LIVING ARRANGEMENTS OF CHILDREN IN LATIN AMERICA: CONSEQUENCES OF MARITAL PATTERNS

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Abstract

This paper analyzes how marital patterns in Mexico and Colombia affect the lives of children. Using life table methods, the proportion of children affected by a marital disruption by age fifteen is estimated. The factors that contribute to the risk of a child experiencing a marital disruption are investigated using proportional hazards models. Finally, the living arrangements of children by mother's marital status, urban status and mother's educational attainment are explored. The findings indicate that about one fifth of Mexican children and one third of Colombian children spend some time with an unmarried mother by the age of fifteen. Additionally, those who experience a disruption or are born outside of marriage spend a considerable length of time in the single parent state. Most children of an unmarried mother live in an extended family household, often with a grandparent.

Recently a great deal of attention has been given to the changing living arrangements of children in the U.S. (Bane 1976; Bumpass 1984; Bumpass and Rindfuss 1979). Due to increasing rates of marital dissolution and childbearing out of wedlock, a large proportion of children are growing up in single parent (mainly female-headed) families. These households are much more likely to be in poverty than those containing two parents, and it has been found that most children have extremely limited contact with their fathers after a divorce (Furstenberg et al. 1983). In Latin America marital dissolution rates are relatively high, at least among third world countries, and there is some indication that these rates have increased slightly in recent years (Goldman 1981; Smith, Carrasco and McDonald 1984). Latin America is also characterized by a high proportion of consensual unions, which have higher rates of marital dissolution, and greater tolerance of childbearing outside of marriage (Goldman and Pebley 1981; Onaka and Yaukey 1973). Additionally, since mortality rates are higher in Latin America than in the U.S., there is a higher likelihood of children experiencing the death of a parent; thus the proportion of dissolutions due to widowhood may more closely resemble those for the U.S. earlier in this century (Bane 1976).

The implications of marital disruption for the living arrangements of children in Latin America are not known. A much greater proportion of children live in extended family situations than in the U.S., and hence it cannot be assumed that the majority are in a single parent household after a marital dissolution. At the same time, researchers in third world countries maintain that increasing numbers of women are heading their own households. This is particularly true in urban areas of Latin America, where women have migrated at higher rates than men throughout the post-war era (Butterworth and Chance 1981; Merrick and Schmink 1983). Though much has been written about the importance of

the extended family in Latin America, and the impact of urbanization and industrialization on household composition, less is known about the relationship of women's marital status on living arrangements, particularly as it affects their children.

This paper examines the experience of marital dissolution and non-marital birth in the lives of children in two large Latin American countries, Colombia and Mexico. The factors contributing to the likelihood of a child experiencing a marital dissolution are also identified. Finally, the implications of a marital disruption on children's living arrangements and the interrelationships between living arrangements, socioeconomic and urban status, and marital dissolution are explored.

Data and Methods

The data for this analysis comes from the household and fertility survey files of the World Fertility Survey of Colombia and Mexico. The household survey files provide a rich source of information on children under age fifteen living in a representative sample of households in the two countries in 1976-77. These children's records were linked to their mother's household and fertility survey information using the "mother's line number" identification. Additionally, the relationship of other members of the household to the child was added to each child's record.

It should be noted that two different types of data are being used in this paper. The analysis of children's living arrangements uses the sample of children under age 15 found in the household survey. These children are linked to their mothers to obtain such information as her marital status, educational attainment, etc. In the life table analysis of children's experience with marital disruption, however, a file consisting of birth records was created

from women's pregnancy histories from the fertility survey. This file combines information about women's marital histories in relation to each birth history in a more straightforward fashion than would an attempt to link children from the household survey to their mother's marital history. The major differences between the two files are: 1) children not living with their mother, including any who have died, are included in her birth history; and 2) there is likely greater accuracy in the fertility survey records of children's birth dates and mother's marital status than in the household survey (Florez and Goldman 1980; Ordorica and Potter 981).

