diminishes, as shown in

figure 1.10. The last section of this chapter focuses on social welfare in more depth. For present purposes it is however instructive to note that the existing structure of social welfare provision has promoted a dual labour market, as did ISI policies before it. This is because in both cases, social entitlements are disproportionately awarded to long-term formal workers holding a written work contract.

Figure 1.10: Employees who do not contribute to social security by income decile, Chile 2009 (as a percentage)



Note: 'Employees' is defined here according to the ILO definition of any individual who worked in remunerated employment, even if only for one hour, in the week prior to the survey.

Data source: Mideplan (2009g:23)

The labour market in Chile has been negatively affected by being made responsible for the delivery of some social benefits. Female employment is particularly negatively affected. Chilean employers are legally obliged to provide severance pay for their employees, and, if they have 20 or more female employees, to provide crèche facilities for working mothers. From the employer's point of view, the requirement to provide social benefits is problematic, since it introduces variable operating costs. Thus in practice, employers have sought to reduce or avoid their severance pay and childcare obligations. Therefore, only a

small proportion of workers have received these benefits and the labour market has been distorted (Valenzuela 2006b). Short-term employment and barriers to female employment are persistent problems in the Chilean labour market (Valenzuela 2006b).

Short-term employment is particularly characteristic among salaried workers. A survey of businesses, conducted in 2000, showed that in that year 48 percent of the total workforce employed at some point over the year had subsequently been made redundant, while 54 percent were new hires (Valenzuela 2006b). Unemployment insurance was not introduced in Chile until 2002, so in practice severance pay has been used as a kind of unemployment insurance. Severance pay was introduced in 1925, and has experienced many modifications. Today, severance pay means that wage-earners with a formal work contract receive one month's salary for each year of work, up to eleven months' worth, when they are fired. Hence it becomes a liability for employers to retain the same workers on long-term contracts and so they instead hire their workforce on a short-term basis (Valenzuela 2006b).

The introduction of unemployment insurance has not modified these high levels of short-term employment, as the obligation to pay severance continues. In addition, the amount received as unemployment insurance depends, like severance pay, on being a formal wage-earner and is calculated according to the number of years the worker has been employed. Independent and informal workers are thereby excluded from unemployment insurance, as are short-term workers (Sehnbruch 2006b). In 2009 the qualifying requisite of the workers having made twelve continuous monthly contributions from wages was modified to twelve contributions over two years, yet given high levels of short-term employment many workers will still not be covered by this insurance.

Short-term employment has negative effects not only in the economy, but also in society overall. Short-term employment promotes distrust between employers and employees, and increases the prevalence of economic

activities that do not require formal labour qualifications (Valenzuela 2006b). Short-term employment also affects social security protection, as the amount finally received varies according to pension and unemployment insurance contributions made, and depends therefore on the overall length of time spent in employment over a person's working life (Sehnbruch 2006a). Short-term employment can introduce devastating uncertainty to family life (Sehnbruch 2006a).

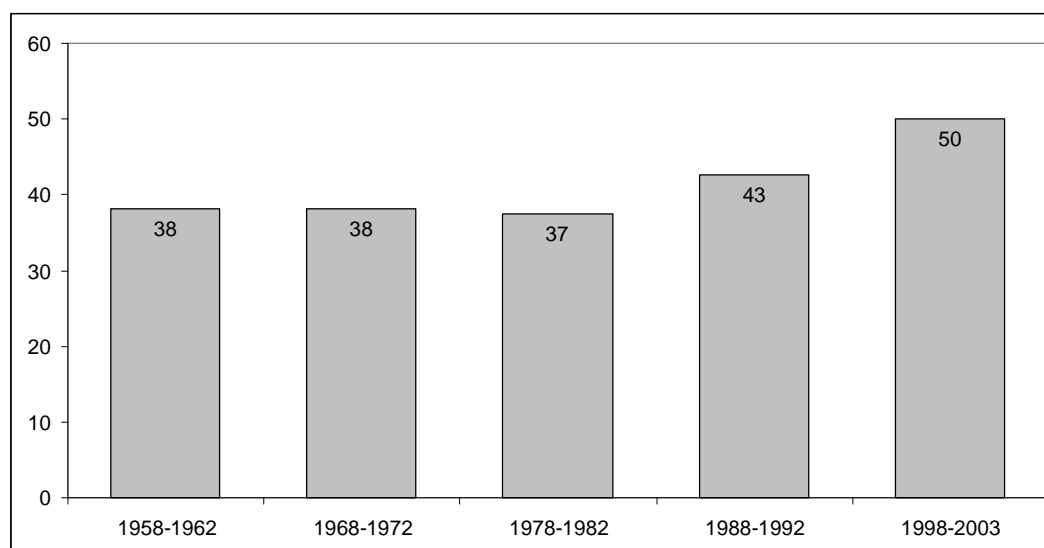
Company childcare provision became compulsory in Chile in 1917, taking its current form in 1925 (Valenzuela 2006b). From then on, employers of twenty or more women have been required to provide childcare facilities, which is a considerable hurdle to female employment (Valenzuela 2006b). Between 1907 and 1930, as social welfare was introduced, the proportion of women in paid work dropped from 22 to 13 percent (Valenzuela 2006b:394). More recent figures show that in 1999 small and medium businesses, which provide most of the employment in Chile, tended to hire no more than 19 women (Valenzuela 2006b).

The fact that companies, rather than the state, were made responsible for providing childcare has introduced significant inequalities. It contributes to household inequalities, as poorer households are deprived of women's incomes. Gender inequality has been increased as well, not simply because of barriers to female employment, but also because the related difficulty of accessing social security. So deprived women, and particularly single mothers, are the most affected and segregated by this legislation that sets motherhood against, and in conflict with, paid female work (Valenzuela 2006b:399). Maternity leave entailed similar problems up to the 1950s, at which point it began to be financed by the social security contributions of working women.

Unsurprisingly, female employment in Chile is relatively low by Latin American standards (García and Oliveira 2011:table 1). Nevertheless female employment in

Chile began to increase from 1985. Figures for the capital, Santiago, show that 37 percent of women were involved in paid work at the beginning of the 1980s, compared to 50 percent at the beginning of the twenty-first century (see figure 1.11). Figures for the whole country show a similar trend (Larrañaga 2006b:table 2). This increase in female employment is related to good overall economic performance, but also to higher levels of female education and declining fertility rates (Larrañaga 2006b:211).

Figure 1.11: Women's participation in the labour force, Santiago de Chile 1958-2003 (women aged 15-65, as a percentage)



Data source: Larrañaga (2006b:table 1)

Women's participation in the labour force also varies according to education, fertility, and marital status (Larrañaga 2006b). Women with higher education show relatively higher levels of paid employment. From 1968 to 2003, employment reached around 70 percent for women with higher education (Larrañaga 2006b: table 3). Women with only primary education are falling behind. At the beginning of the 1970s, women with primary and secondary education showed similar rates of employment, around 37 percent. Yet at the end of the 1990s, employment among women with

secondary education stood at 55 percent, compared to 45 percent for women with primary education.

Childless women consistently show higher rates of employment. In 1958-1962 60 percent of women without children participated in the labour force, reaching 80 percent in 1998-2003 (Larrañaga 2006b: table 5). Women with children show a similar increase of around 20 points, having begun from a lower figure. At the beginning of the 1960s, employment reached 32 percent among women with one or two children and 19 percent for women with three or four children. At the beginning of the twenty-first century the rates were 54 and 45 percent, respectively.

However, the participation of women with children in the labour force is additionally affected by their marital status. Having children does not, by contrast, significantly affect participation in the labour force for single or separated women: employment of single or separated women stood at 77 percent in 2003 for those with children, and 76 percent for those with no children (Larrañaga 2006b: table 7). Yet in the same year, among women who were in a partnership (marriage or cohabitation), only 45 percent of those with children were employed. Therefore, children only become an obstacle to joining the labour force for women with a male partner, formal or informal. The negative effect of having a partner on women's employment holds even after controlling by household income and number of children (Larrañaga 2006b:191&table A-6).

That married or cohabiting mothers show lower levels of employment is a manifestation of a cultural context in which female employment is seen as a threat to family life, and in particular to motherhood (Raczynski 2006). Rejection of the principle of female employment is stronger among groups with lower levels of educational attainment (Larrañaga 2006b:193). A public opinion survey conducted in 2008 shows that 31 percent of Chileans agree with the statement 'a woman should only work if her partner does not earn enough', and that higher levels of agreement with this statement were positively related to lower levels of

educational attainment (Latinobarómetro 2011). Agreement reached 40 percent among people with low educational attainment, compared with 23 percent among people with high educational attainment.

In relation to education, Chile is advancing towards universal access to primary and secondary education. In 2009, 93 percent of the population aged 6 to 13 were in primary education, and 71 percent of people aged 14 to 17 were in secondary education (Mideplan 2009c). Higher education shows lower levels of coverage (29 percent of the people aged 18 to 24 group in 2009), and it is unequally distributed across socioeconomic groups. Seventeen percent of the people aged 18 to 24 of poorest quintile was in higher education in 2009 compared to 54 percent of the richest quintile (Mideplan 2009c).

Even though access to public education is improving, its quality is highly uneven, and poor students tend to be relegated to low quality schools (Eyzaguirre and Le Foulon 2001). In addition, school drop-out is concentrated among the disadvantaged. For example, 61 percent of young people aged 20 to 24 from the poorest decile completed secondary education in 2009, by contrast with 98 percent of those from the richest decile (Mideplan 2009b). Deprived groups have fewer total years of schooling: on average, 11 years for the two poorest deciles, and 14 years for the two richest. (Mideplan 2009b). A significant student campaign movement emerged in 2011, demanding improvements in the quality and equality of Chilean higher education, but it is too soon to see any measurable effects of this campaign on educational provision.

All in all, Chile has experienced significant recent economic growth, yet efforts to overcome poverty and inequality have met only partial success. Although poverty has declined, a significant part of the population still lives below the poverty line. In addition, income

inequality has proven difficult to narrow. Unemployment, short-term employment, and informality remain problematic and unequally distributed. Female employment has increased, yet faces ongoing barriers.

This situation is puzzling, as the combination of recent economic growth and declining poverty could be expected to have promoted marriage in Chile. Instead, cohabitation became more frequent. The analysis presented here has however shown the significance of the low quality of the labour market, which is moreover being used as a provider of childcare and severance pay. This should lead us to ask what role the state may have played in rising rates of cohabitation. In the next section I will analyse the normative legal framework the state provides for family life.

Family Law and the State

Marriage in colonial Hispanic America followed Catholic norms promulgated by the Council of Trent, 1545-1563 (Candina Polomer 2005); a council at which the Church laid down a series of stipulations about doctrinal matters in an effort to counter the spread of Protestant ideas. The Council is accordingly usually regarded as the maximum expression of the ideas of the Counter-Reformation. In regard to the sacrament of marriage, the Council laid down that marriage was to be regarded as a sacred, monogamous, lifetime commitment. Marriage set the limits for sexual activity, whose aim was procreation, and also established lines for the transmission of property. Marriage was to be patriarchal, with women and children under the authority of the husband and father. In Chile, as in the rest of Hispanic America, the Spanish crown and the Catholic Church encouraged marriage in order to stop interracial coupling (Cavieres and Salinas 1991).

The wars of Latin American independence that took place around the region in the early nineteenth century were driven by local elites, and tended to be political rather than social revolutions. By 1830 the Chilean elite, newly independent from Spain, had imposed an authoritarian, centralized, and reformist state. The Civil Code, enacted in 1857, signalled the aspiration of the ruling elite to build a modern state. Chile's legal framework shows strong Napoleonic influence yet in respect of family law, Catholic Canon Law prevailed (Ponce de León, Rengifo et al. 2006). By the end of the nineteenth century, secularization of the state had however reached a high point, and the ruling elite was actively seeking to assimilate European migrants (Ponce de León, Rengifo et al. 2006:52). Accordingly, a Civil Registry and Civil Marriage Law were introduced, in 1884, to recognize non-Catholics. Soon after the Civil Marriage Law was promulgated, the marriage rate declined. Evidence suggests that deprived groups did not value the idea of a civil wedding, and so did not attend the registry office to get married (Ponce de León, Rengifo et al. 2006:66).

Civil marriage was an indissoluble contract, and it gave inheritance rights to the legitimate wife and children. Women were under the authority of the husband, and he was responsible for managing the marital property. Children were subjected to the exclusive control of the father, a precept known as *patria potestad* (Milanich 2002:85). The legislation created three classifications for children: legitimate, natural, and illegitimate (Candina Polomer 2005). Legitimate children were those born within marriage. Natural and illegitimate children were both born out of wedlock, with the term 'natural' reserved for those children who were subsequently voluntarily recognized by the father. Natural children had some inheritance rights and came under the father's *patria potestad* in the same way as their legitimate siblings. Illegitimate children, those born outside marriage and not recognized by the father, were given no inheritance rights. Crucially, the mother's authority was not recognized by law either. As maternal

authority for illegitimate children was not sanctioned, these children were vulnerable to removal from their mother's control and to exploitation (Milanich 2002:85). Furthermore, the investigation of paternity was banned and it was left to male discretion whether or not to recognize offspring born of informal relationships. (Ponce de León, Rengifo et al. 2006).

By the end of the nineteenth century, social change in Chile fuelled deep social problems. The Popular Front, a left-wing coalition formed by radicals, socialists and communists, took office from 1930 to 1950 (Roseblatt 2000). The coalition promoted democracy and economic modernization; developing public health and education policies, seeking to overcome widespread illiteracy, and battling unhygienic living conditions. The Popular Front had a traditional understanding of the family, but based on a scientific approach. In the 1930s, legislation protecting pregnant working women was approved and child labour was limited. This was the effective beginning of the welfare state in Chile (see previous section).

As of 1950 family law remained virtually unchanged, except that married women were allowed to work and to manage their own wages (Lavrin 2005). The end of the Second World War brought new global perspectives on rights, and in 1948 the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In Chile women gained the right to vote in 1949, and so they were allowed to formally enter the public sphere (Velooso 1998).

The Cuban Revolution of 1959 marked a new phase in Latin American politics. In 1964 Eduardo Frei, of the Christian Democratic Party, won Chile's presidential election. His government launched an agrarian reform programme, improved education and health, and promoted social mobilization (Tinsman 2002). In 1965 family planning programmes were introduced. These included pre and post natal health care, instruction on parenting and reproduction, and provision of birth control (Tinsman 2002:156). The US, concerned about population growth, strongly supported the provision of birth control. Chilean

authorities embraced birth control as a response to high rates of maternal and infant death. Maternal death rates were high because of badly performed illegal abortions, as only therapeutic abortion was allowed since the 1930s (Tinsman 2002:157).

Family planning programmes were framed by the government as family welfare, and so were aimed at married couples. Wives needed their husband's consent to be given contraception. Likewise, unmarried women under the age of 21 could only be given contraception if both parents gave their written consent (Tinsman 2002:163). Although the Catholic Church condemned birth control at the time, it was split over the issue (Tinsman 2002:160-61).

Salvador Allende's Popular Unity (UP) government of 1970 to 1973 continued family planning programmes, but approached them in terms of women's sexual and reproductive rights (Tinsman 2002). Gynaecological and contraceptive services were made available to adolescent girls as well as single young women. However, in practice, the married couple was still the main target. Husbands' and parental consent continued to be needed for wives and adolescent girls, respectively, to access contraception. During this period legal abortion, which was allowed only in limited circumstances, also began to be practised more widely (Tinsman 2002). Legislation abolishing legal distinctions between illegitimate and legitimate births was proposed in 1972, but Allende was overthrown before it was passed (Tinsman 2002:227).

The 1973 to 1989 dictatorship presided over by General Augusto Pinochet entailed a reassertion of patriarchal values (Veloso 1999). Demographic growth was considered socially desirable and access to family planning was restricted (Raczynski and Serrano 1985:57-58). In 1989 abortion was completely banned, even in cases when the life of the mother was at risk (previously the only circumstance in which abortion was legally permitted). A new Constitution was promulgated in 1980 (and is still in force). The 1980 text of the Constitution recognized equal status for men and women, except in the realm of the

family. A 1999 constitutional reform abolished this exception, and women and men were given formally equal status. In 1989, the military dictatorship ratified the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (Veloso 1998), showing that even Pinochet's dictatorship was not immune to international pressure to improve women's rights.

The return of democracy from 1990 has involved an enhancement of women and children's rights. At the international level, the 1990s were particularly relevant for the development of human rights (Cornwall and Molyneux 2008:8). Similarly to many other post dictatorial governments in the region, the centre-left *Concertación* coalition, which held the Chilean presidency from 1990 to 2010, endorsed international human rights agreements so as to signal Chile's re-incorporation into the international community, (Molyneux and Craske 2002). In 1990, Chile ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child. In 1991, the Chilean National Women's Service (SERNAM, in Spanish) was created. Since SERNAM reports directly to the office of the presidency, and since Chile's political system is strongly presidentialist, SERNAM has been able to be particularly effective in changing family legislation (Haas 2010). Democratic governments have however continued to focus on improving family welfare, rather than pursuing a feminist agenda (Haas 2010). In 2006, President Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010) took office. Her government decisively contributed to advancing legislation related to women and children.

In 1990, immediately after the end of the military regime, new family legislation focused on tackling domestic violence. The Chilean women's movement pointed out the connection between domestic and state violence, and framed domestic violence as a violation of human rights (Matear 1999; Haas 2010). Nonetheless Chile, like the rest of the region, has been susceptible to violence and authoritarianism for much of its history. Authoritarianism and violence are neither confined to the political realm, nor exclusive to the armed forces or the police (Matear

1999). Rather, an authoritarian culture permeates power relations between social classes, men and women, adults and children, bosses and workers. Violence and authoritarian relations are embedded in social and economic inequalities, and also in exclusionary practices based on gender, race, and social class (Matear 1999). The first domestic violence bill was passed in 1994, and modified (reformed) in 2005. This most recent version of the legislation criminalized domestic violence for the first time, and increased protection for victims. Addressing violence continues to be a recognised policy priority, with recent legislative proposals for bills on femicide and sexual violence. (Haas 2010).

There is evidence which suggests a decline in the incidence of serious physical abuse against children (Larraín and Bascuñan 2008). This report (Larraín, op. cit.) claims a decrease from 34 to 26 percent between 1994 and 2006. The same study shows that although serious physical abuse is more frequent among children from low income groups, it also occurs among high income groups. For example, the report's 2006 data showed serious physical abuse standing at 29 percent in the lower socioeconomic group, and 19 percent in the upper socioeconomic group. Both parents are reported to practise violence against children, though mothers are described as principally responsible for it. Disobeying parental authority is given as the main reason why children are beaten by their parents. These figures should however be approached with caution, as measuring domestic violence is a complex matter.

As regards cohabitation, the most significant recent change is the new paternity law of 1999. The *Ley de Filiación* eliminated legal discrimination against children born out of wedlock, and introduced paternity investigation. Thus, for the first time, children born out of wedlock were given similar rights to children of formal marriages (Candina Polomer 2005). Available data shows that the new paternity law did not have a direct impact in increasing out of wedlock births (Cox 2011:135). Currently,

there is an ongoing debate about legalizing consensual unions as civil partnerships, but it is not clear whether this is likely to become law any time soon.

A new marriage law, approved in 2004, signalled a turning point in relation to the civil marriage law of 1884. For one thing, legal divorce was finally introduced where before, it had not existed. The only option for legal separation was for married couples to seek a civil annulment through claiming incompetence on the part of the civil registrar. Civil annulment had however required both partners' agreement and the hiring of a solicitor (Cox 2011). Under the new legislation, one partner can file for divorce at any time alleging fault on the part of the other; or after three years of separation if a no-fault settlement is sought. If both partners agree to the filing they must wait one more year before applying for the finalisation of the divorce (Cox 2011). People on low incomes can get free legal assistance for divorce.

The new legislation also almost completely eliminated the husband's and father's authority within marriage and family life. Both parents are now equally responsible for looking after children, and on separation, the children usually stay with the mother. In addition, the notion of the child's best interests has replaced *patria potestad* as the overarching principle that is supposed to guide resolution of any dispute (BCN 2012). In 1989, the notion of a husband's authority over his wife was abandoned (Velooso 1998). As regards financial matters, the regime of community property continues to predominate. According to this arrangement, the husband is responsible for managing the marital property. However, his authority has now been limited and the wife's approval is needed for any transaction (BCN No date).

Preliminary evidence (Cox 2011) shows that the introduction of a divorce law had a positive effect on the marriage rate, which has increased. No impact was detected on either fertility, or out of wedlock births. By comparison with civil annulment, divorce has reduced inequality since costs have been eliminated for deprived

groups. In addition, divorce has improved the formal situation of women and children after separation in terms of maintenance received from the ex partner. Yet filing for divorce is not a simple procedure, and divorce on the grounds of attribution of fault to one party could be damaging for both partners and children. In addition, although the new legislation affords better protection to women and children after separation, it is still ineffective in enforcing payment of maintenance. In fact, less than 40 percent of divorced women who head households receive maintenance from their ex husband, either for themselves or for their children (Cox 2011). For women who have completed higher education, the proportion is slightly higher (at 45 percent).

In relation to sexual and reproductive rights, there has been little or no progress. The lack of substantive legal reform reflects how disruptive sexual issues are for the political elite. A clear example is the controversy created by then-president Bachelet's decision to provide free emergency contraception to adolescents. Her proposal was predictably fiercely opposed by right-wing political parties and the Catholic Church, but also deepened divisions within the governing *Concertación* (Haas 2010:179). Public opinion is also divided about controlling human reproduction. For example, in 2010 only slightly more than 50 percent of the public favoured the reintroduction of therapeutic abortion in cases where the life of the mother is at risk (ICSO 2010). Acceptance of abortion nonetheless varies according to socioeconomic group, with acceptance of abortion to save the mother's life reaching 66 percent in high income groups, but only 44 percent in low income groups (ICSO 2010). For the time being, abortion in Chile remains illegal under any circumstance. An assessment conducted in the early 2000s by experts on reproductive health highlighted significant deficiencies in the provision of birth control by the public health system (Schiappacasse, Vidal et al. 2003). The main problem is that the public health system is not giving adequate attention to adolescent sexual health. Local doctor's

surgeries also hold only limited stocks of birth control resources.

In general, it seems that the framework of rights developed by the UN has been at the core of recent transformations of legislation around family, sexuality, and reproduction in Chile. As the structure of the Chilean political system favours the executive, the executive women's agency SERNAM has been the most effective body for advancing legal reform. Legal reform has accordingly been led from above, through the institutional order which connects international agencies with nation states. However, SERNAM is also embedded in the traditions of welfarism and conventional gender roles to which the Chilean state has adhered throughout the twentieth century. Thus SERNAM is far from being an advocate of women's rights, as women's groups have quickly learnt (Haas 2010).

In any case, today's Chilean legislation is less patriarchal than before. Marriage has lost most of its privileges. Children's and women's rights have begun to be recognised, and corresponding limits have been placed on men's and parents' authority. Domestic violence may be declining as well. These changes suggest that cohabitation and marriage are becoming more similar, and that parents have lost part of their power to enforce marriage. In the next and final section of this chapter, I will further analyse these changes in relation to how social welfare provision by the state might have affected rising cohabitation.

Social Policies and Unmarried Mothers

The country's biggest increase in rates of cohabitation took place in the 1990s, in the first ten years of the

Concertación's rule. After Pinochet's dictatorship (1973-1989), the first democratic government, presided over by president Patricio Aylwin (1990-1994), laid the foundations of the *Concertación's* approach to social policies. From the onset this centre-left coalition focused on improving the quality and coverage of welfare, and also on targeting more vulnerable groups. Successive *Concertación* governments, headed by presidents Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle (1994-2000), Ricardo Lagos (2000-2006), and Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010), followed this general path. Each made specific improvements and innovations, but none specifically introduced social policies aimed at favouring individuals in unmarried cohabiting partnerships. In this section I analyse how social policies might be related to unmarried cohabitation. I deal firstly with the origins of social welfare in Chile, before focusing on Pinochet-era change and how post-authoritarian governments dealt with that legacy.

Social welfare emerged in Chile in the first decades of the twentieth century, as a direct consequence of pressure from diverse social movements. From the onset, governments, regardless of their political orientation, used welfare provision to gain and to maintain political support. Therefore we could talk of corporatist welfare, as welfare policies typically offered protection to organized formal sector workers, in particular public employees and the armed forces (Borzutzky 2002; Molyneux 2007; Haggard and Kaufman 2008). The Catholic Church's charitable work with the poor, present from colonial times, has also characterized welfare provision as philanthropic well into the twentieth century (Molyneux 2000:48).

From the outset welfare policies in Chile, as in the whole Latin American region, were shaped by patriarchal values (Roseblatt 2000; Lavrin 2005; Molyneux 2007). They developed hand in hand with the family wage system, within which the man is expected to be the head of the family and the main provider or breadwinner. Women and children depend

on men for their survival, and marriage identifies them as legitimate beneficiaries of social welfare. As discussed above marriage increased and female employment decreased in Chile at the same time as social welfare was introduced, i.e. in the first decades of the twentieth century (see section on Poverty, Employment, and Education).

Evidence shows that national welfare professionals in the 1930s and 1940s encouraged marriage as the best solution to poverty among mothers and children, and as a way to domesticate unruly men, in particular those from the lower classes (Roseblatt 2000). As motherhood was seen as a woman's first duty, Chilean authorities discouraged female labour. Female employment was a sign of backwardness rather than progress (Molyneux 2000), and paid work was regarded as a source of corruption that could make women bad mothers and sexually licentious. Employment 'stimulated women's independence and caused them to shun marriage and bear illegitimate children' (Roseblatt 2000:173).

Even though social welfare professionals adopted a patriarchal and legal conception of the family, the Chilean state also offered protection to single mothers. Thus the emphasis on the importance of motherhood prevailed over the stigma attached to extra-marital sex (Roseblatt 2000:176). Social protection of single mothers was based on the traditional role of women as mothers, and entailed marginalizing men's responsibilities as fathers (Lavrin 2005; Molyneux 2007). In other words, policies focused on the single mother reinforce the maternal role at the expense of the paternal one (Lavrin 1995:157).

In the 1950s and 1960s, ideas of modernization and developmentalism became predominant and so welfare was extended. By the 1960s most Latin American countries had established a welfare system, even if some were rather fragile (Molyneux 2007). Even Chile, one of the few countries in Latin America to have developed a welfare state, did not achieve universality of entitlement or coverage.

The economic and political crises of the 1970s meant that the neoliberal approach was extended to social

welfare. The neoliberal perspective reshaped the role of the state in providing social security (Haggard and Kaufman 2008:184-185). The emphasis was now on targeting social policies to the most deprived, on the grounds that targeting was held to be more efficient, fairer, and more inclusive than universal provision. Private sector participation in welfare provision was encouraged, in order to cut public spending and to supposedly improve the quality of social provision through competition. Individuals were given responsibility for funding their own social security, and links between individual contributions and benefits were tightened. Decentralization was promoted to improve accountability and better matching of local needs. These ideas were applied by the dictatorship, and resulted in a decrease of both the coverage and quality of welfare provision (Vergara 1990).

Neoliberal reforms did, however, mean that for the first time the poorest of the poor at least nominally gained access to social welfare. Targeting groups who had previously been excluded from social security due to their non-wage earning status meant that unmarried mothers not involved in formal employment started to receive social benefits, such as family allowance and a basic state retirement pension. In other words, both marriage and formal employment became less relevant for accessing social welfare.

In the 1970s the military regime reduced the amount paid in family allowances and transferred this disbursement to the state, instead of, as previously, companies (Valenzuela 2006b). At the beginning of the 1980s, the military regime moreover extended this benefit to include children whose parents were not covered by social security. This expanded reach family allowance, known as the *Subsidio Único Familiar* (SUF) was assigned to pregnant women and to every child younger than 15 years old (Vergara 1990). The benefit came in the form of a conditional cash transfer, and in order to receive it, preschool children had to attend health checks while school-age children had to attend school. The monetary transfer was payable to the

mother, and only in her permanent absence could it be transferred to the father or other person in charge of the child. In an after 1985, unmarried mothers not previously involved in formal employment could apply to a basic state retirement pension, the *Pensión Asistencial* (PASIS). The PASIS was introduced in 1985 by the military regime, and was targeted at poor people aged 65 or over who did not receive any other form of pension (Vergara 1990).

Post-dictatorship governments did not challenge the neoliberal approach, but rather built on it to increase social spending and so effectively reach previously excluded groups. The aim was to pay the so called 'social debt' (*deuda social*) left by the dictatorship. Accordingly, during the first democratic government of the new period, social spending experienced a significant increase (Meller, Lehmann et al. 1993). To take one example, taking 1993 spending as a baseline, housing spending increased from 63 percent during Pinochet's regime to 88 percent in 1993. In this same period, always using spending in 1993 as a baseline, healthcare spending increased from 67 to 84 percent, social security from 81 to 92 percent, and education from 88 to 91 percent. The biggest increase was in housing, as a significant public housing deficit had been left by the dictatorship (changes in housing policies will be further discussed below). Amounts for the minimum wage and of state retirement pension were increased during the Aylwin period, as was the SUF, later also extended to children up to 18 years of age (the age at which compulsory secondary education ends) (Ministerio del Trabajo y de Previsión Social 2013).

In relation to healthcare the health system had previously differentiated between blue and white collar workers. This distinction was erased by dictatorship-era neoliberal reforms. All employed persons, with the exception of members of the armed forces and police, are now obliged to contribute 7 percent of their salary to cover health care. Poor people with minimal levels of income can be awarded free access to health care in a specific *indigente* (indigent) category by the *Fondo*

Nacional de Salud (Fonasa), a mode of access to the public health system. The public system has some similarities in principle to the British National Health Service (NHS), with the major difference that it is paid for not (only) through general taxation but also directly through the 7 percent contributions. All except those on the lowest, indigent, income rung must therefore demonstrate compliance with the 7 percent contribution regime in order to be entitled to use the system. People with levels of income above the indigent category joined a regime of copayments that allow them to choose to pay their 7 percent quota into the public health provider (via Fonasa) or to private health insurance companies, known as *Instituciones de Salud Previsional* (ISAPREs), which also act as providers through a network of private clinics and hospitals. At point of access, all users (except the indigent, who are limited to the public system) can in principle choose to use any provider, although they will have to pay a larger or smaller specific sum depending on whether they choose to use the system in which they are enrolled.

Health policies targeting poor and extremely poor families, in particular mothers and children, were enhanced during the dictatorship period, something which allowed overall health indicators to continue to improve despite a reduction in total public spending (Vergara 1990; Valenzuela 2006b).

As the dictatorship ended, democratic governments increased healthcare spending in an effort to improve both quality and coverage (Schkolnik 1995). Primary healthcare through local doctor's surgeries was made free to everyone enrolled in the public, FONASA, system. The total number of healthcare employees in the public system was significantly increased, and the focus on improving maternal and child health continued. In 2005 a new health programme, known as AUGE (*Acceso Universal con Garantías Explícitas*), was introduced. AUGE was a decisive step towards a more universal health coverage, defining a core list of serious or major illnesses for which free, publicly-funded treatment was guaranteed to all users.

By 2009 the FONASA public system provider covered around 80 percent of the population, rising to around 90 percent among the two lower income quintiles (Mideplan 2009d: table 6). The ISAPRE private insurer system, similar in principle to the system of private insurers common in the United States, is predominantly used by high income groups (who can also choose to augment the minimum 7 percent contribution in order to buy improved coverage and/or insurance against specific catastrophic illnesses).

Concertación social policy reform was not limited only to increases in expenditure for the purposes of improving quality and coverage. From the outset, the *Concertación* also defined groups considered to have borne the brunt of the social costs of 1980s structural adjustment policies (Schkolnik 1995). Children, young people, the elderly, and women were given special attention, particularly if individuals in these categories were also subject to specific vulnerabilities such as minority ethnic identity, disability, or acting as a female head of household. A comprehensive range of social programmes was introduced to target these groups. I will principally focus for purposes of the present study on those programmes targeted at women and children.

The international context favoured an explicit focus on women and children, given post-authoritarian governments' endorsement of international agreements on women's and children's rights (see above, section on Family Law and the State). Additionally, during the 1990s international agencies such as the World Bank and IMF also encouraged social policies targeted at women and children, now considered an effective way of tackling poverty (Craske 2003). Women's issues had also gained visibility on the national agenda in their own right (Serrano 1992). On the one hand, under the dictatorship left-wing middle-class women had started to promote a feminist agenda as part of an oppositional political identity. On the other hand, also during the dictatorship, low-income women had played a key role in ensuring the survival of their families, often

through developing grassroots organizations and practices such as *ollas comunes* (shared community kitchens).

Therefore, from the initial post-authoritarian administration onwards promoted targeting women as a way of both tackling poverty and increasing gender equality. For example, the national Women's Service SERNAM created a network of neighbourhood centres providing information on women's rights, as well as specialised centres to assist female victims of domestic violence (Schkolnik 1995). SERNAM also decided to prioritise the needs of women heads of household from low income groups, launching a targeted programme for this group in 1992 (Badia 2000). The programme, rolled out nationally in 1994, was known as the *Programa Mujeres Jefas de Hogar de Escasos Recursos*, or PMJH for short. The PMJH addressed women as producers, rather than as mothers or wives, and aimed to increase their involvement in paid work through improving their qualifications and supporting microenterprise entrepreneurship.

In addition, three charitable trusts were set up during the first democratic government, and are traditionally chaired by the wife of the incumbent president. These trusts are focused on the needs of women, children, and families. One of them, known as PRODEMU (the *Fundación de Promoción y Desarrollo de la Mujer*), seeks to improve deprived women's productive skills so as to increase their involvement in paid work (PRODEMU 2013). The second trust, *Fundación de la Familia*, aims to improve family ties and relationships among low income families, since such ties are seen as providing protection against deprived living conditions (Fundación de la Familia 2013). The third trust, *Fundación Integra*, delivers childcare to preschool children of poor families (Fundación Integra 2013).

In spite of this focus on women, most programmes were not well funded, and were accordingly limited in their reach (Schkolnik 1995). However, the existence of this new institutional framework addressing women's disadvantages did contribute to women themselves starting to enjoy

increased social recognition. For poor women, to be targeted by social policies probably had a particularly significant impact on their self-esteem given their previous double subordination (Serrano 1992). The figure of the woman head of household probably became more socially valued over this period, continuing to embody the conventional maternal role but now somehow empowered.

This emphasis on women was also adopted by other social ministries (Schkolnik 1995). For example, the Ministry of Education sought to eliminate gender differentiation from school curricula and text books. Pregnancy stopped being seen as a reason to drop out of school, and in 1993 a policy on compulsory sex education was introduced. Children of women heads of household were also given priority access to preschool education.

Housing policies were also modified, to give non married mothers equal rights to married couples in applications for housing subsidy (Schkolnik 1995). Housing policies have moreover proved particularly relevant for family life, not least because social spending on public housing significantly increased in the 1990s. Indeed, the number of new families who did not have access to a new dwelling dropped from 44 percent during the dictatorship to 6 percent over the course of the first democratic government (Meller, Lehmann et al. 1993). Moreover, in Aylwin's last year in office (1994), the amount of public housing stock built actually outnumbered the number of new families, in an effort to finally reduce the housing deficit left by the authoritarian regime.

Over the course of the 1980s, the Pinochet dictatorship had modified housing policies by introducing a system of housing subsidies. These subsidies were awarded on a needs assessment, using a points system (Simian 2010). *Vivienda Básica*, the main social housing programme launched in 1984 (and carried through into the 1990s) awarded points to individuals who held a savings account; had specific savings set aside for housing, were classified as from low income groups, and had numerous family members. A high points total pushed the family up the priority list

for housing (see Simian, op. cit., table 6; and also (MINVU 1984)).

The *Concertación* modified the points criteria during their first year in office. Points also began to be awarded for acuteness of housing need, length of time on the waiting list, and collective (multi-person) applications. Holding a savings account no longer attracted points, and lone (single or widowed) parents were given additional points (MINVU 1990). Lone parents were thereby given parity of points with married couples. Particular attention (priority) was given to the reduction of the practice of two or more families living in the same dwelling, known in Chile as *allegamiento* (MINVU 1990) and usually comprising adult children staying on with their own newly-formed family unit in the parental home. It should be noted that Chilean housing policy has been successful in providing housing for poor families: home ownership reached almost 70 percent of households in 2006, and in comparison to other social indicators, is less related to income (Mideplan 2006b:10). There are, however, persistent problems of urban segregation, and poor design and construction of public housing (Ducci 2000).

The content of screening questionnaires introduced by the military regime, and whose use was continued in the post-authoritarian period, provides additional specific evidence that solo mothers have been favoured by the logic of targeting. In 1979, the regime developed a questionnaire to classify poor families according to their socioeconomic needs. Although the specific content of the questionnaire has been modified, many social benefits continue to be allocated according to its outcome. Monetary subsidies such as SUF and PASIS (see above) are given only to those who are classified as 'deprived' (*indigentes*) according to this screening questionnaire. Housing subsidies and preschool education also consider the outcome of this questionnaire, alongside other selecting criteria. In these cases, the questionnaire is used to assess how many poor families qualify in the first instance for housing subsidies or preschool education due to their deprived status. Other

factors are however then considered in order to filter and prioritise beneficiaries. For instance, children are given priority for preschool education if their mother is involved in paid work, is a teenage mother, or is a head of household. Housing policies also take into account factors such as *allegamiento* (two or more families sharing one dwelling); overcrowding (numbers of people sharing one bedroom); housing' precariousness, potable water supply, and adequacy of sewage system (MINVU No date).

The first version of this questionnaire was developed in 1979 during the dictatorship. At the time, it was known as the *Ficha CAS* (Larrañaga 2005). In 1987, a modified version known as *CAS 2*, started to be applied. Post-dictatorship era governments carried on using the *Ficha CAS 2*, modifying it in 1999 to produce the *Ficha CAS 3*, and finally replacing it by in 2007 a new questionnaire known as the *Ficha de Protección Social* (FPS) (Mideplan 2010).

The various iterations of the *Ficha CAS* assessed families' deprivation defined as socioeconomic needs. These needs were assessed mainly on the basis of a combination of housing conditions with educational attainment and occupation of the household head (Larrañaga 2005). Criticisms of the instrument included the fact that, for example, possession of certain basic household appliances such as a water heater or fridge resulted in the family being classified as having a superior socioeconomic situation. It accordingly became common practice to hide such appliances during the carrying out of the survey (Mideplan 2010). The FPS, by contrast, focuses more on family vulnerabilities than on direct socioeconomic needs. The FPS assesses poor families' needs and risks in relation to their capabilities to generate income. This capacity is, again, mainly measured in terms of educational attainment and occupation of the household head. Needs are assessed by consideration of which and how many family members can be classed as dependant (children, the elderly, and those with disabilities). Risks are assessed by consideration of any situation that threaten families' chances to overcome

poverty, such as ill-health, or living in particularly deprived neighbourhoods.

As both the *Ficha CAS* and the FPS classify families according to the educational attainment and occupation of the head of household, the absence of a head of household automatically leads to families being regarded as more deprived or more vulnerable. In the FPS, as in the *Ficha CAS*, a lower score represents a higher level of deprivation or vulnerability. Social benefits awarded on the basis of the FPS usually target families from either the lowest two or the lowest four deciles in the social protection record (Mideplan No Date). Some benefits are exclusively available to the lowest two deciles (classified as 'indigent'). In practice, this means benefits are targeted to those families whose screening questionnaires produce a total of no more than 8,500 points (lowest two deciles) or 11,734 points (next two deciles).

A recent assessment of the FPS by a committee of experts shows that a family consisting of a lone parent, who declares an absent head of household (typically through stating abandonment by the father), and with two children will be given 4,972 points in relation to the assessed capacity to generate income. By contrast, with an additional adult present in the role of head of household, the same family will get 11,645 points reducing their overall benefit entitlement (Mideplan 2010: table 4.2.4). This example illustrates how a family is likely to have more access to social benefit if it is formed by a solo parent with dependent children, rather than by a couple and their children. As lone mothers are in practice more common than lone fathers, they are the ones who have been most commonly reached through this modality.

It seems clear from empirical evidence that people give misleading information about their household composition, since the social protection record shows overrepresentation of single parent, one-person and female-headed households when compared to their known prevalence in the general population (Mideplan 2010). The committee of experts referred to above pointed out that as housing

subsidies favour single mothers, unmarried couples report their families as one-parent families. The practice of 'hiding the husband' (*esconder al marido*) has become common. Although in practice the actual gender of the declared head of the household does not affect the score for housing subsidy, popular belief seems to think that it does. This erroneous belief may itself be an outcome of the social recognition conferred to women by the social programmes targeted at women heads of household mentioned earlier in the chapter.

The committee of experts concluded that mechanisms for verifying information given by applicants need to be introduced. The right-wing government presently in office (2011-2014) has launched a new version of the FPS, *la Nueva Ficha de Protección Social*, which seeks to introduce verification by, for instance, requiring applicants to provide a written affidavit stating the number of people living in the household and attesting to the exact relationships between them. A separate record of residents per household has also been created, for purposes of comparison (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social 2013). For purposes of the present study, it is nonetheless too early to know what consequences these changes will entail.

Concertación governments since 1990 have also focused on children's policies as a way to tackle poverty and bring Chile into compliance with international agreements on children's rights (Rodríguez Grossi 1995). In 1992, a national plan for improving children's lives was developed. It aimed to enhance children's education, health, and living conditions; and to develop a more adequate legal framework for protection of their rights. Although some progress was made, it was not until 2006 that a genuine breakthrough occurred with the launch of an early-childhood protection plan called *Chile Crece Contigo* (Chile Grows with You). *Chile Crece Contigo* focuses on enhancing childhood through improvements in maternal health care, pregnancy, and childbirth (Chile Crece Contigo 2011). The plan also expanded access to free childcare for the poorest 60 percent of the population, with childcare coverage for

children up to 5 years old increasing from 16 to 37 percent between 1990 and 2009. Yet the poorest quintile still lags behind, with 32 percent access, while the richest quintile scores above the national average, with 53 percent access (Mideplan 2009b:10).

To sum up, whilst social welfare in Chile has always favoured marriage, it has increasingly also provided some social protection for unmarried mothers. Unmarried mothers were however historically seen as helpless victims in need of protection, with men in non-legal relationships often labelled as absent and/or irresponsible. Neoliberal ideas, which have become predominant in Chile since Pinochet's dictatorship, have however paid more attention to unmarried mothers. Lone mothers have subsequently been increasingly targeted by social policy measures due to their vulnerability and the possibility that this could generate negative effects for their children. Although neither the Pinochet regime nor the *Concertación* governments pursued a conscious policy of positive discrimination in favour of lone mothers, in practice they did particularly benefit, particularly under the *Concertación*. The coalition lowered previous barriers faced by unmarried mothers to access social benefits, and also prioritised them as a more vulnerable group. The *Concertación* also provided social recognition to unmarried mothers, through positive recognition of women heads of household in positive terms. As democratic governments also significantly increased social spending, social welfare became more relevant for low income groups. Thus social welfare gained relevance as a variable that affected the lives of individuals in low income groups..

Hence non married mothers who are not formal wage earners are no longer marginalized by social welfare as they once were. Indeed, they are in a relatively favourable position, thanks to targeted social policies. Consequently, changes to welfare provision that took place during the

dictatorship, but especially during post-authoritarian administrations, might in fact be promoting cohabitation among deprived groups.

SUMMARY

From the end of the nineteenth century, Chile has experienced dramatic social changes. In relation to family life, the twentieth century featured three major trends . These trends were declining fertility, increasing out of wedlock childbearing, and decreasing marriage. Against the backdrop of these demographic changes unmarried cohabitation started to show a sharp increase in the 1990s.

In Chile in the 1960s, a pronounced decline in the fertility rate took place. In 1960 the number of children per woman was 4.3 and in 2000 it was 2.4 (Larrañaga 2006a). Between the 1960s and the 1970s, declining fertility was brought about mainly by the introduction of birth control policies. A decreasing child mortality rate also helped to lower fertility, yet its contribution was less significant. Family planning policies targeted married women, so the birth rate among married women, in contrast to unmarried women, declined the most. In the 1990s female employment increased and began to have a negative effect on fertility too.

On the whole, fertility decline in Chile has not followed the pattern predicted by demographic transition theory. Decreasing fertility was not mainly an outcome of economic development or of higher levels of education, but of access to contraception promoted and supplied by the state. Family planning policies targeted married couples, and those couples limited their fertility the most, especially those from low income groups.

A second trend is related to changing out of wedlock births. Out of wedlock births were significant at the beginning of the twentieth century, as they accounted for around a third of total births. But then, from the end of

1930s, out of wedlock births started to decrease. Out of wedlock births reached their lowest rate by the mid 1960s, at around one sixth of total births. From then onwards they started to rise again, reaching around a third of total births in the 1990s. In the 1990s and the following decade, out of wedlock births showed an explosive growth reaching around two thirds of total births in 2010.

There are different factors which explain this changing pattern of out of wedlock births. Declining out of wedlock births between the 1930s and 1960s is related to two determinants (Valenzuela 2006a). First, in that period married women increased their number of children, while fertility among unmarried women remained steady. As a consequence out of wedlock births, as a proportion of total births, decreased. A second factor which helped was a decline in the proportion of unmarried mothers, which further helped to decrease out of wedlock births. By contrast, between the 1960s and 1990s out of wedlock births began to rise. Again unmarried women's fertility remained steady, but now married women began to limit their number of children (as said above). Married women's lower fertility account for most of the rise of out of wedlock childbearing in this period.

Yet in the 1990s out of wedlock births began to increase even more. This further increase of out of wedlock births cannot be accounted only by a decline in married women's fertility. At this time an increase in the proportion of unmarried women also began to fuel out of wedlock births (Larrañaga 2006a). Unmarried women increased as an outcome of delayed and declining marriage, which was paralleled by single and cohabiting mothers becoming more frequent. Unmarried mothers' fertility also show a slight increase in the 1990s (Larrañaga 2006a).

A third trend refers to marriage. For most of the twentieth century the marriage rate was steady, yet there were changes at the beginning and at the end of it. At the beginning of the twentieth century the marriage rate increased, then remained stable, and finally decreased at the turn of the century. The biggest increase in marriage

happened in the 1930s, and it was probably related to the introduction of social policies which favoured married couples (Rosemblatt 2000). By contrast, in the 1990s marriage experienced a sharp decline. In this period, declining marriage is mainly related to an increase in the proportion of single, and to a lesser extent, to cohabiting people (Herrera and Valenzuela 2006). That people are marrying later might also add to decreasing marriage.

As said above, unmarried cohabitation started to climb up in the 1990s. Unmarried cohabitation increased most among young people, low-income groups, and those with low educational attainment. In contrast to married couples, cohabiting ones show early partnering and childbearing. Thus in relation to cohabitation, Chile is similar to the rest of the Latin American region: cohabitation is more prevalent among less privileged groups and involves acquiring a partner and having children at a relatively young age.

Some changes that took place in Chile in the last decade of the twentieth century and/or at the beginning of the present one could be linked to rising cohabitation. Firstly, reform of family law involving new legislation on marriage, paternity, and domestic violence. Patriarchy, understood as the authority of men and parents, has been restricted. Women and children have gained new legal status, and children born out of wedlock are no longer subject to discrimination by the law. Expansion of the social welfare system, and targeting of social policies at particularly vulnerable groups, have caused marriage to lose its previous significance as the exclusive or major means of access to welfare for women not involved in formal employment, (especially unmarried mothers). Therefore, reforms to family law and social welfare could be seen as factors that, if not promoting, may at least have facilitated cohabitation. Increased participation of women in the labour force is another relevant issue, since it could be argued that as women gain economic independence, they might become more reluctant to marry.

Other changes are however less clearly related to rising cohabitation rates. Economic growth and declining poverty are examples. As cohabitation is associated with deprived living conditions, if the link were causal, economic growth should have meant fewer informal unions. Yet the opposite has happened. It may be that economic improvement does not reach all social groups equally, as income inequalities have remained practically unchanged. But even considering income inequality, the fact is that absolute poverty has fallen. Therefore, there seems to be no direct link between economic growth and union formation.

In other areas, it is difficult to identify a distinctive process or direction of change. Unemployment and job instability continue to be widespread in spite of economic growth. Extended households also seem to be an enduring feature of family life. The continued prevalence of conventional gender roles is manifest in the pervasive rejection of maternal involvement in paid work.

On the whole, it seems that transformations linked to the state, family law and social welfare, and female employment could be associated with rising cohabitation in Chile. But the analysis of the Chilean context also cautions scholars to be wary of positing direct relationships between macro and micro change. It is too simplistic to try to explain increased cohabitation on the basis of such broad transformations. We need instead to find out how these changing structures could affect why people might choose to live together instead of marrying. In the next chapter I will analyse the literature on cohabitation in the region, as a way of evaluating whether this literature offers more comprehensive ways of approaching the issue of informal unions.

Chapter 2 - CULTURE AND DISADVANTAGE

From early on, scholars have highlighted the prevalence of consensual unions as a distinctive feature of family life in Latin America. Unmarried cohabitation was seen as a hurdle to development, and developing states expected it to disappear as urbanization advanced. Yet cohabitation proved resilient to modernization: although rates of cohabitation finally dropped somewhat, the practice refused to disappear. Scholars therefore turned their attention to the question of culture, in the search for explanations as to why improved living conditions had failed to create a stable preference for formal marriage over cohabitation. It was suggested that consensual unions might represent the expression of a particular Latin American cultural trait. Race, sexuality, gender roles, kinship, and the mores of the poor were all pointed to as probable explanations. Cohabitation accordingly tended to be understood as an outcome of disadvantage and of specific customs of the lower socioeconomic strata.

This view however needs to be reassessed in the light of current debates on modernity in developed countries. Today scholars assert that, in high income countries, increased cohabitation is an expression of advanced modernity. Most studies have rejected the idea that cohabitation in Latin America could be an expression of advanced modernity. Current debates on modernity nevertheless offer the opportunity to reflect further on cohabitation in the region, especially as recent changes are not easily accounted for by available perspectives.

This chapter will firstly explore how cohabitation has been analysed in discussions of modernity since the 1960s, when modernization theory was influential in the region.

The debate around modernity is relevant not only because of its theoretical importance, but also because the UN and its various regional agencies⁴ are both framed by and disseminate the notion of modernity. In a region in which universities are rather weak, the influence of such agencies is particularly significant.

The chapter goes on to discuss perspectives that have related cohabitation to a racial-sexual order imposed in colonial times, one which is somehow believed to be maintained through ongoing inequalities. In a third section, the chapter provides a review of conceptualizations of consensual unions as a consequence of deprived living conditions and/or a system of kinship based on blood ties. Finally, the chapter turns to gender roles, and to the notion of machismo in particular, in order to ask the question of what kind of relation between the sexes is entailed by cohabitation.

Modernization

For most of the twentieth century, sociologists in Latin America have studied family transformations in relation to the process of modernization. Modernization theory asserted that less developed countries would eventually catch up with Western industrialized countries, through emulation of Western economic and social order (Scott and Marshall 2009). In the 1960s the debate was framed by modernization theory and its demographic equivalent, the concept of the first demographic transition. Likewise, in present-day thinking, family changes are linked to current reflections about modernity and to the notion of the second demographic

⁴ Such as the Economic Council for Latin American, ECLAC (known as CEPAL for its Spanish acronym).

transition (discussed below). The phenomenon of consensual unions has been central to both the demographic transition (DT) and the second demographic transition (STD) analyses, although the interpretation of it has been radically different in each case. The section which follows reviews studies of modernity which have investigated family change and cohabitation. The aim is to assess how adequate these approaches are for the study of current cohabitation among deprived groups in Chile.

In relation to the family, modernization theory articulates a transition from the extended to the nuclear family (Das 1980). The extended family is taken to comprise two or more nuclear families under the same paternal authority. The extended family is generally related to traditional, religious, and hierarchical or caste-like societies. In those societies, kinship takes precedence over the individual. The family is the main source of sociability, and provides for every health-related, educational, and occupational need. The extended family is generally rural, with family members working together in activities such as agriculture, fishing, and mining. It is strongly patriarchal: women are under the authority of males, sexual double standards are a hallmark, descent is patrilineal, and residence is patrilocal. Marriage is arranged by parents. Dating is chaperoned, and matrimony is endogamous and early. Fertility and mortality are high, and there is little family planning.

The nuclear family is defined in opposition to the extended family (Das 1980). The nuclear family is formed by parents and their offspring. The nuclear family is urban, and family members work individually in manufacturing and services. The nuclear family is held to entail increased gender equality, with authority and decision making being shared between spouses. Sexual double standards are weakened, descent is bilineal, and residence is neolocal.

Romantic love is the main reason for marriage, and people marry late. Parents do not intervene in mating selection. Dating and informal interaction between sexes is common; and individualism and independence are promoted. Social institutions, rather than the family, provide for economic, educational, and health needs. Recreational activities are peer group oriented. Family planning is significant and fertility and mortality are low. The nuclear family is held to be characteristic of modern or developed societies, which tend to be secular and feature some social mobility.

The Marxist approach also links modernization and family life (Solari and Franco 1980; Stolcke 1984). According to this view, urbanization threatens the traditional extended family as urban life transforms families from units of production into units of consumption. Patriarchal and traditional family life are held to be favoured by the rural setting, in particular by small-scale farming activities whose labour requirements encourage family cohesion and solidarity. Family members work closely under the direction of the head of the family. In urban settings, by contrast, labour is structured in terms of individual wage labour. As Stolcke asserts, 'the household has lost one of the central attributes that gave it cohesion, joint labour' (1984:280). Hence individual wage labour undermines the material conditions of the traditional extended family.

Italian-Argentinian sociologist Gino Germani developed a comprehensive body of work on modernization in Latin America. He asserts that modernization in the region is not linear but asynchronous, or dual, as modern and traditional arrangements cohabit (Germani 1971; Germani 1972). He states that lack of synchronization is particularly relevant in the case of values and lifestyles internalized early in life. In Latin America, modern attitudes to economics, technology, and even social and political ideologies can therefore coexist with traditional values and behaviours in relation to family, personal relations, and individual identity (1972).

In addition, Germani points out that Latin America's asynchronous modernization might entail a fusion effect (1971). The fusion effect refers to traditional behaviours being reinforced rather than eliminated by modern ideology. Traditional behaviours accordingly gain new legitimacy as they are presented as modern. Ideological traditionalism is a particular version of the fusion effect, one which moreover operates in the opposite direction. Ideological traditionalism exists where elites appeal to traditional values and behaviours in order to hamper the advance of progressive ideologies. Family life is identified as a privileged realm for elites to practise ideological traditionalism.

Germani sees consensual unions as a traditional family arrangement that should decline as modernization advances. He asserts that the prevalence of consensual unions in the countryside is the main difference between urban and rural families (1971:363-64). Therefore, Latin America's transition from the extended to the nuclear family should be marked by the relative decline of consensual unions.

By the end of the 1960s, the notion of marginality became relevant in analyses of Latin American social realities in the context of massive rural-to-urban migration. The term 'marginality' was first coined to refer to precarious, and usually illegal, urban settlements located on the periphery of cities. Shantytowns were defined as marginal in relation to an urban-modern core (Nun 1969; Germani 1980). Theories of marginality were intertwined with dependency theories, as marginality involved an asymmetrical relation between the centre and the periphery (Germani 1980). The coupling of dualism with issues of power meant that modernization could reinforce, rather than weaken, processes of duality and dependence (Germani 1972).

The concept of marginality was later broadened to include diverse forms of exclusion or lack of participation. Marginal populations are often considered to have a distinctive culture, especially in relation to family arrangements. Consensual unions are identified as

typical of marginal groups (Germani 1980). Marginal groups are seen as different from the established lower class, which is formed by workers who have stable jobs and acceptable housing. By contrast, marginal groups are treated as outcasts. Their behaviours and lifestyles are distinct from, and often opposed, to those of the established lower class (Germani 1980). Unmarried cohabitation has been linked to marginality: understood as a backward behaviour typical either of traditional rural extended families or of marginal groups created by the migration of rural families to the city.

Current views on modernity in the developed world assert that families are being transformed by processes of individualization and democratization (Giddens 1992; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 1995; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001; Beck-Gernsheim 2002). In this regard, I will focus on the theory of the second demographic transition (SDT), which pays special attention to the phenomenon of rising cohabitation in Western developed countries (Lesthaeghe 1995). The SDT asserts that rising cohabitation in these settings is an outcome of increased individual autonomy, female emancipation, and increased consumerism. The SDT is basically held to be an outcome of Inglehart's 'silent revolution', by which developed societies are believed to be moving from materialism to post-materialism, and from traditional or survival values to secular/rational ones which privilege self-expression. According to this perspective, individual autonomy increases alongside rising demands for self-fulfilment and a growing adult-centred orientation in social relations. Thus the quality of a couple's relationship displaces childbearing as the main aim of a union.

Today, people in the West impose higher standards on marriage. At the same time, they are more autonomous in their decisions about it. Cohabitation, as a weaker institution than marriage, is more suited to testing the fitness of a relationship. Thus cohabitation can be considered as a trial phase before marriage, likely to be preferred by those who have higher expectations of

relationships as well as by those with problematic family backgrounds. As cohabitation is a manifestation of personal autonomy which openly rejects any institutional intervention, it is also more common among more secular groups, having emerged among left-wing voters (Lesthaeghe 1995).

In Chile, sociologist Ximena Valdés (2005) has analysed the effects on families of modern forces of individualization and democratization. Her research is based on interviews with couples of different social classes. Her findings suggest that families in Chile present modern features which coexist with traditional behaviours, a combination characteristic of the region as a whole (Arriagada 2006). Valdés asserts that family life is experiencing a process of democratization and becoming more egalitarian. Parents, in particular fathers, seek to have a close and affectionate relationship with their children (see further discussion of changes to fatherhood in the last section of this chapter). Both women and men express a desire for a more equal relationship as partners.

Valdés also, however, identifies obstacles to the modernization of the family. These hurdles include the persistence of a notion of female identity that is linked exclusively to motherhood, and the prevalence of the extended family. As Chilean women have not expanded their identity beyond motherhood, it is difficult to expect any significant change in relation to gender equality. Similarly, since the extended family - in particular, maternal grandmothers - provide childcare, gender inequality remains unchallenged. In this way, increased female employment does not necessarily lead to greater gender equality. In addition, Valdés asserts that modernization is linked to income and levels of education, with those enjoying higher incomes and educational levels presenting more modern styles of family life.

The 2006 report of the World Values Survey for Chile, focused on family and religion, arrives at similar conclusions (MORI 2006). Its findings suggest that Chile is slowly moving towards a higher adhesion to rational values

and values linked to self-expression. In relation to family, childbirth and partnership are found to be increasingly disconnected from marriage. For instance, while 92 percent of respondents in 1990 agreed that a child needs a home with both parents, in 2006, this decreased to 75 percent. Yet these changes are not equally distributed throughout Chilean society. We can identify a spectrum of opinions. At one end of the spectrum, men with lower levels of formal education hold traditional perspectives on family and partnership. At the other extreme, a more liberal stance is adopted by women with higher levels of formal education and income (MORI 2006).

In relation to religion, the report shows that the Chilean population is becoming more secular. While 77 percent of respondents self-identified as religious in 1990, only 63 percent did so in 2006. There is also evidence that Chile is one of the most secular countries in Latin America (Valenzuela, Scully c.s.c. et al. 2008). Secularization should however be understood as the maintenance of Catholic identity despite weakened religious practice. However, Chile also has a significant proportion of the irreligious and of religious plurality (Valenzuela, Scully c.s.c. et al. 2008). Recent years have also seen a string of child abuse scandals involving Catholic priests, together with increased levels of distrust expressed by the public towards the Catholic Church and its hierarchy (ICSO 2011).

Secularization in Chile does not, however, follow the predictions of modernization theories regarding its relationship to educational attainment or socioeconomic group. Indeed, in Chile Catholicism increases in the upper class (Valenzuela, Scully c.s.c. et al. 2008; ICSO 2011). A survey on liberalism and conservatism likewise shows that middle and upper class young people, more highly educated and prone to religiosity, form a stronghold of ideological conservatism (Palacios and Martínez 2006). A study of religiosity among the Chilean economic elite furthermore shows a prevalence of identification with or adherence to traditionalist Catholic movements such as Opus Dei and the

like (Thumala 2007). The same study also shows that this elite currently favours religious marriage and large families (numerous offspring) as a differentiation strategy. Empirical evidence therefore raises questions about the adequacy of the modernity approach, since improved educational and living standards clearly do not necessarily translate into the adoption of rational values and the privileging of self expression.

All in all, the study of cohabitation in the light of the question of modernity enables us to ask how cohabitation is related to issues of autonomy and equality. Analysing cohabitation from the point of view of modernity entails assessing cohabitation in terms of the normative ideals modernity itself creates. From this perspective gender equality becomes a key concern in the study of cohabitation. Yet questions of autonomy and equality are not confined to cohabiting partners: they also extend to the social context in which cohabitation takes place.

The normative framework which the modernization thesis entails can also colour the empirical study of cohabitation in unhelpful ways. Since the modernity thesis implies evolution towards the realization of modern ideals, it introduces an artificial opposition between modernity and tradition. 'Tradition' is defined as anything that is non-modern, and so tradition becomes viewed as an obstacle to development (Bernstein 1979). The label 'traditional' is appended to specific family arrangements, religious beliefs, lack of education, poverty, rural settings, and so forth. Scholars then adopt these variables as a tool set for assessing the distance between actually-existing social actors and the modern ideal.

The study of cohabitation in Latin America illustrates the artificiality involved in the modernity approach. Modernization theory defined cohabitation as a traditional arrangement. Nowadays, the SDT frames it as a modern

arrangement. Cohabitation itself is not problematized in either approach. Cohabitation is treated as an indicator of either underdevelopment or development, but it is not studied as such. To study cohabitation we first need to understand its historical trajectory. Cohabitation, as with modernity itself, did not emerge from nowhere (Wallerstein 1979). Thus we need to study the historical origins and transformations of cohabitation, so as to clearly establish our frame of reference. In the next section we will see how race is at the core of socio historical accounts of cohabitation in Latin America.

Race and Sex

Race is at the core of the question of consensual unions in Latin America. The Spanish term *mestizaje* is used to refer to the racial mixing that is distinctive to Latin America. A 'mestizo' (masculine form) or 'mestiza' (feminine form) is a person born as a product of such mixing, and in early colonial times was usually born from an informal relationship between a European white man and a coloured indigenous woman. Cohabitation, as a form of informal coupling, has accordingly been a prevalent form of racial mixing since colonial times. On the other hand, in Latin America sex and sexual desirability have been expressed in the idiom of race - white or coloured - rather than through gender (Wade 2009). Latina women are seen as sexy, and tend to believe in this racialized sexual image of themselves (Wade 2009:230). Hence, it is asserted, race and sex play a key role in explaining cohabitation in the region from colonial times.

Population scholar Robert McCaa (1983) has claimed that Chile has a 'mestizo marriage pattern', defined as the outcome of the mixing of three 'biocultures', Indian, European, and, to a much lesser extent, African. Based on his study of marriage and fertility in Chile's Petorca Valley for the period 1840 to 1976, McCaa describes the mestizo marriage pattern as featuring early and relatively free sexual intercourse, and as being characterised by '[an]early age at coupling and considerable pre and extramarital fertility (1983:58).

Stølen (1996) also links race with informal coupling, relating race, sex, social class, and religion to each other. Based on anthropological research conducted in 1973-1974 and in 1988 in the rural community of Santa Cecilia, in northern Argentina, Stølen identified two distinct social groups. The first one, defined as subordinate, was composed of seasonal labourers of indigenous descent. The other, dominant, group was formed by *gringos*, and consisted in this case of white middle class farmers, of Italian descent. She asserts that informal unions were more common among the subordinate group, whose members' preoccupations were focused on the present and on their feelings, rather than on the future and on formalities (1996:173).

According to Stølen, at the core of mestizos' identity is the belief that they are driven by their *sangre caliente* (hot blood), while *gringos* and/or those of European descent are described as having *sangre fría* (cold blood). Mestizo women report being proud of their *sangre caliente*, and they despise the *sangre fría* of the *gringas* as sexually inferior (1996:172). This same 'hot blood' idiom is adduced by mestizos to explain or describe a relative lack of concern with the formalizing of relationships and a readiness to live together without marrying (referred to as living '*juntados*').

Stølen also highlights the centrality of popular (Catholic) religiosity to mestizo identity. In Latin

America, the meaning of the Spanish term 'popular' bears no relation to its English homograph. Accordingly, it does not denote popularity in the sense of appreciation or wide acclaim. Derived rather from the Latin *populus*, 'lo popular' in Latin America refers rather to characteristics considered to be 'the central defining traits of the population' (Levine 1992:6). When used to denote a specific segment of the population *lo popular* refers to the poor as a group or class seen as having a sense of collective identity (Levine 1992: 6). Popular religiosity (*religiosidad popular*) accordingly denotes religious practices and beliefs which are considered to be characteristic of the poor and to form part of their identity (Lehmann 1990:139). Popular religiosity emerges from the constant tension between official and informal religious practices. Formal religious institutions try to restrain or co-opt expressions of popular religiosity, yet they are never successful. Popular religiosity - not exclusive to Catholicism - is moreover in constant flux, tolerating frequent migration between different denominations, faiths or belief systems.

The (separate) scholarship of Raymond T. Smith (1996a) and Göran Therborn (2004), can be combined to create a comprehensive model, centred on race and sex, that may be used to understand formal and informal coupling in Latin America and the West Indies. Based on historical and anthropological research, both Smith and Therborn show how, in colonial times, race articulated with social class, sexuality, and gender to produce a distinctive system of union formation. Although their research is not focused on Chile, their explanatory model might be useful for the Chilean case. Smith's work is based on extensive anthropological fieldwork conducted in British Guyana and Jamaica between the 1950s and the 1970s. He also carried out historical research on colonial family life and legislation in the West Indies. Smith's model of union

formation is presented in his 1987 article, 'Hierarchy and the Dual Marriage System in West Indian Society' (1996a).

Smith posits the dual-marriage system as a cultural system resulting primarily from the racial hierarchy predominant in Caribbean society. This particular system of marriage emerged, he claims, during colonial times, when West Indian society was a slave-based economy. The dual-marriage system, introduced by white British men, held that white men who wished to marry could only do so with white women. Non-legal unions with coloured women were, however, tolerated. Non-legal unions were also common among slaves, since they were forbidden to marry. The dualmarriage system encompassed the whole society - women and men of every race. It accordingly produced significant social cohesion in a highly unequal society.

Ideology and culture, not economic conditions or personal preferences, are at the core of Smith's explanation. He states that economic conditions, meaning the plantation economy based on slave labour, are insufficient to explain the emergence and reproduction of this model. Similarly, since, individual choices are conditioned or framed by the dual-marriage system, they are not useful for studying its origins. According to Smith, essentialist views of gender and sexuality are an outcome, not a cause, of the dual-marriage system. Consequently, until today West Indian women and men tend to describe male sexuality as an intense natural appetite, needing more than one sexual partner.

The dual-marriage system did not end with the abolition of slavery and related economic transformations in the nineteenth century. As the planter class managed to maintain its position of power, race continued to be the basic structuring principle of society. Once slaves were freed, concubinage became a kind of marriage for them, as they were at the bottom of the racial hierarchy. In other words, among the lower class consensual unions are assimilated to marriage, yet formal marriage keeps a superior status in comparison to unmarried cohabitation. In a gender unequal society, these perceptions led lower class

men to favour consensual unions as a way of having multiple sexual partners. The higher status of marriage may also explain why, after many years of living together, some lower class couples decide to tie the knot.

Therborn's (2004) analysis is based on secondary sources, mainly historical and anthropological. He makes reference to literature on master-slave societies and scholarship about the Spanish conquest and colonial society, in settings ranging from what are now the southern states of the US to South America, including the Caribbean. Like Smith, he asserts that racial segregation, by forbidding interracial marriage, produced a dual-marriage system in this region. However, since Therborn's model also considers patriarchy, he prefers to talk about a dual family system rather than a dual-marriage system.

In Therborn's view Latin America and the West Indies constituted a Creole society in which the ruling white elite preserved a Western European pattern of marriage. A concern with notions of pure bloodlines resulted in strict patriarchy. Authoritarian parents exerted intense control over daughters, and white women were secluded and excluded from work and from undesirable suitors. Where white women were scarce and unapproachable, coloured women were by contrast abundant. They were also perceived as available and even willing to mingle with white men. Indeed, for a coloured woman to be mistress to a white man was seen as a sensible alternative to marriage to a dispossessed coloured man.

The dual family system proposed by Therborn suggests two opposite family types, one for the white dominant class, and one for the coloured masses. Family life for the white elite was based on strong patriarchy and formal marriage. Coloured families were characterised by phallocracy rather than patriarchy. Sexual partnering was usually an informal and lax arrangement, and male absenteeism, matrifocality, and female-headed families were common.

In addition, Therborn identifies two types of family systems in Creole society, the Indo-Creole and the Afro-

Creole. Informal coupling was held to be more pronounced in the latter. The Indo-Creole family pattern is characterised as 'mainly an outcome of the Spanish conquest and colonization' (2004:34), and described as predominating where there is a large *mestizo* or mixed blood population (i.e. Mexico, Central America except Costa Rica, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Paraguay). The Afro-Creole family type, arising from plantation slavery, is particular to the Caribbean but is also found in parts of Venezuela, Colombia, and Brazil.

Like Smith, Therborn asserts that white men promoted sexual predation of coloured women. In Therborn's view this predation is however characterized by sexual violence and exploitation, while for Smith this was not necessarily the case. Therborn describes the model of masculinity constructed by white men as that of 'a virile, macho figure, sexually rapacious, and domineering in relations with women' (2004:159). Violent sexual exploitation was the legacy of this kind of masculinity, as 'popular sexual experience had seldom been far from rape and the whip' (2004:159).

Therborn shares with Smith the view that the dual marriage system created during colonial times was mainly an outcome of racial segregation, enforced by the white elite. At the cultural or ideological level, the Spanish crown and the Catholic Church tried to ensure racial segregation, at least within the white elite. To this end they actively promoted marriage and condemned consensual unions. Racial hierarchy was also present in the economy: the white elite concentrated economic power through its ownership of plantations, haciendas, and mines. Black slaves or indigenous people, living in conditions of serfdom, could not afford the expense of marriage nor of setting up a home. Therefore, in colonial times, marriage was only possible between individuals who had equal status in the racial and social hierarchy and moreover possessed sufficient means.

Religious marriage imposed various additional restrictions - such as a prohibition on marrying close kin

- which limited access to it even more. Informal coupling was also favoured by the specific characteristics of native forms of marriage and by the relatively loose sexual mores of the first Iberian colonists

Therbon, like Smith, asserts that changes taking place in the nineteenth century did not challenge the Creole dual family system. At that time the colonies became independent, slavery was abolished, Europeans migrated en masse - especially to South America - and civil marriage was introduced. Marriage became more frequent over the course of the twentieth century, reaching its peak in the 1960s. Increased marriage was prompted by economic development, and by pressure from the state and the Catholic Church to legalize consensual unions. Economic and political crises in the 1970s promoted a partial return to informal coupling, and marriage decreased. Thus, in the twentieth century, marriage patterns in Latin America followed economic trends.

Therborn asserts that late twentieth century Latin America is witnessing a resurgence of a familiar historical pattern, in which informal coupling has become more frequent in particular where it was always been more prevalent (i.e. in the West Indies. Given that Latin America remains, in economic terms, the most unequal region in the world, the rise of informal coupling over marriage may not be unexpected. In Therborn's view ongoing economic inequalities and Catholic conservatism reproduce the dual and unequal sexual order of the Creole family system (2004:218).

Therborn however stipulates qualifications in the case of Chile. He asserts that nineteenth century mass migration from Europe reinforced the Western European marriage pattern in Chile. Moreover, he states that at the end of the twentieth century Chile left the Creole family system and became more similar in this regard to Latin, i.e. Southern, Europe. Here, the main relevant feature of the socio-sexual order of Southern Europe is the significance of the parental household: young people stay with their parents until they marry. In this sexual order, young

people have their first experience of sexual intercourse, and get married, relatively late in life. Households of two generations are common, single parenting is not particularly unusual, and unmarried cohabitation and divorce are marginal (2004:221).

In sum, the dual marriage system proposed by Smith and Therborn goes back to colonial times, and racial and sexual hierarchy are characteristic of consensual unions in the region. By contrast, formal marriage is a form of partnership restricted for those who are status equal. This scholarship is relevant for the study of cohabitation today because it shows cohabitation to be a specific historical development. The historical perspective shows how cohabitation was originally related to racial mixing, shaped by Western hegemonic ideologies and supported by social, economic, and political structures.

Despite its usefulness, this work also throws up difficulties, in particular in relation to explanations of current patterns of cohabitation. For Smith, the lower class reproduces a modified version of a pattern generated in colonial times. For Therborn, marriage and consensual unions have been almost exclusively related to economic development since colonial times. In this interpretation, cohabitation is reduced to a simple manifestation of the past in the present, or to an externality of economic growth. Therborn's thesis is also contradicted by available evidence, which shows cohabitation levels rising at the beginning of the twenty-first century precisely in those areas where it has not been historically pervasive (see Introduction, above).

Therborn's qualifications for the Chilean case are also problematic. Contrary to his assertion, cohabitation in Chile is not marginal. Indeed, it is currently experiencing a sharp increase. It is also highly controversial to assert that the prevalence of parental

households or extended household more generally means that Chile is adopting a Latin European socio-sexual order, since it is already well documented that these phenomena characterise family life not only in Chile, but in Latin America more generally (see Introduction, above). Available evidence also suggests a positive association in the region between extended households and cohabitation.

Another problematic issue is the link between race and sex underscored by both Smith and Therborn. With more or less emphasis, each suggests a pattern of early, promiscuous, and informal sexuality as typical of the mestizo population. These claims are qualified, with Afro-descendant populations more closely linked to frequently related to active sexuality than are those of indigenous descent. On the whole, however, coloured people are held to show a specific sexual identity related to prevalent cohabitation. The question is, to what extent do these sexual practices constitute a sexual identity which is rooted in racial difference? The issue is complex, since race in unequal societies is inextricably intertwined with social class. It could accordingly be argued that there are no racial or ethnic particularities, just concrete strategies to cope with deprivation. This is the focus of the next section of this chapter, which explores approaches that have explained cohabitation in relation to poverty.

Deprivation and Kinship

The literature has shown that deprivation may be linked to unmarried cohabitation in two ways. First, low income groups might opt to cohabit rather than to marry, because

of obstacles that they face to get married. Secondly, it is also possible that disadvantaged groups prefer consensual unions, since they are part of their mores. Cohabitation as constitutive of the mores of poor people is a theme which has been analysed from two perspectives. One approach relates cohabitation to a distinctive culture of the poor, and the other relates it to the particularities of the Latin American kinship system. Scholars in Chile have not developed a specific approach linking poverty with cohabitation, yet they have been influenced by the approaches reviewed here.

Research on family life in poor communities has highlighted the various obstacles to marriage that poor people face.. Here I draw in particular on the work of three authors who have conducted extended ethnographical research on poor families. Angelina Pollak-Eltz (1980) studied four rural areas of Venezuela in the 1970s. In the early 1980s, Claudia Fonseca (1991), investigated families living in a slum adjacent to the city of Porto Alegre in Brazil. In the 1980s and 1990s, Sylvia Chant (2003) focused her research on poor urban female heads of household in Mexico, Costa Rica, and the Philippines.

These authors have pointed out that marriage is an expensive enterprise. Getting married involves, at a minimum, paying fees for the civil and/or religious ceremony and covering the costs of a wedding party. Marriage is moreover a formal procedure, requiring the presentation of certain documents and the meeting of certain preconditions. For impoverished groups these hurdles may be difficult to overcome. For example, as young people from low income groups tend to have an early sexual start, they might not meet the legal age of marriage (Fonseca 1991:149).

Unmarried cohabitation is, relatively speaking, informal and inexpensive. Living together does not require

following any institutional procedure. Although cohabitation is more affordable and easier to achieve, the nature of the relationship resembles marriage. Therefore, consensual unions are experienced by the poor as a surrogate marriage. The fact that a couple starts living together signals the beginning of married life without any need for formal ceremony. As Fonseca points out, in practice, 'marriage, or official recognition of liaison, [is] coterminous with co-residence' (1991:148). In this view, consensual unions involve co-residence, the bearing of children, the playing out of traditional gender roles, and, significantly, couples referring to each other as 'husband' and 'wife'. Thus, as Chant concludes, 'cohabitation is regarded as the next best thing to marriage' (1997:252). Raczynski and Serrano (1985) arrive at a similar conclusion in their study of poor families in Chile. They also assert that most consensual unions are eventually legalized through marriage.

There is a second approach which, without denying the difficulties faced by disadvantaged groups in tying the knot, asserts that cohabitation is primarily a cultural trait of these groups. In the 1960s, American anthropologist Oscar Lewis (1968) coined the concept of the culture of poverty. He asserts that impoverished groups have a distinctive culture: the culture of poverty. Although produced by structural conditions, this culture, once created, helps to reproduce poverty. Lewis indicates many traits as constitutive of the culture of poverty. In relation to family life, he asserts that consensual unions, alongside family arrangements which are unstable and disorganized, are typical of the culture of poverty. Family life is hard: men frequently desert women and children, family members compete for scarce affection and goods, and family relations are described as authoritarian (Lewis 1968:53).

In addition, Lewis claims that people immersed in the culture of poverty have a present-time orientation which promotes early sexual intercourse and formation of consensual unions. He says that individuals in this culture

have 'relatively little ability to defer gratification and to plan for the future' (1968:53). Emphasis on the present moment can also be seen as a positive trait since it encourages spontaneity, sensual enjoyment, and the indulgence of impulses, in contrast to the unfeeling and future-oriented culture of the middle class (Lewis 1968:57). Whether viewed as a positive or a negative trait, emphasis on the present is held up as an explanation of pronounced cohabitation among disadvantaged groups.

In the case of Chile, the research of Irarrázaval and Valenzuela (1993) endorses the notion of the culture of poverty. Their study is focused on illegitimacy in Chile from 1960 to 1990. They concluded that customary illegitimacy, i.e. the type prevailing before indices started to rise at the end of the twentieth century, is an outcome of both mestizo culture and the culture of poverty. They assert that recent changes in illegitimacy and cohabitation should be studied against this backdrop of poverty-culture-race.

The notion of the culture of poverty should be understood in relation to a debate around the capacity of the lower class to postpone gratification. In 1953 Schneider and Lysgaard (1953) suggested that the lower class, when compared to the middle, shows a pattern of non-deferment. Lower class self-indulgence was associated with free sexual expression. Sexual indulgence manifests itself in frequent premarital sex, and in higher rates of illegitimacy (Miller, Riessman et al. 1969). However, the idea that the lower class, or those living in the culture of poverty, cannot control their impulses has been criticized (Valentine 1968; Miller, Riessman et al. 1969). To begin with, the concept of a culture of poverty fails to acknowledge that impoverished groups are not homogeneous. Secondly, it does not consider the social context in which people choose whether to postpone, or not, certain gratifications. Thirdly, evidence suggests that lower class parents are if anything relatively strict with their children in relation to sexual issues.

The Latin American kinship system is characterized by its emphasis on blood ties, visible in the importance that is placed on the extended family, men's obligations as sons and brothers, and the reverential treatment of motherhood. Each of these traits in turn contributes to the promotion of cohabitation. In relation to the extended family, I will refer to the work of Lomnitz (1977; 1984) and of González de la Rocha (1994). I will also rely on the research of Chant, Fonseca, and Pollak-Eltz already discussed above. Lomnitz's seminal research (1977) highlights the role of extended families as support networks in situations of deprived living conditions. From 1969 to 1971, she studied families living in a shanty town of 200 households in Mexico City. At a time of significant rural-urban migration, she identified the importance of relatives in giving assistance to new migrants. Furthermore, she observed that kin support did not cease after people migrated to the city. Thus, in the face of deprived living conditions, social networks are valuable resources that the poor can rely on to ensure their survival.

Lomnitz asserts that networks of reciprocal exchange are typically based on kinship, which gives stability and intensity to these networks. The extended family is accordingly then the most efficient support network, in particular when family members share expenses and live in the same household or plot. Mothers or elder sisters are commonly the ones who articulate and promote these networks of reciprocal exchange. In subsequent research (1984) she asserts kinship as the key vehicle of reciprocal exchange, not only for the lower class, but also for the middle and upper classes. In particular she asserts that three generations - parents, children, and grandchildren - form, what she calls the 'grand-family', which is 'the basic unit of solidarity in all social classes' (1984:193).

González de la Rocha (1994) also pays attention to support networks among poor groups, particularly in

relation to young couples who are starting a family. In the 1980s she studied 100 poor households in Guadalajara, Mexico. She concluded that extended families have more capacity to cope with economic hardship than nuclear ones. Nuclear families, especially if they are young, have a better chance of coping with poverty if they can rely on the support of relatives. An example of support provided by the extended family to young couples is that such couples usually begin their life together living in the parental home of either partner (Lomnitz 1977; González de la Rocha 1994). Evidence from Chile also supports this pattern of new families living in the parental household (Raczynski and Serrano 1985).

Starting a new family is expensive, especially if young children are involved. Young couples living with their parents do not pay rent or need household appliances or furniture, and receive help with childcare. This allows for a better standard of living and the opportunity to save towards their own future accommodation (González de la Rocha 1994:217-20).