Life table analysis is used to assess the extent of marital disruption and non-marital birth in the lives of children in the two countries. By using the birth and marital histories, a synthetic cohort is created to estimate the cumulative proportion that would experience a disruption (through father's death or separation) by a given age. Children enter the life table at birth and exit when a marital disruption occurs; those who die or who do not experience a disruption by the time of the interview are treated as censored records. Pre-marital and inter-marital births are included by treating the event (marital disruption) as occurring immediately after birth. In addition, life tables are used to estimate time to mother's remarriage for those children who experience a disruption (and time to marriage for pre-marital and inter-marital births).

These life table methods allow us to move beyond a cross sectional view of the proportion of children living with an unmarried mother to an analysis of the proportion of children who spend some time with an unmarried mother over the course of their childhood. There are several sources of bias in making these estimates that should be noted however. One is that maternal mortality in the lives of children cannot be analyzed, since a woman must

have been present to be interviewed for the survey. The proportion of children who do not live with their mothers gives some indication of the degree of this bias (though of course their mothers may be absent for other reasons): it is 4.7% of children under age fifteen in Mexico and 9.4% in Colombia. A second issue is that by creating a file of birth records an additional cluster is added for each woman, meaning that some of the independence of the original sample is lost. This is not a serious problem, but it should be noted since women were the units sampled rather than children (Bumpass 1984; Bumpass and Rindfuss 1979). Thirdly, the restriction posed by interviewing only women aged 15-49 for the fertility survey creates a bias in the age of the mother at the child's birth for older children. A child aged 14 at the time of the survey must have been born to a woman aged 35 or younger. For this reason the analysis is restricted to births that occurred when the mother was under age 35.

Since the experiences of different birth cohorts are combined in a life table analysis, it is necessary to assume that marital dissolution rates have remained constant over time. Analyses of marital history data from the World Fertility Survey data from Colombia and Mexico found an upturn in such rates in the years immediately prior to the survey (Goldman 1981; Potter and Ojeda de la Pena 1983). Both studies suggest that this may be due to temporary separations at the time of the interview, and/or to the omission of short-term unions which occurred many years prior to the survey. Thus to combine the early years of experience for birth cohorts over the entire period being analyzed would confuse period and age effects, particularly if there is differential reporting of unions and separations according to their timing. For this reason, period life tables are estimated for the analyses of children's experience with marital disruption. Moving three-year cohort estimates of q_x from fifteen cohort life tables, for the birth cohorts 1959-61 and 1973-75, are combined to obtain the

period estimates: the estimate for the first year of experience was taken from the 1973-75 birth cohort, for the second year from the 1972-74 cohort, and so on. The estimates for time to remarriage and time to marriage for pre- and inter-marital births, as well as the proportional hazards models, are restricted to births after 1959. This restriction was made for three reasons. First, there is again a bias according to mother's age as children born earlier are necessarily born to younger mothers; a child born in 1958 must have been born to a woman aged 31 or younger. Secondly, because we are concerned with the living arrangements of children under age 15 at the time of the survey, it is logical to look at the experience of marital disruption over the past fifteen years. And, thirdly, there is likely more accuracy in the more recent birth and marital histories.

Proportional hazards models are then used to examine the impact of independent variables on children's experience with marital disruption. The proportional hazards model allows the age specific death rates (or in this case, dissolution rates) to vary according to covariates. A likelihood function is fitted by finding the joint probability of observing the experience of the birth records in the sample. Then parameter estimates for the covariates are found that maximize the joint probability. A positive coefficient indicates that the covariate has a negative impact on time to marital dissolution, i.e. that the event is more likely to occur. Because several of the independent variables, such as mother's education, vary according to the child's birth cohort, a stratified model is estimated. This means that the hazard function is different for each strata (or birth cohort), while the regression coefficients are the same across strata (Kalbfleisch and Prentice 1980; Lehrer 1984; Trussel and Hammerslough 1983). [1]

Marital Patterns in Latin America

Before discussing the analysis of children's experience of marital disruption, some background on marital patterns is needed. Demographic research on marriage in Latin America has mainly been concerned with the characteristics of women associated with type of union, whether consensual or legal, and differentials in marital dissolution by union type. Consensual unions have been found to be much more frequent among rural women and those of lower socioeconomic and educational level (Downing and Yaukey 1979; Michielutte et al. 1973). They are also characterized by a lower average age at union, but younger age at union is also associated with lower levels of education and rural residence (Balakrishnan 1976; Goldman 1981; Yaukey, Thorsen and Onaka 1972; Yaukey and Thorsen 1972). Consensual unions have much higher rates of marital dissolution than legal marriages. It should be noted however that many unions that start out as consensual are later legalized, and that in fact the more stable unions are more likely to become legal (Goldman and Pebley 1981; Potter and Ojeda de la Pena 1982). At the same time, since divorce is illegal or at least difficult to obtain in Latin America, most second and subsequent unions are consensual.