In addition, Lomnitz claims that conjugal roles should be studied in the light of the significance of the extended family. She asserts that conjugal life is in practice restricted to sexuality, as every other need is provided by the extended family. As she puts it, 'with the sole exception of the sexual functions, all other marital functions may be discharged indifferently or alternately by close relatives' (1977:96).

The importance attached to blood ties can also be seen in men's family obligations (Lomnitz 1977; Pollak-Eltz 1980; Fonseca 1991). Emphasis on blood ties means that men are close to their mothers and sisters. Sons and brothers provide economic support, and limit the male authority and/or violence of fathers, husbands, or male partners. Men's strong attachment to their mothers and sisters makes them proportionately less close to their sexual partner, whether formal or informal. Hence this system of kinship promotes absent or distant husbands and fathers. Furthermore, men's family obligations make it difficult for men to start their

own family and set up an independent home. In the case of Chile, the accounts of the women interviewed by Raczynski and Serrano show a similar situation. Some women reported how difficult it was for them to persuade their partner to leave the maternal home in order to set up an independent household (1985:86).

Likewise, Latin America's kinship system entails matrilocality, a focus on the mother-child bond, which is detrimental for sexual ties (Smith 1996b). The prevalence of consensual unions in the lower class goes hand in hand with matrilocality. Matrilocality is also relevant to support networks, as it produces female intergenerational cooperation without challenging male dominance.

Parental authority is also relevant to kinship. Evidence shows that although parents do not produce arranged marriages, they do pressure young couples to marry - or at least to live together - once they have had sexual intercourse and/ or the female partner is pregnant (Chant 1997). Chant reports that parents are more open in some places than others to accepting consensual unions if young partners are reluctant to get married. The point is that parents seek to restrict their daughters' sexuality to one male partner. Once a daughter is discovered having sex or is found to be pregnant, her parents will accordingly urge her to move in with her partner, formally or not, since women 'are expected to go from the house of their parents to the house of their husbands' (1997:135). McCaa (1983:54) reports that in Chile, at least in the nineteenth century, parents favoured marriage over cohabitation and forced their daughters to marry. In addition, parents severely punished their daughters, even throwing them out in the street if they had premarital sex or became pregnant.

Montoya's research (2002) elaborates on why parents urge their daughters to marry or, alternatively, to live together. She conducted anthropological research from 1992 to 2000 in the rural village of El Tule, Nicaragua. She observes that the loss of virginity in a daughter is not unforgivable, if then she starts living a marital life with her partner (2002:75). The couple gains recognition from

the community by living together. Living with a man, formally or not, shows the community that a woman has a man's backing, which entitles her to be treated with respect (2002:70). Raczynski and Serrano (1985:105) similarly report that, in Chile, women who live without a male partner may lose respect. Thus women report preferring to endure a bad relationship, rather than go through a separation.

Finally some authors have explained earlier partnering through cohabitation in Latin America as a mode of formation of support networks (Fussell and Palloni 2004). In this view, women with low levels of education and limited access to the labour market seek to marry in order to 'reduce economic uncertainty by creating and solidifying family ties' (2004:1206). Since disadvantaged women have less negotiating power, they marry earlier and commonly form an informal union. Those with higher educational attainment delay the formation of a union, and usually marry. Cohabitation as a mode of union formation is accordingly more frequent among deprived women.

Overall, research into links between cohabitation and poverty and kinship points to some key issues that should be considered in any analysis. First, it highlights the barriers to marriage faced by the poor, in terms of the costs, requirements, and bureaucracy involved. Second, it shows that cohabitation should be studied in relation to kinship, as an emphasis on blood ties might promote weak sexual alliances. Approaches focusing on poverty and kinship also, however, have their difficulties.

Perspectives emphasising the cultural dimension of poverty have rightly been criticized for essentialist understandings of poverty. Consensual unions are certainly not explained by positing some psychological feature, such as self-indulgence, held to be exclusive to the poor. In addition, views which focus on the barriers to marriage

have assimilated cohabitation to marriage, which means neglecting cohabitation as a separate object of study. With so much good research conducted on the families of the poor, it becomes noticeable that little attention has been paid to consensual unions.

Furthermore, the process of union formation has barely been analysed by this branch of research, meaning that parental intervention is left out of the picture. Not paying attention to parents in relation to union formation, and not tracing the process(es) involved in union formation, seems to be an unwise omission. There is, for example, robust evidence that in Latin America young couples from low income groups usually start their marital life, formal or not, living in the parental household. Some researchers even point this out as a cause of distress for young people (Raczynski and Serrano 1985), in spite of which they rarely go on to ask questions about how issues of autonomy are linked to parental power.

Kinship-based studies have paid considerable attention to consensual unions. Links between cohabitation and kinship are also problematic. If cohabitation is one outcome of a system of kinship that favours blood ties - a system that is not restricted to the lower strata - then why is cohabitation more prevalent among the lower class? Kinship might contribute to explaining consensual unions, then, but these should clearly also be understood in relation to different and changing contexts. Nevertheless, the analysis of kinship has underscored how family obligations are different for women and men, and how this might affect union formation. Literature on poverty has also asserted that gender roles are similar in marriage and consensual unions. It seems appropriate, then, to further analyse connections between gender and cohabitation. This issue is the focus of the following section.

Machismo

On the one hand, it has been asserted that cohabitation is an arrangement favourable to the exacerbated masculinity of the macho. Consensual unions suit macho men because their relatively weak sexual bond diminishes parental responsibilities (Rodríguez Vignoli 2005). On the other hand, it has been said that women might prefer cohabitation to marriage, as it is less patriarchal (Stølen 1996; Chant 1997). This section accordingly reviews research on gender in the region, to provide a better understanding of how cohabitation is linked to gender.

Lewis (1968) identified reasons given by poor women to reject marriage. These have been confirmed by later research (Fonseca 1991; Chant 1997). Women from deprived groups say that they prefer to cohabit in order not to be tied down to unreliable men, and so as to enjoy some of the freedom and flexibility granted to men. Women who cohabit can have an affair, or leave a partner, without the risk of being separated from their children. Women assert that if they marry, their partner might become authoritarian. In addition, cohabitation does not challenge women's exclusive rights to any property that they might own. Chant interprets avoidance of marriage as an act of resistance towards male domination. Stølen (1996) also sees cohabitation as entailing a more equal relationship than marriage in terms of gender roles. Yet Fonseca observes that one should be wary of such claims, since they might be rationalizations rather than representing an active opposition to male power (1991:149).

Research on families of the poor also indicates that union formation is driven by instrumental rather than romantic reasons. Poor women commonly enter a partnership in order to escape from a difficult situation such as

poverty, strained relationships in the family of origin, or housework and childcare duties in the parental home (Raczynski and Serrano 1985; García and Rojas 2004). Thus women from deprived groups enter marriage or cohabitation to gain social status, to become mothers, and for company. It is also stated that amongst the lower class, love is understood almost exclusively as sexual intercourse. Courtship accordingly equals having sex (Fonseca 1991:148). It has even been suggested that love and companionship are almost non-existent in partnerships, marriage or cohabitation among disadvantaged groups (Lewis 1959; Pollak-Eltz 1980; Fonseca 1991).

As regards gender-focused research, three main approaches can be distinguished. The first explains gender roles in relation to Latin American myths of origin. A second asserts that gender roles are constructed and structured around the distinction between the house (*la casa*), and the street (*la calle*). The third perspective is focused on the study of machismo from a sociohistorical perspective.

The mythical explanation asserts that the Spanish conquest is the foundational event of Latin America's identity, defining femininity and masculinity for the region. Octavio Paz's essay, *El Laberinto de la Soledad* illustrates this perspective (1950), depicting the mestizo as born out of a traumatic sexual relationship (Fuller 1998). The father, a white conquistador, forces an Indian woman to have sex, and then denies any relationship or responsibility towards his offspring. The man is characterized by his arbitrary nature, sexual violence, and lack of fatherly qualities. The woman is defined by her subjection to the man.

There is another version of the mythical origin of Latin American identity and gender roles which considers popular religiosity (Stevens 1979; Morandé 1984; Melhuus 1996; Montecino 2001; Morandé 2010). This approach has been influential in Chile thanks to Montecino's essay, *Madres y Huachos (Mothers and Bastards)* (2001). However, as Montecino herself acknowledges, her work is based on Pedro

Morandé's interpretation. Morandé asserts that Catholicism brought by the Spanish connected with native oral traditions (1984; 2010). The indigenous inhabitants of the region assimilated the Catholic calendar based on saints and religious festivities. Popular religiosity came to focus on the cult of the Virgin and the saints, pilgrimages, processions, and shrines. Popular religiosity - oral, and institutionalized in the feast - is understood as a form of sociability.

In relation to gender, popular religiosity further strengthens the prevalence of the mother-child relationship through promoting the influential icon of the Virgin and Child (Montecino 2001). Amongst the popular classes the image of the Virgin and Child has been equated with that of the single mother. The type of maternity inspired by the Virgin is one of self sacrifice and self-denial, as 'there is an intrinsic link between womanhood - motherhood - and suffering' (Melhuus 1996:248). This kind of femininity has been called *marianismo*, based as it is on popular devotion to the Virgin Mary (Stevens 1979). Just as womanhood is identified with the Virgin, manhood comes to be identified with the Child. Men never grow up, and so 'must be humoured, for after all, everyone knows that they are *como niños* (like little boys) whose intemperance, foolishness, and obstinacy must be forgiven' (1979:95).

The second main approach to gender roles in Latin America relates femininity and masculinity to specific spaces. The woman belongs to the house (*la casa*), and the man to the street (*la calle*). *La casa* and *la calle* define actual and symbolic spaces for women and men (Hurtig, Montoya et al. 2002). This perspective is based on anthropological research, including the works of Pollak-Eltz (1980), Fonseca (1991), Chant (1997), and Montoya (2002) already cited. In addition I also consider the literature on gender and families and households by Chant (2003), and on gender and sexuality by Chant and Craske (Chant and Craske 2003).

The division between the house and the street mirrors an asymmetrical sexual order. The street is a sexualized

place, where only men and 'bad women' venture (Montoya 2002:70). The street is the locus of men's social life. It is where they meet and party with male peers, and where they flirt with loose women. Men are expected to have extra marital sex. Women, by contrast, should be faithful, and should be confined to the home. Women's social life is expected to be limited to visiting relatives and female friends.

The asymmetric sexual order involved in these notions of *la casa* and *la calle* relates gender to sexuality in specific ways. Women need men in order to have children, to become mothers, and, to have someone who would provide for them and their children. Hence female sexuality is primarily linked to reproduction, and 'is not so much an expression of sexual desires as an expression of women's "nature"' (Chant and Craske 2003:144). Female sexuality is also restricted to marriage or to cohabitation, since a woman who sleeps with many partners before marriage will negatively affect her own reputation and conjugal prospects (Chant and Craske 2003:145).

Women are supervised from childhood: 'long before puberty, girls in many parts of the region are controlled, kept within or close to the home in their play, encouraged to be demure and deferential, and to build up a solid repertoire of domestic skills' (Chant and Craske 2003:144). By contrast, young men are encouraged to gain premarital sexual experience (Chant and Craske 2003:145). Male sexuality is believed to be active, dominant, and driven by uncontrollable biological impulses (Chant and Craske 2003:141).

The house and the street also define women's and men's labour. Women are expected to be diligent and attentive housewives, looking after the house and children. Women should manage the home and rear children single-handed. Men are not expected to spend too much time at home. Men should go out into the streets and get a job so as to provide for their family. Only men are expected to be breadwinners. Women who work away from their home or from their male

partner's supervision are seen as loose women, who are just looking to go out and flirt with other men.

These two approaches to the study of gender - the mythical approach and the ideology of *la casa* and *la calle* - are both problematic. Each perspective portrays gender roles as stereotypes, and neither is sensitive to historical and social change. In addition, mythical accounts of gender are not grounded in empirical data. It seems unreasonable to assert that one event, that moreover took place five hundred years ago, has shaped gender roles through to the present day (Fuller 1998; Navarro 2002).

The sociohistorical approach, by contrast, illustrates a more complex and changing evolution of gender roles. We have seen how gender roles were structured around racial hierarchy in colonial times. Social class was determined by race. As white men were in the dominant position, they imposed a model of masculinity consisting of sexual predation or machismo. One alternative explanation asserts that the image of the macho was created after the 1917 Mexican Revolution, so as to promote national identity (Gutmann 2007). The macho figure, embodying the young male revolutionary fighter, was spread through the region during the golden age of Mexican cinema in the 1940s and 1950s.

Current research shows that machismo is used by men to refer to what they are not (Fuller 1998; Gutmann 2007). Today men and women say that machismo is a thing of the past, and depict exacerbated virility and violent control of women as old-fashioned. Yet, although men in Latin America may no longer aspire to be macho, they continue to express contempt for men who are dominated by a woman. In Mexico, for example, men tend to quote the saying 'neither a macho nor a *mandilón*' (Gutmann 1998).

Consequently, the sociohistorical approach suggests that there is no single masculinity. There are only masculinities, which vary according to specific living conditions and diverse local and global cultural influences (Gutmann 2007). Although the socio historical approach moves us on from stereotypical images of masculinity, it does not refer to femininity, which remains

unproblematicized, and defined in negative terms, in contradistinction from masculinity.

Evidence from Chile shows a continuing prevalence of conventional gender roles. A survey conducted in 2009 indicates that women are characterized by motherhood, by self sacrifice, and as a source of affection (PNUD 2010:56-57). Women are predominantly defined in positive terms, by both women and men. Women define themselves especially in relation to their endurance, and men value women as a source of affection.

By contrast, men are described in negative terms, in particular by women of low income groups. Men are primarily seen as *machistas*, and are portrayed as irresponsible, lazy, and deceitful. Less frequently, men are associated with their familial roles as fathers, sons, or siblings. In third place, men are defined as providers or breadwinners. The report also shows that almost a fifth of the Chilean population can be described as having traditional views on gender, with a similar proportion described as *machista*. Both of these viewpoints are more pronounced among low income groups, with the *machista* profile particularly relevant among men (PNUD 2010:60-68). The same survey shows that women are almost exclusively in charge of looking after household and children, even if they are involved in paid work, .

In spite of the prevalence of traditional gender roles, qualitative research shows that gender, and in particular masculinity, is somehow changing (Olavarría 2001; Valdés 2008). This research uncovers an emergent discourse on masculinity which incorporates affectionate fatherhood. Young Chilean men aim to develop a close and affectionate relationship with their children, in opposition to the authoritarian and distant fathers of previous generations. This view of a more expressive fatherhood is present across different social classes, yet it does not need to entail actual changes in fathering, or increased gender equality. Likewise, it is not clear that increased female employment and education are displacing

motherhood as the cornerstone of female identity (Valdés 2005; Valdés, Caro et al. 2006).

On the whole, research into gender in Latin America can suffer at times from a dualistic and simplistic characterization of femininity and masculinity. Such monolithic views of gender lead to union formation being seen as fulfilling stereotypical gender needs - basically, procreation - without due consideration of other possible interpretations. Furthermore, gender segregation is assumed to be predominant in both formal and informal partnerships. No room is left for more complex accounts of gender relations. Research focused only on one gender also remains frequent. This is especially problematic for discussions of identity construction, since identities are developed in relation and opposition to other identities. However, some progress has been made in conducting research that situates gender in relation to social and historical change. Thus, although it is acknowledged that conventional gender roles remain predominant, room is left for diversity and change. Attention to gender has moreover highlighted the possibility that cohabitation may entail a quite distinctive arrangement from marriage in terms of gender relations, although it is as yet unclear whether cohabitation is associated with high levels of female autonomy. In the summary that follows, I will show how this research on cohabitation is related to previous research, reviewed here, on the family in Latin America, specifically in Chile.

SUMMARY

The literature on unmarried cohabitation in Chile and Latin America offers diverse explanations for the pervasiveness

of cohabitation. Cohabitation has been linked to modernization in positive and negative terms; to a racialized sexual order developed in colonial times; to enduring traditional gender roles; to a kinship system based on blood ties, and to ongoing poverty and inequality. Each of these factors constitutes, when taken by itself, an incomplete account of the phenomenon of cohabitation. Since I have already pointed the main deficiencies of each of these approaches, here I will principally highlight how existing literature frames the research on consensual unions presented in this study.

Even though interracial sex might not today be at the core of cohabitation, the question remains relevant if there is a sexual order related to cohabitation. Thus I seek to study what sexual arrangements are entailed by cohabitation. According to the literature, we should expect living together to be a looser sexual arrangement than marriage. It may therefore be the case that those in a cohabiting relationship prove more tolerant of sexual affairs. In addition, this literature relates cohabitation with social segregation, which is pertinent in the face of ongoing social inequalities.

Studies of kinship have underscored the significance of the extended family and have depicted the differentiation of family obligations according to gender. Cohabiting couples should not, therefore, be studied in isolation. They should be studied in relation to their kin, in particular to parents and grandparents. Likewise, we should pay attention to how women and men relate to their families of origin, in order to ascertain whether differing obligations affect types of union formation. In other words, if women and men have different obligations towards their families of origin, they might also have different motivations for starting a partnership and/ or opting for different types of partnership: formal or informal.

Research on poor families correctly highlights the constraints faced by low income groups regarding marriage and the formation of a family. Costs and legal requirements are real, although not insurmountable, barriers to

marriage. Kinship networks help young couples to start out, often by providing housing for new families. In addition, as explained in the previous chapter, some social policies are currently being targeted to single mothers in low income groups. Hence attention should be paid to how a lack of means interacts with family ties and welfare provision so as to favour different forms of partnership.

Framing research on consensual unions within the debate on modernity can be valuable, but scholars should take care not to superimpose a notion of teleological or linear progress onto what is, in fact, a contingent and open-ended sociohistorical trajectory. A modernity perspective enables us to link cohabitation to issues of autonomy and equality, asking what kind of arrangement cohabitation is as regards gender equality. Research on gender has demonstrated a close connection between gender and sexuality, alongside the predominance of traditional gender roles. We can, moreover, relate rising cohabitation to broader social changes, as suggested in Chapter 1. In short, increased cohabitation could tell us something about what sort of society Chile has become in the last two decades.

In spite of the valuable contributions of previous literature, there appears to be a significant gap. The views of those actually involved in a cohabiting relationship are almost unknown. We only know that some women from deprived groups say they prefer cohabitation to marriage. The reasons given by these women have been interpreted as either resistance to patriarchal marriage or mere rationalizations to cope with lack of opportunities. In either case we are left with almost no clue about why these women came to be living with partners rather than married to them. We have similarly little insight into why men might enter into cohabitation instead of marriage. Rather, as we have seen, available research presents us with diverse explanations as to why people enter into cohabitation without adequately accounting for the views of those actually cohabiting. The next chapter gives a brief overview of the research design of the present study,

explaining how and why the study sample was selected and describing the data collection and analysis techniques that were applied.

Chapter 3 - RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter provides an overview of the research design. It gives a brief description of the aims of the study, criteria applied to sample selection, the main characteristics of the participants, the format of the interviews, and the analysis of the data.

Aims of the study

This study has three main aims. The first objective is to explain the social mechanisms that prompt cohabitation among low income groups. I analyse union formation from a twofold perspective. On the one hand, I pay attention to how it is influenced by social conditions, and on the other hand, I study how individuals deal with those conditions when making partnering decisions. A second aim is to account for the experience of cohabitation from the perspective of those actually cohabiting. The focus is to find out what kind of arrangement cohabitation is, in particular by comparison with marriage. A third objective is to suggest a tentative explanation as to why cohabitation has recently increased in Chile.

Sample selection and recruitment

The sample selection criteria were set to collect a sample typical of cohabitees in Chile. The first requirement was that participants should have been living together with the same partner for at least one year, so as to include people with at least a minimum of stability in their relationship. In addition, participants should have had at least one child born of that relationship, as the focus of the study is on cohabiting people with children. Previous research

has suggested a negative impact of cohabitation on children (see the Introduction), and most cohabiting couples in Chile have children (Rodríguez Vignoli 2005; Herrera and Valenzuela 2006).

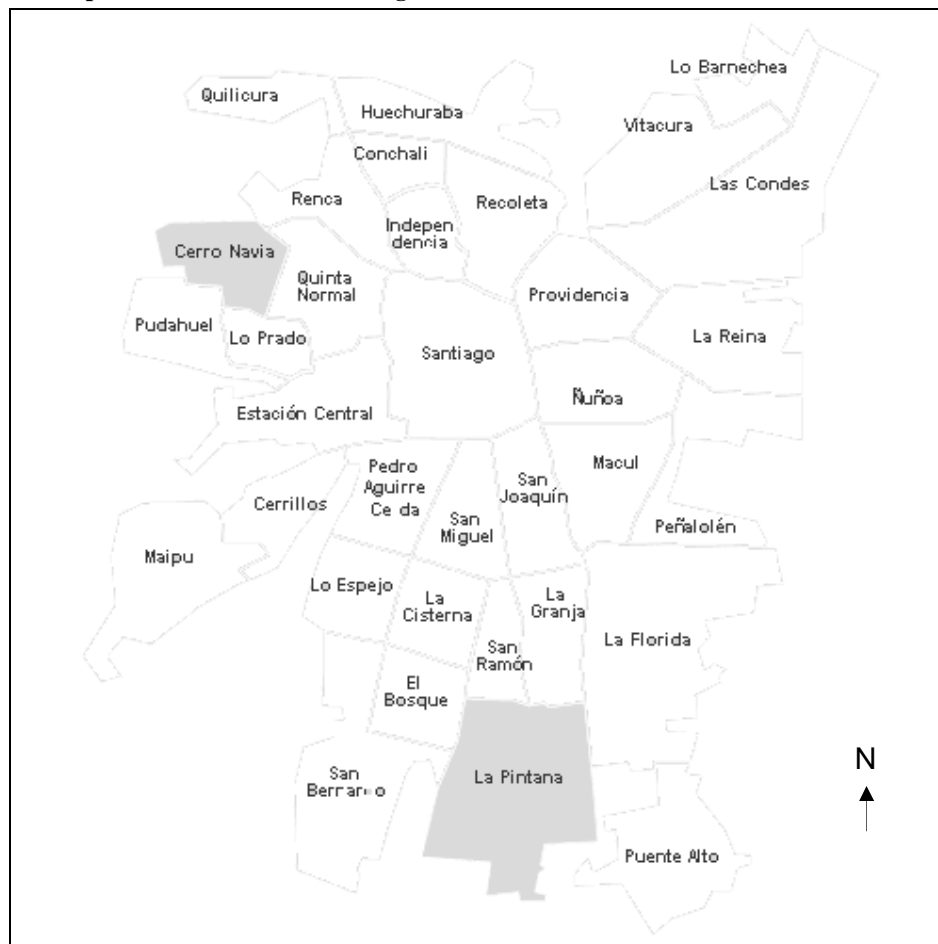
Participants and their partner also had to be single, never married, and aged between 20 to 29 years old. These criteria aimed to select people who did not face legal restrictions on marriage, as the legal age to marry without parental consent is 18 years. In order to address the issue of gender, both women and men were targeted.

Another criteria was to include people from urban low income groups, as cohabitation is most frequent in urban areas (Irarrázaval and Valenzuela 1993; Rodríguez Vignoli 2005), and among more deprived groups (Irarrázaval and Valenzuela 1993; Rodríguez Vignoli 2005; Herrera and Valenzuela 2006; Salinas 2009). The majority of the Chilean population is urban, 87 percent according to the last census (INE 2003)). Greater Santiago was selected as the geographical location of the study. This is a conurbation formed by the most populated boroughs in and around the city of Santiago. It has a population of 5.4 million inhabitants, which represents 36 percent of the national population (INE 2005). Greater Santiago is formed by all the municipalities of the province of Santiago, plus the municipalities of Puente Alto and San Bernardo (see illustration 3.1).

Cerro Navia and La Pintana, the two most deprived municipalities of Greater Santiago, were chosen to conduct the fieldwork. In these two boroughs around 90 percent of households are classified as middle-low income, low income, or poor (Adimark 2003). They are also similar in terms of the Human Development Index (PNUD and Mideplan No date). Recruitment of participants from the low socioeconomic group (D) was favoured, as it is the largest group. Although there are no representative figures on cohabitation at the level of municipalities, available data suggests that cohabitation is pronounced in La Pintana and Cerro Navia (Mideplan 2006a). In addition, the municipalities are situated on opposite sides of the

Greater Santiago. La Pintana is located in the south of the city, and Cerro Navia in the north-west (see illustration 3.1). Therefore both sites are alike in variables that are relevant for studying cohabitation, yet they are geographically distant.

Municipalities of the Greater Santiago district



Methods of socioeconomic classification use the household as the unit of analysis, which is inadequate for cohabiting couples. People who cohabit usually live intermittently with different relatives. Therefore, instead of the household, the cohabiting couple was used as the unit of analysis for the purposes of socioeconomic classification. The educational attainment and occupation of the main

provider was assessed using the World Association of Market Research system adapted to the Chilean situation (Adimark 2000). The matrix used for socioeconomic classification is attached in Appendix 1. It should be noted that in every couple at least one partner, woman or man, was involved in paid work, and acted as the main provider. In addition, it was required that the main provider had no more education than completion of secondary education. This also ensured that they belonged to a low income group. Also, evidence shows that cohabitation is more common among people with primary or secondary education, in contrast to people with higher education (Herrera and Valenzuela 2006). Box 3.1 presents a summary of the selection criteria.

Box 3.1: Participants' selection criteria

- i. To have been living together with the same partner for at least one year
- ii. To have at least one child born from that partnership
- iii. Single (never married)
- iv. Aged 20 to 29 years
- v. Women and men
- vi. Classified as middle-low, low, or poor in terms of socioeconomic group (C3DE)
- vii. Living in the municipalities of Cerro Navia or La Pintana

Twenty-four people were recruited, evenly distributed in terms of gender and municipality of residence. The majority (19 of the 24) were from the low socio economic group, group D, with the rest classified as middle-low (group C3). They had been cohabiting for 5 years, on average, and had an average of 1.4 children. Appendix 2 summarises the main characteristics of the interviewees.

The recruitment of participants, men in particular, was problematic. I used two strategies to recruit participants. First, I contacted local institutions, such

as town councils, doctors' surgeries, charitable organizations, and government social intervention programmes. Yet these institutions provided only a few people. A second, and more effective strategy, was to get in touch with possible participants through personal contacts (friends and relatives). I used my own my research assistant's social networks to get in touch with people who met the selection criteria. Thereafter, people who had already participated in the study helped in recruiting new participants. These people were given a monetary incentive of roughly £5 for every new participant they recruited. The same amount was given to each interviewee in appreciation for having taken part in the study.

Data collection

Information was collected about the life course of each of the 24 participants. Participants also provided some limited information about their partner and parents. Appendix 2 summarises the data given by the interviewees about their partner and parents. The life histories were gathered in two separate interview sessions, both involving verbal interviewing and the use of questionnaires (see box 3.2). The first interview was focused on interviewees' family history and life history. Interviewers turned to the subject of cohabitation in the second session. The complete interviewing schedules and the questionnaire are attached in Appendix 3.

Box 3.2: Instruments applied for collecting participants' life histories

Instrument	Focus
1. Semi-structured interview	Family history (grandparents and parents) Life history (from birth to interview)
2. Semi-structured interview	Relationships, partners, & children Opinions about cohabitation & marriage
3. Structured questionnaire	Socio-economic data (interviewees, partner, and parents). Perceptions about cohabitation & marriage

The life history is a qualitative in-depth interview, which seeks to capture the salient experiences in a person's life and that person's definitions of those experiences (Taylor and Bogdan 1998:88-89). I refer to this technique as life history and not life story or narrative, to emphasize that the attention is on experiences and meanings rather than on narratives (Thompson 2009:39). Semi-structured interviews were conducted using interviewing schedules that were mostly descriptive and non-evaluative. The aim was to facilitate personal reconstructions and to avoid forced rationalizations. Interviewing guidelines were revised and changed several times to improve them: because of this, not all interviewees were asked exactly the same questions. Interviews were conducted in a flexible style, topics being introduced in different ways and at different times, to avoid disturbing the flow of the interview.

To control for the possible negative effects of the interviewers' gender and age, my male research assistant interviewed the men, and I interviewed the women. The majority of the interviews were conducted in settings that met the requirement of privacy, though settings varied according to gender. Most women's interviews were carried out in the homes of the interviewees, whereas most men were interviewed at the field recruiters' home. A few interviews were conducted in other settings, for example cafés, fast-food restaurants, or parks.

Participants were given an information sheet and were asked for their informed and voluntary consent. Translated versions of these documents are included in Appendix 4, below. Anonymity and confidentiality were assured, and participants were informed that the research would be published as a doctoral thesis, and eventually as an academic book or articles. They were also told what they would be asked to do. In particular they were told that interviews included sensitive issues such as their sexual life (Singer 2003:197).

All interviews were recorded digitally. On average, both sessions taken together lasted 2.7 hours. Women's interviews were slightly longer than men's, on average 3 and 2.5 hours, respectively. The fieldwork lasted 5 months and was conducted between September 2008 and January 2009.

Data analysis

Each interviewer transcribed his or her own interviews, to maximise accuracy. I also checked every transcription made by my research assistant against the corresponding audio recording. Transcriptions represent the interviewee's original narration: thus they include local idioms and are in Spanish, the language in which the interviews were conducted.

NVivo and SPSS data analysis software was used. Initially I carried out detailed coding of six interviews, balanced in terms of gender and place of residence. The specific interviews were selected for quality and variety. This first coding produced more than two hundred codes. These codes were then grouped, merged, and some deleted so as to produce a coding tree with ten core codes. These core codes were: background, partnership, life stages, gender roles, parenthood, personality, people, feelings, sexuality, and expectations. This coding scheme was applied to the rest of the interviews. The data analysis also involved counting the frequency of relevant events or characteristics. Appendix 5 gives a brief description of the qualitative codes and of the main data included in the quantitative database.

The research results are presented through a combination of quotations and counts. Quotations from interviews were translated into English. I undertook the translation, which aims as far as possible to preserve the particular voice of each interviewee. The names of the participants, and of their partner and parents, have been changed.

The selection of interviewees aimed to represent the kind of cohabitation most typical in Chile, and thus the sample is rather homogeneous. It presents many features in common with other qualitative studies of family life in the Chilean lower class (Raczynski and Serrano 1985; Olavarría 2001; Valdés 2005; Valdés, Saavedra et al. 2005). Thus it is reasonable to say that the sample represents an adequate illustration of families of the lower strata. By extension, it seems probable that it is also a good sample of the most common type of cohabitation found in Chile. As cohabitation is an informal arrangement, recruiting participants was particularly difficult. Government institutions could not be used to reach cohabitantes, especially as people may be afraid of losing some of their benefits if they are found to be cohabiting. The following chapter presents initial findings, focused on exploring how cohabiting people relate to formal institutions such as formal employment and social welfare. These findings clearly show how elusive cohabitation can be from an institutional perspective.

Chapter 4 - MAKING ENDS MEET

What I want the most for my family is not to worry about not having enough to make ends meet. (Fernando)

With this thing of living with a partner the money shrinks. One needs to start working out the expenses. I don't work; I have to look after the children. Cash problems, those are the arguments. (Giovanna)

As a couple, we are okay. We only have arguments when he has no work, and he starts to behave stupidly, and me too, because we don't know what to do. (Paulina)

He wants to have more children out of love, but I tell him we don't have cash, we don't have a house. He knows about all that, but he wants to forget... because money stops us getting many things that we want. (Frances)

Most of the couples in the study struggle to make ends meet. On average, they have a monthly income which represents 1.6 times the Chilean minimum wage.⁵ All have at least one child, so their family income needs to cover living expenses for at least three people. They therefore face difficult living condition, and are affected and constrained by living with scarce resources. The objectives of this chapter are twofold. The first aim is to show the actual living conditions of the young couples. The second aim is to describe how they deal with deprivation. I began by exploring how they make ends meet: given their lack of means, they need to develop specific arrangements to ensure survival. These arrangements are not just an outcome of deprivation, but of their views about who should work and how can they get support. In turn, their strategies and views about making ends meet will affect, and are related to, their decision to live together and their experience of doing so. Therefore, in this first results chapter I present the survival arrangements that need to be considered when I later address issues of kinship, gender,

⁵ The monthly minimum wage in 2008 was around 160,000 Chilean pesos, which at 2012 exchange rates was approximately equivalent to 200 British pounds.

sexuality, and meanings of marriage and cohabitation. Most of the data analysed in this chapter in relation to interviewees, their partners, and their parents is presented in full in Appendix 2. Below, I will analyse issues of paid work and gender, access to social welfare, and support provided by relatives.

The Breadwinner

The meaning of life for me is to work and to give my family a good standard of living. (Mauricio)

Whatever comes along I'm going to work, so my son has everything. (León)

What I need is a good job so I can earn a little bit more. In my current work I haven't been able to save any cash, we need many things, and I just don't earn enough. (Albert)

If you don't work, you don't eat, because nobody is going to come and provide for you, even if you have thousands of friends saying "we are with you", at the end of the day, when you hit rock bottom, only your family is with you. But that's not much, as sometimes they don't have cash to help you. (Cristián)

Employment is the key issue in these young people's struggle for survival. Having a job, and a stable one, entails a significant improvement in their living conditions. However, employment is not unproblematic. Slightly more than half of the interviewees are involved in paid work. Yet there is a clear gender gap, as men are in paid work much more frequently than women. Indeed only a few women are in paid work. The partners of respondents show a similar pattern: the majority are employed, men in particular. The interviewees have poor qualifications, with most having only secondary vocational education. A few have only primary, or incomplete secondary, education. There are no gender differences in relation to educational attainment. Partners of the interviewees show similar levels of schooling. In addition, most interviewees are school dropouts. Young women and young men give different reasons for having left school. Men are more likely to

mention bad behaviour, lack of interest, and the need or desire to work, while women tend to report pregnancy and poor academic performance. A few young people also say that they left school because their parents separated. However, the young people value a complete secondary education, and some who dropped out of school eventually managed to complete their studies (e.g. through attending night school).

The majority of the interviewees are employed in occupations which require few qualifications. Slightly less than half of those in paid work have unskilled manual occupations, around a third have skilled manual occupations, and one male interviewee has an administrative job. Two male interviewees are unemployed, and one male has occasional work. The partners, similarly, are mostly in unskilled manual occupations. Males in unskilled manual occupations frequently work as builders or factory workers. Males in skilled manual occupations are usually skilled construction workers or small shop owners. Men in administrative occupations commonly work as clerical assistants. The few women - either interviewees or female partners - who are in paid work are mainly involved in catering and cleaning. A few women are involved in occasional work, such as looking after children or selling home-made bread. There is one woman in an administrative job: she works as a call centre operator.

Men are the main earners in all but two cases, where the man is unemployed. Both men and women expect men to be the breadwinner. They believe that a man's ability to provide for his family is the most important sign of his worth. Unsurprisingly, men report that their main responsibility is to get a job so as to provide an adequate standard of living for their families. As one says, 'I work, I earn my salary, for the bills, for the food, for the nappies, for everything needed in the house' (Celio). Having a job is an important issue. Men commonly take on any job available. They mostly obtain low quality jobs, meaning jobs that they are temporary, have low wages, or

offer no formal contract. The young men in the study accordingly struggle to be providers.

Job instability is a source of constant concern, as moving between jobs is a common experience for many men. For many men, job hunting is not an episodic situation, but a permanent state. As Pedro, who is 23, states: 'what work haven't I done? Lorry loader, filling station attendant, electrician's assistant, assistant in a clinic (...) what else? As a driver's mate delivering computers, stock keeper. I don't know what else? Also as a building worker. I have worked in so many different places!'. Ernesto, who is 29, reports a similar experience: 'I have been through a lot, and I have worked in so many things. I have worked in building, as a painter, joiner, plasterer, locksmith's assistant (...) so many things! In factories as well. I have a good CV, but always doing temporary jobs'.

Severance pay makes it expensive for employers to keep workers for the long term (see Chapter 1). As one woman who works for a cleaning firm reports, 'I have been working in the same firm for 3 years, but every year, at the end of the year, I have to resign for the summer. Then they hire me again in autumn' (Karin). Yet severance pay might also encourage workers to seek out redundancy. For example, a woman reports that she wanted to stop working after giving birth to her child. Instead of resigning she started to behave in such a way as would cause her to be made redundant. This would entitle her to receive severance pay. 'I was missing seeing my daughter growing up. I began refusing to follow my boss's directions, I wanted to be fired, because I wanted the money. Finally they fired me' (Danae).

The men interviewed look forward to a stable job. Andrew, who reports difficulties in getting along with his bosses, dreams of 'having a job where I can last 35 or 40 years! I know people like that and I would have liked to be like them'. Indeed, in some cases men prefer a stable job even if it pays less. For example, Paulina says that her partner, who is a painter, is currently working as a building labourer even though he earns less, as it is more

secure. Likewise, some men who hold a stable job point to job stability as a significant advantage, 'I think I have done well, I have been lucky, because not everybody has such a stable job as I have, and I have tried to keep it' (Eugenio).

Many men dream of working independently, typically meaning opening a small shop at home. To be self-employed means becoming an entrepreneur, and not being under anyone's authority. As one unemployed man says, 'I dream about having my own business. When I have a house I would like to open a small shop there. I would like to be my own boss, to put money on that, so we can get through' (León).

Most men report having begun work as children contributing to the family income. Usually their father took them to work. Starting work so young was a mixed experience. On the one hand, they acknowledge that thanks to this they learnt to earn a living, 'I started to work with my father when I was 10 years old, he taught me how to work, he taught me so many things. Thanks to that today I am someone, even though I left school so young' (Adrian). On the other hand, they regret not having a proper childhood. As Iván recalls, 'I ended school at 2 pm, and I had to go with my father to the vegetable market. I didn't like to work at that time, I was so young, I wanted to do other things'.

All in all, most young men say that working has been a good experience. Those who are in better quality jobs report a more rewarding experience. As Cristián, who works as a skilled building worker, says: 'it has been good, good, good. Full! I like my job, and it is well paid, I am motivated in my job. Working in building is hard, but it is well paid.'

Yet for some it is difficult to meet the requirements of work. 'I am just beginning to get used to work, to be responsible. It is hard, it's a challenge. Sometimes I feel I don't want to work anymore, I feel I want to run away. But I can't, because of my daughter and of her [his partner]' (Pedro). Another man recalls, 'I worked as a postman, I stayed one month, then I took the pay and went

to the beach. I just left the work without notice. That experience was very difficult, because I landed in a world where you are told to do things. And they are not even your mother or dad!' (Celio). Likewise, some report laziness, arguing with bosses, not getting along with colleagues, and being fired as common experiences. As one interviewee says, 'I am one of those people who don't stay quiet if something annoys me. I can't stay quiet. If I see that a boss wants to cheat, I tell him, and then they get upset, and they fire me. It's always the same' (Andrew).

The participants have higher levels of educational attainment than their parents. Their parents have around nine years of schooling, which takes them only slightly beyond primary school, which lasts eight years. By comparison, participants have an average of 11 years of schooling, or slightly less than the 12 years required to complete both primary and secondary education.

Interviewees say that their parents encouraged them to complete secondary education in order to have better qualifications. As Andrew reports, 'I finished my studies thanks to my dad, I wanted to leave school when I started secondary education, but he said "no, you should finish school, and not be like me"'. Similarly, one woman says, 'my mother always said "you finish your studies and then you are allowed to date, you finish your secondary school" that was the aim set by my mother. And I did it, I finished, I met her expectations' (Elaine).

Yet in some cases, usually among more deprived families, parents did not worry too much when the young people left school. As a woman says, 'I was never a swot, I was bad at maths, so after I finished primary school, I said to my parents, "no, no, no, no. I don't want to go to school any more!". And they said, "OK"' (Leocadia). León makes a similar statement, 'I finished primary school and then I didn't study any more, I gave myself a sabbatical year!'.

Even though the interviewees have more schooling than their parents, this does not necessarily translate into better or more highly qualified jobs. As men are usually the main providers, I focus in the study on the occupations of interviewees' fathers. Fathers are mostly in skilled manual occupations, with a few in unskilled manual jobs. The fathers are builders, bricklayers, painters, drivers, security guards, factory workers, shopkeepers and the like.

Most young men, as mentioned above, are in unskilled manual occupations that will probably lead them to eventually become skilled manual workers like their fathers. The exceptions are the few interviewees who are currently in administrative jobs, and have experienced some upward mobility. For the most part, then, young people are more educated than their parents, most are not in better occupations. Most are probably reproducing rather than improving the socioeconomic conditions of their families of origin.

To sum up, the young people in this study commonly have secondary vocational education, and most have dropped out of school. They typically work in unskilled manual jobs, and face frequent spells of unemployment owing to job instability. Men are typically the main and/ or exclusive earners, which increases the vulnerability of their families in relation to eventual unemployment and job instability. In addition it is not clear that the interviewees have better living conditions than those experienced by their parents, although they have more schooling. If the men carry the burden of being breadwinners, then what happens to the young women? Why are so few in paid work? In the next section I address these questions.

Women and Employment

Today there is more freedom for women, now women can work and be independent. (Giovanna)

I wanted to have my first child when I was 30 years old. I didn't want to have children earlier, because I wanted to study, I wanted to do so many things. To study, to work, to have my own house. And then have a child and a partner. (Frances).

I don't like sexist men (...) the woman can do everything that the man does. Why not? Women do it better, women are more responsible. (Karin).

I want to work, I want to work, but he says "no, why would you want to work?" He says that I will make myself look good, that I will meet other men, that I will have my own money. I say, yes. I want to have my own money. He says no, that as long as he can work, there is no need for me to work, that I should stay at home and look after the children. He is sexist! (Verónica).

The women in the study have a more negative perception of their economic situation than the men. Most female interviewees, when asked directly, say that it is difficult to make ends meet or to have just enough to survive. By contrast, slightly more than half of male interviewees say that they live in some comfort. In addition, the majority of the women agree that women should work, even if they have young children. Furthermore, some women say that when they were younger they dreamed of studying and working, and only later marrying and having children. A few women emphasize that times have changed for the better, and that today women can work and be autonomous. Some female interviewees even assert that women are equal to, if not better than, men; especially when it comes to work. If women report such positive views of paid work, and if they are particularly concerned about their deprived living conditions, then why are so few of them in paid work?

As most women are housewives they are in a situation of economic dependence, so they worry about their partner's capacity to provide. Women are in charge of looking after the home and bringing up the children. If men are not able to provide enough money, women find it difficult to perform their expected duties. As one mother says, 'if something

happens to him [her partner], what would we do? We depend on him for the money. If something happens to him, what I am going to do? And to work would be difficult for me, because the girl [her daughter] is too young' (Jessica).

The majority of the women report having worked in the past, usually before they got pregnant and started to cohabit. A few women were forced to work when they were children, because of their deprived living conditions. One woman started work when she was aged 15, after she gave birth to her first child: 'I went out to work when I lived with my Mum, because we didn't have anything. Neither my father nor the father of my daughter gave us anything' (Diana). By contrast, some women report that they worked out of boredom, as otherwise they were at home all day. 'I was bored of being at home. I didn't need the money, but I started to work because I was bored' (Danae).

Women report having worked as maids, cleaners, waitresses, shop assistants, and doing catering. Others say they have had more flexible and informal jobs, which they did mainly from their homes. These included assembly and manufacturing, paid on a piece-rate basis; craftwork production; selling home-made food; and childcare. Women have also done jobs which did not involve going too far from their homes, such as door-to-door distribution of flyers.

Most women who had worked at some point in the past say that paid work was a good experience. What women liked about paid work was economic independence: 'I liked to have my own money. I earned good money. I bought so many clothes, and shoes!' (Danae). They also valued the opportunity to go out, which came with work: 'I liked having my own money and not being at home the whole day!' (Paulina).

By contrast, other women did not like working, especially when they had begun to contribute to the parental home very young. Some had preferred to remain dependent on their parents rather than working. 'I lasted only one month in the job, the lady was very nice, but I didn't want to work any more. I wanted to stay with my

girlfriends, that was my life, to help my Mum with the chores, have lunch, and then go out to the street to stay with my girlfriends. I was bored working. I asked my Mum could I stop?, and she said OK. I asked my dad, and he said, "If we don't need for anything, what do you work for?"' (Elaine).

All in all, and despite a few bad experiences, most women state that they would like to work in the future. So why are most of them not working? First they say that they cannot work because they have to look after their children. 'I haven't worked because I have to look after my children. I don't leave them with anyone, not even with my relatives!' (Giovanna).

Women say that they will start to work when their children are older, which is a flexible criterion. Some say they will work when their children start school, others when their children are at school full-time, or when their children are big enough to be looked after by another person. In addition, women indicate that they need a job that does not interfere with their obligations as mothers and housewives, such as opening a small shop at home. 'My dream is to have my own house, where my children can have their own room, and to make a shop in it, to be able to have my money without leaving them' (Giovanna).

Yet women give a second reason for not working, which is that their male partners do not like them to have a paid job. According to these women, their male partners assert that as they themselves work, women should stay at home and look after the home and children. Furthermore, some women say that men do not like women to work because they fear that women will flirt with other men and become economically independent.

The participants report that men from previous generations, grandfathers and fathers, were very machista, as they did not allow women to work. As one man says, 'my father never let my mother work away from home, he was machista' (Iván). Or, as one woman reports, 'my father never allowed my Mum to work. He is machista. For example he used to say that we [his daughters] would never make any

progress, or that women are useless. For him women are everything negative and men are on top' (Danae).

By contrast, young men's discourse about female employment is more contradictory. Generally, men's spontaneous reaction is to assert that they are in favour of female employment. But they soon qualify this. Only a half of the men believe that women should work when they have small children. Men fear that if women work they will be object of sexual attention from other men. 'It depends on the type of work. You are not going to send your woman to work in a building site, that will be like throwing cheese to mice!' (Mauricio).

However, the men acknowledge that in times of economic difficulty women's work could make a contribution to the family budget. As one man, who is reliant only on short-term jobs states, 'I do believe that the man should bring the money into the house and that the woman should not work. Yet in these times sometimes the woman's money is needed' (Andrew).

When compared to their daughters, most of the mothers of interviewees are involved in paid work. These mothers are usually in skilled or unskilled manual occupations. They work as maids, cooks, seamstresses, or hairdressers, and also trade in informal street markets. The participants say that their mothers began to work mostly out of need, especially if their parents separated. One woman, whose parents separated, says 'my mother worked when I was a child, and my grandmother looked after me, then, when I was bigger, my grandmother started to work as well' (Frances). Another, whose parents are married, reports 'my dad works, but then things got difficult and my mother started to work, so we didn't need for anything' (Dalila).

Some women say that their mothers encourage them to work, to be independent. Yet some of them do not want to work, because their mothers, as they had to work, did not look after them. One says 'I don't want my children to go through the same, that's why I don't work. I want to be with them, to help them, not to come back late at night,

and say "no, I'm tired"' (Jane). Another explains, 'she worked since I was very young because my father didn't give anything to her, she had no choice but to work [...] I was looked after by strangers, by people who weren't my family' (Jessica).

Overall, negative attitudes towards female employment are prevalent among the young people, in particular among men. The women have a positive attitude towards paid work, yet in practice most are not involved in paid work as long as they have small children. They are reluctant to get involved in paid work as they believe it would be detrimental to their roles as mothers and housewives.

A few women report having stopped working because they got pregnant and were not entitled to maternity leave. As one recalls, 'I worked with my uncle, without a contract, because he was my uncle, I was saving for my studies but I became pregnant so I had to quit' (Frances). Social welfare provision can influence not only female employment but also how couples make ends meet. In the next section I will analyse social welfare.

The Single Mother

Right now it is more advantageous to be a single mother, because you have lots of benefits. There are people who conceal their marriage so as to receive these benefits. You get more benefits if you have less points, and having a stable partner gives you points. (Paulina)

If he was working under contract it would be more advantageous to be married, I would have more benefits, but because he has no contract he has no benefits, even he does not get benefits. (Frances)

Marriage for me is just a formality. Yet the law gives you some benefits, such as the protection that I can give to my wife if I marry her. (Ernesto)

Today the government gives more support to married couples, they have more benefits than unmarried couples. Because we are not married there are many benefits that we can't claim. (Adrian)

The couples in the study receive support from social welfare in their struggle to make ends meet. Yet in Chile, access to welfare is mostly based on formal employment and formal marriage (see Chapter 1). Hence, couples are in a difficult situation. Even though they are in need of support because of their deprived living conditions, they may be excluded from social welfare as they are not married, and many are only employed on a temporary or informal basis. However, as social policies are now targeted at the poorest of the poor, single mothers are increasingly a focus of social policies. The aim in this section is to explore how couples relate to social welfare. I will also analyse the possible implications of social policies on the couples' decisions to live together rather than marrying.

Housing is a key issue for the couples, as none of them are home owners. To be home owners is their most cherished dream. As one man says, 'what I wish the most for my family is to have our own house, so to have a space where we can stay together, where I can do whatever I want, where we can do whatever we want' (Cristián). Similarly, a woman reports, 'my dream is to have my own house, I have always wished to have my own house, so as to have my own things, to up bring my children, and when they come from school they will say, this is so beautiful, and it will be mine, I would've bought it with my own sacrifice' (Frances)

The majority report that they are applying for housing subsidy. Applications for housing subsidy are made almost exclusively by women. Women say that they apply as single mothers so that they have more chances of being given housing subsidy. 'I am applying. If we were married we would have fewer chances. They give more points to the single mother' (Jane). Or as another woman reports, 'if I was married I wouldn't be entitled to apply for housing subsidy, because you have to be single, with children, and with no husband!' (Giovanna).

Women also say that if they apply as single mothers, their male partners are not precluded from applying separately for housing subsidy as well. In married couples only one partner can apply. As Karin highlights, 'it is easier for the single mother, I can apply and he can apply. But if we were married and I apply, he is not allowed to apply ever!' (Karin). For the couples it is important that both partners continue to qualify for housing subsidy, especially if they happen to separate in the future.

Formally, wage-earners with a formal work contract make compulsory contributions to social security, a retirement pension, health insurance, and unemployment insurance. In addition, workers in formal employment are entitled to family allowance for every child, and the same benefit has been extended to indigent women without a male partner. The majority of the interviewees who are in paid work have a formal job, i.e., one with a written work contract. The same is true for the partners of interviewees, although there is a gender gap, as women are less likely to have formal employment.

Most of the respondents in paid work contribute to their retirement pension, yet these make up only a third of total interviewees. Only those who are wage-earners with a work contract contribute to a retirement fund. There is a clear gender gap here. Slightly more than half of the men, but only one of the women, contribute to a pension fund. Most women do not contribute since they are housewives not involved in formal paid work. Moreover, as the women are not married, they would not be entitled to receive a widow's pension.

All the interviewees receive health provision through Fonasa, the public health system. Fonasa allocates people to different plans according to their incomes. Formally employed workers are automatically registered in a health care plan that matches their wages. Those with low wages are given free access to health care, but as wages increase, co-payments are required. Those who co-pay are given some choice of health care provider. In addition, Fonasa provides free healthcare for indigents, to those not

in formal work, and to those from the most deprived groups. These categories apply to the partners of the interviewees.

Slightly more than half of the respondents have access to health care as indigents, and a quarter as wage-earners. The rest reported being in the Fonasa scheme, but without specifying in what category. There are gender differences in access to health care, mirroring gender differences in involvement in formal work. Men who access health care are more likely to do so in their capacity as wage-earners; while most women access healthcare as indigents. Children usually have the same kind of health plan as their mothers, so most children are part of the Fonasa scheme as indigents.

In addition to formal work, legal marital status is the other element that shapes access to healthcare. Housewives report that, as they have young children and are not legally married, they are considered by Fonasa to be indigents. As one explains, 'if you are married you have to pay for a private doctor, you can't be indigent. To be indigent you have to be single, have children, and not be living with the father. If you are married you are a dependant of your husband, either in Fonasa or in an Isapre [private health system]' (Giovanna).

Because the women are legally single, they cannot have access to the same health plan as their partners. Fonasa only allows women to participate as dependants of men if they are formally married. As one says, 'I can't be his dependant in Fonasa, because we are not married. I told him to let them know that we have been living together for 10 years, we are married! But they said no, he needs to have a certificate of marriage' (Danae).

Some women say that they dislike not having access to their male partner's health plan. Women perceive a greater disadvantage when their partners are involved in formal work, with a relatively good salary, which translates in a better health plan. As one says, 'If we were married I would have the chance of going somewhere else, not just the surgery. When you pay, you get another class of service. If

he has had a good job, and if we were married, we could have better health care' (Frances).

Yet women believe that free doctors' surgeries have improved, and that they now provide a better service. Frances, who acknowledged the advantages of paid healthcare also said, 'but now health care is not bad, the [local] surgery has changed. They treat you better, there are fewer queues, if you ask for an appointment they give it to you. Before you had to fight to get an appointment, now it is different, is better'.

Generally, access to healthcare is differentiated according to involvement in formal work and marriage. Most women get health provision as indigents, as they are formally single, those who work mostly do so at home or in informal work. Most men, however, access healthcare as wage-earners, as the majority are involved in formal employment. There are accordingly significant gender differences in access to health.

There are two types of family allowance targeted at the poorest families (see preceding chapters). The first of these, the *Subsidio Único Familiar*, SUF, is a monthly child allowance for every child up to 18 years old. A similar amount goes to the child's mother, and to pregnant women. The allowance is around 6,000 Chilean pesos, or roughly £7, per month. Women and their children who qualify to claim SUF are also given automatic access to free healthcare as indigents. The second type of family allowance, the *Asignación Familiar*, AF, involves similar benefits and is given to formal wage-earners, women and men, with children. The main practical difference between AF and SUF is that the amount payable under AF decreases as wages increase.

The overwhelming majority of the interviewees report claiming family allowance, with women typically the ones who claim it. As most are not involved in formal paid work, most are entitled to SUF rather than AF. As with housing subsidy, and access to healthcare, women report that they claim family allowance as single mothers.

Unemployment insurance is another benefit that one might expect to be relevant to the study participants. As

was highlighted in the previous section, many of them report job instability as a frequent experience. Yet the two men who are unemployed do not receive unemployment insurance. Furthermore, no participant reports receiving unemployment insurance at those times when they were made redundant. Probably they did not meet the legal and contribution record requirements to be able to claim this benefit (see earlier chapters).

To sum up, the evidence shows a complex situation in relation to social security and unmarried cohabitation. It is clear that social protection is focused on those with long-term formal work and who are married. As the women in the study are legally single, and most of them are not involved in formal paid work, they and their children are relatively disadvantaged by the social welfare system. However, their marginalization has been limited by the fact that social policies have targeted them as single mothers, considered a vulnerable group. Therefore, cohabiting mothers from deprived groups are entitled to receive housing benefit, health care, and family allowance because in legal terms they are single mothers. It may be that cohabiting mothers are even favoured over their married counterparts by housing policies.

Access to retirement pensions however remains focused on formal workers. Only women who are legally married can inherit a partner's pension on his death (as a widow). Nonetheless, since most of the interviewees in the study have access to temporary or informal jobs, it is doubtful that even the men who are currently in work will be entitled to retirement pensions. Thus it is probable that both the men and the women in the study, will receive only a basic state pension when they retire. If that is the case, it will be in the interest of the interviewees to remain legally single. Women would lose out by staying legally single only in the event that their partner became a long-term, formally employed worker with a good salary.

The evidence of the study suggests that women are better informed than men about social benefits. Most women know which social benefits they are entitled to, while men tend to speak about social benefits, apart from housing subsidy, only in general terms. Men probably are well informed about housing subsidy as finding accommodation for their families is a pressing concern for them. In the next section I analyse the current living arrangements of the young couples in the study.

Living Arrangements

I asked my mother and she said there was no problem, she was happy because she would be with her grandchildren and then my dad said he would pay for everything, we only pay water and gas, so we can save for our house. (Giovanna)

One should live alone with your own family... even if it is very hard to pay rent, but you should rent a place only for you and your family... because to live in another house, to live as *allegado* (...) I don't recommend that to anyone! (Adrian)

I believe that you shouldn't live with your parents, I need my own space... you can't live [as a couple] in the house of your parents! Here everybody lives with their parents, I just couldn't do that. (Iván)

Families of origin are a source of support for young couples. Parents and relatives can provide accommodation, financial aid, and childcare, or they may even help to find jobs. At the time when the young couples in the study began to live together, none had a place of their own. Thus, they typically moved in with one of their families of origin. In Chile, people who do not have their own house, but who live in the house of another family, usually the parental home, are called *allegados*. The aim of this section is to explore how unmarried cohabitation is related to networks of support provided by kin, in particular in relation to living arrangements.

The vast majority of the respondents live in extended households, as *allegados*. Around a half of these share a household with one other family unit; with the remainder sharing premises with two or three other family units. An average of 8 people live in these extended households, ranging from a minimum of 4 to a maximum of 15 people. Around half live with the man's family of origin, and the other half with the woman's family of origin. A quarter of the study respondents live in a nuclear family household, and do not share accommodation with other relatives. Those who do not live as *allegados* mostly live in rented accommodation, except for one woman who lives with her partner and children in an illegal land occupation. The nuclear family households studied have a maximum of five people.

Women and men prefer to live with their own parents, in particular with their mothers. Yet practical considerations, in particular the availability of space, are usually more decisive in determining where they actually live. Living as *allegados* commonly entails the couple and their children living in one bedroom. Couples living in extended households usually share meals, bathroom and laundry facilities with the main householders, and split utility bills. Living as *allegados* therefore involves receiving significant financial assistance, as *allegados* do not pay rent and only contribute part of the household expenses.

Couples who live as *allegados* do not want to rent accommodation, as paying rent is considered a waste of money. As one man says, 'I've never liked to pay rent, if we can stay with our parents it is a bad use of money. You have to pay 90 or 100 *lucas*⁶, and with that money you can buy clothes or food' (León). A woman interviewee makes a similar point: 'he wanted to live in a rented place, but I said no. If every month we pay rent we won't have 80,000 or 100,000 pesos (...) cash that we need for our son' (Jessica). Some couples fear that they would not have enough money to maintain a household by themselves. 'I decided that we

⁶ 'Luca' is a slang term for 1,000 Chilean pesos.

should move to our own place, but, what is the problem? Paying the bills! Maybe if we lived by ourselves we wouldn't have enough cash to pay utility bills' (Jessica).

Many couples say they live as *allegados* because they want to apply for housing subsidy. Housing subsidy requires applicants to save a minimum amount of money to be eligible. Yet participants say that it is difficult to save because of their low incomes and job instability. Thus most are forced to live as *allegados*. As a man points out, 'I wanted to begin to live in a rented place, but then, I thought it would be better if I wait another six months so as to have my own house thanks to the housing subsidy. I rather stay and wait, than to start spending money on rent' (Albert).

Even though they highlight the economic advantages of living as *allegados*, interviewees also acknowledge difficulties. Indeed, most of them say they would stop living as *allegados* if the opportunity arose. As one woman says, 'we just want to leave, because we have too many problems with my mother's partner, too many. Last week we had an argument. We don't get along at all' (Diana). Or, as another woman reports, 'we live with my mother-in-law. We leave, we come back, we leave, we come back. We have problems with my mother-in-law, she has a bad temper, I have problems with her' (Verónica).

People report that living in someone else's home is a source of constant friction. Some say they feel uneasy and others speak of quarrels with other relatives, or step relatives, living under the same roof. One woman recalls when she moved in with her in-laws, 'in my first pregnancy I was crying all the time, at that time we lived in the house of my partner's grandmother, and we don't get along. They are not like my family, we are more conservative, I don't like his family's lifestyle, so everyday I felt very lonely as he left for work' (Paulina).

Lack of privacy and arguments over bills and living expenses are common. One man explains how he looks forward to living in his own house and to have privacy, 'if you go to the bathroom you won't have to stand with people looking

at you, or if you go to the kitchen, to cook something to eat, you won't have to stand with people looking at you' (Andrew). Or as Verónica, explains in relation to her mother-in-law, 'because [my partner] works, he is the pillar of the house. When he doesn't receive his pay or when he has no work, they attack him and that makes me angry. If other men live in the house and work, why don't they give something for the house? My mother-in-law is only interested in money, and if we don't give it to her, we have problems'.

Because of the difficulties involved in living as *allegados*, many couples report moving around and living with different relatives. Usually, if relationships become too strained, they begin looking for another place. A woman who used to live with her mother-in-law, explains her frustration. 'We lived in a hut right next to my mother-in-law's house. We had problems there because once my son was born she began to tell me how to bring up my child. I was fed up. I didn't say anything to her, but when my partner came back I told him, "that cunt of a mother of yours is poking her nose into my life, and into my son's life too! You must take me away from here!"' (Leocadia). Another woman describes why they have been living in different places: 'we stayed a year here with my parents. Later, because we did not get along with my sister, we went to live with my mother-in-law, but then my sister-in-law went to live there, so we came back here; by that time my sister had left' (Giovanna).

All in all, living as an *allegado* is a mixed blessing. Couples who live in the parental home do not simply receive assistance from their parents: they also remain under their control. Young people are freed of the responsibility for running their own home but at the price of giving up part of their autonomy. They need to adapt to the requirements of the parental household and to accept interventions into their personal lives.

Furthermore, and in a subtle way, *allegados* lose the incentive to seek their own accommodation. As one woman says, 'when you live in someone else's house, you already

have all that you need, so you don't worry about saving to buy the bare necessities' (Diana). Indeed, in purely monetary terms, those who live as *allegados* probably have a better standard of living than they would have if they lived by themselves.

The interviewees point out that living on their own signalled a new kind of status for their relationship. Being home owners entails a big step forward in terms of settling down as a couple and as a family. As one man asserts, 'I would like to have my own house, there I will do many things, I will have another child and I will get married. I think that when you have your own house, it is easier to plan your family life' (Eugenio). Having their own home is something couples wish for, but it is not an easy step to take.

Couples who live in rented accommodation highlight the independence that they enjoy. Men, more than women, emphasize that as something positive, as opposed to living as *allegados*. All the couples who live in rented accommodation had formerly lived as *allegados*. As one man says, 'now we have our own place, we can decide things for ourselves. I don't have to ask for permission from anybody if I want to take something from the fridge. That's what I like about having our house, the independence, to do whatever we like, to do what we like to do' (Celio). Another man reflects, 'we are happier because we rent a house, we are not living in anybody's house, we can decide what we want to do. That's for me the best thing about our relationship, not to inhibit yourself, because I don't have to justify to anyone the things I do' (Eugenio).

The majority of the participants report that their parents used to live as *allegados*. Thus most interviewees had lived part of their childhood in their grandparents' house. Living in the grandparents' home entailed developing close relationships not only with their grandparents, but also with aunts, uncles, cousins, and other relatives who lived there or went there to visit. Living as *allegados* promotes the development of a wider web of ties with different relatives.

Unsurprisingly, most young couples turn to their kin when in need. For example, most interviewees report that they regularly ask for cash to make ends meet, and the majority get it from relatives. Some also say that their relatives provide opportunities for finding a job. Likewise, many say that they prefer to live near their relatives because of the support they provide. Even though most young people do not like living as *allegados*, this does not mean that they want to cut their ties with their parents and other close relatives. Eugenio, who lives in rented accommodation, reports 'we stayed in this neighbourhood because our relatives live here. If you live far away from your kin, you will never get their support'.

However, some say that they would like to live far from their parents if they could get their own house, precisely because of the problems they have faced while living as *allegados*. As one man says, 'we are applying for housing subsidy. Very far away from here would be the best, so we can start from zero, far away from her and my parents' (León).

In addition to their families of origin, interviewees also mention friends and local communities as possible sources of support. It seems, however, that friendship is not a particularly significant bond for these young people, in particular for the women. The men usually say that they have many friends, who they socialize or play sport with. Yet commonly they also say that they are not close to them, though there are exceptions. One man reports, 'I have lived all my life in the same place. All my friends are from there, the ones that I used to have and the ones that I see now, thanks to the reggae. We smoke weed, we listen to music, and we chat about the music, the lyrics, the bands' (Iván).

By contrast, the women tend to say that they have few girlfriends. Some even say that they do not have friends at all. As one reports, 'I used to have some girlfriends in this neighbourhood but then we had problems. They didn't like me, I don't know why. So I decided not to have more

girlfriends and I don't have girlfriends. I have always been here alone' (Jessica).

The respondents report that community ties have deteriorated due to increased criminality, drug dealing, in particular. As one man says, 'now you have gangs here, they shoot each other. I just want to be out of here, especially because of my son' (Albert). Another man says, 'we want to move to a safer neighbourhood, with not so much crime, where I won't see so many bastards stealing' (Cristián). A woman also reports 'my son once asked me, I will never forget it, "Mum, when will there be a day when I wake up without hearing a shot?" It hurt me so much, I told him "some day"' (Karin).

On the whole, even though most couples live as *allegados*, many wish to have their own accommodation. On the one hand, living as *allegados* offers economic support. On the other hand, it adds to the strain on relationships owing to the difficulties involved in living alongside at least one other family. Moreover, living as *allegados* is a constraint on the couples' autonomy. The evidence also suggests that for those in the study, the family is the main source of support. The women appear to be even more limited to family ties than the men, something which is confirmed by other evidence from Chile (PNUD 2010). The young people's lack of significant social ties beyond their immediate family makes for a difficult situation. In the next chapter I deal further with the influence of family ties on their lives

SUMMARY

Young people face difficult living conditions, which affect how they form a family. The young people in the study have few qualifications and low quality jobs. Their

vulnerability is worsened by conventional gender roles, as only the men tend to be in paid work. Typically, they experience intermittent unemployment and short-term employment, which not only threatens their chances of planning and saving, but also of gaining the autonomy to form their own families. The fact that most live as *allegados* illustrates their lack of autonomy, as they remain living under parental authority.

Furthermore, it seems that the current young generation is reproducing, rather than overcoming, the deprived living conditions experienced by previous generations. Their limited social mobility in relation to the previous generation exemplifies how a decrease in poverty has not narrowed inequality. Although these young people are more educated and have better living conditions than their parents, they continue to belong to the lower strata of Chilean society.

It is nonetheless difficult to assert that unemployment and job insecurity lead to or encourage cohabitation, as marriage remains more popular among low income groups. In my view, job insecurity rather promotes the dependence of the younger generation on the previous one. This may in turn have an impact on the type of partnerships that are formed. In any case, independence from the family of origin can be promoted through social welfare policies.

As social policies have increased their coverage and become more targeted, deprived groups are beginning to receive state support. For women who have never been married nor are involved in formal paid work, universal provision of healthcare and of state pensions has ended their marginalization from the social welfare system. Single mothers have also benefited from policies focused on them. The case of housing subsidy seems particularly relevant. Young mothers may be reluctant to marry if marriage jeopardizes their access to housing subsidy. In other words, the findings suggest that both the expansion of social welfare and the introduction of social policies targeted at single mothers have led to a decrease in

marriage as the privileged form of access to social welfare for women, in particular mothers.

Policies targeted at single mothers nonetheless continue to promote motherhood as the definitive role for women. Enhancement of motherhood through social welfare is in tune with the predominance of conventional gender roles among interviewees. Women and men expect the man to be the breadwinner and the woman to be a mother and housewife. There are incipient signs of change, as female employment is becoming more acceptable, but it is still seen as a threat to the exclusively feminine role of childrearing.

The situation of women's reliance on their families of origin, partner, and social welfare, needs special attention. Women appear to be more socially isolated than men. The emphasis on motherhood, as opposed to paid work, reinforces their isolation and dependence on either their families of origin or their partners. The expansion of social welfare has somewhat limited this dependence, but policies targeted at the single mother have reinforced motherhood. Thus it seems that family ties are particularly significant for the women in the study. In addition, as job insecurity makes it more difficult for the younger generation to achieve autonomy, it seems all the more important to study families of origin. In the next chapter I will analyse the familial backgrounds of the interviewees and how this has affected their decision to live together.

Chapter 5 - PARENTS AND MARRIAGE

Currently you live together instead of marrying like in the old days. Then, if you had a child, they forced you to marry. Not now, now it is freer. (Leocadia)

My father doesn't say anything, but I think he would've liked me to have got married, and to have gone from his house straight to the church! (Paulina)

Today nobody punishes the kids. My parents tell my youngest brother not to go out and he just goes out. That's the way it is today. (León)

In my home my mother never said to us "I love you", or "I am fond of you". Neither did my father. (Adrian)

My mother started to work because the situation was very bad. At that time my eldest sister with the help of the next sister looked after the younger ones. Later my sister looked after me. Everybody used to think that she was my mother. (Dalila).

The reports of the young people in the study about their families of origin help us to understand why they came to live together rather than marrying. The focus on these young people's early years sheds light on issues of family relations, ties, roles, obligations, and reciprocity. In addition, the families of origin are the backdrop against which the interviewees live their own lives, choose partners, and formalise, or not, their relationships. The relationship of the parents of the participants provides a pattern against which we can trace continuity and change between them and the previous generation. This chapter focuses on exploring the role played by the older generation in the lives of the young people in relation to cohabitation. The point is that we can only grasp social change in relation to past structures which are disrupted, but continue to be reproduced.

Parental authority, and more specifically patriarchy, the father's power, is at the core of this chapter. I will analyse how marriage and cohabitation were experienced by previous generations, and parents' reactions to young people's decisions to cohabit. As I will show, it is possible to see a significant change in parental

intervention in relation to their children's union formation.

Since any generation is defined by particular sociohistorical conditions, in this chapter I also study interviewees' perceptions of past and present. Here the focus is on their views of cohabitation in a socio temporal perspective. The idea is to study how the respondents perceive social tolerance towards cohabitation in past and present times. The evidence suggests that they believe that a transformation has taken place in the social status of cohabitation.

In addition to parental power and patriarchy, the chapter deals with issues of kinship. The literature on families in Latin America has highlighted a strong bond between mothers and children, which can promote cohabitation (see Chapter 2). In what follows I explore parent-child relationships, considering gender as a key element. On the one hand, the chapter considers the reports of young people about their relationships with their mothers and fathers. On the other hand, it studies the accounts of how their parents treated their daughters and sons differently. The analysis will focus particularly on the relationships with the first son and with the first daughter.

I begin by studying the relationship between the parents of the interviewees. I analyse it in terms of marital status, trajectory, and presence of difficulties. In the next section, I move on to study the childhoods of the participants. My attention is on the ways in which they perceived their relationships with their parents when they were children. The following section continues to focus on childhood, but now in relation to the differences introduced by their parents among their children. I conclude with an examination of the changing status of cohabitation across generations of parents and grandparents, and among the current generation of young people.

Resilient Families

[My parents] met and started to live together. Each already had a child. My mother had my eldest brother and my father my eldest sister.

Both had separated, and they met and started to live together. I am the eldest child of their relationship, we are three siblings from my mother and father, but we are five in total. (Iván)

[My father] likes drinking, but now he gets drunk only three times in a month, before it was every day, he drank the cash we didn't have!

Those were the main problems, almost always related to drinking and women. They have had big arguments, with physical violence, throwing things at each other. My mother throws things at him and he beats her with his hands. The last time the police came and the shit hit the fan! (León)

Most interviewees say that their parents were married, while a quarter report that they cohabited. One man reports that his parents have a visiting partner relationship, and one woman says that her mother was a single mother. Therefore all the parents, except the lone mother, were originally in a formal or informal partnership. At the time of the study, around a half of the parents who were formerly in a partnership were still together. Around two fifths have separated, and the rest were not together because one partner had passed away. Married parents were more likely to have stayed together than cohabiting parents. This section is focused on the parents of the interviewees, on their relationship as a couple, and on their partnering trajectories.

Interviewees' parents are relatively young, with the fathers on average 53, and the mothers 48, years old. The parents had started to live as a couple, whether married or not, when the mothers were aged on average 19, and the fathers 24. Most were born in Santiago, but some came from other regions of the country and subsequently migrated to Santiago. Most are Catholic, and around a fifth are evangelical Protestants. Yet, according to the interviewees, religion is not important to their parents, particularly not to their fathers. In terms of politics,

while most of the parents, especially the mothers, support the centre-left coalition *Concertación*, a third has no reported political preference. For data about the main characteristics of interviewees' parents, see Appendix 2.

Most say that their parents have or have had a bad or very bad relationship. As might be expected, children of couples who have separated report that their parents did not get along. However, almost half of the interviewees whose parents are still together say that the couples get along badly. The most common problems reported were affairs, heavy drinking, and domestic violence. Economic hardship was not often mentioned as a source of conflict between parents, although life histories show that economic deprivation is a source of strain in their parents' relationships. A few also indicate use of illegal drugs or a parent being in prison.

According to the interviewees, sexual affairs, heavy drinking, domestic violence, and economic hardship are closely related, and prompted frequent arguments between their parents. As one woman says, 'he is a good father, but sadly he is dominated by his vices. He tried to make a family with my mother. But he preferred to go out with his friends, to drink, to smoke weed. That's why he separated from my mother. He also used to beat her when I was younger' (Diana).

Heavy drinking is a problem for the parents and for fathers in particular. According to the young people, heavy drinking fuels other problems, and contributes to their parents' constant arguing. As one woman says, when asked about how her parents get along, 'very badly! They are together only because they are used to it, my mother does everything for him, you can say that she almost dresses him! My dad doesn't know how to do anything without her. My dad still loves her a little bit, but not my mother, she completely lost her love for him because he started to drink heavily. She lost her love and fondness for him. They are always arguing!' (Giovanna). A man says, 'my dad was bad with my mum, he had other women, he used to go on the booze, and then come back home pestering. Once he turned

over the table with the dinner. I think that my mother got fed up with all that. I don't think they had a good relationship, they had a bad relationship' (Andrew).

However, if heavy drinking does not prevent the fathers from being earners, and is not related to domestic violence, then it is not necessarily condemned. As one woman says, 'my dad has always been very responsible. My mother didn't want for anything, so she got used to it. My dad has never stopped drinking, when they met he didn't drink, but after a while he started and never stopped. In spite of this he was never rude to her, he never hit her. He drinks every day, on the weekend he gets plastered' (Elaine). Furthermore, the interviewees report that it is expected that fathers keep part of their income for their *vicios* (vices), such as heavy drinking. As the same woman explains, 'he kept part of his money for his vices, and then handed the rest to my mum' (Elaine).

In many cases the relationship of the parents got so bad that it ended in separation. In practice this often meant that one partner left the family home. Fathers deserted more frequently, though one man reports being abandoned by his mother. The respondents report that their fathers usually already had an extra marital relationship, prompting them to leave when things turned sour with their mothers. One man, whose father had deserted his mother and five children, says, 'they argued all the time, they argued about everything. I think that because of that he formed another family. He was a coach driver, and there he met another woman, and he made a family with her' (Eugenio). Likewise, another man - whose father, who left his mother and ten siblings - says 'they got along well, until my mother started to be jealous for nothing. My father met another woman, and he left. He started to come home later, then they had a terrible fight, they started to argue, not with violence, but swearing. That was the turning point' (Adrian).

According to the participants, the overwhelming majority of separated parents soon found new partners and made new families. The young people report that when their

parents separated, their mothers were forced into paid work. Working outside their homes gave the mothers a chance to meet men and to find a new partner. As one woman says, 'my mother took drastic action. She separated from my dad when I was four years old. She knew he was like that. She always loved him, she never gave up hope of him changing. But she realised that she would never have anything serious with him, that he would never work and pay the bills. So she decided to continue alone, she started to work, she met Juan, they went out together for some years, then they got married and had my sister' (Jessica). Another woman says, 'they had been married for eighteen years when my mother said "enough, I am tired". She found a job in the town hall, my dad was very upset, it was the first time that my mum had worked. She was doing very well at work, until she met a man, who was nice with her, talked to her beautifully, he had no vices, didn't like to go out. He was the opposite of my dad in everything' (Danae).

Most of the interviewees' families of origin are stepfamilies. They report that they were raised in stepfamilies because many parents have separated and then made new families. But stepfamilies are also frequent among parents who are still together, as some have children from previous partners. Having been raised in a stepfamily is more frequent among those whose parents cohabit. As one man explains 'my mum married a man, and they had one son. After one year they separated, and my mother went back to live with her mum. Later on she met my father, and they had my sister, then my brother, and then me. So we are four siblings, but three are from my mum and dad, and one only from my mum' (Cristián).

Having children is the main explanation participants offer as to why their parents were or are still together. One woman says, when asked about her parents' relationship, 'they get along well, they have never argued too much, they almost never argue. They are together because of us, we are five siblings. Anyway they should love each other still, my mother loves him more, the same goes for my father. I think

because they have grandchildren, they love each other, they love us, they don't get along badly' (Dalila).

However, there is one case in which a young man says that his parents are still together because they love each other. 'They are in love, always they have talked about everything, they never hide anything, good communication as a couple, I think that's the most important thing' (Albert). Even though most young people say that their families of origin were marked by conflict and instability, there are some exceptions. Indeed, four people report not only that their parents are still together, but that they have a good relationship. All the parents reported getting along well are married.

Questions of power underlie young people's reports concerning their parents' relationship. Their accounts show that fathers are most typically the head of their families. Note that this refers to participants' reports about who they believe is the head of the family. Fathers are the main authority in the families of origin, whether they are married or cohabiting. Young people report that their mothers are the authority within the household, being in charge of running the house and bringing up the children. The fathers are the authority outside the household, and hence their power is wider in reach. As one woman asserts, 'decisions about children - my mother. Important decisions - my father' (Danae). Another woman says 'my mum can't go out if my father isn't at home. My father doesn't like my mother to go out, he doesn't like when she isn't at home. He should work and she should stay at home' (Elaine).

Nevertheless, around a third of the interviewees who have or had cohabiting or married parents say that their mother is the head of the family, while only one says that both parents are equally in charge.. Typically, the mothers who were described as heads of the family were seen as having a strong personality, with the respective fathers seen as submissive. One woman says that her mother has the last word: 'my father is a quiet man, he can be manipulated, if he is told that something is white, then it is white for him, he is quiet, he is meek' (Leocadia).

Their reports however show that family authority is not a fixed quality, but can be subject to change. Economic power is closely related to the issue of family power. . As time passed, most mothers became involved in paid work. Thus, most gained some economic independence, which could entail certain challenges to paternal authority. As one man says, 'in my family my father was the head of the household, because he used to work at that time [...]. But now that my mum works, it's like that both of them are' (Pedro).

Alcoholism, job instability, and affairs tend to undermine paternal authority. One woman, whose father is a heavy drinker, reports that 'when I was a child, [the head of the family] was my dad, but as I grew up, my mum didn't want to be told what to do. If my father wanted to beat her, she defended herself from him, she hit him back! At the beginning it was my father, but then he couldn't control her as he pleased' (Diana). Consequently, the reports of the young people show that their fathers' authority could be eroded.

On the whole, the younger generation's families of origin can be described as both fragile and resilient. On the one hand, the evidence suggests that the parents' relationship has experienced significant difficulties. Unsurprisingly, many young people have witnessed how their parental home crumbled. On the other hand, most separated parents partnered again and made new families. In this context of changing family arrangements, cohabitation no doubt offers a more practical alternative than marriage.

The findings also show that although the parents' relationships are structured in terms of conventional gender roles, even though mothers eventually gain economic power, as they start to work, and might even contest male hegemony. In the next section I will turn to the relationships the young people in the study had with their parents as children.

Parenting

I didn't have the support of my father either. And when you grow up you miss that. Now that I am grown up I miss everything, everything, everything that they didn't give me. Not in terms of material possessions, but in feelings. (Diana)

I didn't have too much communication with my father either. My father never took us to the doctor. He never helped us with our homework! Nor did he ask us how we were doing at school, if we failed or got an excellent mark it was the same for him. (Paulina)

My mother hit me and I said "it doesn't hurt". She hit me and I shouted at her "it doesn't hurt, it doesn't hurt!" Once she left my head bleeding, but I still told her "hit me, it doesn't hurt, it doesn't hurt. I am not going to cry!" (Karin)

In a few words my father is like poison to me, he is like poison [...]. There weren't any presents or dinner for Christmas. He went out to get drunk at Christmas and he wouldn't come back until past the New Year. Because of those things I am suspicious of him, I deeply hate him still. I don't care if he eats or not, because he didn't care if we ate or not. (Danae)

Childhood is not something most of the interviewees like to talk about. Some even say they do not remember anything about it. When they do talk, happy memories are scarce. Looking at the young people's upbringing will help to illuminate their motives in forming families. In what follows, I focus on how they remember their childhoods and, in particular, their relationships with their parents. Most say that their parents were rather inexpressive and cold. Some say their parents never said they loved them or hugged them. One man says, 'for my father, if you had enough food and enough clothes, if you had a TV set, if you had all these things, that was all that mattered. There wasn't anything else for him' (Iván). Similarly, one woman reports, 'they never beat me, but they never played with me or took me out either. When I was a child I was closer to my girlfriends than to my parents. You need to trust your parents. Actually, I don't feel love from them' (Giovanna). Likewise, some say that their parents never gave them presents for Christmas or for their birthday: 'as far as I remember they never gave me a birthday party when I was a child' (Elaine). So most people still feel there is a lack of intimacy in their relationships with their parents.

Most say that, when they were children, they felt alone and neglected by their parents. They say they missed parental guidance in matters such as sexuality, studies, work, or forming a family. As one woman says, 'my father has never told me "daughter this is bad" or "daughter do this". No, my father never got involved in our lives' (Leocadia).

The parents' pattern of conventional gender roles probably contributed to their style of distant parenting. Interviewees describe how their mothers looked after the home and children almost single handed. The mothers ran the family budget, did the shopping, cooked, cleaned, washed, and so forth. 'At home my mother took all the decisions, since she was at home all day, she managed the cash, decided what to buy' (Celio).