Many studies using data from marital histories of Latin American women have found it difficult to disentangle the relationship between union type and marital dissolution because of differential reporting of unions by type. Many unions which began as consensual would be reported as legal if they were later legalized, and it is unclear whether the date given for the start of the union is the date of the marriage or the start of cohabitation. Thus it is likely that the more unstable unions are reported as consensual in marriage histories. At the same time, short-term or casual consensual unions from the past may be omitted, though unions that resulted in children may be more likely to be reported, and perhaps, legalized.

Goldman and Pebley (1981), in an analysis of the legalization of unions in Colombia, Mexico, Peru and Costa Rica, found that about half of consensual unions were later legalized. They found however that the same women who were more likely to be in a legal union were also more likely to legalize a consensual union, i.e. those with more education and who were older at the start of a union.

Mexico is the only Latin American country in the World Fertility Survey which included a probe question on the legalization of consensual unions. Women reporting a legal union were asked whether they had lived together before being married, and if so, when they had begun to do so. Thus it is possible to more accurately determine if a child was born within a consensual union rather than pre- or inter-maritally. Of course, unions which were consensual at the time of the interview could still be subsequently legalized. Nevertheless the Mexican survey provides more accuracy on union type and timing than the Colombian survey, and this must be kept in mind while interpreting the results of the analysis. Table 1 shows the distribution of the timing of births for the two countries. Colombia has a much higher proportion of children born pre- and inter-maritally, as well as a higher proportion born in a second and subsequent marriages. To some extent this is due to the greater accuracy on date of cohabitation available in the Mexican survey, especially for cohabitation before first marriage. For example, if women in the Colombian sample gave the date of the legalization of the union rather than the date of cohabitation, children may be classified as being born pre-maritally when they actually were born within a (consensual) union. It should be noted that only 3.9% of non-marital births in Mexico were re-classified as having occurred within marriage given this additional information. A large proportion of children were born into consensual unions that were later legalized in Mexico, as seen in the lower

half of Table 1. Although about three-quarters of both Colombian and Mexican children who were born during their mother's first marriage were born during legal marriages, it is certain that many of the legal Colombian marriages also began as consensual. Since more children are also born in second and higher order marriages in Colombia, it is clear that Colombian children are more likely to be born into a consensual union than Mexican children.

Children's Experience With Marital Disruption

Period life tables of children's experience with marital disruption are shown in Table 2. For children born within marriage, 16% of those in Mexico and 25% of those in Colombia experienced a marital disruption by the age of fifteen. When pre-marital and inter-marital births are included, a fifth of Mexican children and a third of Colombian children were affected. These tables include dissolution through both separation and death of the father. When double decrement tables are estimated, it is found that 5.6% of disruptions in Mexico and 7.0% in Colombia were due to the death of the father. Thus, loss of the father through death is similar in the two countries, and the differences in the cumulative proportion affected are due to both a higher proportion of births outside of marriage and higher separation rates in Colombia.

Life tables were also used to estimate the time until marriage for a child born pre-maritally and the time until remarriage for a child born inter- maritally, as shown in Tables 3 and 4. Although the majority of children born outside of marriage eventually become part of a two parent family, the waiting time is fairly long for many children. In Mexico the average time before marriage for a child born pre-maritally is over three and a half years,

while in Colombia it is nearly five years. For inter-marital births however, the average time is nearly seven years in Mexico while in Colombia it is three and a half years. It must be remembered that the number of cases used in these analyses are fairly small, and so these estimates give a rather general approximation of waiting time. Nevertheless, the relatively long waiting times suggest that the child's mother may not marry the child's biological father when she does marry.