Mothers are described as the authority in the home, the ones who set the household rules. They are remembered as always giving orders and talking in a loud voice. Indeed, interviewees frequently describe their mothers as having a bad temper. As one man says, '[my mother] was strict, harsh, but she was right, as I was not so good anyway' (León). They also say that their fathers were rather distant, as they worked all day away from home. According to them, when their fathers came home they wanted to eat and to rest, and not to be disturbed by their family or domestic problems.

Interviewees do say that as children, they had a closer relationship with their mothers. As one woman reports, 'my mother is good. She is a good friend, a good mother... loving. There are so many things that I can say about my mother. I have good memories of her when I was a child. She brought us up, she never worked, she was always with us' (Elaine). Likewise, a man says, 'I love my mother very much. I love her. She is my mother. She is the one who has been always by my side. My father was more distant' (Iván).

Interviewees' descriptions of their parents as distant does not imply that their parents did not intervene in their lives. On the contrary, most of the young people

portray their parents as authoritarian. The authoritarian upbringing experienced by most is illustrated by reports that they were beaten by their parents as a form of discipline.

They say that both of their parents used physical violence as punishment. Some say that their mothers were harsher than their fathers, because mothers were the ones who looked after them. As one man recalls, 'my mother was always with us, she was the firm hand' (Albert). Another man reports 'my mother was mistreated physically and psychologically after her own father died. There was a break there. Every time we screwed up she clobbered us' (Celio).

A few say that the violence applied by their parents was not restricted to slapping or smacking, but occasionally involved serious beatings. As one man says, 'if I got bad marks at school [my mother] knocked me to the ground and kicked me about' (Albert). Another man reports '[my father] kicked me, he kicked me out of the kitchen, he gave me one kick and I flew almost two metres. I was little and skinny, that was the worst beating he gave me' (Andrew). Some say that their parents did not treat daughters and sons differently: both were beaten in equal measure.

Interviewees say that their parents and grandparents were themselves frequently beaten when they were children, and that it is said that in the past parents used to be even more heavy-handed. They also say that as their parents got older, they became less strict. As one man explains, 'my older siblings endured the worst beatings, my sister tells me that they suffered a lot. My mother used to be very irritable, and she often hit them. Then, as she got older, and separated from my father, she started to calm down, she did hit us sometimes, but less than my older siblings' (Eugenio).

Even though the young people did not like being beaten, most now say that their parents did the right thing. They thank their parents for being strict, because they learnt how to behave. As one man says, 'when my mum

told me, "you don't go there" and hit me, I learnt that I shouldn't do that, and I didn't. But if she hadn't hit me, maybe I wouldn't have learnt. I think it was necessary, yes' (Eugenio). But a few say that their parents were too harsh, and that there is no justification for their beatings. One man says 'I think my father is bad, because he shouldn't have beaten us like he did when we were children. I don't know what he wanted to teach me, he just thrashed me!' (Andrew) A few say they have never been beaten by their parents. These illustrate how good their parents were by saying their parents never hit them. As one woman says, '[my parents] gave me everything for Christmas. I had lots of dolls, they never beat me!' (Dalila).

These accounts suggest a connection between parents' relationships and interviewees' own styles of parenting. A significant proportion of the parents have separated, which made for an even more distant relationship with their father, and a closer one with their mother, since interviewees usually stayed with their mothers after their parents split up. Those who have experienced desertion by one parent report feelings of abandonment mixed with anger. They say that what hurts is not their parents' separation, but the fact that afterwards the parent who left rarely looked after them, either in emotional or economic terms.

For example, one man whose parents were together until he was eight years old replies, when asked about his father: 'they split up and he never came back, never, never, never! And then when I was seventeen I went there to see him. It was like a Sunday visit from the evangelicals. They want to stay and you want them to leave soon. It was dull. I am not interested in him any more, even he being my father. [He] is not enough of a man; he left like a bandit and never returned. He could have said "I have another woman, things didn't work out, let's talk about it". I think when he left he didn't even think of me!' (Ernesto).

Similarly a woman says, 'I don't love my father very much. I don't like to talk about him, no, no, no. His name is Marcelo. I don't know how old he is. I don't care

anyway. I don't want to talk about him. It hurts me to talk about him! I don't want to! He deserted us when we were very young. He never worried about us. And I did need him. I missed him so much, especially when I ran away from home. I needed him so much! But he wasn't there' (Karin).

Those whose parents had separated usually praise their mothers. These young people value the fact that their mothers did not abandon them as their fathers did, and that their mothers went through many difficulties when raising them. Their reports give an idealised image of their mothers, and they assert that their mothers are the best. They praise their mothers' determination and capacity to provide for them when they were children, sometimes without any help from anybody. One man says 'as a mother she is a great example. She sacrificed herself a lot for our sake. She reared four children on her own' (Cristián). A woman also asserts, 'she is the best mother! Since my father left, she has been my mother and my father. She is hard working. She has all the good qualities!' (Verónica).

A few interviewees, whose parents had separated, showed more sympathetic feelings for their fathers. These interviewees believe that their fathers tried to be good but had been overcome by life's difficulties. They describe their fathers as victims of alcoholism, drug abuse or even of their mother's bad temper or jealousy. They say that anyone can fail and that it is not their role to judge their parents, but to love them. As one woman reports, '[I] always [feel] great pain, and sadness, and anger, because of him. But I do love him anyway, because he is my father. He is a good person anyway. Sadly, he was defeated by his vices' (Diana).

Separated parents frequently repartnered. Thus several participants were reared with stepsiblings, and some were looked after by a stepparent. The majority of those whose biological parents are not together because of separation, death, or the mother's lone parent status, report having a stepparent, in all but one case, a stepfather. Most of these report that their relationship with their stepparents is neither bad nor close. As a man reports, 'my mother's

husband never displaced my father, he looked after me and my mother. Very good, whatever you want. But I didn't feel a son-father relationship' (Fernando). A woman reports 'I never called him "dad", he was Mr. Nicanor for me. I didn't think he was good for my mother. I knew he wasn't my dad, but he was my idea of a father, because he lived with my mum since I was a little child' (Frances).

Some say they did not get along with their stepfathers. 'I've always wished that we were like the other families, that we were together. But it wasn't like that, and that makes me angry. My mother married someone else. That also makes me angry, since [otherwise] I wouldn't have gone through all the things that I have' (Jessica). By contrast, others say that their stepfather is their real father since he had looked after them as their biological fathers had not. They quote a saying: 'a father is the one who rears, not the one who conceived'. One woman reports, 'for me, my father is Esteban, our stepfather. He raised us since we were very young. I call him 'daddy'. He looked after us. He bought us a TV and duffel coats. He took us to the doctor on his bicycle. He did that, not my father' (Karin).

Some young people say that they were not raised by their parents, but by a relative. This was usually because their mothers had paid work. These young people say that they were looked after by a grandmother, usually on the maternal side. Yet some also mention an aunt or an uncle. They tend to report having had a maternal relationship with their grandmothers. For example, one woman says that her grandmother was like a mother to her, 'my Mummy Rita [grandmother] was everything to me. Since I was born she was like a mother to me. She loved me, she indulged me! We used to live with her and I stayed with her, not with my mother. I slept with her, if I argued with my mother I came to her to complain about my mother. She gave me all the love, all the affection' (Leocadia).

There are, however, exceptions. Another woman reports 'my grandmother raised me since I was a baby. She took me from the hospital, just after I was born. Anyway she wasn't

very loving with me when I was a child [...]. We used to quarrel a lot. I lived with her until I was twelve years old [...]. Every time that I went to my mother's for the weekend, I didn't want to go back to my grandparents. I wanted to stay with my mother' (Verónica).

All in all, participants report their childhood as a difficult time. They miss having had a close and affectionate relationship with their parents. They also say that their parents were heavy-handed. Yet in spite of these recollections, the majority identify their mothers as the most significant person in their childhood. The evidence also shows that families of origin were by no means fixed structures but flexible arrangements, where separation and repartnering were not uncommon. In the next section, I will continue exploring participants' accounts of their parents, focusing on the differing relationships of parents with sons and with daughters.

Sons and Daughters

We nicknamed [my eldest brother] "my mum spoils me" since my mother always gives the best to him. With my younger brother sometimes we cried because of this [...]. Even now she makes his breakfast, something that she doesn't do for my father, and she takes it to him in bed. She also takes his dinner to his bed. Everything is like that! (Leocadia)

To this day, I think I am very *mamón* with my mother and with my partner. I am terribly spoiled; even today I believe I am still like a child. (León)

When my little brothers and sisters started to grow up, I began to be in charge of them, I was twelve years old. In the morning I did the cleaning, cooked, and I bathed them before they went to school. (Jane)

The interviews show that parents relate differently to daughters and sons. Respondents also report birth order affecting their parents' behaviour. The families of origin are relatively large, as both fathers and mothers have an

average of four children (not but not always the offspring of their current partnership; see Appendix 2). The purpose of this section is to analyse how the parents related to their children in terms of gender, birth order, filiation, and race. The aim is to see if differences in parental treatment might be linked to the likelihood of cohabitation.

According to the interviewees, gender is important to their parents. They say that their parents clearly favoured sons over daughters. Parents gave greater privileges to their sons, in particular to their firstborn. One man says, 'since the eldest was also the first son, everything was always for him. Always the best things for the eldest [...]. That the eldest always had precedence over the rest of us left a mark on me. For him everything was "yes, yes, yes", but for the rest of us it was "no!"' (Adrian). Similarly a woman reports, 'we are four sisters and one brother [...]. He is the only son, and he is single, and has no children, so he says "I want this" and my parents buy it for him' (Dalila).

Most say that their mothers always gave the best of everything to their sons. The maternal preference for the son was made clear through material and emotional privileges, such as better food, better clothes, more attention, and intimacy. As one man, the eldest son, reports, 'my mother is very special. She is closer to me. My sisters have always said that I am the favourite of my mother. I have a very good relationship with my mother. I don't know how to explain it to you. We have an excellent relationship' (Albert).

Fathers also favoured sons, for example, by going out with them. However, as the fathers are usually described as being rather distant, the interviewees do not highlight this very often. They say that in the absence of the father, the eldest son was expected to be the man of the house. Albert, who reports having a close relationship with his mother, says: 'I am the male sibling; I am responsible for the house. They made me grow up very quickly. My father was a lorry driver so when he was away, he said to me "you

are the man, you are in charge of everything, of your mother and of your sisters"'. .

It seems that the privileges enjoyed by sons go hand in hand with the obligation to be a surrogate father and partner. The expectation that sons will be surrogate fathers and partners is probably more relevant for mothers. If the father died or deserted the home, mothers would be much more dependant upon their sons to provide for the family.

In addition some young people, men in particular, say that they still feel like children. For them, being an adult did not imply no longer being childlike. They say they are childlike in that they need to be loved, and like to play and to have toys and hobbies. They also admit to being childish in that they cannot stop doing things that they say they feel they should not do, such as partying, drinking heavily, taking drugs, or flirting.

One man observes, 'I believe that you grow up a little bit but you never stop being like a child, because you need someone by your side, someone who loves you. You need that support, or sometimes I want to do stupid things, that I know will make them angry, but I do them anyway [...]. You are born like a child and you die like a child' (Cristián). Likewise, a few young women say they are childlike in that they are immature and stubborn. Moreover, some participants, men in particular, say they are childlike in that they feel closely attached to their mothers. In Chile, a man like this is called *mamón*, metaphorically, a man who still suckles from his mother.

The closeness between mother and sons may be an obstacle to sons making their own families. If sons contribute to the parental home, it is difficult for mothers to let them go. In addition, the mother-son bond can affect the relationship between daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law. As one woman says, '[my partner] is a *mamón*, he is very attached to his mother, he is very close to his mum, he is the only son who behaves responsibly, who's always worked, who has lived with her, who gives to her. When my mother-in-law separated, he became the father

of the house. He is the eldest son, he was the boss in the house. I think I clashed with my mother-in-law because of that' (Frances)

Another man reports that his mother did not like him to have girlfriends as she feared he would leave home. 'My mother was jealous of my girlfriends because I am a man [...]. My mother was always jealous because as a woman she doesn't want to lose her sons' (Adrian). Similarly, another man who lives with his partner and child in the parental home says that his mother is not happy with his plans to move to his own accommodation. 'I would like to have my own house, and not to live with my parents any more. But my old lady doesn't want to let go of me' (León).

In a similar way, daughters are expected to be surrogate mothers. Daughters, in particular the firstborn, should help the mother with housework and childcare. When asked who helped with the domestic chores in the parental home, one woman reported 'me, the woman! Not the men, because they are men. My mother didn't allow my brothers to help, because she and I were at home' (Elaine). Another man says of his eldest sister, 'my sister is ten years older than me, and when I was three, she was thirteen, and she looked after us. When my mother was out at work, my sister took care of us. She woke us up, she gave us our breakfast, and she dressed us' (Cristián). Yet in the case of daughters, their obligations in running the parental home did not give them special privileges. Some say that sometimes the firstborn daughter got more attention and affection from her parents, in particular from fathers. However, it is not possible to identify concrete privileges enjoyed by daughters. A few women also say that they never helped with housework, as their mothers did everything.

The interviewees also say that their parents would differentiate between their biological and non-biological children. Those raised in stepfamilies could not take it for granted that they would be treated similarly to the children born of the new relationship. Suspensions about the real biological father of a child also introduced differences. For example, one woman says she was told by

her paternal grandmother that the man she thought of as her uncle was actually her father. Though the truth was never established, her grandmother treated her badly. As she says, 'my grandmother didn't love me. When I was born, she told my mother that I wasn't the daughter of my father but of my uncle. On my tenth birthday she asked me what I was doing living with my father, because he wasn't my father but my uncle. Since then I have always asked myself "who is my father?" I am pale and my brothers are dark-skinned, so the doubt is there!' (Leocadia).

Similarly, the interviewees report family histories in which the paternity of one parent or grandparent has been kept a secret. These family secrets, in turn, raise concerns of infidelity and illegitimacy that usually lead to discrimination. As one woman reports, 'my grandmother doesn't want to tell my father who his father is. [My father] doesn't know his father. I think the doubt is between two cousins' (Dalila).

Illegitimacy, or being born out of wedlock, can also be a source of parental discrimination among biological siblings. Most of the young people do not report illegitimacy as a reason for being discriminated against by their fathers, even though around a third were born out of wedlock. Respondents born of cohabiting parents say that they were recognised by both their parents. One man, born of a visiting relationship, also says that his father acknowledged him.

Yet the only woman in the study born of a single mother says that her father did not acknowledge her. This woman reports how her father finally recognised her once new paternity legislation was introduced (see Chapter 1). 'My father recognised me only when I was fifteen years old. Before, there used to be two types of birth certificate, one yellow and one green. The yellow one was for children recognised by the father, and the green one for children recognised only by the mother. Then when this new law came in, around that time he called me, saying that he wanted to meet me' (Jane).

Physical appearance is another factor which caused the parents to prefer some of their children over others. The interviewees speak of two main issues here: the similarity to a loved or hated partner, and race or colour. If the parents had separated on bad terms, then the resemblance to the partner who left the home was sometimes a reason for mistreatment. As one woman recalls, '[my father] used to hit me because he said that I looked like my mother' (Danae). The opposite also happened: the loss of a loved partner prompted the projection of that love onto a child who looked like them.

Race or colour is less frequently quoted by the participants, yet it played an important role too. They say that children with blue eyes, blond hair, and white skin were usually preferred not only by their parents, but by everybody. As one woman states, 'my grandmother indulges my mother more than my aunt, because my aunt is brown and my mother is pale-skinned' (Leocadia). Indeed in Chile, as in the rest of Latin America and other parts of the world, light skin is widely held to be a sign of social status. Therefore, the attitudes of the parents of the interviewees are yet another example of widespread racial prejudice.

Finally, the data suggest that the parents gave more attention to their lateborn child. The respondents tend to talk about the youngest sibling, girl or boy, as the spoiled one. According to them, their parents wanted to have a lateborn child, especially a girl, so as to have someone who would look after them as they get older. As one woman says, 'my youngest sister is the last bit that my parents had, so as to look after them as they get old' (Leocadia).

On the whole, the parents of the young people in the study reproduced ingrained patterns of social discrimination in their relationships with their children. They differentiated among their children mainly according to gender, legitimacy, biological as opposed to legal parenthood, and race. Sons were favoured over daughters,

biological children over stepchildren, and light-skinned over dark-skinned siblings. Eventually, these differences may affect how women and men approach making their own families. In the next section I will turn to the influence of the older generations on union formation

Enforced Marriage

My mother got pregnant. Then when I was three months old my grandmother arrived and told my parents "tomorrow you are going to get married, tomorrow you are going to get married!" She brought all the family for the wedding. My parents didn't want to get married. The next day [...] they were married, they had a civil wedding. (Leocadia)

Now people don't care if you don't marry, nowadays it doesn't matter who marries, who lives together. Now it is your problem. (Giovanna)

Fathers never want you to get pregnant, they want you to get married and then to have children, they don't want to have a daughter who is a single mother. (Elaine)

My father didn't say anything. He said that he would support me, that I would pull through, that he would stay by my side. (Dalila)

My mother supports me in not getting married, the mother of my partner too. (Cristián)

Interviewees say that their parents and grandparents were reared in an old-fashioned way (*a la antigua*). They relate that in the past cohabitation was frowned upon, and only marriage was accepted. Parents, fathers in particular, often forced offspring into marriage, if necessary. In this section I explore the reactions of the parents to the decision of the respondents to cohabit. Have parents tried to force them to marry? What role have they played in the young people's decisions to cohabit? These questions are addressed in the following section.

Most parents were formerly married, and some were cohabiting (see Appendix 2). Usually, cohabiting parents could not legally marry because one partner was already married. The grandparents show a similar pattern: most were married, and only a minority lived together without

marrying. Thus it is clear that in cohabiting, interviewees are not reproducing the pattern of partnership passed on by previous generations. In addition, it seems that the marital status of the parents is not related to the decision of the participants to cohabit. However, those whose parents were married more often report that they do not want to get married in the future. By contrast, those whose parents were cohabiting tend to say that they do wish to marry in the future.

According to the respondents, it was not uncommon for their mothers and grandmothers to have been forced to marry. They say that, in previous generations, having sexual relations or being pregnant were the main reasons for a woman being forced to marry. One woman, talking about her grandmother, says, 'my grandma was married, you know, in the old-fashioned way. In past times women were married when they were twelve years old, if they kissed someone, they were told "you have to get married". She was forced to marry when she was around fifteen' (Jane).

Another woman described a similar situation for her grandmother. 'In the past, you were expected to marry when you were twelve years old, that's what my grandmother tells me. She met my grandfather and her parents forced her to marry him. She says that she was just a girl [...]. I don't know how they met, but I do know that they were caught kissing each other and they had to marry the next day' (Karin).

They also say that, in past generations, having sexual relations and being pregnant mean being thrown out into the street. One woman reports what happened to her mother when she became pregnant without being married. 'My mother was five or six months pregnant when her father noticed it and threw her out of the house. He had always said that if he caught my mother or my aunts pregnant they should leave' (Diana).

In addition, they say that sometimes it was not necessary to be caught having sexual relations or discovered to be pregnant in order to be forced to marry. Sometimes the parents just decided on behalf of their

children. As one woman explains, 'my grandmother forced my mother to marry my father. My mother wasn't in love. My two grandmothers were friends. It was like a medieval arrangement between them' (Danae).

Some interviewees report the opposite situation: how in the past, parents sometimes forced couples who were living together without being married to separate. One woman reports this happening to her parents. 'Both families intervened to force them to split up [...]. My mother says that they got along well, that they loved each other a lot but that it finished because my paternal grandmother together with my maternal grandfather separated them' (Verónica).

Interviewees have not been forced to marry, even though they have at least one child with their cohabiting partner. That the majority of the young couples are living in the parental home is further evidence that most parents do not reject their cohabitation. Yet they say that when they got pregnant their parents did try to intervene in their relationship, either encouraging or discouraging marriage.

Most report that their parents reproached them for bearing children, as will be described in the next chapter. But their parents' condemnation did not mean that they pressurised them to get married. Most parents, mothers in particular, are rather wary of marriage, and some openly reject it. Interviewees say that this is because of their own parents' bad experiences of marriage, particularly when they were forced into it. As one woman, whose mother was forced to marry, reports, 'before I had my daughter my mother asked me if we would marry. My mother was forced to marry, that's why she likes the idea of us living together' (Danae).

Yet even when parents have relatively good relationships, they are still cautious about marriage. Parents advise their children to wait and see if their relationship is working out. For example, one woman, who became pregnant when she was nineteen, says 'we thought about getting married when we knew that I was pregnant. But

my mother said that it was too soon, that it would be better if we waited a little bit longer because we were very young, that maybe things wouldn't work out' (Dalila). Another woman describes her mother's view on marriage thus 'why would you want to get married? You are okay like this' (Paulina).

In addition, interviewees state that nowadays there is more tolerance towards cohabitation. Today marriage is not the only accepted way of having a sexual partner. As one woman says, 'nowadays people think in a different way, currently almost everybody lives together first. It is not like in the past, when they used to say "first you marry my daughter, then you can go out with her". Today everybody lives together first, and if it works, it works' (Jessica).

Furthermore, participants assert that today children born outside marriage are less discriminated against. As one woman says, 'before, cohabitation was frowned on by people, but not today. Today there is more tolerance. For example, before, children of single mothers only had the mother's surname, they were discriminated against, but not today [...] now it is better for the children' (Paulina).

Those who say that their parents would like them to get married, say it is only wishful thinking on their parents' part. As one man reports, 'my mother has always told me that she would have liked it very much if I had got married. She has always said so, but I am not really interested' (Fernando). Only a few interviewees say that pregnancy entailed their parents trying to force them to get married. As one man reports, 'I didn't have work, it was terrible for our parents and siblings, they were upset, her mother slapped me, my mother-in-law slapped me. She wanted me to marry her, they really put pressure on me' (Eugenio). Likewise, two women say that their father or maternal uncle opposed them living with their respective male partners instead of getting married to them. These women ran away from the parental home to live with their partners.

To sum up, interviewees have not been forced to marry, and their parents are cautious about marriage. Parents may want to help their children in this regard, as they know from personal experience how difficult is to raise children after separation. Increased tolerance towards cohabitation is also perceived to be a wider phenomenon in Chile today.

SUMMARY

The families of origin of the interviewees have faced great difficulties, and many have ended their original status. Most parents were formerly married, but many separated, and then repartnered. Family disruption was prompted by diverse situations such as affairs, heavy drinking, and domestic violence. Difficult living conditions did nothing to help, and probably much to exacerbate, these problems. A significant number of interviewees reported having a stepparent. Even more reported having stepsiblings. Thus the families of origin were by no means fixed structures but flexible arrangements.

Participants describe their childhood as a difficult time. They remember their relationships with their parents as distant and authoritarian, and they miss having had a close and affectionate relationship. They also say that their parents were heavy-handed. Thus for most of the interviewees, their childhoods were a rather painful memory. Yet they perceive an incipient change towards a less violent, and thus less authoritarian, kind of upbringing. In spite of the distant relationship with their parents, the majority of the interviewees identify their mothers as the most significant person in their childhood.

In relation to union formation, it could be argued that the young people's experiences of family disruption and harsh childhood might prompt a desire to leave the parental home early. In turn, this willingness to leave

soon could be related to their entering into cohabitation instead of marriage. Parents are also portrayed as reproducing social sources of discrimination with their children. Differences due to gender and birth order seem to be relevant for patterns of union formation. Daughters are seen as surrogate mothers, who should help to run the house and to look after younger siblings. In a similar way, sons are treated as surrogate fathers. This means they enjoy special privileges from their mother. The findings also suggest that gender differences may be accentuated in large families. As daughters carry the burden of housework and childcare, they will be particularly keen to leave the parental home. By contrast, sons will be more reluctant because of a closer link with their mother.

The evidence also indicates a change in parental roles related to increased cohabitation. For women of previous generations, premarital sexual intercourse or pregnancy meant forced marriage or being thrown out into the street. Indeed, several mothers of the young people in the study were forced to marry due to pregnancy. Parents are themselves wary about marriage due to their own experiences. Nevertheless most of them believe that young couples with children should live together, whether they are married or not. In practice most offer support to the young couples, consisting of accommodation and financial aid (see Chapter 4). Therefore parents are supporting interviewees in staying together with their partner and children. This parental backing is probably underpinned by the belief that separation could risk the wellbeing of the child and the position of the woman, who would become a lone mother.

Parental tolerance towards cohabitation is facilitated by a perception of increased social acceptance. Social tolerance is more relevant for women than for men, as women have been subjected to tighter sexual control. Thus forced marriage seems to be declining, and so cohabitation is rising. The fact that parents do not force marriage does not however mean that they do not exert any influence on union formation. In the next chapter I explore how the

young people met and started to live together. As we will see, parents are significant actors in the lives of the interviewees both before and after they form a partnership.

Chapter 6 - SEX AND PREGNANCY

Three months after we met I was pregnant, we met in December and in March I was pregnant. He was my first man. It didn't take too long really. (Elaine)

Pregnancy sparks cohabitation. The great majority of young people report pregnancy as the main reason for beginning to live together. The few couples who began to live together before bearing children soon started a family, aside from one couple who had a child after nine years of being together due to infertility problems. Hence pregnancy and cohabitation are intimately connected. If pregnancy prompts cohabitation, then we should pay attention to how the interviewees understand and experience their sexuality. In addition, cohabitation itself might entail a distinctive sexual arrangement, one that involves advantages but also drawbacks. Cohabitation is, therefore, an outcome of particular views about sexuality, and in turn, embodies a distinctive sexual arrangement. Even though sexuality is an intimate matter, in practice it is socially structured.

In this chapter I will explore participants' views of sex, relating these to parental practices of sexual surveillance and the use of birth control. The first section focuses on sexual identities before and after partners live together. The next section deals with courtship, particularly, how courtship was undertaken in a context of parental opposition. Then I move to the issue of contraception, relating it to sexual roles and to state provision of birth control. In the last section I analyse in detail the issue of pregnancy and its relation to cohabitation.

Sexual Arrangements

I didn't want to go to bed with just anyone. My idea is to be with someone forever, I can't go to bed with one person and then another.
(Diana)

Anyway I have had many girlfriends, but did not have a romantic and sexual relationship with all of them, with many it was just a sexual relationship. (Cristián)

Each partnership entails a particular sexual arrangement. Marriage, cohabitation, and dating imply specific sexual scripts that cannot be explained by individual characteristics such as, age, education, religion, or race (Laumann, Gagnon et al. 1994). Views about sexuality, in particular sexual roles, are key to understanding distinctive sexual arrangements. Evidence from developed countries relates cohabitation to a more active and less exclusive sexual arrangement than marriage (Laumann, Gagnon et al. 1994). In this section I explore the young people's views concerning sexuality and their sexual identity, and the issue of sexual exclusivity within cohabiting relationships.

Interviewees say that first impressions are the reason why they were attracted to their partners. Men report that they were drawn to their current partner mainly because of physical attraction, while women to men who made them laugh. Most men, and some women, say that at the beginning, their partner's good looks were what they liked the most. Men say that as they entered a relationship with their current partner, they also began to develop feelings of love and affection. As one says: '[I liked] everything! Herself! I found her so beautiful, I found her so beautiful. Everything starts with the first glance, and then, later on, feelings are born' (Iván).

Most women say that they were initially drawn to their partners because they were funny and amusing. As Paulina says, 'he was cheerful, and affectionate, I didn't have that kind of relationship with my father, my life had been

so monotonous, with him I started to do crazy things, to have a more enjoyable life'. After appearances, some also report being attracted to those who showed what is commonly regarded as good behaviour. Women say that they liked their partner because he was *sano* (healthy), by which they mean men who do not drink alcohol, smoke cigarettes, or consume drugs. Likewise, men say that they liked that their partner was modest or not loose. However, some, women in particular, say having felt attracted precisely because their partner did not display good behaviour. Starting a relationship with a partner who behaved badly was seen as a way to rebel against parents and convention.

Interviewees also mention affinity, friendship, and trust as appealing qualities. As one man says, 'she was like my best friend! She understood me, she was my support, my friend, and that was terrific, that's what I liked about her' (Andrew). Similarly, one woman says, 'he was such a loving person, as a friend, I could trust him, he encouraged me, he gave me good advice [...], so that I would do the right thing. After a while I started to like all that about him' (Diana).

As the couples developed a more intimate relationship, they began to be involved in sexual activity: kissing, petting, and sexual intercourse. Sexual intercourse was a turning point. On average, they report having had their first sexual intercourse when they were 16 years old. Women and men report a similar minimum age of 12 years, and a maximum age of 21 years, for first sexual intercourse. There is only a minimal gender difference in age at first intercourse: men report starting slightly younger than women (at 16.1 and 16.4 years old respectively). This age range at first sexual intercourse is in accordance with national data (see Chapter 1), but the women in the study are slightly younger.

Among the interviewees and their partners, the men are usually slightly older than the women (see Appendix 2). On average, the men are 26, and their corresponding female partners 24, years old. The fact that the men in the sample tend to be slightly older may explain why they are somewhat

more sexually experienced. As many women had no previous sexual experience beyond kissing and petting, they report having learnt almost everything about sex from their current partner. As Giovanna says, 'everything I know about me, about everything, I was taught by my husband [partner]. Everything about the woman's body, how it works'. Other research has reported a similar situation (Raczynski and Serrano 1985).

The fact that men are more experienced is suggested by the fact that they report more sexual partners than women. Most men are living with someone who was not their first sexual partner. By contrast, most women are living together with the man with whom they first had sexual intercourse. Evidence from Chile also shows that young men tend to report more sexual partners than young women (INJUV 2010:table 124).

A few men had their first sexual encounter with their current partner. Two of them say they had been focused on sports throughout their youth, and their social life network came from this. These men reject alcohol and drug abuse, joining a gang, or committing criminal offences. They say that they wanted to find a woman to form a family, and not to have sex with just any woman. Like the women, they relate sexual relations to love and commitment. The study sample also includes four women who did not have their first sexual intercourse with their current partner. Two of them cohabited before, and had sex with that first cohabitee. Another woman had her first sex with her former boyfriend, but then they split up. The fourth woman reports her first sexual intercourse as a one night stand, while she was dating her current partner.

The men say that as teenagers they sought sexual relations with women. In their own words, sexual desire was the driving force of their quest for women. Frequently, they speak of sexual appetite as an urgent need for sexual intercourse, to unload themselves. As teenagers, they just wanted to have some kind of sexual relation, not necessarily sexual intercourse. Thus they did not care about developing long-term relationships. On the contrary,

short-term relationships were useful to meet their sexual needs. As Celio recalls, 'I was just looking for the pleasure; I sought satisfaction for my body. I have had many girlfriends, with all of them I didn't care if we had a good or a bad relationship, I didn't care, as long as I had someone to kiss and to hold'.

By contrast, women tend to see sexual intercourse as a sign of love and commitment. They report that when they had sex for the first time, they expected a loving and lifelong relationship. Elaine, who lives with her first sexual partner, says 'I was drawn to him because he was my first man, if I began my sexual life with him I should stay with him'. Furthermore, they condemn other women who have had many boyfriends, and who like to socialize. Those are loose women, and they make it clear that they are not that sort of woman. It might be that they fear they may be labelled as loose women. As Dalila says of her teenage years, 'I didn't want to be like my friends. I didn't want to be like them, they were with one person after another'.

By comparison, men tend to portray their early youth, as full of revelling, liking to hang out with friends, get drunk, smoke marijuana, and meet girls. As Celio says, 'I went out everywhere. I went wild from the time I was fourteen until I was twenty years old, pure partying! I knew the entire place here, everybody knows me here. I didn't have a particular group of friends, we drank and smoked, sometimes we just went out to hit others'.

For the interviewees, falling in love was crucial in deciding to have a more stable relationship. However, it is not clear when they did fall in love. Usually they report having sexual intercourse with their current partner between two or three months and up to one year after they began to date. So probably the women took between a couple of months and a year to fall in love. By contrast, men see casual sex as an opportunity to enjoy sex without having an intimate relationship. They report that their quest for different women usually ended once they began to have a relatively stable partner. For them, falling in love is probably an outcome of having a regular sexual partner.

Indeed, they say that love enhances sexual pleasure. Consequently, women and men report falling in love at different times. Women tend to fall in love before having sex, men afterwards. So when the women agreed to have sex, they probably had more expectations than men of developing a lasting relationship.

Eventually the women became pregnant and began to cohabit. For men, sex is a key aspect of cohabitation. They say they value that they can sleep with and have sex with their partner. As one says, 'I like living together because you have your woman next to you, warm, every night. We sleep in the same bed. Sometimes you get your scratch [like a lottery scratch card], and you might win or you might have to keep participating!' (León).

Interviewees say that as they began to live together - and more precisely after they had their first child - their sexual life declined. Pregnancy and its aftermath affected their sex lives, and the frequency of sexual intercourse was reduced. The demands of looking after a child contributed to limiting their sexual lives, as having time and privacy became more of a challenge. The fact that most live as *allegados* also makes it more difficult to have opportunities for sex. For example, Andrew complained about how difficult it was not to have sex was for the traditional 40-day abstinence period after birth: 'the quarantine was difficult, a hell of a lot! I had a very active sexual life, flying every day, so imagine the quarantine, it was terrible!'.

By contrast, women barely refer to sex as a significant part of living together. Some are concerned about not meeting the sexual needs of their partner. As Jessica explains about how having a child has affected her sex life with her partner, 'he was very supportive [during pregnancy] but [silence] eh (...) but not in relation to sex, not so much. I made a lot of fuss, always something was hurting me! My head, my tummy, I couldn't sleep. He was upset, but he understood. [When my daughter was born] I was with her all the time, we couldn't carry on with our life as a couple [...]. After three months we tried again, but I

was still feeling bad inside. He began to feel angry, I was worried, I didn't want him to be upset because of that. I made an effort so he would be fine on that level. Now it is not as it used to be, before the girl was born it was around three times a week, now it's twice a month'.

For all the participants, sex is a man's issue, and the focus of it is to meet the man's expectations. Likewise, men are entitled to ask women to meet their sexual needs. Women's reports about their sex life show that they perform a passive role. Neither women nor men refer to women's sexual pleasure. Unsurprisingly, men's orgasm signals full sexual intercourse. Women say they have sex because their partner takes the initiative. Some women complain that they do not want to have sex as often as their partner does. One woman reports that she was raped by her previous cohabiting partner. Some women also say that their mother has told them in confidence that they too were forced to have sex by husbands or partners.

In spite of men's sexual privileges, the interviewees, women in particular, say that cohabitation entails sexual exclusivity. They say that as they live together, they should only have sexual intercourse with their cohabiting partner. As Paulina asserts, 'I don't see myself with another partner [...]. I like fidelity very much'.

However, they acknowledge that sex outside cohabitation attracts less social condemnation, than extramarital sex. As one man says, 'the ones who *conviven* [live together] are freer, they feel freer. She or he can leave because of some prat. It doesn't matter, they are not married. They can leave, and do leave. But the ones who are married can't' (Eugenio). Similarly, Leocadia says, 'if you are married, and he leaves for another woman, he is wrong. He is the one who failed the marriage. We know who is to blame! While with cohabiting couples we don't know. If he went elsewhere, something was wrong. In the same sense I can be attracted to other men and don't have problems!'

The respondents also say that cohabitation, as an informal sexual arrangement, makes it easier to leave an unfaithful partner. Cohabiting couples are not exempt from

breaking up, but if they do, they do not have to go through all the formalities involved in divorce. Divorce is analysed more fully in the following chapter: for present purposes, it is sufficient to underscore that, women cohabitees, particularly, value the lack of formal constraints to them leaving their relationship due to an affair. However, the relatively easy exit from cohabitation brings mixed feelings. On the one hand, uncertainty encourages each partner to care for the relationship. On the other hand, distrust is not helpful for building a loving relationship. Around a third of the young people spontaneously report at least one affair in their current relationship. In two cases the woman reported having had an affair, and in five cases the man did so.

Women are troubled by affairs, even when they were the ones having sex outside of the cohabiting relationship. As Frances reports of her own affair, 'I broke down, and I told him to leave. I have met another person. I had an affair for three months. Then we got back together again'. Similarly, Elaine reports how she felt when she knew that her partner was having an affair. 'I took it badly! I asked, "Why is this happening to myself?" I have always looked after him, everything clean, his clothes ironed, everything. I was the perfect housewife'. By contrast, men who report having had affairs seem to be less troubled by them. For example, Adrian says, 'anyway, I have behaved badly, I have behaved badly, I have had some affairs, but I haven't had any more children'.

To sum up, the participants have a pattern of conventional sexual roles which is intimately related to gender. Men should actively seduce women by being talkative and amusing, whereas women are considered attractive if they are beautiful and modest. For women, sex is a consequence of love or a way of showing love for a particular person, but not an end in itself. By contrast, men talk about sex as a bodily pleasure, and it does not need to imply a romantic or affectionate relationship. Within cohabitation,

men would like to have sex more frequently, and women feel pressured to meet the sexual needs of their partner. Unsurprisingly, for men a key aspect of cohabitation is access to an available sexual partner, whilst women emphasize love and affection.

Simultaneously, it seems that cohabitation is a similar sexual arrangement to marriage. Sexual exclusivity is valued and expected. However, if affairs take place, cohabitees face less social condemnation than spouses would, and it is easier to establish and end cohabitation. The interviewees, especially women, appreciate that they face no legal hurdles, as they would with divorce, in ending a cohabiting relationship. In the next section I explore how participants met their partners and began the relationship which led to cohabitation.

Courtship

My parents didn't allow me to have boyfriends, so I did it in secret.
(Giovanna)

Parents play a significant role in the sexual lives and partnering patterns of their offspring. Parents' influence is particularly relevant in relation to courtship and dating. In the following sections, I look at participants' accounts of their parents' attitudes and actions in relation to dating.

Most interviewees say that their youth began when they were around 14 or 15 years old, and many date it to the beginning of secondary schooling. Secondary education in Chile starts when children are aged 14, and lasts for four years. At school, young people have privileged opportunities to meet peers and be free of parental control. Thus many report that starting secondary school

was the moment which signalled the end of childhood and the beginning of youth. Elaine says, when asked when she ceased being a child, 'when I started the secondary. There I met older people, I couldn't be a little girl any more; for them, little girls were silly [...]. That was where I learnt how to put on makeup, how to wax my eyebrows, I had to learn! I met boys there'.

As teenagers, the participants began to look forward to meeting people of the opposite sex. Yet at the same time, most report that their parents opposed them developing any kind of romantic or sexual relationships. Women report stronger parental supervision than men. They say that their parents limited opportunities for them to go out. Their parents did not allow them to date, wanted them to be home early, and resisted or even forbade them to have boyfriends or girlfriends.

Paulina reports how her father tried to stop her from relating to men. 'I wasn't allowed to go to parties [...]. My father was overanxious, he didn't want me to have boyfriends [...]. Later on when I started secondary school, he didn't allow me to go to a school away from our area, because he didn't want me to have to take a bus, because buses are cramped, and someone could grope you'. Similarly, Leocadia reports being beaten after she was discovered kissing her boyfriend. 'That was the first time that I fell in love. I fell in love with him and we started petting in the square, but I was seen by a friend of my Mum's, who told her, then I was given a hiding!'

Parental control is less frequently reported by men, but is nonetheless not irrelevant. For example, Andrew reports that until he did his military service, when he was eighteen, he was under his father's harsh rule. 'My father marked my youth, because I lived with him until I left for military service. I couldn't go to parties, I couldn't go out with my friends'. Another man, who was born in the countryside, says 'you know how parents are in the countryside; they don't allow you to have girlfriends' (Mauricio).

In spite of parental control, most interviewees report having had many brief relationships, usually involving kissing and petting, but not necessarily sexual intercourse. They call this kind of relationship *pololeo*, and so kissing and petting are commonly referred to as *pololear*. Yet *pololear* could also involve sexual intercourse. For example one woman, who reports that her parents did not allow her to go out, says 'when I was fourteen I started secondary school, I stopped seeing my friends from the street. I grew further apart from my girlfriends because I met men, I was *pololeando*' (Giovanna). Similarly the man born in the countryside, who also reports strict parental control, says 'my youth was good, all the time I was just *pololeando*, I didn't care about anything, I just wanted to be with my girlfriend' (Mauricio).

Consequently, parental control has not generally been successful in preventing sexual contact between young women and men. On the contrary, parental supervision promoted eroticized gender relations. Indeed, daily life is permeated by eroticized gender relations in the neighbourhoods where my study took place. Groups of young men are commonly on the streets, talking, drinking, and smoking marijuana or freebase cocaine. They flirt with every young woman who passes by, in more or less pleasant ways. Thus many women prefer to stay at home, or to go out accompanied by friends or relatives, to avoid walking the streets alone.

Accounts suggest that what parents really opposed was young people having premarital sex. This parental opposition means that dating was typically forbidden. Therefore, young people could usually only develop romantic relationships in secret. As one woman recalls, 'my Mum didn't want anything to do with him [...] my family didn't let me stay with him, [...] I had to run away from home to see him. He called from his mobile, and I said I was going to see a friend and thus we were able to meet' (Dalila). Another woman describes a similar scenario. 'I didn't have freedom to go out, my mother didn't let me go out, but I

did it anyway. I had so many problems at home because I was seeing him, I wasn't allowed to go out with him, but I did it anyway, in secret' (Jessica).