The length of time until mother's remarriage for children who experience marital dissolution is shown in Table 5. In these life tables a birth record was considered censored if a child reached age fifteen without experiencing the remarriage of his or her mother. The average waiting time, which is about seven and a half years in Mexico and six years in Colombia, is fairly long; and about a third of the children who experience a disruption in both countries do not experience remarriage by the time they reach age fifteen.

To place these results in some perspective, it is illustrative to compare the experience of children in Colombia and Mexico with recent results for the U.S. Bumpass (1984) found that about 40% of children born in the mid-seventies to married mothers would experience a marital disruption, and that most who experienced a disruption would wait more than five years before their mother remarried. While the proportion of children affected is somewhat lower in Colombia and Mexico, the upturn in marital dissolution rates in the early seventies indicates that their numbers could rise. In any case, the results show that a substantial number of children in the two countries spend at least some time without a father, and for many the length of time is considerable.

Factors Placing Children at Risk of Marital Disruption

As discussed above, studies examining marital dissolution in Latin America have found that a cluster of attributes, including consensual unions, younger age at marriage, low levels of education and rural residence, are associated with high rates of marital dissolution. These factors have not been examined in a multivariate format however, and so the relative contribution of each factor has not been assessed. It must be remembered that the focus of this analysis is on children's experience of dissolution rather than on women's experience or on the outcome of a particular union. Only children that were born within marriage are included in this analysis. Disruptions due to both separation and father's death are included in this analysis.

Both the age of the mother at the time of the child's birth and the parity of the child are included as independent variables in the proportional hazards model. It is hypothesized that older women are more likely to be in a stable union, although they are also more likely to experience the death of a partner. Similarly, children of higher parities are more likely to be in a stable union. Mother's educational level is included as a measure of socioeconomic status.

The measurement of urban status is problematic since the residence at the time of the interview may not be the same as that at the time of the child's birth and/or the corresponding marriage. For this reason a three category urban status variable was created, using both the mother's childhood residence and her residence at the time of the interview. The categories are thus (1)childhood rural-present rural; (2)childhood rural- present urban; (3)childhood urban-present urban. Of course, it is unknown when the rural to urban migration took place for those in category 2, or that those in categories 1 and 3 have never

migrated.

Type of union was also included in the model. For Colombia, a two-category variable (consensual vs. legal) was used, while in Mexico a category was added for those born into a consensual union that was later legalized. In the latter case, children who were born into a consensual union that was later legalized were classified as such whether they were born before or after the legalization. [2]

The results of the proportional hazards model are shown in Table 6. Parity was not found to be significant when mother's age was controlled and so it was dropped from the model. There is a curvilinear relationship between mother's age at the child's birth and likelihood of the child experiencing a marital disruption. Children of very young mothers are most likely to experience a disruption, and the likelihood declines with mother's age until the oldest age group. This upturn is likely due to higher mortality of fathers at older ages rather than an increase in marital dissolution rates.

Children living in an urban area are more likely to experience a disruption in both countries. These results are contrary to those found by other studies, which found rural women more likely to experience a disruption. However, some have suggested that rates of marital separation go up where women have increased opportunity to participate in the labor force, and/or where employment for men is unstable (Blumberg 1976; Buvinic and Youssef 1978). In Colombia there is no difference in the likelihood of children experiencing a disruption between those whose mothers grew up in an urban area and those who migrated from a rural area. In Mexico, children of mothers who grew up in an urban area actually were more likely to experience a disruption than the children of migrants. Though we would have expected migration to be associated with family disruption, Latin American

researchers have stressed the strength of the extended family in rural to urban migration (Carlos and Sellers 1972; van der Tak and Gendell 1973).

Mother's education is found to be significant in Mexico, but not in Colombia. Interestingly, the variable is significant in Colombia when type of union is dropped from the model (not shown here). Since consensual unions are most common among women with little education, it could be that the fact that only the most unstable unions are reported as consensual in the Colombian data file affects the strength of this variable. In Mexico, children of women with no education are most likely to experience a disruption, and children of women who are at least primary school graduates are slightly more likely than those with only some primary education. This could again be due to the greater economic opportunities available to well-educated women, who would be less likely to be forced to stay in a bad marriage.

The coefficient for the union type variable is positive and extremely large in both countries. Children who are born into consensual unions are much more likely to experience a marital disruption. Two different models were run for Mexico to illustrate the differences in the marital type classifications for the two countries. In the first model those unions which began as consensual, even if they were later legalized, were combined. The coefficient in this case is less than half of that in Colombia and the log likelihood value for the model is significantly higher. When the two groups are split into those still classified as consensual at the time of the interview and those which were eventually legalized, the effects are quite different. Children who were born into marriages where the parents cohabitated before legalization were actually less likely to experience a disruption than those who were legally married at the outset of cohabitation. Children born in unions that are still classified as

consensual are much more likely to experience a disruption, and the effect is similar to that in Colombia.

Living Arrangements of Children

These results confirm some of the findings of previous researchers and at the same time raise further questions. Children of lower socioeconomic status and those in urban areas are most likely to experience a marital disruption. The implication of family disruption on children's living arrangements according to these characteristics is unknown however. Table 7 shows how children are distributed by household type according to their mother's current marital status. Three categories are used for living arrangement: single parent; with grandparent; and with other relatives. "Other relatives" may be an aunt and/or uncle, or they may be the spouse and/or children of an older sibling.

There is a great deal of variation in living arrangements by mother's marital status, both in the proportion in extended families and the type of family extension. Slightly more children whose mothers are in a consensual union live in an extended family than those whose mothers are legally married, in both countries. Among those not with two parents, the children of widows are most likely to be in a single parent household, with children of separated women less so and children of never married mothers least likely. About two-thirds of the children of never married mothers live with a grandparent in both countries. This implies that women who give birth pre-maritally do not leave their parental household. Yet, a high proportion (over forty percent) of the children of separated/divorced/married-spouse-absent women also live with a grandparent. It is unknown whether these women returned to their parental home, whether they lived there throughout marriage, or whether a grandparent moved into their residence. The distributions by living arrangement are

similar in the two countries, except that a higher proportion in Colombia live with "other" relatives.

The high proportion of children of unmarried women who live in extended family households implies that women rely on other family members for economic support in the absence of a male partner. Table 8 shows the living arrangements of children of unmarried mothers according to the characteristics examined in the proportional hazards models. Children of older mothers are much more likely to live in a single parent household. This may be because older women are better able to support themselves, and because they are less likely to have young children who need to be cared for. At the same time, older women are less likely to have parents who are still alive (Sweet 1972). Similarly, children of older women are more likely to live with "other" relatives, who are often the spouses of older siblings. While mothers with high educational attainment might be expected to be more likely to maintain their own households, it is seen that children of the better educated mothers are actually less likely to be in a single parent household than those whose mothers have less education. This "effect" is most likely due to the fact that educational attainment is highly correlated with the age of the women in the sample. Similarly unexpected is the finding that rural children are more likely to be in single parent households in Mexico, though the opposite is the case in Colombia. Clearly, multivariate analysis is needed to disentangle these effects, as the age structure may differ in rural and urban areas of the two countries.

Summary and Discussion

A considerable proportion of children in Mexico and Colombia were found to spend

some time during childhood without a father. When non-marital births are included, a fifth of Mexican children and a third of Colombian children were found to be affected. These children spend a considerable length of time in the single parent state, and many of those who experience a marital disruption have mothers who do not remarry by the time they are age fifteen. It should be remembered also that an additional 5% in of children in Mexico and 9% in Colombia do not live with their mothers. These children may have experienced the death of their mother or a family disruption that occurred for another reason.

The differences found between the two countries reflect differences in marital patterns, as have been discussed by previous research. Colombia has been found to have much higher rates of childbirth outside of marriage, marital disruption and remarriage than Mexico. Research on the Colombian family has also identified a great deal of ethnic variation in marriage and family structure, which we are unfortunately unable to investigate here as ethnicity was not included in the Colombia WFS. However, these findings confirm the strength of the nuclear family in Mexico in comparison with other Latin American countries (Das and Jesser 1980).