If the parents did not relinquish control, the young people were forced to flee the parental home in order to have a partner. As the women were supervised by parents to a greater extent, they were the ones most likely to desert the family home. As Paulina says, 'we ended our relationship because of my mother, we had lots of trouble because of her, she didn't let us stay together. So we continued seeing each other, but in secret, because it was so much trouble, until I took the decision to leave so I could live with him'. Jane says similarly, '[there was] just trouble all the time, my mother didn't want to see him in the house, arguments every time, so I ran away, and we went to live with his Dad'.

Yet in many cases parents eventually softened, and allowed their children to have a partner. It seems that the key issue for being allowed to date was that the man should get permission from the woman's parents. Adrian explains, 'at the beginning we saw each other in secret, when she went shopping we met in the corner. Then I talked to her mother, [...] I told her that I wanted to date her daughter. Her mother said that I should look after her and should not do grown up things. I was eighteen and she was fourteen'. One woman also reports 'we were seeing each other in secret from my parents, my parents never met my boyfriends. He went to talk with my father, it was something more serious, it was a month after we had started seeing each other. After they talked, everything was okay' (Elaine).

A few even report that their parents eventually allowed their partner to stay and to sleep at the parental home. As Dalila, who initially reported that she was not allowed to have boyfriends, says, 'I never had official boyfriends, the father of my son was the only one who I introduced to my parents [...] when we had been together for six months, my mother gave permission to him to sleep over here, in the living room'.

Men were less controlled than women. Most say they were allowed to go out. As one man says, 'I never asked my parents' permission to go out, I just let them know... I wasn't like my eldest sister. If she wanted to go out my mother, my father or both of them had to give her their consent. Instead, I said "I'll be back tomorrow, at sunrise"' (Albert). Thus men tend to recall their youth as a good time, when they were free to do as they pleased. Some men say that they were involved in more unruly activities, such as consumption of harder drugs (typically, freebase cocaine), gang fights, and criminal activities including shoplifting and mugging.

Although women were subjected to closer parental control, finding a partner was very important for them. They say that if they had not been able to find a partner they would have had to continue living in the parental home. Family relations were often strained, and daughters were regularly expected to help with housework and childcare. Unsurprisingly, the women wanted to leave so as to have their own lives, and to be free from parental control. The desire to leave was stronger when family relations were very conflicted and when young women felt they were not allowed any kind of autonomy.

One woman says 'the best thing I could do was to leave to live with my partner. It was good to leave my parents' home (...) they were always arguing, my father was drunk every weekend (...) I did it because I wanted to be more independent; they allowed me so little freedom' (Giovanna). Another woman says 'I just started to go out when I began to live with my partner... only then I did have freedom!' (Paulina).

Strict parental control, in particular over young women, promoted eroticized gender relations. The parents of participants tried to limit opportunities to relate with the opposite sex. Parental opposition to premarital sex made it difficult for young people to date or to develop open or visible long-term premarital sexual relationships. Thus the interviewees, women in particular, tried to make

the most of their limited chances to find a partner. Most respondents say they started a relationship soon after seeing someone a few times. Sexual relations usually began not long afterwards. In the next section I explore how these people have managed their sexuality in relation to contraception.

Contraception

We looked after ourselves with Tina [his partner], though sometimes we
didn't! (Cristián)

I was looking after myself with the pill, but I stopped it for a few
days, and then I got pregnant. (Paulina)

I used it [a condom] once with her, the third time we had sex, but I
didn't like it, and neither did she. (Albert)

I had my first sexual intercourse when I was fifteen years old. We
never looked after ourselves, I couldn't take the pill because we did
it in secrecy. We couldn't buy condoms because we were very young, we
felt embarrassed. (Danae)

I am one hundred percent against abortion! (Diana)

Modern contraception offers the opportunity to choose in advance whether or not to have children, how many to have, and their timing. All the interviewees have had at least one child with their current partner. As they began to have sex, they had to deal with the possibility of pregnancy. Contraception was a challenging matter. Before having sexual intercourse, they needed to agree on whether to practise birth control, then they need to obtain it and, finally, to use it correctly. Here I focus on contraception, as this helps us to understand the participants' approach to sexual intercourse and pregnancy. Their beliefs about sex and pregnancy will in turn shed light on their views about cohabitation.

Most report having used some method of contraception before bearing their first child, although a significant number

had never used any method of birth control. The pill and condoms were the most common methods of contraception for pre-cohabiting sex. A few also indicate *coitus interruptus*, and some say they used a combination of methods, typically a condom and the pill. It should be noted that *coitus interruptus* is probably underreported because it was not referred to as a method of contraception.

By comparison with other data (INJUV 2010), the participants show low levels of use of contraception as teenagers. Slightly more than half report using contraception prior to cohabitation. Other national data from Chile on contraception use among young people shows take-up at around 70 percent among those with completed secondary education. Levels are lower among those from socioeconomic group D, and for teenagers.

In addition, most interviewees report an inadequate use of birth control methods for pre-cohabiting sex. Almost half report irregular use, and only around a third reported always using contraception. But even they probably did not use it correctly, as the women eventually became pregnant. By contrast with these low and irregular levels of use of contraception for pre cohabiting sex, the take up of contraception became more widespread and probably more effective for post-pregnancy sex. Indeed, all interviewees expect three (cases in which the woman is currently pregnant) report using some method of birth control in their current cohabiting relationship. The most typical method of contraception for cohabiting sex is the intrauterine devices, IUD, followed by use of the pill and condom. A few people report simultaneously using IUDs, condoms, and the pill. This data on cohabiting contraception is consistent with other data from Chile (Schiappacasse, Vidal et al. 2003). For users of the state health system, in 2001 IUDs accounted for almost 60 percent of users, followed by contraceptive pills at 30 percent.

The evidence from the present study suggests that interviewees' usage of contraception changed radically after the women become pregnant. It seems that pregnancy is the turning point in relation to contraception use. After

pregnancy, all say they are using contraception. How can we account for this transition from significant, but inadequate, use of contraception, to universal and more effective use?

Interviewee reports show that obtaining contraception for pre cohabiting sex was challenging. They faced three main difficulties. The first is related to privacy, the second to cost, and the third to professional advice. Particularly for the women in the study, it was crucial to have confidential access to contraception. As they often had to date in secret, they were wary about being discovered obtaining contraception. Local doctor's surgeries did not offer privacy, and so most bought contraception in pharmacies. As one woman says, 'I never looked after myself. I thought about going to a chemist, not to the surgery, because if you go there you have to wait for hours and everyone can see you!' (Dalila). Most men bought condoms in pharmacies, and a few got them in the local surgery. Available data (INJUV 2010: figure 122) confirms that young people in Chile overwhelmingly tend to go to pharmacies for contraceptives for their first experience of sexual intercourse.

By contrast with their pre-cohabiting experiences, after having their first child all couples obtain contraception from surgeries. After pregnancy, privacy is no longer an issue. It is easier for surgeries to target contraception at women after pregnancy, as women attend prenatal and postnatal health checks. Family planning is usually offered and discussed during postnatal checks.

Cost was another difficulty. Those who obtained contraceptives in pharmacies had to pay for them. The problem is that they did not always have enough money. As one man recalls, 'sometimes we ran out of money, when you are younger, your hormones want you to be fucking the whole day, and then you run out of condoms' (Fernando).

In principle, surgeries provide contraception for free, yet some women report that this is not always the case. These women refer to contraceptive injections. One points out that at her local surgery she had to pay for

these, and she became pregnant at a time when she did not have money to buy them. As she observes, 'I tended to forget to take the pill, so I asked [in the surgery] to be given the injection, and so I had the injection every month. I had to buy this injection, but for two or three months I didn't have cash to buy it, and then I got pregnant' (Frances). Another woman reports, 'this month there weren't any [injections] in the surgery and we don't have [money] to buy them. In the surgery they don't care at all, so this month I haven't had an injection' (Diana).

A third problem in getting contraception was that, as teenagers, they lacked good health advice on sexuality and reproduction. Most report incorrect use of contraceptive methods such as the pill and condoms. In addition, some have wrong ideas about birth control methods. For example, one woman refused to use condoms because she feared that they could get stuck inside her (Danae). I did not ask them directly about sources of information about contraception, but it seems that friends and schools are the main sources of advice. As one woman says, 'my mother never talked about sexuality with me, but in the school they teach you' (Elaine).

The fact that most interviewees got contraception for pre cohabiting sex in pharmacies did not help them to improve their knowledge of available contraceptives. Lack of expert advice meant that they might buy unsuitable methods, or even use no contraception at all. One woman reports 'I used to buy contraceptive pills. But when we went to a pharmacy the woman gave me pills for the menopause instead of contraceptive pills. They made me feel bad, and they didn't work' (Diana). There is other evidence from Chile that links poor contraception usage by teenagers with lack of access to good health advice (Fétis, Bustos et al. 2008).

The interviewees relate condoms almost exclusively to contraception, and not to the prevention of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs). Most say that, during pre cohabiting sex, they considered the chance of catching STDs. None of those who report using condoms however say

they did this to avoid STDs. The only STD that they mention is Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). This is in accordance with other Chilean data (INJUV 2010: table 129). The participants only find out if they have a STD when they get pregnant and have prenatal health checks.

Their views on sex also contribute to their low and irregular use of contraception for pre cohabiting sex. Women say they were reluctant to use contraceptives as it would have implied that they were not in love, and that they just wanted to have sex. For example, Frances says she did not use contraception the first time she had sexual intercourse, as she was in love. But then she decided to use contraceptives with her current partner, since at the beginning she was not in love. She reports, 'with the first one I was deeply in love, that's why I think I didn't look after myself. But with Samuel [current partner] I wasn't in love at the beginning, so we started to look after ourselves even before we had sexual relations. When we started touching I went to see doctor to ask for contraceptives'.

Trust in the partner is also cited, by women in particular, as another reason for avoiding contraception in pre-cohabiting sex. Many women say that they trusted that their partners would look after them. As one woman reports, 'I have no idea how he did it, but supposedly he was looking after me, I never looked after myself! I didn't take anything, the pill, nothing. He didn't look after himself either, no condom, nothing! He said to me, "you are not going to get pregnant, I'm going to look after you"' (Leocadia). Some men make a similar point, one recalling, 'she told me that she was looking after herself [...] I didn't use anything because I trusted her' (Pedro).

Men are reluctant to use condoms since they see these as a threat to their sexual pleasure and performance. Negative male views about condoms are not restricted to pre cohabiting sex, but are also present in cohabiting sex. As one man reports, 'I didn't like condoms, they are uncomfortable, I knew that it was essential to use them, but it couldn't be, I didn't like them!' (Eugenio).

Unsurprisingly, men do not reject methods of female contraception that do not affect their performance, such as IUDs or contraceptive pills, injections, or implants.

Interviewees also indicate a strong resistance to abortion. One man, Ernesto, reports an abortion, which he condemned. According to him, the abortion was performed by an aunt of his partner without him knowing. Rejection of abortion is in accordance with public opinion in Chile (see Chapter 1).

A few women say that their mothers encouraged them to use contraception for pre-cohabiting sex. These women say that their mothers offered to get contraception for them. One woman says that her mother volunteered to buy the pill for her, and another that her mother took her to see a doctor. 'My mother started to look after me. I was spending too much time with my boyfriend, so she talked to me and took me against myself to see the doctor. I was fourteen' (Jessica).

To sum up, the young people in the study did not practise effective birth control for pre-cohabiting sex. They did not have strong incentives for using contraception correctly, and they did not get support from the health system. Hence pregnancy is likely to occur sooner rather than later in their lives. The focus of the next section is their experiences of, and following, pregnancy.

Expecting a Child

It wasn't unwanted, but it wasn't planned either. (Celio)

We were expecting it, because we didn't look after ourselves to avoid getting pregnant. If I'd've got pregnant and he'd've said beforehand that we should look after ourselves, I would've been worried. But since we never looked after ourselves, it was as if we wanted it and didn't at the same time. We wanted it, but not straightforwardly. (Elaine)

When I first learnt that she [my partner] was pregnant I felt an incredible happiness, then I thought "this is the woman with whom I am going to stay forever. If God gave me a child with her, there must be a reason". (Iván)

When asked about expecting a child, almost all the interviewees say that the pregnancy took them by surprise. They claim that they did not plan it, and many say it happened because of ineffective contraception. Data from Chile show that 60 percent of young people who experience pregnancy as teenagers report it as unplanned (INJUV 2010: figure 179). Data from the same source shows that unplanned pregnancy is reported more frequently by women and by those in low socioeconomic groups (2010: table 275).

Yet nowadays, when contraceptives are available, it is difficult to believe such high figures for unplanned pregnancy. Even in the case of those interviewees who faced difficulties in obtaining contraception, it seems improbable. In this section I analyse their accounts of becoming pregnant, and of how pregnancy is related to cohabitation. As we will see, they are probably telling the truth in as much as they did not plan the pregnancy; but that is not the same as saying that they did not expect it.

Most interviewees began to live together because of pregnancy or childbirth, and a few women who were not expecting a child at the time when they began to cohabit soon became pregnant. On average, the participants were 16 years old when they had their first sexual intercourse, with no significant differences by gender. Yet women were younger than men when their first child arrived: on average women and men were aged 19 and 22, respectively. Female interviewees got pregnant around two years after their first sexual intercourse, a shorter time span than that reported in other data from Chile (see Chapter 1). By contrast, male interviewees impregnate their partners around five years after their first experience of sexual intercourse. Therefore, the women in my study who begin to have sex will get pregnant rather soon. They also got

pregnant at a similar age to their mothers. Thus it seems that they are following a pattern of early pregnancy.

Men's data concerning age at first sexual intercourse and at first birth of a child is rather inconsistent. Male interviewees report irregular use of contraception for pre-cohabiting sex. Men also report a more active sexual life, involving more sexual partners. Yet they had their first child later than women. One possibility is that they are exaggerating their sexual experience, in particular the number of sexual partners. Indeed, it is well documented that men tend to overstate their sexual experience, while women tend to understate it (Laumann, Gagnon et al. 1994). It could also be that men used contraception more frequently than they acknowledge, in particular for casual sex.

Although participants say that they did not plan to get pregnant, the majority state that they wanted to have children with their partner. Almost all women say they wanted to have children. The only woman who did not say so has a medical condition which means that she would have a high-risk pregnancy. By contrast, most men say they were not looking forward to having children. Another indication that the interviewees, particularly the women, were looking forward to pregnancy is that around a half say they had previously talked as a couple about having children. These people say that pregnancy was suggested either by the woman, or the man, or by both. However, some interviewees who did not talk about the possibility of pregnancy say there was a tacit agreement that having children was to be expected. As Giovanna explains, 'we never talked about that matter, but we knew. We never talked openly, we just didn't talk about it. But we both knew that I would get pregnant, and we both wanted it'.

Nevertheless, to have talked about wanting to have children does not mean that they had a thorough agreement. They report a willingness to have children, but not having planned it. As Leocadia recalls, 'one day he said to me "do you want to have a child with me?" I said, "I don't know, I have to think about it (...) all right, let's have a child!"

It didn't take me too much time to think about it! [laughing]'. They do not refer to discussions about what they would do if they did get pregnant. Nor did they talk about a need to meet certain goals as couples before having children, such as having enough income, living in their own accommodation, or improving the quality of their relationship.

Their reports show that they had good reason to have children. They looked forward to having children because they wanted to have something of their own. Besides, if they had children their parents, peers, and community would begin to see them as adults. Having children means no longer living under parental authority, and it provides social status and recognition. In short, they wanted to have children in order to become someone. As one man explains about why his partner wished to become pregnant, 'she wanted to have a child, because she wanted to have something of her own. At her age, in her home, she didn't have anything of her own! She didn't have anything, also she didn't have a 'voice or vote'. She always wanted to have something of her own, and what is more yours than a child?' (Cristián).

Social expectations, family and peer pressure also encouraged the interviewees to have children. According to the interviewees, the expected age for childbearing is around the end of secondary school. Indeed, most had become pregnant by that time. So when the interviewees, women in particular, finished school, they began to feel that they should have children. Elaine, who had her first sexual intercourse when she was 21, reports that she wanted to catch up with her female friends. 'He [her partner] used to say to me that all his friends had children, and that he was the only one with no children, just like me! I told him that all my girlfriends had children and that I was the only one left with no children!'

Women also report wanting to have children as a source of affection, and as an antidote to loneliness. Some say that they were looking to have children to stave off feelings of loneliness. One says, 'I felt lonely. I have

always felt lonely! Always. Even when I was with my partner or with my mother. I had a void, and I wanted to fill it. I wanted to look after someone else, which was mine and also from him, what else then?' (Jessica). Similarly, others wished to have a big family, so as to always have company, especially when they were elderly. Moreover, women say having children was an attempt to discipline their partners. They believed that pregnancy would help to discourage their partners from going out, partying, flirting, and so forth. As I will show later, most men report that having children was a turning point in their lives.

Slightly more than a half of the men claim not to have wanted children, but this does not mean that they rejected becoming fathers. To begin with, men confer great symbolic significance to pregnancy. Most say that impregnating a woman, in a context of a more or less serious relationship, meant that she was the chosen one for them. As one man says, 'with her, before she was pregnant, I didn't know if I wanted to stay forever with her [...]. Later, when she got pregnant, I told to myself "this is it! This is my future!"' (Mauricio).

All the men who did not plan to have children say that eventually they changed and were happy with the eventuality. It seems that being involved in health checks, particularly scans; and in accompanying their partner's labour, contributed to changing their attitudes. The state health system has only recently allowed fathers to be present during labour and at pregnancy health checks. As one man explains, 'it was difficult when I knew. My first reaction was to reject it. But then, her tummy began to grow and I started to feel something for her tummy, I began to love that tummy. Then, for the first scan, when I saw my daughter on the screen, I cried. I looked at the screen, and I cried. It was so beautiful. It was the most beautiful thing I have ever experienced' (Fernando).

Even though women more frequently report that they wanted to get pregnant, they were also extremely ambivalent. Most say they looked forward to becoming

mothers, but at the same time, they worried about the consequences. If they got pregnant they would be challenging their parents' authority, and risked being thrown out of the parental home. If they were rejected by their parents, they would become dependent on their male partner. They were worried about this dependency, as they doubted their abilities as providers. Although women were looking forward to getting pregnant, in doing so they risked breaking with their parents and losing what little security they had.

The ambivalence experienced by women faced with the possibility of becoming pregnant is illustrated by the following account. 'He said to me that he wanted to have a child with me. I told him 'later'. Anyway, I don't think it was really a mistake because if I didn't look after myself it was obvious that I would get pregnant. So it was as though the two of us wanted it. I thought, "OK, if I get pregnant, I get pregnant", but then I thought, "but I can't! What I'm going to do! What are they going to say at home?"' (Dalila).

Women were right to be worried about becoming pregnant. The great majority recall their pregnancy as a difficult time, and, on the whole, as a rather negative experience. By contrast, almost all men report pregnancy mainly as a positive experience. For most women, being pregnant was hard, because their parents condemned it. As Dalila says, 'I took a pregnancy test, it didn't take a minute. I wanted to die. I was hiding behind the door crying, kneeling on the toilet crying. My mother cried and cried and cried. She said how could I betray her? [...]. My mother didn't talk to me, I didn't eat in the whole day. My mother didn't talk to me again for six days. She wanted to kill my boyfriend'.

Getting pregnant was a source of conflict with parents, fathers in particular. Most interviewees say that at the beginning, the woman's parents were upset, and opposed the relationship. However, parental opposition decreased if men assured their fathers-in-law that they would not desert the daughter and would provide for the new

family. As one man recalls, 'at the beginning it was a disaster, when we told her parents that she was pregnant, especially because of my father-in-law [...]. But it was only once, then we talked, and everything was sorted out. He was afraid that I would leave her on her own' (Adrian).

As relationships in the parental home were often strained, a pregnancy provided another source of tension. As one woman recalls, 'since my husband [her partner] was working, I stayed at home with my mother, quarrelling. I almost had a miscarriage because I was so stressed. Lots of arguments with my father, he drank a lot and reproached me because of my pregnancy' (Giovanna).

In addition to problems with their parents, the women were anxious about their partners. They expected them to get a job to provide for the coming baby, and that they would stop going out and partying. But for the young men that was not an easy change, and many continued partying as usual. As one woman says, 'during my pregnancy I was lonely. I don't know if it was his instinct or what, because every day he needed to go out at night. He went out to drink. All day I was alone because he worked, and then, at night, he went out with his friends and bye, bye!' (Leocadia). Unsurprisingly, many women report having felt abandoned by their parents and by their partners during their pregnancy.

Pregnancy was less difficult for the young men. With a few exceptions, it was not a turning point in their lives. Although some began to worry about how to provide for the mother and child-to-be, and had to deal with their fathers-in-law, it was not until the baby was born that they had to do something about it. In the meantime, most dreamed about becoming a father, and carried on enjoying their lives as young, single men. One man says '[my partner] turned into a real pest. She wanted me to stop smoking weed, to stop going out, she wanted me to do as she told me. But I couldn't stop being myself [...]. While she was pregnant she cried a lot because of the weed. But she chose me, and she knew that I love to smoke weed!' (Cristián).

To sum up, the accounts of how couples came to expect children suggest that men, but especially women, were looking forward to having children. They see children as their opportunity to have something of their own, to be emancipated from the parental home, and to gain affection and social recognition. As the interviewees were involved in a relatively stable relationship, pregnancy was expected, but not planned. Irregular use of contraception is probably related to this underlying willingness to have children. Pregnancy was experienced by the young women as a difficult time. Young people began to live together soon after getting pregnant. The following chapter focuses on interviewees' lives once they had begun to cohabit.

SUMMARY

Participants hold conventional or essentialist views on sexuality. Men are seen as sexually active; women as rather passive, and focused on affection. As sex is driven by men, sexual practices are structured so as to meet male demands. Women and men conceive of sex as a natural need which is closely linked to reproduction. The parents of the interviewees also exhibit a similar understanding of sexuality. Sex and contraception are additionally considered subjects to be avoided. Interviewees avoided discussing them either with partners or parents.

Parents rejected the idea of premarital sex, especially for women, and so they limited or forbade dating. Parental rejection of premarital sex also meant that most interviewees had to date in secret, which made obtaining contraception difficult. Women were also reluctant to use contraceptives, as this would have implied that they were loose women. They expected the man to be responsible for preventing pregnancy. Yet men were not keen on contraception, as they dislike condoms. Officially, birth control policies are moreover focused on married

mothers, meaning that interviewees found it difficult to access contraception and qualified health advice during their teenager years. Unsurprisingly, once the young people began a relatively stable relationship, they became pregnant rather soon.

Deciding to have sex was harder for women than for men, as it implied a greater possibility of breaking with their families of origin. Furthermore, as women tended to relate sex with love and trust, they expected a long lasting relationship, and were not willing to use contraceptives. However, if pregnancy occurred and the relationship did not last, they would have borne the burden of being lone mothers. Thus when the young women decided to have sex, the stakes were higher and the risk greater.

The interviewees had good reasons for wanting to have children. Having children was seen as providing emancipation from the parental home, affection, and social recognition. It also enabled the interviewees to have a regular sexual partner. As women were subjected to more parental control, and were not usually involved in paid work (see Chapter 4), they had stronger reasons for wanting to have children. The participants' social conditions did not, either, offer higher education or better quality jobs if parenthood was postponed (see Chapter 4). Accordingly, although pregnancy was not planned, it was not unexpected either. The participants could not have children in a visible and planned way, as they did not have the wherewithal to do so. This would have required informed access to contraception, and the possibility of having premarital sexual partners tolerated by parents.

Even though interviewees wanted to have children, they had to deny their responsibility for this eventuality, so as to deal with parental and social condemnation of premarital pregnancy. Irregular use of contraception is probably an example of this. If interviewees could claim to have become pregnant because of ineffective contraceptives, they would face less disapproval than if they had simply taken no measures. Indeed, one woman reports how she lied to her stepfather about getting pregnant, claiming

ineffective contraception, so as not to be cast out of the house.

Although women were particularly willing to have children, once they got pregnant they faced more difficulties. As they were allowed less autonomy by their parents, pregnancy meant a bigger break with parental authority. They had to endure not only their parents' disapproval, but also anxiety about their partner's level of commitment and capacity to provide for the child to come. Pregnancy was consequently a harsh experience for them.

Interviewees see cohabitation as a similar sexual arrangement to marriage, inasmuch as both are expected to involve sexual exclusivity. Yet affairs are somewhat less condemned for cohabiting couples, who also face fewer restrictions in leaving their relationship. Thus increased tolerance to sexual affairs comes at the price of being in a more fragile partnership. In a context of predominantly conventional gender roles, women might endure rather than value cohabitation's decreased sexual exclusivity. In Chapter 7, I will explore how the young people experience cohabitation as a daily practice and in relation to issues of power.

Chapter 7 - LIVING TOGETHER

You don't need to sign a legal document to be together, because we are a family without having signed any legal document. We wanted to live together, and to have our own things. (Celio)

I think that *convivir* and to be married are the same, there is no difference. Marriage is just paperwork, that's the difference, the marriage papers. Getting married will bring trouble, because tomorrow you might want to separate, because we are still young, and she will start, "I'm going to sue you for this and that". So no, I don't choose to be married with papers. (Adrian)

I look at my folks, and then I look at ourselves [me and my partner], and the only difference that I see are the years and the wedding. (Fernando)

We've thought about getting married, I've told him "let's get married". He says yes, but that he wants to give me a beautiful wedding party. (Verónica)

I would like to have both, a civil and a church wedding, but the church wedding is more difficult. I don't think we could have a church wedding for the time being, because you need more money, because of the wedding dress. (Diana)

Marriage is on the horizon for the interviewees. As marriage is the prevalent arrangement for sexual intercourse and procreation, they will at some point have to consider it. Some say that cohabitation is so similar to marriage that there is no need to get married. For others, cohabitation is the opposite of marriage, as it is based on love and not on social conventions. These views about marriage and cohabitation have specific origins. In order to have a better understanding of the views of participants concerning cohabitation and marriage, it is necessary to study the context from which these opinions originate.

This chapter focuses on the participants' cohabitation experiences. The purpose of exploring their experiences of living together is twofold. Firstly, it will shed light on what this form of partnership entails, so as to identify its distinguishing features. Secondly, if we become acquainted with their experiences of *convivir*, then we will be in a better position to understand their views about

cohabitation and marriage. Furthermore, we need to analyse these experiences of cohabitation if we wish to grasp why some interviewees are looking forward to getting married, whereas others are not.

I will begin by looking at the interviewees in relation to their partners. I focus on the backgrounds of both interviewee and partner, and on how these might affect their partnership. I analyse their accounts of the difficulties in their relationship, as well as their reasons for being together. In the second section, I will pay attention to the impact of having children. Most of this analysis will be centred on the women, since having children is a particular turning point for them. Then I will study gender relations within the relationship, especially in connection to issues of power. I explore discourses around power and access to sources of power. The chapter ends by identifying the main discourses shaping interviewees' ideas about cohabitation and marriage, and their decisions to wed or not. These discourses are analysed in relation to the findings of previous sections, so as to shed light on the underlying conditions which might influence them.

Couples

The best thing in our relationship is that we truly love each other. Our son is our fruit and he unites us even more. I think that with my partner we have a real relationship. We are not together because she got pregnant! No, it is because we are really in love with each other and we want to form a family. (Cristián)

I am still in love with him, but not as I used to be. I don't know if what I feel now could be called to be in love. I don't know. (Jessica)

We are still together because of the children [silence], if there weren't children I don't know if we would be together. (Jane)

The participants have been living together for five years, with a minimum of one and a maximum of twelve years. Around

a third of the sample had been cohabiting for more than a year but less than three years. Another third had cohabited for between three and six years, and the remaining third for seven to twelve years. The majority reported having a good relationship with their partner, but women were less satisfied than men. All the men except one claimed they had a good relationship with their partner, whereas only slightly more than half of the women reported a good relationship.

When asked about what keeps them together, most of the men mentioned love, trust, and companionship. Indeed, many men explicitly state that it is their love as a couple, and not their children, that keeps them together. As one man observes: 'the affection, the love that we have for each other [...]. We can't say that we are together because of the kid. It is because we are fond of each other and we get along well' (Ernesto). For others, women in particular, having children is something that enhances their love for their partner. As Giovanna says: 'love and the children. We love each other a lot, and even more now because we have two children'.

However, a few say that they are not in love. They say that they are together because of their children. As one man says, 'my children, sometimes we have arguments and I've thought about leaving everything, but my children stop me' (Adrian). Similarly, some women say they do not want to leave their partner, in spite of the problems, because that would entail returning to their parental home. Elaine, who once left her partner because he had an affair, says 'we were separated for a month, but I didn't want to live in my Mum's house any more. I've got used to living by myself. My Mum didn't allow me to go out, there I had to be all day at home with my daughter'.

Even though most interviewees, men especially, say they are in a good relationship, they report various difficulties. Economic hardship is the most common problem they face, but affairs, heavy drinking, domestic violence, and the use of illicit drugs also feature. Unsurprisingly, given their differing levels of satisfaction in their

relationships, women tend to report more difficulties than do the men. There are also gender-based differences in the type of problem reported. Men mainly refer to economic hardship, whereas women refer to affairs and domestic violence.

To better understand these problems, we should analyse other variables which might affect participants' relationships. Around a fifth of their own families are stepfamilies, a factor which brings fresh complexity to their relationships. As one woman says, 'at the beginning it was difficult because he didn't accept my son. He used to give him the cold shoulder and played more with his own son. It was difficult, we argued. I told him that he should be the same with both of them. When we began to live together, we did it knowing that each of us had a son, so he should be the same with both of them' (Verónica).

Socio-economic backgrounds also influence relationships. Most interviewees have completed secondary vocational education, even though a significant number left school early. Most of the men are in paid work, usually in unskilled manual jobs. They are the main providers, whereas women are most commonly housewives. In terms of age, within the mid-20s average, the men are slightly older than the women (see Appendix 2 for the main characteristics of the interviewees and of their partners).

I also collected data on religion and political affiliation (see Appendix 2). Around a half of the interviewees describe themselves as Catholics, some are evangelical Protestants, and some profess no religion. Women are more religious than men, as more say they are either Catholic or evangelical Protestant, and fewer have no religion. Both the overall distribution in terms of religious affiliation, and the more pronounced religiosity on the part of women, accord with other studies (ICSO 2008).

In relation to political affiliation, a third say they support the centre-left coalition *Concertación*; a third, the centre-right coalition *Alianza*, and the final third report no political affiliation. More women support the

Concertación, whereas men preferred the *Alianza*. It should be noted that, at the time of the study, the *Concertación* was in power and Chile had a female president for the first time in its history (Michelle Bachelet, 2006-2010). In comparison with their parents, interviewees show less support for the *Concertación* and more for the *Alianza*, which eventually acceded to power in the 2010 presidential election.

It is not possible to compare the study data on political affiliation with official Chilean figures, given that surveys commonly report that around 50 percent of young respondents have no political orientation (INJUV 2010). Furthermore, as most young people do not vote because they are not on the electoral roll, their political preferences remain uncertain.⁷

The fact that cohabitation is less stable than marriage has been explained by its lower homogamy (Herrera and Valenzuela 2006; López-Ruiz, Esteve et al. 2009). In this view, cohabitation is likely to be more fragile than marriage since cohabiting partners are less similar in terms of social background.. In this study, interviewees were found to be similar to their partners in relation to age and education. This similarity is however partially related to the method of sample selection, as one of the qualifying criteria was that the main provider did not have more than secondary education. Age homogamy might also have been affected by the selection criteria, as both partners were required to be aged 18 at least. This high level of homogamy in age and education might have been expected to produce a particularly egalitarian relationship between the partners. Interviewees and their partners are also somewhat similar in relation to place of birth, which along with

⁷ Prior to 2012, Chile had an electoral system of optional voter registration combined with compulsory voting for those registered. In December 2011, Parliament approved a change to automatic registration for those aged 18 and over, combined with voluntary voting. The aims included to foment greater political participation among young people. BCN. (2011). "Histórica Aprobación de Ley sobre Inscripción Automática y Voto Voluntario." Retrieved 12 January, 2012, from http://www.bcn.cl/carpeta_temas_profundidad/historica-aprobacion-de-ley-sobre-inscripcion-automatica-y-voto-voluntario..

educational homogamy, suggests that participants have chosen partners of similar social strata or class.

By contrast, participants and their partners are dissimilar in terms of religion and political affiliation. These differences bring tensions to their relationships. Some say religion is a source of stress, in particular in relation to their prospects of getting married. In the last section of this chapter, I will return to the issue of religion and how it can influence respondents' views and desires about whether to carry on living together or get married. Even though they report no arguments due to differing political affiliation, one should not dismiss its relevance. Pinochet's dictatorship not only divided Chilean society but also Chilean families. Since then Chilean families have been divided in political terms. Thus it is not unreasonable to imagine that even though the young people in the study say they are not interested in politics, their lives may have been influenced by it.

To sum up, most participants report a good and loving relationship with their partner. Men are happier in their relationships than women, and they usually say that love, and rather than children, is the main reason for staying together. As women have had a more negative experience, they have more mixed feelings about their partners. For those who doubt their love for each other, children and the threat of having to return to the parental home are the main reasons to stay together.

Various difficulties are reported. Economic hardship is the main problem, but affairs, domestic violence, heavy drinking, and drug usage are also mentioned. Women report more difficulties than men. Some families are stepfamilies, which brings new tensions. The couples are not very similar to each other in terms of religion and political affiliations. These differences introduce conflicts, with religious differences likely to be a contested issue if the couple plan to get married. In the next section I explore how having children has impacted on their relationships.

Children

My son was born and everything seemed happy, the sun shone. It gave more sense to everything, to keep going, to keep working, to keep living. His birth gave me a reason for living. (Giovanna)

I am in love with my daughter in the same way that I am in love with my partner. I am very happy, she fulfils me completely [...]. You can't explain this kind of love, she is everything to me. (Fernando)

My role with my children is to be a good father and a friend at the same time. I am proud of becoming a father so young. When he grows up he will have a friend and a father. (Adrian)

Only when you become a father do you realise that your parents sacrificed a lot for you. You never noticed that, you didn't even say thanks to them. But now I know that having children involves a lot of effort. (León)

It is difficult. You don't do what you please any more. I have to tidy up our place. When I didn't have a son, my mother did everything for me, she made my bed, folded my clothes, I didn't do anything. Now I have to do everything. (Dalila)

I feel that I'm not given a very important role, just to look after the children, that's all. (Diana)

Having children was a major turning point for the interviewees. The arrival of children was also a milestone for their partnership. But why was having children such an important event in their lives? If children are so relevant, what kind of relationship do interviewees want to develop with their children? Does this mean that they would like to have more children? These issues are explored below.

Respondents have an average of 1.4 children, with the women having slightly more children than the men (1.5 and 1.3 children, respectively; see Appendix 2). The couples have an average of 1.3 biological children per current relationship, with a minimum of 1 and a maximum of 3 children. Even though five people have stepchildren, these only live with the current couple when they are the woman's biological offspring. If we include these stepchildren, on average the couples have 1.4 children. Including both biological and step children, most couples live with one

child; around a quarter live with two children, and two live with three children. The children are young: 4.2 years old on average. The oldest child is 10 years old, and the youngest is 1 month. So most couples have at least one child of preschool age, i.e. younger than six. Even though the state provides free childcare, most children do not go to nursery, as women prefer to look after them themselves.

Interviewees value their children highly, feeling that they have given purpose to their lives. Children also give comfort in their daily struggles. As one man says, 'as a man, you work very hard, and when you come back home, your children start playing with you, and that changes everything, all the problems that you had in your job, the bad day, the stress. They change all that' (Adrian). All the respondents report feelings of love, joy, and satisfaction when talking about their offspring. Indeed, in their life histories their positive feelings are almost always, and sometimes exclusively, related to having children. One woman points out, 'I didn't have a very happy childhood. The most beautiful time was when I had my daughter' (Danae).

For men to become fathers means they have to provide for their children and their partner, and so get a job. Whilst for many men this is not easy, all say that having children has helped them to settle down and to have a more fulfilling life. As one man says, 'what has left a mark on me is what my wife [his partner] has given to me, my daughter [...]. It was good to change, because before I was completely lost' (Celio).

Participants also say that having children has improved the quality of their relationships, as they feel more attached to their partners. Having children has encouraged them to seek a better understanding with their partner, and to try to get along well. As one man says, 'after my son was born our relationship has changed for the better, we have grown up! Now we get along with each other much better' (Cristián). Similarly, one woman says, 'since my daughter was born we get along better. Before we had

arguments about very silly things, now we think before starting to argue' (Jessica).

Nevertheless, they acknowledge that having children has a price. For most, children have brought loss of freedom. They cannot do as they please; now they have to think about their children. They are responsible for rearing their offspring, which is a burden for both women and men. Unsurprisingly, most interviewees equate having children with the end of their youth, with growing up and becoming adults. As one woman reports, 'when my first son was born, I was seventeen, I started to know what starving was about. I didn't know what I have to do to get food. I never did anything before! I learnt to cook, to clean. I learnt to be a mother!' (Karin). One man says 'I began to be like an adult. Before that I only worked to have money to party, but after that I completely changed, I left my party friends, I focused on my work, on my son, on my wife' (Adrian).

Interviewees want to have good relationships with their children, and to have affectionate, close, and trusting bonds. They want to develop a different kind of relationship from the one that they have had with their own parents (see Chapter 5). Many women and men say that they are happy to be young mothers and fathers, because it will be easy for them to be friends with their offspring in due course. As one woman says, 'I won't be too strict, but I won't give them too much freedom either [...]. I would like to have very good communication with them, that they would trust me. I would like to gain their confidence so they could talk with me about everything, about their sorrows. I would like to give them what I didn't have with my mother' (Leocadia).

Whilst participants wish to have more equal and affectionate relationships, they also hold beliefs and do things which contradict this. They are similar to their parents in that they believe in the use of physical discipline. As one man says, 'if he [his son] does something that I don't like I scold him, but if he keeps doing it I slap him. He is not going to bleed, I don't like

to beat him . But if I give him a good slap then he will understand and he will stop doing it, and he won't try to do it again. My partner also slaps him from time to time, but usually I am in charge of the punishments'. (Albert).

Most say that only limited violence should be used, such as a slap on the cheek or on the buttocks. It is impossible to be sure from this whether this generation uses less physical punishment compared with previous generations. This nonetheless seems likely to be the case, as other available evidence shows a decline in serious physical child abuse (see Chapter 1). Thus, it seems that interviewees' wish for more egalitarian relationships does not imply that all aspects of authoritarian parenting are a thing of the past.

Most interviewees, especially the men, say that they would like to have more children in the future. One man says 'I would like to have more children, three, four or five! I believe five more, lots of children! I like children and I would love to have many more! But she doesn't, she says three at the most'. (Cristián). In contrast, women are somewhat more divided in their opinion.

That the women do not have a stronger desire to have more children might seem unexpected, as almost all women reported wanting to have children with their current partner. But now, after having had at least one child, their positions have changed. It is generally men who want to have more children, whilst women are more ambivalent. It may be that as most women are the ones who in practice look after their children, they are more cautious about having more. As one woman explains, 'he wants another one right now, but I am the one who spends the whole day with them. I am the one who has to deal with the nuisance! [laughs]' (Frances).

Those who report fewer difficulties with their partners tend to want more children. As discussed above, these difficulties tend to be related with heavy drinking, use of illegal drugs, affairs, economic hardship, and

domestic violence. However, lack of money, and in particular lack of their own accommodation, are strong additional disincentives to having more children. As one man says, 'I like children, I would like to have more, but we don't have the economic situation. First I want a place where I can bring them up, a house, that's my biggest desire, so they can have their own space' (Adrian).

The women have a less positive experience of their relationships than do the men. It seems that for the women in the study, at least, children do not only bring happiness, but also problems. Indeed, it is telling that most couples are currently using contraception. The reports of some of the women also show that even though they wanted to have children, once they had them new difficulties arose. Jessica, who is the mother of a baby girl, says when asked if she wants to have more children: 'in my current state I wouldn't have another child. I know I'm contradicting myself, because I wanted to have her! But I got depressed, I was jealous of her, I slapped her! I was angry, because I couldn't sleep. I started to hate her'.

Even more revealing is the expressed view of another woman who says that when she realized that she was expecting her third child 'I started to cry because I didn't want it, what was I going to do? It can't be! I am working! I thought my world was falling apart. What am I going to say to my Mum? My mother thinks that poverty equals children, more poverty [...]. I was feeling down, because I didn't want to have another one, I didn't, I didn't, I didn't. I didn't want to go to health checks, I didn't want the baby to be born, no, no, no. At my work I carried heavy things, I went up the stairs. I had sickness and I felt upset. I didn't want to eat. All my world was falling apart. I thought, I am doing well in my work, and I won't be able to work, not another *guagua* [baby], not again! It was like my death' (Karin).