Children in urban areas, whose mothers are younger, and whose mothers have no education are more likely to be affected by a marital disruption. Additionally, children who are born into consensual unions are much more likely to experience a disruption. However, as illustrated in the Mexican data, children born into unions which began as consensual but were later legalized are least likely to experience a disruption.

Children who live with an unmarried mother in Mexico and Colombia are likely to live in an extended family household. Often, particularly for children of never married mothers, this means residence in a three generation household. Children of older women and of

widows are less likely to live with a grandparent however, and so the age of the child at the time of the marital disruption does a great deal to determine their living arrangement.

Living arrangements are a fundamental indicator of child welfare, whether in a "developing" or "developed" society. We have seen that a considerable proportion of children in Colombia and Mexico spend some time during their childhood with an unmarried mother. In all likelihood, this means that their mother must provide for them financially without the benefit of a male partner. As in the U.S., we have seen that it is the poorest children who are most likely to be affected by a marital disruption. But unlike the U.S., these children are likely to reside with other relatives, and particularly with their grandparent(s). If there is a relationship between residence in a nuclear family and higher educational aspirations for one's children, as many have suggested, these children may obtain less schooling than their peers. Still, the presence of extended family members indicates that they may be less likely to be forced to enter the labor force at a young age, in comparison with children in single parent households.

Since a child's welfare is dependent upon the resources of his or her parents, these issues raise questions about the economic independence of women in a changing society. Researchers have maintained that socioeconomic change has led to rising numbers of female headed households in developing countries, citing such factors as changes in land ownership in rural areas, male migration to urban areas and male underemployment in cities (Blumberg 1976; Buvinic and Youssef 1983). While these factors imply male abandonment of families due to changing economic conditions, marital dissolution may also increase when women have greater economic opportunity. Indeed, this explanation has been discussed as a major reason for rising divorce rates in the United States (Ross and Sawhill 1975). The finding

that children in urban areas are more likely to experience a dissolution and the curvilinear relationship with mother's education in Mexico provide evidence that changing economic opportunities for women may have this effect in Latin America. Still, the majority of children of an unmarried mother do not live in a single parent household. This points to the fact that a single woman is still unlikely to be able to support herself and her children. The findings presented here suggest that further research is needed on the impact of socioeconomic change on children in the developing world, to investigate the issues of child welfare, parental aspirations, socialization and child care considerations.

Notes

1. Because the sample of children who are included in the proportional hazards model is created by using women's birth and marital histories, the observations are not independent. For example, if a woman with four children experiences a marital disruption, four children's experience of that disruption is added to the sample. At the same time it is clear that each of these children contributes additional information since the disruption is experienced at a different age by each child. The impact of this problem was tested by estimating the model using only one birth record from each woman; while standard errors were found to be higher and the level of significance of the independent variables dropped, the general results were the same.

2. This classification of unions is problematic, since unions in the Mexican sample that were consensual at the time of the interview may still be subsequently legalized. The variable was included as a general indication of the impact of union type on marital disruption. In reality, using the data on type of union from either Colombia or Mexico is problematic because of the relationship between the timing of the interview and the classification of unions, since the process of classification of unions in the past is likely to be different from that of current unions.

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Table 1: Percentage of Children by Timing of Birth and Marriage Type

Timing of Birth According to Mother's Marital Status

	Mexico				Colombia	
	Data on Cohabitation: Used		Not Used			
	percent	(N)	percent	(N)	percent	(N)
Pre-marital	2.0	(412)	5.9	(1214)	5.5	(541)
Inter-marital	1.8	(367)	2.3	(469)	3.0	(305)
During Marriage:						
1	91.9	(18853)	88.0	(18051)	83.7	(8306)
2	4.1	(832)	3.6	(731)	6.7	(669)
3	0.2	(45)	0.2	(44)	0.8	(78)
4	0.0	(8)	0.0	(8)	0.2	(16)
5	0.0	(0)	0.0	(0)	0.0	(3)
Total	100.0	(20517)	100.0	(20517)	100.0	(9918)

Timing of Births Within Marriage by Marriage Type

	Mexico				Colombia		
	Legal	Consens. Then Leg.	Cons.	(N)	Legal	Cons.	(N)
Marriage:							
1	75.3	14.3	10.3	(18853)	78.5	21.5	(8306)
2	22.4	17.2	60.5	(832)	18.5	81.5	(669)
3	17.8	8.9	73.3	(45)	2.6	97.4	(78)
4	0.0	0.0	100.0	(8)	0.0	100.0	(16)
5	0.0	0.0	0.0	(0)	0.0	100.0	(3)
(N)				(19738)			(9072)

Table 2: Period Life Tables for Children's Experience With Marital Disruption

Mexico				
	Born within marriage		Including pre- and inter-marital births	
Age	q_x	Percent Remaining	q_x	Percent Remaining
		100.0		100.0
1	0.0155	98.5	0.0608	93.9
2	0.0134	97.1	0.0134	92.7
3	0.0121	96.0	0.0121	91.5
4	0.0137	94.6	0.0137	90.3
5	0.0065	94.0	0.0065	89.7
6	0.0114	93.0	0.0114	88.7
7	0.0126	91.8	0.0126	87.6
8	0.0086	91.0	0.0086	86.8
9	0.0104	90.0	0.0104	85.9
10	0.0111	89.0	0.0111	85.0
11	0.0101	88.1	0.0101	84.1
12	0.0108	87.2	0.0108	83.2
13	0.0085	86.5	0.0085	82.5
14	0.0111	85.5	0.0111	81.6
15	0.0147	84.2	0.0147	80.4

Colombia				
	Born within marriage		Including pre- and inter-marital births	
Age	q_x	Percent Remaining	q_x	Percent Remaining
		100.0		100.0
1	0.0366	96.3	0.1390	86.1
2	0.0309	93.4	0.0309	83.4
3	0.0235	91.2	0.0235	81.5
4	0.0227	89.1	0.0227	79.6
5	0.0150	87.8	0.0150	78.4
6	0.0174	86.2	0.0174	77.1
7	0.0140	85.0	0.0140	76.0
8	0.0143	83.8	0.0143	74.9
9	0.0174	82.4	0.0174	73.6
10	0.0193	80.8	0.0193	72.2
11	0.0119	79.8	0.0119	71.3
12	0.0114	78.9	0.0114	70.5
13	0.0186	77.4	0.0186	69.2
14	0.0116	76.5	0.0116	68.4
15	0.0151	75.4	0.0151	67.4

Table 3: Life Tables of Time Until Mother's First Marriage for Children Born Pre-maritally

	Mexico		Colombia	
Age	q_x	Percent Remaining	q_x	Percent Remaining
1	0.2592	74.0	0.1966	80.3
2	0.1420	63.6	0.1213	70.6
3	0.1530	53.8	0.1132	62.6
4	0.1159	47.6	0.1127	55.6
5	0.1096	42.3	0.1156	49.1
6	0.0894	38.6	0.0714	45.6
7	0.1192	34.0	0.1034	40.9
8	0.0826	31.1	0.1356	35.4
9	0.0784	28.7	0.0952	32.0
10	0.1839	23.5	0.1242	28.1
11	0.0323	22.7	0.0800	25.8
12	0.0000	22.7	0.0000	25.8
13	0.0476	21.6	0.0000	25.8
14	0.0000	21.6	0.0000	25.8
15	0.0000	21.6	0.1053	23.1
Median age at marriage		3.6		4.9
(N)		(412)		(541)

Table 4: Life Tables of Time Until Mother's Marriage for Children Born Inter-maritally

	Mexico		Colombia	
Age	q_x	Percent Remaining	q_x	Percent Remaining
1	0.0890	91.1	0.2092	79.1
2	0.1450	77.9	0.1990	63.4
3	0.0993	70.2	0.1495	53.9
4	0.1321	60.9	0.1441	46.1
5	0.0455	58.1	0.1412	39.6
6	0.0957	52.6	0.1069	35.4
7	0.0632	49.2	0.0935	32 1
8	0.0745	45.6	0.0690	29.9
9	0.0458	43.4	0.0811	27.4
10	0 1062	38.9	0.1270	24.0
11	0.0659	36.3	0.0408	23.0
12	0.0000	36.3	0.0952	20.8
13	0.1127	32.2	0.1250	18.2
14	0.0364	31.0	0.0909	16.5
15	0.0000	31.0	0.0000	16.5
Median age at marriage		6.8		3.5
(N)		(367)		(305)