Data on maternal depression in Chile (Wolf, De Andraca et al. 2002) confirms its prevalence among working class women. Wolf's study, which was conducted in four working class urban communities in Santiago, reports an incidence

of 47 percent depression among mothers of children less than a year old. It drew connections between maternal depression and fewer years of schooling on the part of both the mother and the father, a greater number of people living in the household, more people per room, and inhabiting a multi-generational household.

To sum up, the evidence shows that both women and men not only want to be parents, but also friends with their children. Thus they show a more egalitarian understanding of the parent-child bond. Respondents, especially women, are moreover rather cautious about the possibility of having many children. This may also indicate a preference for a closer and more intimate relationship with their offspring. However, their wish for a less authoritarian style of parenting is intertwined with harsh methods of child rearing, as parents retain their penchant for physical punishment.

Findings indicate that even though interviewees feel strongly about the value of children, in practice children have brought unexpected consequences. The women experience a paradox. They were the ones who most actively sought to have children. Yet, as they fulfilled their desire to become mothers and housewives, things turned sour. Most are now stuck in their homes, looking after their young children, and doing all the housework. Gender roles play an important part in these matters. In the next section I discuss how the understanding of identities as women and men shape the relationships of the interviewees with their partners.

Women and Men

We both rule, I don't tell her what to do, and she doesn't tell me
what to do. (Albert)

The division of the housework is equitable, but she does the majority,
all the things. (Celio)

Anyway, I try to lend her a hand as much as I can. But it is very difficult for me because I get home very tired, very tired, very tired. I only want her to say hello to me, and to give me a cup of tea, and to relax! But she is tired of carrying our son in her arms for the whole day, she only wants to give him to me. I can't say that her job is small. If she says "change the nappy!" I do it. (Cristián)

I am the bad tempered one! He plays Playstation with them [children], he plays wrestling, football, he plays with them as if he were another child. I am the one who establishes the rules. (Karin)

I am the head. If I don't think, if I don't do things, he is not going to do anything, he is very slow. He just brings the cash. I am the one who thinks about everything! (Jessica)

He! Without doubt! He rules in everything. He rules in the house. Sometimes I try to have a say, but no, he is the one in charge. (Verónica)

All the interviewees, except one, say that in their relationship the woman is the one in charge of childcare and housework. Even those women who are in paid work also look after their home and children, with the exception of one interviewee's female partner who works full time. The interviewee himself, who is unemployed, is the only man who does the housework and looks after his daughter. All female interviewees describe themselves as 'mother and housewife'.

Respondents believe that the mother is the one who should bring up the children, particularly if they are of preschool age. The women report distrust of other possible sources of childcare, such as other relatives, acquaintances, neighbours or nurseries, with the exception of their own mother or grandmother.

All believe that the home is the place for women. Most women report that they are home-loving. As one says, 'he knows that I respect him, because if he goes out to work I don't go out, I stay at home. If he is working far away he knows that I won't fool around, so he can work without worrying about me. I'm a home-loving woman' (Verónica).

If the home is the woman's place, the man's place is outside, in the street. But this distinction can be a source of tension. Many women describe quarrelling with their partner because men go out while they stay at home. As Dalila, who has a baby a few months old, says, 'when he goes out I am upset for a week, because I can't go out. I

feel angry. He goes out and he doesn't understand me. I haven't gone out since my son was born. I can't! He is my responsibility!'

Though childcare and housework are considered female responsibilities, the men say they do lend a hand, in particular with childcare. If they are at home, and their partner asks for their help, they do what they are asked. Usually they help with doing things such as changing a nappy, giving a bottle, or doing the washing-up. Men are aware that looking after the house and children is hard work. Yet they work hard too, so when they get home they just want to relax and rest. As Albert says, 'she looks after him [their son] more than me. She has to stay the whole day with him. If I am at home, I help her, I mean, if I am off one day, and he does a pooh, then I change him. I only help her'.

Respondents say that sons and daughters are similar, but different. Daughters need additional care and protection, as they are more delicate and fragile. As parents they worry, because they see teenage girls as vulnerable to sexually predatory men, so they say that daughters need to be supervised. By contrast, they see boys as rougher, more independent, and able to survive without help. In this respect respondents demonstrate views similar to those they report for their parents, in believing upbringing is or ought to be differentiated according to the child's gender. As one man says, 'bringing up a girl is more difficult. I want to rear my son to be a fighter, so if he has a problem he would be able to sort it out, and if he falls down he will stand up and keep going. But a girl is more delicate. If someone wants to take advantage of a boy he can show his fists and defend himself, but a girl is more fragile' (Cristián).

In relation to issues of gender and power, the young people were asked about who has the last word in their relationship. The aim was to gauge their perceptions of their individual power within their relationship. Interestingly, both women and men usually reported that they were the one who had the last word. Half of the women

in the study claim to be the head of their family, as do half of men. It seems then that both women and men ascribe most value to their own power. This also suggests that the interviewees have a rather hierarchical understanding of their relationship, as most describe themselves as 'having the last word' in the sense of having authority over their partner. In other words, most do not see their relationship as egalitarian.

Indeed, some say that they are a mother or a father, not only to their children but also to their partners. As one woman says, 'my partner complies with everything I tell him. I think he lacked love from his mother and he looks for that love in me. He always calls me "mother". He seeks shelter in me. Instead of having one son I have two' (Danae). Similarly, one man says, 'my role is to be like a father, sometimes I am like a father with her, because I am very bad tempered [...]. My role on those occasions is to be very strict, like an ogre' (León).

In addition, women and men say they dislike being challenged or contradicted, and report getting angry with anyone who does this. Many say they have inherited this irritable nature from their own mothers and fathers. As one woman reports, 'my temper, sometimes I get very annoyed [...]. I am bad tempered, irritable, that's what I have inherited from my mother!' (Giovanna). Similarly Adrian says '[I have] my Mum's temperament. She is bad tempered, she is not easygoing, and with my father, I also think that I have the same character, bad tempered'. Some interviewees report at least one episode of domestic violence with their partner. Only women talk of violence between the partners. In two cases the man is said to have hit his partner, and in two cases it is the woman.

In spite of theses hierarchical views, on the whole either the man, or both partners equally, are said to be the head of the family. Half of the men and a quarter of the women say the man is in charge. Identifying the man as the head of the family shows a conventional and patriarchal understanding of gender relations. No man reports the woman as the family authority, and the men despise other men who

live in subjection to their women, referring to them pejoratively refer to them as *macabeos*. By contrast, around two fifths of the interviewees (mostly men) report sharing the family authority with their partner. This could entail a more egalitarian view of their relationship, though one should be cautious as it could be no more than a politically correct statement not mirrored in actual practices. Half of the women say they have the last word, which might speak more to their willingness to assert their importance than to their effective power. In fact, none of these women have their own economic resources to make effective their claims of power, as they are neither the main providers, nor are they involved in paid work.

Though it is particularly difficult in this matter to distinguish between what the young people say and what they actually do, the evidence suggests that the young couples follow a rather conventional pattern of gender roles. Thus women are the authority in the realm of domestic family life, whilst men have broader power and autonomy. Women set the household routine. Usually meals are the yardstick that organises the family schedule. The women set standards for accepted behaviour within the home: what can be done and by whom. They want everybody to follow set times and rules in the home. As Verónica says, 'I like to have everything tidy. I don't like it if they mess up a bed. I yell! I don't like it when they get everything dirty. I like to keep my children clean. I like cleanliness, tidiness, order. If they make a mess I get very upset, very annoyed'.

As women are in charge of running the house, most of them manage the daily family budget. Women usually do the shopping, pay the bills, and keep some savings. Conversely men do not want and do not like to be involved in this kind of responsibility. Men value, and many praise, their partners for being good at stretching the family budget. Most men keep part of their wages to themselves, and hand to their partner the amount that is needed to keep the house running. Although women look after the finances of the home, they are not in charge of the money. As men

are the main providers, they are in a stronger position to decide where the money goes. This is particularly so in relation to bigger investments such as household appliances (a fridge or a washing machine). These purchases need men's approval. As Cristián says, 'I am the head of the household [...]. I take the big decisions, for example where to invest the cash. I look after that, I am the one who says OK or not'. This gender division in relation to money issues is in accordance with previous research on low income families in Chile (Raczynski and Serrano 1985).

To sum up, the interviewees define women as mothers and housewives, and men as breadwinners. In fact, women are in charge of running the house and managing the daily family budget. Men are the main providers and have the last word in relation to more significant expenditures. The interviewees also say that daughters and sons are different, but complementary. In addition, most participants have a rather hierarchical view of their relationship as a couple and describe themselves as having a rather authoritarian personality. Therefore the findings show predominance of conventional views and practices in relation to gender roles. In this context, one should be wary about discourses of equal gender relations and women's empowerment. I shall now turn to the issue of the interviewees' future expectations for their relationship, and whether or not they would like to marry their partner.

Cohabitation and Marriage

The daily routine is the same as if you were married. (Eugenio)

I wouldn't get married, no! No! No! Married or not is the same thing,
it is the same life, the same situation. It won't change anything!
(Leocadia).

People don't give you a dirty look if you are not married. (Pedro).

Everywhere they look down on you when you are young and not married.
(Diana)

I feel that they are almost the same for sure. The practical difference is the wedding, that society accepts you in some way [...]. It is almost an obligation and I don't like to do things because of obligation. We are together because we love each other, because we are fond of each other, because of our daughter [...], not because the law says we have to, no! For me what counts is our relationship, how we get along. (Fernando)

Anyway, I would like to get married in the future, when we reach some stability, to have our home. If some day I manage to have my own house, my own things, then I will think about getting married [...], but we need to be steadier, to be more stable, to have a home. (Eugenio)

When asked if they would like to marry their partner within the next three years, most participants say that they would like to carry on living together. However, a significant minority say they would want to get married. Thus the sample is somehow divided as regards individuals' desire to get married or to carry on living together. Gender, a variable that has proved so significant in this research, makes no difference here. Participants do however mention different features of cohabitation and marriage which help us to understand why some would like to continue cohabiting, whereas others wish to get married.

The great majority say that in practice, cohabitation is the same as marriage. Indeed, they all refer to their partner as their husband or wife. They are also already living with their partner and children, so their daily routine is similar to that of married couples with children. They do not see how marriage might entail any change or advantage. For them being a family, i.e. having children, is what matters.

As one woman says, 'if you live together with someone, it is because you are with that person, because you love him, you are together because you want to. When I began to live together with him I did it to be with him forever!' (Frances). Similarly, Adrian says, 'I think that *convivir* and being married is the same, there is no difference [...]. I do the same things, I am a father, I bring in the cash for the house, it is the same as being married!'.

Although the daily routine of *convivir* and marriage may be the same, it is easier to leave or to end a cohabiting relationship than a marriage. Participants think it is important that if they split up, they will not have to go through the formalities of divorce. Divorce is now legal in Chile, and deprived groups do not have to pay legal expenses (see Chapter 1). Yet they see divorce as an inconvenience which demands time and money.

Some interviewees also fear that if they divorce they will be forced to give part of their property to their ex-spouse. As they have few assets, they worry about being granted housing subsidy and then having to share out their house. Some women fear that if they marry, their husband could take their children away from them; in particular if divorce is the result of the woman having an affair. As one woman says, 'if you are married your husband can take your children away from you! If he catches you cheating on him, he can take the children'' (Leocadia). Similarly, a few men say that if they marry and then divorce, they would be forced to pay maintenance not only for their children, but also for their ex-wife.

In addition, some respondents, especially women, say that married men believe that they own their wife. In other words, they say that marriage encourages spouses, especially husbands, to believe that they have authority over their partner. As one woman says, 'if I marry him, he would become my official husband, and I think men get above themselves when they marry, they have more power over you, and I don't want that' (Danae).

According to them, *convivir* is more convenient than marriage not only because there is no divorce, but also because a woman can apply for social benefits as a single mother (see Chapter 4). Another aspect highlighted is that today there is less discrimination against cohabitation (see Chapter 5). Many refer in particular to the discrimination previously suffered by children born out of wedlock. Today, children of unmarried mothers do not have a different birth certificate. They can use both their

father's and mother's surname, and are less bullied at school as a result.

Whilst people are more open to cohabitation nowadays, respondents continue to say that cohabitation is less valued than marriage. Several people, women in particular, report that they have been embarrassed because they are not married. As Dalila says, 'I think it doesn't look good to live together [...]. People ask you, "who is he? Is he your husband?" And you have to answer, "no, he is my *pareja* [partner]". It looks terrible!'. Giovanna also says, 'for people [in general] it is not moral to live together without marrying. The moral thing is to be married. "Finally, that immoral [couple] have got married!", people say things like that'.

They say they have been frowned upon when dealing with formal institutions because they are not married. Diana describes what happened to her in dealing with the town council: 'I talked about my husband, and the guy who was helping me was very nasty, and he said to me, "you are not married, so you can't say that". I answered, "but anyway he is my partner, it is the same thing". And he replied, "not here, here it is very different"'.

The fact that marriage is more valued than cohabitation affects whether the young people want to get married or not. Some say they want to get married precisely as a way of gaining social recognition for their relationship. Others reject marriage because they want to keep their relationship a private matter. Thus a key aspect which divides them is the visibility involved in marriage. Civil and religious marriage involve a ceremony and, typically, a wedding party, which 'must be seen to be done' (Reibstein and Richards 1992:44). If cohabitees get married, their relationship will become visible in social and institutional terms.

Some participants actively seek such recognition. Explaining why his partner wants to get married, Iván says, 'she sees it as a way of getting acknowledgement; society looks at it differently. In addition you can have a celebration so you can share it with your family and

children'. Similarly, Diana says, 'now our anniversary is only for the two of us, because nobody else remembers it. Today it is a greeting and nothing else. It would be nice, we could do something, like having a dinner, everybody would remember it. It would be more important'.

However, others do not want to get married because marriage is both a social event and a social obligation. They say that what they like the most about living together is that cohabitation is a private, intimate decision. For them, if a couple chooses to live together, the parents, the state, and the church do not have a part in that decision. As Cristián explains, 'marriage I think is a contract! But you can also do a deal by word and it is more valid than one that is signed. Both involve obligations, but the difference is that I impose them on myself, nobody imposes them on me. I accept them because I wanted to, not because anybody forced me to [...]. In the future I would like to keep living together with my partner. We made a marriage pact or deal, but without any contract, church, or party. Without any of that, we decided it between the two of us, that we would stay together, and that we are going to pull through, together the two of us, and our son. It was a verbal agreement between her and me'.

Getting married is an expensive enterprise. Civil and religious fees have to be paid. The wedding party and the bride's dress are expensive too. The expenses of marriage are cited by some interviewees as a barrier to marriage. As Paulina explains, if she eventually marries her partner, she would only have a civil marriage. 'The civil marriage is not as big as the party for a religious marriage would be. If you have a civil marriage, you don't need to do a party at night, you could just have a lunch, so you can keep it simple. I wouldn't need to have a wedding dress with a long train, as I would like!'

They also refer to difficulties faced in their relationship as a hurdle to getting married. If we analyse the desire to get married according to difficulties, it becomes clear that the couple's hardships make them cautious about marriage. Those who do not want to get

married report more problems such as economic hardship, affairs, heavy drinking, domestic violence, and use of illegal drugs.

When interviewees feel that their relationship is facing significant difficulties, they are less willing to formalize it. As Elaine, who has been living with a partner who has had two affairs, reports, 'I say to tie the knot and to live together is the same. When you get married you just sign some papers. Above all because of what happened! [her partner's affairs] I don't feel sure yet. I love him. Nobody knows what can happen. It's better to live together, its better to carry on living together'.

Differences in religious and political affiliations might also lead to tensions as well as difficulties if cohabitees wish to marry in the future. Religious differences certainly suggest that religious marriage would become a contested issue, even if participants tend to say that religion is presently irrelevant to them. As one man says, 'she [his partner] is and evangelical, and I am Catholic, and we stop there. If both of us had been Catholic, we would've married long ago' (Mauricio). Another man, who is not religious, says 'I've already told [his partner] that we are not going to get married, because I don't believe in marriage. I don't believe in the Catholic Church or, in fact, in any other Church!' (Cristián). Some respondents are critical of the Catholic Church because of recent child sexual abuse scandals involving Catholic priests. As one man says, 'I used to be Catholic, but then you realize the things that were going on. You don't want to believe in anything again' (Celio).

Marriage would enhance the visibility of current partnerships. On the one hand, increased visibility means that relationships would be subject to more social scrutiny (Laumann, Gagnon et al. 1994:232). On the other hand, it is easier to make a relationship more visible if it fits with each partner's original social network and family of origin (Laumann, Gagnon et al. 1994:236). Hence, it is easier to marry someone who is compatible with both partners'

original social networks. Although parents might tolerate cohabitation, marriage usually requires parental support.

Parental support helps couples meet the expenses of marriage, including the civil and religious formalities. It should be noted that in Chile, both religious (usually Catholic) and civil wedding ceremonies require the presence of witnesses. Parents traditionally take that role, especially in the case of a religious wedding. Accordingly, a 'proper' wedding is not possible if one set of parents reject or do not approve of the partner. This is illustrated by Paulina, who ran away from the parental home. 'My father was very upset when I left home with my partner. He doesn't like my partner. So it was worse when I left to live with him. My father and my partner don't talk to each other [...]. I don't like marriage, marriage should be something beautiful and I know that probably it won't be like that for me, because maybe my father is not going to be present'.

The interviewees who want to get married plan to do so when they have their own home. They did not marry when they conceived or when their first child was born. But they expect to get married when they become home owners. Being home owners signals that they are settled as a couple and as a family. As one woman says, 'I think that [we will get married] when we become more stable, when we can live in peace in our own house, then I will start thinking about marriage' (Giovanna).

To summarize, most interviewees would prefer to carry on living together rather than marrying. But a significant proportion say they wish to get married within three years. Respondents believe that even though cohabitation is now tolerated, marriage holds higher social status. They face difficulties in getting married. The cost, the lack of parental support, and problems in their relationship make them wary of marriage. Marriage also offers more visibility to their relationships. There is also an incipient discourse against marriage, as an old-fashioned institution

which perpetuates the power of the church, the state, and the parents.

SUMMARY

Most interviewees say they wish to be with their partner because they are in love and have a trusting relationship. They also say that having children has given them a reason to live together, and that they would like to have a close relationship with their children. However, their accounts, especially the women's, also challenge these stereotypical views of love and children. Women are less satisfied with their partners than are men, and motherhood has brought unexpected difficulties and mixed feelings. Most women are housewives, not involved in paid work, who look after their children single-handedly. Women's social bonds are mostly limited to interactions with relatives (see Chapter 4). Having children increases their isolation from other social ties, other than within their own family, as they have to stay at home looking after their children. In addition most live as *allegados*, which is a living arrangement characterised by difficult relationships (see Chapter 4). Thus having children and living as *allegados* enhance women's focus on family ties, yet these bonds, at this point in the women's lives at least, are rather strained. Therefore women might become even more dependent on their partner for social recognition. One should therefore weigh discourses about love in relation to actual living conditions and the availability of alternatives.

Discourses of love are also contested by interviewees' rather hierarchical view of their partnership. They expect one partner to have the last word, and both women and men give a rather authoritarian verbal portrait. Domestic violence against at least one partner is often already present. Authoritarian traits are also present in parenting

styles. Thus the findings suggest a more complex scenario than simple male authoritarian predominance, or machismo.

The costs of marriage are a hurdle for respondents. As personal choices based on mutual affection are becoming more relevant, weddings now have greater relevance, as they convey the uniqueness of a relationship (Reibstein and Richards 1992:43). But weddings are expensive, and most people realize that they can only afford something simple. A proper wedding involves the bride wearing a white dress to church, followed by a wedding party at night. The civil wedding is considered less glitzy, meaning also not as visible, yet more affordable. The fact that getting married is expensive helps to increase the influence of older generations, especially parents, over younger generations' capacity to marry.

For interviewees, cohabitation is similar to marriage. They say that their daily routine is similar to that of a married couple with children, and believe that cohabitation involves sexual exclusivity and children. Furthermore, respondents refer to their partner as husband or wife. Cohabitation does not challenge conventional views on gender. Women are expected to be mothers and housewives. Men should be breadwinners, and they belong in the outside world. In fact, men are mostly the main earners, so they have more power. Therefore men have more resources to impose their willpower, in spite of contended discourses about who is the head of the family.

Although cohabitation and marriage are seen to be similar, it is also acknowledged that they are not the same. Cohabitation is less visible than marriage. If cohabitees got married, the visibility of their relationship would be enhanced, and so it would be subjected to increased social scrutiny. The partner would also be required to fit into the social network of the other partner. Thus making a partnership more visible demands higher similarity with the institutions of origin of each partner, in particular with their families.

The family of origin embodies a particular arrangement of diverse social features, such as social class, religion,

race, and political orientation. Hence, having the support of the family of origin, especially parents, becomes crucial for getting married. The visibility of marriage explains why those more reluctant to marry are those who report more difficulties with their partner, those with less religious and political homogamy, and those who lack parental support.

Most respondents say that their reasons for wanting to continue cohabiting do not include being against marriage; although some, mostly relatively better-off men, do say this. This group says that they reject marriage because they themselves and their partners are the only ones who should decide about their relationship. They see marriage as an intervention of the state and the church in their personal lives. In practice, decisions about marriage and cohabitation are intertwined with several factors which play out at different levels. These decisions do not take place in a social vacuum: they have a history.

The following chapter, which presents the conclusions of this study, brings together the elements that this research has shown to be relevant for explaining why interviewees began to cohabit, and why some wish to get married whilst others do not.

CONCLUSIONS

This research aimed to answer three questions about unmarried cohabitation among young people from low income groups in Chile. First, to understand, from the point of view of those actually cohabiting, what kind of arrangement unmarried cohabitation is. Second, to identify the factors that prompt unmarried cohabitation among the group studied. The final question was that of why unmarried cohabitation among this group has significantly increased in Chile since the last decade of the twentieth century. In this concluding chapter, I first analyse the findings of this research for each of these questions. In doing this I also relate the findings of this research with previous literature on unmarried cohabitation in Latin America. The aim is twofold. First, to ponder the gathered evidence in the light of available literature. Second, to highlight how this research might contribute to current debates on unmarried cohabitation and families in Latin America. Next I analyse some policy implications of this research, and finally I suggest lines that future research on this topic might usefully take.

Scholarship has described unmarried cohabitation in Latin America as similar to marriage, yet entailing less sexual exclusivity (see Chapter 2). Unmarried cohabitation is widely regarded as a surrogate marriage of the poor, involving conventional gender roles and having children. As deprived groups face greater difficulties and barriers to formal marriage, they have no choice but to live together informally. As an informal arrangement, unmarried cohabitation is believed to be in tune with the active and informal sexuality described for low income groups (see Chapter 2). Unmarried cohabitation is also related to race,

as in Latin America coloured populations are predominantly lower class (see Chapter 2).

The findings of this study show that even though unmarried cohabitation is similar to marriage, unmarried cohabitation and marriage are not the same. The evidence gathered here shows that is not sexual exclusivity but social invisibility what sets unmarried cohabitation apart from marriage (see Chapter 7). If we turn first to a consideration of the similarities, we see that according to the interviewees cohabitation is like marriage, inasmuch as both involve living together, having children, and sexual exclusivity (see Chapters 6 and 7). Cohabitation is not experienced as a loose sexual arrangement, although interviewees say that affairs are somehow less condemned for cohabitantes than for spouses (see Chapter 6). Similarly, the main reason cohabitantes give for living together is being in love, though this is entangled with wanting to leave the parental home as a way of gaining autonomy and social status. Among the young people in this study, at least, cohabitation reproduces conventional gender roles rather than challenging them. The interviewees refer to their partners as husband or wife; most of the women are mothers and housewives, and most of the men are breadwinners.

Even though cohabitation and marriage are experienced as similar, this research shows that they are not the same (see Chapter 7). Cohabitation has layers of complexity that make it more (or other) than merely a surrogate marriage of the poor. Crucially cohabitation is different from marriage in that it is less socially visible. As cohabitation is not institutionalised it remains concealed from both social recognition and social scrutiny. As cohabitation is subject to less social surveillance than marriage, it allows having a relationship with a rather dissimilar partner. As a *de facto* relationship, cohabitation does not entail any social ceremony or rite. The wedding ceremony, whether civil or religious, is what sets marriage apart from cohabitation.

This research is based on a sample of cohabiting young people from low income groups. Accordingly, it focuses on

people who belong to a similar social background (see Chapter 3). Nevertheless, the study's findings show that cohabiting partners are rather dissimilar in terms of their religious beliefs, political affiliation, and social prestige (see Chapter 7). The empirical evidence amassed in this study shows that cohabitation among people of a similar social class or strata is a kind of partnership which tolerates partners who are rather dissimilar. As cohabitation is less visible than marriage, partners do not need to fit in so well with their partner's social network or family of origin. These differences mean that it is challenging to incorporate one partner into the family of origin of the other partner. Likewise, interviewees facing significant difficulties in their relationship are wary of getting married. This difficulty can arise in regard to just one partner, or to both. Thus even though in day to day practice cohabitation resembles marriage, cohabitation is an inter-personal arrangement which does not entail the same social status nor attract the same levels of social control as marriage.

Therefore this research advances an understanding of cohabitation as a mode of living together that is suitable not only for those who are status unequal, or who belong to different social classes. Cohabitation also becomes relevant for those who have a similar socio-economic background, yet are different in other attributes such as religious beliefs, political affiliation, and social reputation. Cohabitation as a type of partnership that allows for partners holding different religious beliefs appears as particularly relevant.

What factors spark cohabitation? In Chapter 2 I reviewed drivers of cohabitation in Latin America identified by scholarship. Now I will ponder the adequacy of each of those explanations in the light of the evidence produced by this research. Next I will reflect on how social changes

that have taken place in Chile in the last decades, might have affected these factors bringing about a sharp increase in cohabitation. Therefore at this stage my analysis does not seek to account for rising cohabitation, but for the immediate determinants of it. Later on I shall relate these immediate determinants to changing social conditions in order to explain why cohabitation has been climbing over the last two decades.

Scholarship has identified five factors that prompt unmarried cohabitation in Latin America. These factors are (i) pregnancy; (ii) parental intervention; (iii) the material costs of marriage (class inequalities); (iv) machismo (gender inequalities); and (v) a strong mother-son bond. Studies on kinship state that cohabitation is prompted by pregnancy because if a woman gets pregnant she is expected to live with her partner (see Chapter 2). Previous research shows how parents believe that daughters should only leave the parental home in order to live with the father of their children. Former studies have also shown that in Latin America marriage holds a higher status than cohabitation, thus parents would prefer their daughter to marry her partner. However the expenses of marriage pose a significant hurdle for low income couples, so unmarried cohabitation is tolerated as a second best.

The expense of marriage is also highlighted by research that links unmarried cohabitation to the colonial past of the region (see Chapter 2). In this view unmarried cohabitation was produced in colonial times by a hierarchical racial sexual order, which limited marriage to the white elite. Marriage was thus a form of union for those who were status equal and with enough means to afford it. By contrast, white men developed informal partnerships, such as unmarried cohabitation, with coloured women. This intensive racial mixing between white men and coloured women brought about a distinctive mixed race population (*mestizos*).

In this view unmarried cohabitation has remained significant to the present day as the region continues to be riddled by social inequalities. Class and race are still

clearly intertwined in the region, and informal partnerships might continue to be favoured by inter-class sexual relationships. However inter-class coupling is believed to be less frequent nowadays. Thus this scholarship links unmarried cohabitation to class inequalities underscoring that only those who are better off can afford marriage. Deprived groups have to content themselves with living together informally, as they do not have enough means to get married.

Gender inequalities is the fourth factor prompting unmarried cohabitation in the region (see Chapter 2). Machismo is seen as the hallmark of gender relations in Latin America. As said before, authors have related machismo to the colonial past of the region, to the formation of independent nation states, and to popular religiosity (see Chapter 2). In this scholarship men, in particular lower class men, are believed to reject marriage as it would curtail their sexual promiscuousness.

The last factor explaining unmarried cohabitation in Latin America, is prevalence of a strong mother-son bond (see Chapter 2). Kinship research has highlighted that blood ties are dominant in the region, and that the mother-son bond is particularly close. Marriage, as the strongest sexual alliance, is at odds with this blood-based kinship system. Because of this significant mother-son attachment it is difficult for sons to marry and to leave the parental home so as to set up an independent home.

Evidence gathered by this research shows that pregnancy, parental intervention, the expenses of marriage, and/or a close mother-son bond are present in cases of unmarried cohabitation among young low income couples in Chile. This study did not find evidence supporting unmarried cohabitation as a form of partnership entailing increased gender inequality per se. In what follows I will zoom in on each of these five factors.

Pregnancy

Most interviewees say that they started to cohabit as a direct outcome of pregnancy (see Chapter 6). Pregnancy among the interviewees happened relatively early; on average women were aged 19 at their first birth (see Chapter 6). The findings of this study suggest that conventional views about gender and sexuality, working at different levels in a context of limited opportunities, might prompt early pregnancy. At one level almost all parents of the interviewees reject pre-marital sex, especially in the case of daughters (see Chapter 6). As parents reject pre-marital sex they do not provide advice or help for their children in relation to contraception. Additionally, most female participants say that they dated in secret, as teenage daughters are subjected to more parental control than their brothers (see Chapter 6). Dating in secret adds to the difficulties of obtaining effective contraception. Interviewees also report that daughters are considered to have greater family obligations than sons (see Chapter 5). Parents of interviewees did not encourage their daughters to achieve autonomy through further studies or paid work.

Female interviewees say they were looking forward to having a relationship and having children. Their interviews also record how as teenagers they wished to have a male partner with whom to become a mother, to allow them to leave the parental home and gain autonomy and social status. Indeed, most female participants left the parental home at a younger age than male interviewees. Male participants also value having children, since becoming fathers signals their status as adults. Furthermore young people facing difficulties or tensions in the parental home show a stronger desire to leave it earlier.

Unsurprisingly, given that most participants reported wanting to have children, the young people in the study did not practice effective contraception for pre-cohabiting sex. Their conventional views about sex also contributed to discouraging pre-cohabitation birth control. Most women

report that to have used contraception would have meant that they were neither in love with nor committed to their male partner. Similarly, most men say that they disliked using condoms, as they limited their sexual pleasure.

At the macro level, the health care system is also informed by conventional views on sexuality and reproduction, since abortion is illegal and birth control policies are focused on mothers and not on young people who want to avoid pregnancy (see Chapter 1). This is illustrated by the interviewees' reports on how difficult it was to get free contraception at local doctors' surgeries as teenagers (see Chapter 6).

This research therefore suggests that having children is more unplanned than unexpected, as interviewees themselves frequently report. The findings indicate that for young people of low income groups, becoming a parent is in fact highly valued. As set out above, several factors influence their wish to become parents. It ought to be no surprise, then, that in Chile teenage fertility shows no signs of decline (Larrañaga 2006a). Young people were actively looking forward to having children, even if they could not say so (see Chapter 6). Living in a context of parents and family planning policies that seem hostile to pre-marital sex might help to explain why most teenage pregnancies, especially among low income groups, are reported as unplanned (see Chapter 6). That abortion is illegal in Chile further contributes to carrying on with a pregnancy, even if it is unwanted.

Parental intervention

Once pregnancy happens, parental power is generally exercised according to one of two common scenarios leading to unmarried cohabitation (see Chapter 5). The most frequent of these among study respondents is an absence of parental interference. Later on I will show how this lack of parental intervention may be key in explaining why unmarried cohabitation is rising in Chile. Though the

parents regretted their children becoming pregnant, they neither encouraged nor discouraged marriage. Thus most parents tolerate unmarried cohabitation, and a few even support it as a trial phase. Indeed that the parents of the interviewees accept unmarried cohabitation is illustrated by the fact that most study participants live in one or other parental home as *allegados* (see Chapter 4).

A second scenario leading to cohabitation is that once pregnancy happens parents, fathers in particular, forbid their daughters to continue living in the parental home. Thus the daughter either runs away or is thrown out of the parental home and starts to live with her partner. This kind of parental reaction is described by participants as typical of previous generations. Even though this situation was not particularly common in this study, other evidence suggests that it might not be unusual in Chile. Figures show that the majority of married mothers living as *allegadas* do so in the household of their own parents. By contrast, most unmarried cohabiting mothers live in the parental house of their male partner (Larrañaga 2006a: Footnote 22). Nonetheless, as we saw in chapter 4, there are also specific practical considerations operating to determine where young couples live.

Expenses of marriage

As pregnancy happens relatively early, young people are often still dependant on their family of origin when pregnancy occurs. Most interviewees are school dropouts and face a low quality labour market with widespread short-term or intermittent employment (see Chapter 4). In addition, as most couples assume conventional gender roles, usually only the man is involved in paid work. This combination of few qualifications, low quality jobs, and a situation in which only one partner provides for the new family means that support from parents or family of origin is essential in order to survive. This in turn places the parents of the

young people in the study in a position of power, enabling them to influence how the young people start their new family, whether through marriage or cohabitation.

The wedding ceremony is the event which sets marriage apart from any other sexual relationship and makes it socially visible, as was said before. For the interviewees a 'proper' wedding is understood to mean a religious ceremony, with the bride dressed in white at the church, and a party at night. Getting married is therefore expensive, as it involves paying both civil and religious fees as well as being able to afford the bride's dress and the wedding party. Figures of unmarried cohabitation in Chile show that it is indeed related to class inequalities, as unmarried cohabitation is more prevalent among middle-low and low income groups (see Chapter 1). Therefore parental support and assistance seem to be vital if young couples are going to be able to meet the financial and formal requirements of marriage.

Mother-son bond

This research also found evidence of a close mother-son bond. The interviewees report how their parents, especially their mothers, favoured sons over daughters (see Chapter 5). Men are described as *mamones*, by both women and by men themselves. In Chile to be called a *mamón* means, literally, a man who still suckles from his mother. The firstborn son seems to enjoy more privileges than any other sibling. Because of this strong mother-son attachment men delay leaving the parental home. This close mother-son bond also means that the relationship between the daughter-in-law and the mother-in-law is particularly problematic. Further evidence of the relevance of this mother-son bond is that figures show that in Chile most unmarried cohabiting women live in the parental home of their partner (see Chapter 1).

Machismo

By contrast this research found little or no evidence to support the view that cohabitation is an arrangement favourable to the exacerbated masculinity of the macho archetype. This study showed no gender differences in young people's self-reporting in relation to their wish to get married in the near future (see Chapter 7). If cohabitation is a kind of partnership that suits men, most male interviewees would have preferred to carry on living together, while female interviewees would have preferred to marry. This is not the case. In addition, as previously said, participants of both genders report expecting sexual exclusivity from their cohabiting partner.

That this research did not find evidence of unmarried cohabitation being related to gender inequality is puzzling. As was said in the Introduction, figures show that domestic violence is related to unmarried cohabitation, even after taking into account diverse socio economic factors. One possible explanation could be associated with the fact that unmarried cohabitation allows for dissimilar partners. In fact unmarried cohabiting couples tend to be more dissimilar than married ones in relation to religion, age, and education (see Chapter 1). Differences in relation to educational attainment and age group also speak of a rather asymmetric relationship.

Although this research focused on people with a homogeneous socioeconomic background, the interviewees were rather different to their partners in relation to religious and political affiliation, and to social reputation (see Chapter 7). Therefore differences between cohabitees, rather than unmarried cohabitation itself, might increase the probabilities of domestic violence. Hence unmarried cohabitation *per se* does not need to entail increased gender inequality. In fact this study found that those interviewees, both women and men, who were more reluctant to marry, were the ones who reported more problems in their relationship (see Chapter 7). It should be highlighted that research linking unmarried cohabitation to increased gender

inequality is only based on women, married and cohabiting, and does not take into account their male partners (Castro Martín, Martín García et al. 2008).

There is also some literature that sees unmarried cohabitation as an act of resistance of poor women towards patriarchal marriage (see Chapter 2). Indeed this research found evidence that might support this stance, as many female interviewees say that they do not want to marry their partner. These women say they fear that their male partner would become authoritarian, could take advantage of their few assets, or could take their children away (see Chapter 7).

In pre-1990s Chile marriage was clearly patriarchal, as the wife was under the formal authority of the husband, who was also responsible for the marital property (see Chapter 1). However, modifications introduced in that decade and the subsequent one limited the husband's authority (see Chapter 1). Today, husbands cannot embark on any transaction involving the marriage's communal property without the wife's approval. In cases of separation, children stay with their mother. Accordingly, many of the formal reasons given by female interviewees to justify cohabitation do not today apply in practice. Therefore it seems that these claims are indeed rationalizations, and not acts of resistance, in the face of the difficulties which can impede the formalisation of a partnership.

On the whole, the evidence provided by this research validates the conclusion that pregnancy, parental intervention, the expenses of marriage, and a close mother-son bond are the immediate factors in prompting unmarried cohabitation. Yet it is difficult to conclude from exploratory research like this which factor(s) may be prevalent. However, it seems that parental influence could be the most relevant aspect. On the one hand, fathers' power over their daughters could spark cohabitation through throwing them out onto the street if they get pregnant, or not forcing them into marriage. On the other hand, mothers'

close attachment to their sons translates into men being less willing to enter into marriage. In both cases, through different mechanisms, parents exert a significant influence on young people's form of partnership. Likewise, parents are key in providing financial aid to help cover the material costs of marriage. Next I will develop a tentative explanation as to why cohabitation started to rise in Chile in the 1990s, which is the third research question that guided this study. In particular I will try to interpret rising unmarried cohabitation by relating it to the changes taking place in Chile at that time having to do with the end of the Pinochet dictatorship.

Scholarship on unmarried cohabitation gives two explanations as to why it might show a sharp increase. In the case of Latin America, rising unmarried cohabitation has been understood as an outcome of growing poverty and income inequality (see Chapter 2). Thus during economic crises unmarried cohabitation is expected to climb. By contrast, periods of economic bonanza are related to the prevalence of marriage. However, increased poverty and income inequality cannot account for the recent rise in unmarried cohabitation in Chile. As was shown before, unmarried cohabitation climbed during a period of significant economic growth (see Chapter 1). This economic growth went hand in hand with an absolute decline of poverty and stable (not growing) income inequality. Thus in fact occurred the opposite of what this perspective would have predicted: unmarried cohabitation rose as poverty declined and income inequality was, at least, not getting worse.

A second explanation for rising unmarried cohabitation comes from high income countries, in the form of the second demographic transition (SDT) (see Chapter 2). In this view unmarried cohabitation is linked to debates on modernity and modernization. The SDT states that unmarried cohabitation is an outcome of increased individual autonomy and consumerism, and, particularly, of female emancipation (see Chapter 2). Heightened individual autonomy goes hand in hand with higher demands for self-fulfilment and an

adult-centred orientation. Thus the focus is on the quality of the couple's relationship rather than on childbearing. This theory states that since people today impose higher expectations upon marriage, unmarried cohabitation gives the opportunity to test a relationship. As unmarried cohabitation is a manifestation of personal autonomy, it rejects institutional intervention such as that performed by the state or the church. I will come back to this perspective later on, once I have analysed the outcomes of this research.

The evidence gathered here suggests that rising unmarried cohabitation among low income groups in Chile is an outcome of three drivers: (i) declining patriarchy; (ii) social welfare's focus on the single mother; (iii) increased relevance of the wedding.

Declining patriarchy

The reports of the interviewees show that parental roles have become more affectionate and less authoritarian, as children are gaining social recognition (see Chapter 5). If pregnancy happens parents, fathers in particular, are becoming less inclined to either force their daughters into marriage, or to throw them out of the parental home. In fact, none of the female interviewees were forced into marriage when they got pregnant. By contrast, many interviewees report how their mothers and grandmothers were forced to marry due to pregnancy (see Chapter 5). In fact, those interviewees whose mothers were forced into marriage report that those mothers did not want their children to go through the same experience (see Chapter 5). There is no reliable data about how widespread enforced marriage is today or was for previous generations. Nevertheless it seems likely that historically it was not unusual, given that marriage has, to date, been the prevalent form of partnership in Chile (see Chapter 1).

Likewise, most female interviewees were not thrown out onto the street as a consequence of premarital pregnancy.

Yet a few women did run away from the parental home, because they feared their fathers retaliation. Historical evidence from Chile supports the conclusion that daughters risked being thrown out onto the street due to having pre-marital sex or to becoming pregnant (see Chapter 2). However, it seems that enforced marriage should have been, or still is, the most common of the two scenarios. In fact in Chile marriage predominates even among low income groups (see Chapter 1).

It is impossible to conclude definitively from an exploratory study such as the present one whether the relative frequency of the two scenarios described is changing at a broader social level. Yet the study's findings do seem to suggest an attitudinal change among low income parents such that a daughter's unexpected pregnancy, even with a disliked male partner, does not necessarily entail forcing her into marriage or throwing her out of the parental home. As enforced marriage was more frequent than throwing a daughter out of the parental home, unmarried cohabitation started to increase.

The evidence of this research suggests that parents began to stop intervening in their children's form of sexual partnership even before the introduction of legislation limiting parental authority. Legislation on domestic violence was introduced in 1994, at a time when cohabitation was already rising (see Chapter 1). This new legal framework most probably backed existing or emerging parental reluctance to enforce marriage and to throw daughters into the street. Something similar happened with legislation giving equal rights to children born out of wedlock, which was enacted in 1999.

The fact that legislation on domestic violence and the new paternity law followed and reinforced rather than prompted cohabitation does not mean that the rise in cohabitation is not related to it. Indeed the return of democracy brought in its wake a general atmosphere of enhanced freedom and autonomy after almost two decades of authoritarian rule. In relation to family life, it may be that this less authoritarian context meant that parents

moved faster towards a less patriarchal relationship with their children. Similarly, young people may have felt more empowered to assert their own views in relation to union formation.

As it seems plausible to state that unmarried cohabitation has increased due to declining enforced marriage, rising cohabitation may mirror declining patriarchy. It should be highlighted that declining patriarchy (enforced marriage) does not need to entail increased female emancipation or gender equality. As said previously, even though in Chile female employment has increased from the 1990s onwards, it is affected by education and having a male partner (see Chapter 1). Women's participation in paid work shows a positive relation to educational attainment and a negative association with having a male partner, formal or informal. As cohabiting women tend to have less formal education and they do have a male partner, they are less involved in paid work than single mothers are (see Chapter 1).

Furthermore the findings of this research reveal pervasive conventional gender roles among the interviewees (see Chapter 6). In particular this research found evidence to support the view that femininity and masculinity are structured in relation to the bifurcation of social space between the house (*la casa*) and the street (*la calle*). As literature on gender asserts, in Latin America *la casa* and *la calle* define actual symbolic spaces for women and men (see Chapter 2). As is shown in Chapter 7, all interviewees, women and men, believe that the home is the place for the woman; and most women define themselves as home-loving. Likewise, men are believed, and believe themselves, to belong outside, to the street. The evidence gathered here suggests that women are in charge of running the house and looking after the children. Women are also in charge of managing the family budget, but men maintain their power, as most are the breadwinners.

As cohabiting women show a rather low involvement in the labour force, and interviewees reports record predominance of conventional gender roles, it is difficult

to see how cohabitation could challenge male dominance. In other words, these findings suggest that cohabitation follows rather than challenges conventional gender roles, and so it does not entail female emancipation.

Social welfare and the single mother

This tendency of decreased enforced marriage coincided with changes in social welfare which facilitated cohabitation, however unintentionally (see Chapter 1). These changes constitute a focus on unmarried mothers and the expansion of social welfare coverage. Targeting the single mother started under the military regime and was enhanced by post authoritarian governments of the *Concertación*. The *Concertación* also expanded social welfare coverage. As a consequence marriage is no longer the privileged form of access to social security for women/mothers not in formal employment.

Under the military regime, neoliberal ideas adopted in the 1980s targeted social welfare only for the poorest of the poor. The introduction of targeting meant that - unmarried mothers not in formal employment began to receive some social benefits, such as family allowance (SUF). Likewise the introduction of a basic state pension (PASIS) again meant a great benefit for unmarried women, at least in theory. Many unmarried women not in formal employment did not in practice receive the new benefits, at a time when social spending was also being slashed in the context of structural adjustment.

At the beginning of the 1990s, as democracy returned, the first *Concertación* government laid the foundations of the coalition's welfare provision policies. Subsequent governments focused on expanding the coverage and quality of welfare. *Concertación* governments did not challenge the logic of targeting. Rather, they defined some groups among the poor, such as women and children, as being more vulnerable; and significantly increased social spending. Therefore as democracy returned, unmarried mothers not in

formal employment began to be genuinely favoured by social welfare, in particular by housing policies.

In practice interviewees, especially women, report that they have more chances of receiving the housing subsidy if they apply as single mothers (see Chapter 4). They also report that cohabitation is more beneficial than marriage in this regard, since if they were married only one spouse could apply for the housing subsidy while the other would be prevented from doing so. They and their children are also given access to free health care as indigents in the state health system (FONASA). Thus it seems that once young people are already cohabiting, changes in social policies favouring solo parents might be an incentive to carry on like that. In support of this interpretation, many participants say that they would only like to get married once they have received the housing subsidy and moved to their own accommodation (see Chapter 7).

Romantic love and the wedding

The idea of romantic love seems to be much more relevant than is acknowledged by previous literature on union formation in Chile and Latin America (see Chapter 2). In this literature, union formation among low income groups is seen as driven by instrumental rather than romantic reasons. The findings of this study show that instrumental reasons such as the desire to leave the parental home remain relevant (see Chapter 6). Nonetheless most interviewees, and particularly men, say that the main reason for remaining with their current partner is that they love each other (see Chapter 7). Thus the evidence suggests that union formation is at least framed by discourses of romantic love. However, the fact that love is increasingly quoted as the main reason to form a partnership does not of course mean that other reasons have become irrelevant.

As the idealisation of romantic love has become more widespread, the wedding has become if anything more relevant. As said before, a 'proper' wedding entails a religious ceremony, the bride dressed in white at the church, and a party at night (see Chapter 7). The wedding is expected to show to everybody the unique relationship of the spouses to be. As expectations about the wedding have increased, weddings have become a bigger issue, and, probably, more expensive. If this is the case, this could explain why even in a context of economic bonanza, marriage is becoming less frequent.

All in all, the findings of this research suggest that rising unmarried cohabitation in Chile is connected to a process of modernization, but not in the sense asserted by the STD. Rising unmarried cohabitation among low income groups in Chile is primarily an outcome of declining patriarchy. If pregnancy happens daughters are less often forced into marriage, and so they have gained autonomy. Increased relevance of the wedding, signalling a unique relationship between two persons, also speaks of a more modern approach to union formation. That unmarried cohabitation rose right at the end of almost two decades of authoritarian rule further supports this link between unmarried cohabitation and enhanced autonomy. Modifications introduced by post-authoritarian regimes recognising women's and children's rights, at the expense of parents and men's privileges, back this link too.

However it is less clear that rising unmarried cohabitation is an outcome of increased female autonomy, or increased gender equality. As said above, cohabitation is not related with higher levels of female employment. Likewise welfare's new focus on the single mother is based on a conventional view of womanhood. First the state cares about single mothers because they are mothers. Second, single mothers are regarded as vulnerable because they do

not have a male partner to support them and their children. In spite of common belief, women heads of household are not clearly favoured by state benefits as single mothers are (see Chapter 1). Moreover interviewees themselves reproduce conventional gender roles. That most interviewees started living together as a result of pregnancy makes clear that childbearing is central to their relationship (see Chapter 6). Additionally, unmarried cohabitation is not experienced as a trial phase for marriage so much as a mirror image thereof.

However a few male interviewees do report being against marriage as they do not want any institution to intervene in their relationship (see Chapter 7). These discourses about individual autonomy should however be interpreted with caution, since as discussed above, a high proportion of those interviewees who want to carry on living together instead of getting married are also experiencing relatively substantial difficulties in their relationships. These discourses against marriage might, accordingly, be rationalizations.

This research also provides fresh insight on three subjects that go beyond its research questions. These are parents and their role in reproducing discrimination, stepfamilies and their complexities, and motherhood and suffering. The first two themes have been omitted in research on families in Latin America. By contrast, the third one, that links motherhood to suffering, has been highlighted in the literature about gender roles (see Chapter 2). In this concluding section I would like to make a few observations about each of these topics.

The findings of this research support previous literature which states that parents differentiate among their children according to gender (see Chapter 2). Indeed interviewees report that sons, particularly the firstborn, are favoured over daughters (see Chapter 5). However this

research also shows that parents differentiate among their offspring according to legitimacy (biological versus legal), colour or race. As was highlighted in Chapter 5, interviewees' reports show how their parents reproduced pervasive forms of discrimination in their attitudes toward their children. Parents favoured sons over daughters, biological children over stepchildren, and light skinned over dark skinned siblings. This evidence highlights how pervasive these forms of discrimination are in Chilean society, as they are operative from early in life and through primary bonds.

This research has also served to highlight the relevance of stepfamilies and the complexities that they bring to family relationships (see Chapters 5 and 7). Most parents of participants in this study were formerly married, but many had separated and repartnered. Most respondents were therefore brought up in stepfamilies. Developing relationships in stepfamilies is particularly difficult due to the absence of clear social or cultural patterns to follow (Cherlin 1978). In the near future stepfamilies are expected to become more frequent in Chile, as marriage is declining and divorce is now legal.

Thirdly, the current analysis also provides a grounded explanation of why motherhood is linked to suffering (see Chapter 6). This research suggests that gender inequalities operating in a context of deprived living conditions make pregnancy and motherhood particularly difficult experiences. As conventional gender roles predominate, motherhood is the privileged way to gain social status. Nonetheless, since daughters are restricted in their chances of dating and premarital pregnancy is condemned by parents, young women who become mothers risk being cut off by their parents. It is certainly true that pregnancy was reported by women interviewees as a difficult time in their life histories. Prevalence of conventional gender roles discourages female employment, especially for mothers of young children. Thus as women become mothers they may in fact become isolated from social relationships other than those within their extended families, and may also have

less access to other sources of reward, apart from motherhood. Lack of independent accommodation often aggravates their difficulties.

In light of this research, claims that link motherhood with suffering principally due to the supposed symbolic influence of the Virgin Mary seem misguided (see Chapter 2). Interpretations based on popular religiosity moreover help to unquestioningly reproduce the suffering of these young mothers, since conventional gender roles and deprived living conditions are presented as a quaint but deeply rooted folk custom typical of deprived groups. The same applies to manhood, which is said to follow the symbol of the Child. Here, social sources of power that enable men to enjoy sexual privileges and lack of paternal responsibilities are omitted.

Here I would also like to highlight that some of the study's findings are in accordance with research conducted in the UK and the US. For example, research on working class families in these countries show a similar pattern of early partnering for young women driven by a desire to gain autonomy from parents (Komarovsky 1967; Rubin 1976).

Likewise, research in the UK (Brown and Tirril 1978) has documented that depression is more common among working class women. Depression, defined as hopelessness or lack of social rewards, is related to experiences such as having young children; not being involved in paid work, and not having a confiding relationship. Harsh living conditions increase feelings of loss and lack of recognition. Thus depression is more pronounced among working class women, due to their increased vulnerability.

Similar views on sexuality and contraception among young people in the UK and US have also been documented. Research in the UK (Schofield 1968; Thomson 2004) and the US (Rubin 1976) shows that young women are hesitant about contraception, as they tend to relate sex with love and

trust. As Rubin puts it, ‘“good girls” do but don’t plan; “bad girls” do and plan’ (1976:63). In addition, evidence suggests a predominantly conventional understanding of sex, which translates into lack of conversation about sexual practices and contraception (Thomson 2004:105).

Schofield (1968) has also highlighted that in the UK in the 1960s, family influence on sexual matters was stronger for young women than for young men. Early sexual initiation of daughters was related to poor relations with parents. Hence for young women to decide to have sex also entailed a decision to break with parental authority. A teenage girl has to ‘overcome these family pressures and derogate her family loyalty before she can be persuaded to agree to premarital intercourse’ (1968:208).

Research in the UK on cohabitation involving children also demonstrates significant similarities with the present research (Kiernan and Estaugh 1993; McRae 1993). Cohabiting mothers in the UK tend, it is said, to belong to low-income groups; while cohabitation is seen as a kind of marriage. According to McRae, cohabiting mothers report similar reasons for remaining single, such as the expense of marriage and anticipated difficulties relating to any future divorce. She also asserts that cohabitation among this group does not imply increased gender equality. Cohabiting mothers in the UK, like those in the present study, report falling in love as the main reason to begin cohabiting, while at the same time intimating that unexpected pregnancy is also relevant.

All these similarities demonstrate that family life and views on gender and sexuality in Chile are not as unique as some culturalist interpretations assert (Morandé 1984; Montecino 2001; Morandé 2010). By the same token it would be erroneous to assert, as other scholars have, that families in Chile are following the same process of modernization described for industrialized countries (Valdés, Saavedra et al. 2005; Tironi, Valenzuela et al. 2006; Valdés 2007).

What are the policy implications of this study? Firstly, it should be acknowledged that there is insufficient evidence to demonstrate that cohabitation has a negative impact on family life. Such claims are often based on statistical analyses that have found links between types of partnership and variables such as stability of partnership. Yet finding a connection does not mean establishing a causal relationship. The findings of this research suggest that cohabitation is an outcome rather than a cause. Those from low income groups who face greater difficulties and are less similar would probably start living together informally, while those from middle-high income groups who are more similar and face fewer difficulties would probably start living together through formal marriage.

The facts are, firstly, that there are diverse forms of union, and secondly, that cohabitation is more common among low income groups. To cohabit because it is more feasible than to marry does not necessarily mean being against marriage (see Chapter 7). Thus alternative forms of partnership should not be seen as a threat to marriage, especially in a society as conventional as Chile's. Indeed, the latest data indicates that the marriage rate has increased since divorce was introduced in 2005 (Cox 2011). Therefore to try to impose marriage as the only acceptable form of union formation would equate to promoting social discrimination.

In terms of policy implications we should also attend to the complex interaction of social policies with family arrangements shown here, especially among low income groups. In Chile, unmarried mothers have historically been neglected by a social welfare system which encouraged marriage (see Chapter 1). By contrast, thanks to the prevalence of targeted social policies, unmarried mothers are today favoured. Cohabitation has unwittingly been facilitated. The targeting of social policies is inherently problematic, as it tends to introduce diverse and unexpected sources of privilege and discrimination. In a

universal system of welfare provision, in which every person is entitled to similar rights, there would be no favoured groups. Yet targeted rather than universal social policies will most probably continue to be central in Chile. Therefore it would be desirable to have a better understanding of assumptions about gender and kinship which inform targeted social benefits, and to know more about their actual effects on families.

A third policy implication is the need to improve official data on partnerships and families. If union formation and families are to be studied properly, studies and official data generally need to differentiate between marital status, partnership, and living arrangements. The current situation, in which official census data overlaps living arrangements with marital status, is inadequate. It is also necessary to have data on people's trajectories in relation to partnerships. This would include dimensions such as type, number, duration, and dissolution of partnerships across the life cycle, and would also consider the question of re-partnering.

Current national statistics such as the national census and the official *Encuesta de Caracterización Socioeconómica Nacional*, CASEN, are inadequate for the study of families, as they are focused on households. Families are complex, and usually involve more than one household. Statistics in Chile are based on households, which helps promote the idea that families are restricted and confined to a single household. This is a distorted view. The same focus on the household brings about the need to identify the head of the household, which automatically translates into assumptions about family headship. Hence this way of collecting data about households and families is insensitive to changes in family life beyond household composition. Therefore, in order to advance in the study of families, it would be desirable to improve the accuracy of data.

As regards viable directions for future research, one logical extension of the present findings would be to study cohabitation among other social groups, e.g. the middle and upper classes. Such research should also be complemented with studies of marriage, focusing in particular on how people come to get married. Other fruitful lines of research might involve looking at the consequences of the breakdown of a cohabiting relationship for the partners and children involved. Comparisons with post-divorce effects would be pertinent, as one should expect more negative consequences for cohabiting couples.

A third line of research should delve further into how cohabiting couples and their children relate to social institutions. Access to education and financial services, and the status of cohabiting couples for tax purposes, need to be investigated. All told, cohabitation is an elusive and rather invisible arrangement. Yet it is particularly frequent among more deprived groups. Future research should therefore increase its visibility, so as to shed light on ongoing mechanisms of reproduction of inequalities and discrimination which affect a growing number of families.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 – MATRIX OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASSIFICATION

Box A1.1: Matrix of socio-economic classification

		Main provider's occupation			
		Occasional work	Manual unskilled work	Manual skilled work	Administrative work
Main provider's educational attainment	Incomplete primary or less	E	E	D	C3
	Complete primary	E	D	D	C3
	Incomplete secondary or complete vocational	D	D	D	C3
	Complete secondary or incomplete higher vocational	D	D	C3	C3

Source: Adimark (2000)

Notes: E refers to the poorest, D to the lower socio-economic group, and C3 to the middle-low, socio-economic group.

APPENDIX 2 – MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERVIEWEES, THEIR PARTNERS, AND PARENTS

Table A2.1: Interviewees' main characteristics

	Pseudonym	Gender	Age (years)	Borough	Socio economic group	Schooling (years)	Main occupation
1	Giovanna	F	21	CN	D	11	housewife
2	Diana	F	23	CN	D	12	housewife
3	Leocadia	F	22	LP	D	8	housewife
4	Verónica	F	26	CN	D	9	housewife
5	Jane	F	27	LP	D	10	housewife
6	Frances	F	24	CN	D	12	housewife
7	Dalila	F	20	CN	D	12	housewife
8	Jessica	F	21	CN	D	12	housewife
9	Karin	F	27	LP	D	8	sick leave
10	Paulina	F	25	LP	D	12	housewife
11	Elaine	F	29	LP	D	12	housewife
12	Danae	F	28	LP	C3	12	housewife
13	Celio	M	25	LP	C3	12	NI
14	Adrian	M	24	CN	D	8	unskilled manual
15	Fernando	M	24	LP	C3	12	unemployed
16	León	M	28	CN	D	10	unemployed
17	Andrew	M	25	CN	D	12	occasional work
18	Albert	M	24	CN	D	12	unskilled manual
19	Pedro	M	23	CN	D	11	unskilled manual
20	Iván	M	27	LP	D	12	skilled manual
21	Ernesto	M	29	CN	D	12	unskilled manual
22	Eugenio	M	25	LP	C3	12	administrative
23	Cristián	M	22	LP	D	8	skilled manual
24	Mauricio	M	27	LP	C3	12	administrative

NI: No information

CN: Cerro Navia

LP: La Pintana

Table A2.1: Interviewee's main characteristics (continued)

	Pseudonym	Paid work	Earned income (Chilean pesos 2008, monthly)	Contributes to retirement pension	Type of health coverage (Fonasa)	Claims family allowances
1	Giovanna	no	NA	no	indigent	yes
2	Diana	yes	120,000	no	indigent	yes
3	Leocadia	no	NA	no	indigent	yes
4	Verónica	no	NA	no	indigent	yes
5	Jane	no	NA	no	indigent	no
6	Frances	no	NA	no	indigent	yes
7	Dalila	no	NA	no	indigent	yes
8	Jessica	no	NA	no	indigent	no
9	Karin	yes	80,000	yes	wage-earner	yes
10	Paulina	no	NA	no	indigent	yes
11	Elaine	yes	NI	no	indigent	yes
12	Danae	no	NA	no	indigent	yes
13	Celio	yes	NI	yes	wage-earner	yes
14	Adrian	yes	NI	yes	indigent	yes
15	Fernando	no	NA	no	wage-earner	yes
16	León	no	NA	no	not specified	yes
17	Andrew	yes	110,000	no	not specified	yes
18	Albert	yes	150,000	no	not specified	yes
19	Pedro	yes	190,000	yes	not specified	no
20	Iván	yes	200,000	no	indigent	yes
21	Ernesto	yes	200,000	yes	not specified	NI
22	Eugenio	yes	380,000	yes	wage-earner	yes
23	Cristián	yes	400,000	yes	wage-earner	yes
24	Mauricio	yes	500,000	yes	wage-earner	yes

NI: No information

NA: Not applicable

Note: At March 2012, 1,000 Chilean pesos is roughly equivalent to 2 American dollars or 1 British pound.

Table A2.1: Interviewees' main characteristics (continued)

	Pseudonym	Time cohabiting (years)	Number of children	Living arrangements	Religion	Political affiliation
1	Giovanna	4	2	allegados	none	none
2	Diana	3	2	allegados	Catholic	Concertación
3	Leocadia	3	1	allegados	Evangelical	NI
4	Verónica	4	2	allegados	Evangelical	Alianza
5	Jane	10	2	rented	Catholic	Concertación
6	Frances	2	1	allegados	Catholic	Concertación
7	Dalila	1	1	allegados	Catholic	Alianza
8	Jessica	1	1	allegados	Catholic	Concertación
9	Karin	10	3	illegal land occupation	Catholic	Concertación
10	Paulina	7	1	rented	Catholic	Alianza
11	Elaine	6	1	allegados	Catholic	Concertación
12	Danae	12	1	allegados	Evangelical	Concertación
13	Celio	2	1	rented	none	Communist party
14	Adrian	7	2	allegados	Evangelical	NI
15	Fernando	2	1	allegados	Catholic	Concertación
16	León	7	1	allegados	Catholic	Concertación
17	Andrew	1	2	allegados	Catholic	none
18	Albert	3	1	allegados	Catholic	none
19	Pedro	3	1	allegados	none	none
20	Iván	3	2	rented	other	none
21	Ernesto	7	1	allegados	Catholic	Alianza
22	Eugenio	5	1	rented	Christian, no denom.	none
23	Cristián	2	1	allegados	none	Concertación
24	Mauricio	9	1	rented	Catholic	none

Allegados: living in the house of another family, typically parents.

Concertación: centre-left coalition

Alianza: centre-right coalition

NI: No information

Table A2.2: Partners' main characteristics

	Partner of	Gender	Age (years)	Schooling (years)	Main occupation	Paid work	Earned income (Chilean pesos 2008, monthly)
1	Giovanna	M	25	12	unskilled manual	yes	NI
2	Diana	M	24	12	unskilled manual	yes	80,000
3	Leocadia	M	32	9	unskilled manual	yes	160,000
4	Verónica	M	26	10	unskilled manual	yes	175,000
5	Jane	M	27	12	unskilled manual	yes	180,000
6	Frances	M	28	12	unskilled manual	yes	190,000
7	Dalila	M	21	11	unskilled manual	yes	220,000
8	Jessica	M	20	11	unskilled manual	yes	220,000
9	Karin	M	30	8	unskilled manual	yes	225,000
10	Paulina	M	26	10	unskilled manual	yes	250,000
11	Elaine	M	30	8	unskilled manual	yes	280,000
12	Danae	M	30	12	administrative	yes	380,000
13	Celio	F	29	14	housewife	no	NA
14	Adrian	F	20	NI	NI	NI	NI
15	Fernando	F	22	12	administrative	yes	180,000
16	León	F	23	NI	unskilled manual	yes	180,000
17	Andrew	F	20	12	housewife	no	NA
18	Albert	F	23	12	housewife	no	NA
19	Pedro	F	21	11	housewife	no	NA
20	Iván	F	25	12	housewife	yes	200,000
21	Ernesto	F	23	12	unskilled manual	yes	180,000
22	Eugenio	F	23	12	housewife	no	NA
23	Cristián	F	21	12	housewife	no	NA
24	Mauricio	F	26	12	housewife	no	NA

NI: No information

NA: Not applicable

Note: At March 2012, 1,000 Chilean pesos is roughly equivalent to 2 American dollars or 1 British pound.

Table A2.2: Partners' main characteristics (continued)

	Partner of	Contributes to retirement pension	Type of health coverage (Fonasa)	Number of children	Religion	Political affiliation
1	Giovanna	yes	none	2	none	Alianza
2	Diana	no	indigent	1	Catholic	Alianza
3	Leocadia	yes	indigent	2	none	NI
4	Verónica	yes	indigent	2	none	Alianza
5	Jane	yes	indigent	2	Catholic	Concertación
6	Frances	no	indigent	1	Catholic	Concertación
7	Dalila	yes	wage-earner	1	none	Alianza
8	Jessica	yes	wage-earner	1	Catholic	none
9	Karin	yes	wage-earner	3	Catholic	none
10	Paulina	yes	wage-earner	1	Catholic	Alianza
11	Elaine	no	indigent	1	Evangelical	Alianza
12	Danae	yes	wage-earner	1	Christian, no denom.	Alianza
13	Celio	no	not specified	1	Catholic	Communist party
14	Adrian	NI	indigent	2	NI	NI
15	Fernando	yes	wage-earner	1	Catholic	Alianza
16	León	yes	wage-earner	1	Evangelical	none
17	Andrew	no	indigent	1	Catholic	Concertación
18	Albert	no	indigent	2	Catholic	NI
19	Pedro	no	not specified	1	none	none
20	Iván	no	indigent	3	other	none
21	Ernesto	yes	not specified	1	Catholic	none
22	Eugenio	no	not specified	1	Christian, no denom.	none
23	Cristián	no	not specified	1	other	Concertación
24	Mauricio	no	indigent	1	Evangelical	none

Concertación: centre-left coalition

Alianza: centre-right coalition

NI: No information

Table A2.3: Parents' main characteristics

	Parents of	Mother's age	Father's age	Mother's schooling (years)	Father's schooling (years)	Mother's occupation	Father's occupation
1	Giovanna	49	58	12	10	unskilled manual	unskilled manual
2	Diana	47	49	6	10	housewife	unskilled manual
3	Leocadia	40	54	5	3	skilled manual	unskilled manual
4	Verónica	43	44	4	NI	unskilled manual	unskilled manual
5	Jane	44	44	10	NI	unskilled manual	skilled manual
6	Frances	44	54	11	NI	skilled manual	NI
7	Dalila	57	62	10	6	unskilled manual	unskilled manual
8	Jessica	38	died	10	12	skilled manual	skilled manual
9	Karín	53	55	12	12	skilled manual	skilled manual
10	Paulina	48	48	8	12	unskilled manual	skilled manual
11	Elaine	49	52	8	4	housewife	unskilled manual
12	Danae	50	63	10	7	housewife	unskilled manual
13	Celio	48	50	9	12	skilled manual	skilled manual
14	Adrian	41	45	4	9	unskilled manual	unskilled manual
15	Fernando	48	died	10	8	unskilled manual	skilled manual
16	León	49	50	10	11	unskilled manual	skilled manual
17	Andrew	49	55	12	2	skilled manual	skilled manual
18	Albert	49	49	6	10	housewife	skilled manual
19	Pedro	47	49	10	NI	unskilled manual	skilled manual
20	Iván	51	57	7	5	skilled manual	skilled manual
21	Ernesto	50	55	12	12	housewife	skilled manual
22	Eugenio	NI	NI	6	10	housewife	skilled manual
23	Cristián	53	55	8	10	unskilled manual	skilled manual
24	Mauricio	47	59	8	3	housewife	skilled manual

NI: No information

Table A2.3: Parents' main characteristics (continued)

	Parents of	Mother's religion	Father's religion	Mother's political affiliation	Father's political affiliation
1	Giovanna	none	Catholic	Concertación	Concertación
2	Diana	Catholic	Catholic	Concertación	Concertación
3	Leocadia	Evangelical	Evangelical	NI	none
4	Verónica	none	none	Alianza	NI
5	Jane	Catholic	Catholic	Concertación	NI
6	Frances	Catholic	NI	Communist party	NI
7	Dalila	Catholic	Catholic	Concertación	Concertación
8	Jessica	Catholic	Evangelical	Concertación	NI
9	Karín	Catholic	Catholic	Concertación	Alianza
10	Paulina	Catholic	Catholic	Alianza	Alianza
11	Elaine	Catholic	Catholic	Concertación	NI
12	Danae	Evangelical	Catholic	Concertación	NI
13	Celio	Catholic	Christian, no denom.	Communist party	Communist party
14	Adrian	Evangelical	Evangelical	NI	NI
15	Fernando	Catholic	Catholic	Concertación	Concertación
16	León	Catholic	Catholic	Concertación	Concertación
17	Andrew	Catholic	Catholic	none	none
18	Albert	Catholic	Catholic	NI	NI
19	Pedro	Evangelical	Evangelical	none	none
20	Iván	Catholic	Catholic	Communist party	none
21	Ernesto	Catholic	Catholic	none	NI
22	Eugenio	Evangelical	Evangelical	none	none
23	Cristián	Catholic	Catholic	Alianza	NI
24	Mauricio	Catholic	Catholic	none	Alianza

Concertación: centre-left coalition

Alianza: centre-right coalition

NI: No information

Table A2.3: Parent's main characteristics (continued)

	Parents of	Mother's number of children	Father's number of children	Parents' original relationship
1	Giovanna	3	4	cohabitation
2	Diana	3	4	cohabitation
3	Leocadia	5	5	married
4	Verónica	4	5	cohabitation
5	Jane	5	3	single mother
6	Frances	1	3	cohabitation
7	Dalila	5	5	married
8	Jessica	2	1	cohabitation
9	Karin	3	2	married
10	Paulina	2	2	married
11	Elaine	3	3	married
12	Danae	8	6	married
13	Celio	4	2	married
14	Adrian	10	11	married
15	Fernando	3	2	married
16	León	3	4	married
17	Andrew	6	8	married
18	Albert	3	3	married
19	Pedro	3	3	married
20	Iván	4	4	married
21	Ernesto	3	4	married
22	Eugenio	5	6	married
23	Cristián	4	6	visiting partner
24	Mauricio	4	5	cohabitation

APPENDIX 3 - DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS (translated from the original Spanish)

FIRST SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

FAMILY TREE

Introduction

- The idea is first to do a family tree. I would like you to tell me about your grandparents and parents. Then we will continue with the history of your life, how your life has been from your birth to today.

Grandparents

- To begin with, could you tell me about your maternal grandmother (your mother's mother)? How would you describe her? How is/was your relationship with her? What feelings do you have about her?
- Repeat the same with each grandparent.
- Then ask about the couple relationship between the maternal, then the paternal, grandparents.

Parents

- Now can you tell me about your mother? How would you describe her? How is your relationship with her? What feelings do you have when you talk about her?
- Repeat the same for the father

Parents' partnership

- How do/did your parents get along?
- Type of partnership: marital status, and if they live together or not.
- How did your parents form a partnership? Check: Love, children, leaving parental home, forced marriage, arranged marriage, etc.

- How old were they when they formed a couple?
- Once they were together, what kept them together? Check: Children, satisfaction with partner, fear, habit, etc.
- Who was/is the head of the family? Who had/has the last word?
- Age and marital status of the mother at her first pregnancy.
- Did they want to have children?
- Did they have as many children as they wanted, or more or less?
- Who was in charge of the children's upbringing? Who was in charge of bringing in the money?
- In your parental home, did children help with the housework, such as cleaning, washing-up, or cooking? Did children help care for younger siblings? Were there differences between sons and daughters?
- How were the children recorded in the registry office? (as children of both parents, only of the mother, or only of the father).

Closing

- What traits do you think you have inherited from your maternal grandparents? Ask the same for paternal grandparents and for parents.
- Is the family in which you were raised an example to follow?

LIFE HISTORY

Introduction

- We all have a life history. Please tell me the story of your life from your birth to the present. Feel free to tell me anything that you wish.

Childhood

- How would you describe your childhood? Check: neighbourhood, and experience of school.
- Could you give me a positive memory from your childhood?

- And a negative memory from your childhood?
- When you were a child, how did you imagine you would be as a grown-up? Did you wish to be as someone?
- When did your childhood end?

Adolescence & youth

- How would you describe your youth? Check: friends and activities.
- What happened with your studies (school)? Check: last year of school.
- How would you describe your experience of paid work?
- When did you become an adult?

Closing

- What do you think is the meaning of life? What makes you get up every day?

SECOND SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

PARTNERS, CHILDREN, AND FAMILY FORMATION

Introduction

- Now that you have already told me the story of your life, I would like to focus on the history of your relationships.

Partnerships (before current one)

- How would you describe your love life or the partnerships that you have had?
- Did you used to go out? How did you make relationships with the opposite sex?
- How was the first time that you had sex? What did you do about the possibility of pregnancy? What did you do about the possibility of a sexually transmitted disease? Check: Contraception.
- At that time, how did you imagine your future love life? Check: Living alone, living in partnership, marriage or cohabitation, with or without children.

Current partnership

- Every couple has a story, could you tell me the story of your current partnership? How did you meet? Why did you feel attracted to him/her? Why was he/she was attracted to you?
- How would you describe your partner?
- What is the best thing about your relationship? What is the most difficult thing about your relationship?
- Why are you still together? Check: Partner, children, etc.
- What is your role in the relationship? What is the role of your partner?
- Who is the head of your household? Who has the last word?

Children

- Now we are going to talk more about your children.

- How did you come to have your first child with your current partner?
 - What was the first thing that came to your mind when you knew about the pregnancy?
 - Only women: What were your expectations about your partner's reaction?
 - At that time, were you looking forward to having a child? What about your partner?
 - How did you experience pregnancy? Ask also for partner's experience.
 - How would you describe the experience of having a child?
 - Who looks after your child/children?
 - How was your child recorded in the registry office? (progeny of both parents; only of the mother; only of the father)
 - How would you describe your relationship after your child was born?
 - Would you like to have more children? How about your partner? What are you doing in relation to this issue?
 - Does/do your child/children help with the housework? Check: Cleaning, washing up, or cooking. Does your child help or care for younger children? Check: Gender differences in housework and childcare.
 - Do you have children from other relationships? Can you tell me about them?

Cohabitation

- How did you come to live together as a couple? Check: Particular situation that sparked cohabitation. Date when you began to live together.
- How did you decide where to live? What other alternatives were there?
- How has living together been?
- In the time that you have been together, have you ever thought about getting married?

- o If you have thought about getting married ask about possible reasons. Check: Commitment, social recognition, wedding.
- o Why have you not married yet? Possible hurdles to marriage:
 - √ Partner does not want to get married (why?)
 - √ Partner will feel as though he/she has authority over me
 - √ Families of origin oppose marriage
 - √ First we need our own house
 - √ Expense of marriage
 - √ Fear of losing social benefits
 - √ Avoiding legal divorce
 - √ No need to, as we already live as a married couple
- o If you have NOT thought about getting married, what would need to happen in the future, to make you change your mind? Check same possible reasons as hurdles to marriage.
- Have you cohabited before with another partner? How was that experience?

Cohabitation and marriage

- Is there any difference between cohabitation and marriage? In what ways are they similar? In what ways are they different?
- Are there any advantages for married families in comparison to cohabiting families? And are there any disadvantages?
- In the future would you like to carry on living together, or get married?

Expectations

- How do you imagine your life in three years' time?

Closing

- Is there anything else you would like to say?

Many thanks

STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE

Interviewer:

Date:

P1. Name:

P2. Address:

P3. Contact telephone:

P4. Email:

P5. Gender:

P6. Date of birth:

P7. Age:

HOUSING

P8. Do you live in... accommodation?

1. My own 2. Rented 3. *Allegado*

P9. Who do you live with? Start with the interviewee, and continue with other inhabitants of the same household.

No	Name	Age	Gender	Relationship with interviewee
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				

FAMILY TREE

P10. PARENTS, PARTNER, AND INTERVIEWEE

	FATHER	MOTHER	PARTNER	INTERVIEWEE
1. Full name				
2. Age (if applicable, date/age at time of death)				
3. Place of birth				
4. Place of residence				
5. Last year of education				
6. Occupation (main activity)				
7. Religion				
8. Religiosity (high/low)				
9. On the electoral roll? (yes/no)				
10. Political affiliation				
11. Marital status (legal)				
12. Number of children (indicate if out of wedlock))				
13. Agrees that women with young children can be in paid employment? (yes/no)				

PAID WORK, HEALTH, AND SOCIAL SECURITY

P11. Currently, are you involved in paid work? Is your partner in paid work?

P12. ONLY FOR THOSE WHO ARE IN PAID WORK:

- How much do you earn (monthly)?
- Do you contribute to social security? (Retirement pension)

	P11 Paid work yes/no	P12.1 Monthly income (Chilean pesos)	P12.2 Retirement system No/AFP/INP/other
Interviewee			
Partner			

P13. If you are short of cash, who do you ask for help? Identify person/s whom they regularly borrow from, and amount typically borrowed.

P14. Do you, or your partner, claim family allowance? How much do you receive (monthly)?

Claim Yes/no	Monthly amount

P15. Which of the following sentences best describes the economic situation of your family?

1. We cannot cover our needs
2. We can cover only our basic needs and nothing else
3. We can afford some small luxuries
4. We can live comfortably

P16. Which health system do you have? Which health system does your partner have? Which health system do your children have?

	Fonasa/Isapre/Armed Forces/Do not know/none
Interviewee	
Partner	
Child 1 (name)	
Child 2	
Child 3	

COHABITATION

P17. On a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 means strongly disagree and 7 means strongly agree, how would you reply to the statement 'it is acceptable for a couple to live together without intending to marry'?

Strongly disagree						Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

P18. Using the same scale, how would you reply to the statement, 'it is a good idea for a couple who intend to marry to first live together'?

Strongly disagree						Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

P19. On a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 means 'not sure at all' and 7 means, 'absolutely sure', how sure are you that you will be together with your current partner in three years time?

Not sure at all						Absolutely sure
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

P20. On a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 means 'I would not like it at all' and 7 means, 'I would like it a lot', how much would you like to marry your current partner?

Not at all						A lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

MANY THANKS

NOTES:

APPENDIX 4: PARTICIPANTS' INFORMATION SHEET AND INFORMED CONSENT FORM

PARTICIPANTS' INFORMATION SHEET

STUDY OF LIVING TOGETHER AND HAVING CHILDREN IN CHILE TODAY
Alejandra Ramm (University of Cambridge, United Kingdom)

This study seeks to understand how people come to live together and to have children. What are their experiences as a couple? What do you like about living together? What difficulties do you face? How is the experience of having a child?

You have been invited to take part in this study because you live together with your partner, and you have at least one child born of that relationship. So you are better placed than anyone else to describe the experience of cohabitation involving children.

It is very important that you participate in the study because it will help us to better understand Chilean families today, their histories, the good things, and the difficulties. In addition, you will have the opportunity to think about and to talk about your family.

Your participation is voluntary. If you decide to take part, you are free to stop participating at any time, without needing to give any reason. Therefore, you are always free to either carry on or to leave the study.

If you agree to participate we will meet you twice, at a place and time of your convenience. Each time we will meet for between one and a half to two hours at the most. We will ask you about your family of origin, your life history, and how you formed your current family. We will need to talk about your love and sexual life.

It should be emphasized that personal information, such as your full name and address will be treated as confidential. Likewise, your identity will be kept anonymous in presentations of the research results.

The results will be published as a doctoral thesis at the University of Cambridge, United Kingdom, and eventually as an academic article or book. The study is fully financed by funding provided by the University, thus there are no other private or public institutions behind it.

If you have any question about the study, or if you need further information, please do not hesitate to contact the person in charge: Alejandra Ramm, [email](#) address, mobile number. Many thanks.

INFORMED CONSENT FORM**LIVING TOGETHER AND HAVING CHILDREN IN TODAY'S CHILE**

Alejandra Ramm (University of Cambridge)

Mob:

Email:

Please tick

	Yes	No
1. I confirm that I have read and that I have understood the participants' information sheet and that I have had the opportunity to ask questions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can quit at any time without need to give any justification	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. I agree to participate in the study	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. I agree to the interviews being tape recorded	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. I agree to photographs being taken of myself during the interviews	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. I agree to my identity being made anonymous when the research results are published	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Participant's full name_____
Date_____
Signature

APPENDIX 5 – QUALITATIVE CODES AND QUANTITATIVE VARIABLES

Box A5.1: Qualitative codes

CORE CODES	SUB CODES
1. Background	Family of origin, education, work, accommodation, social welfare, beliefs, neighbourhood, friends and social bonds, etc.
2. Partnership	Advantages & disadvantages of marriage and cohabitation, experiences of living together, reasons for beginning to live together, reasons to carry on living together, power within partnership, etc.
3. Life stages	Childhood, youth (before cohabitation), adulthood
4. Gender roles	Femininity, masculinity, homosexuality.
5. Parenthood	Pregnancy, upbringing, reasons for having children, desire to have more children, being a parent, etc.
6. Personality	Interviewees self-portraits of their character
7. People	Interviewee, grandparents, parents, siblings, step-relatives, in-laws, children, etc.
8. Feelings	Feelings associated with different experiences.
9. Sexuality	Courtship, first sexual intercourse, contraception, sexual life, etc.
10. Expectations	Past and present expectations

Box A5.2: Quantitative variables

TOPICS	VARIABLES
1. Contact details	Name, address, telephone, etc.
2. Classification	Gender, age, education, occupation, residence, religion, political affiliation, marital status, birth order, etc.
3. Paid & unpaid work and economic situation	Involvement in paid and unpaid work, work contract, income, housework & childcare, perception of economic situation, attitude to female employment, living arrangements, etc.
4. Social security	Housing subsidy, contribution to pension fund, health provision, family allowance, etc.
5. Family of origin (parents)	Marital status, current relationship, stepfamily, family headship, difficulties experienced, etc.
6. Living together	Family unit, children, time living together, family headship, stepfamily, expectations, etc.
7. Sex, pregnancy & children	First sexual intercourse, pregnancy, contraception, sexual partner, etc.
8. Cohabitation & marriage	Advantages and disadvantages

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