Table 5: Life Tables of Time Until Mother's Remarriage for Children Who Experienced a Marital Disruption

	Mexico		Colombia	
Year	q_x	Percent Remaining	q_x	Percent Remaining
1	0.1199	88.0	0.1588	84.1
2	0.1008	79.1	0.1366	72.6
3	0.0919	71.9	0.1295	63.2
4	0.0643	67.2	0.0946	57.2
5	0.0891	61.2	0.0828	52.5
6	0.0863	56.0	0.0514	49.8
7	0.0889	51.0	0.0594	46.8
8	0.0439	48.8	0.0556	44.2
9	0.0675	45.5	0.0432	42.3
10	0.0833	41.7	0.0417	40.6
11	0.0182	40.9	0.0286	39.4
12	0.0000	40.9	0.0435	37.7
13	0.0714	38.0	0.1481	32.1
14	0.0000	38.0	0.0000	32.1
15	0.0000	38.0	0.0000	32.1
Median time until remarriage		7.4		5.9
(N)		(1428)		(1079)

Table 6: Proportional Hazards Models For Children's Experience With Marital Disruption (Children Born Within Marriage Only)

	Mexico				Colombia	
	β	s.e.	β	s.e.	β	s.e.
Mother's age:						
(less than 20)						
20-24	-.33	(.07)	-.30	(.07)	-.23	(.08)
25-29	-.54	(.08)	-.51	(.08)	-.35	(.09)
30-34	-.29	(.08)	-.26	(.08)	-.26	(.10)
Urban category:						
(Rural-rural)						
Rural-urban	.41	(.07)	.44	(.07)	.31	(.07)
Urban-urban	.53	(.07)	.57	(.07)	.34	(.09)
Mother's education:						
(None)						
Some primary	-.32	(.06)	-.30	(.06)	-.02*	(.08)
Primary grad +	-.26	(.08)	-.22	(.08)	-.05*	(.13)
Union type:						
(Legal)						
Consensual	.66	(.06)			1.49	(.07)
(Legal)						
Consensual then legal			-.25	(.09)		
Consensual			1.33	(.06)		
Log likelihood		-11868		-11716		-8007
degrees of freedom		8		9		8
(N)		(19734)		(19734)		(9071)

*Not significant at .01 level

Table 7: Living Arrangements of Children by Marital Status of Mother

	Mexico				
	Legal Marrge.	Consens. Union	Widow	Separtd. Div, MSA	Never Married
Nuclear Household	81.1	76.5			
Single Parent Household			54.8	41.9	18.8
With grandparent	11.7	15.2	22.5	48.1	70.9
With other relatives	7.3	8.3	22.7	10.0	10.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total by marital status	(82.0)	(10.9)	(2.1)	(4.4)	(0.7)
(N)	(17,899)				
	Colombia				
	Legal Marrge.	Consens. Union	Widow	Separtd. Div, MSA	Never Married
Nuclear Household	77.0	73.0			
Single Parent Household			59.4	42.8	25.8
With grandparent	10.6	15.2	9.5	43.3	65.9
With other relatives	12.4	11.8	31.1	13.9	8.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total percent	(71.7)	(10.4)	(2.6)	(4.7)	(0.6)
(N)	(8,263)				

Note: Sample is of children aged under 15 who are related to the household head and who live with their mother.
Colombian sample based on weighted counts.

Source: World Fertility Survey household files.

Table 8: Living Arrangements of Children of Unmarried Mothers by Mother's Age, Mother's Education and Urban Status

	Mexico				Colombia			
	Single Parent	With Grpar.	With Oth.Rel.	Total	Single Parent	With Grpar.	With Oth.Rel.	Total
Total	43.6	42.7	13.7	100.0	37.5	48.5	14.0	100.0
Mother's age:								
Under 25	11.7	80.8	7.5	100.0	9.1	86.1	4.8	100.0
25-29	27.1	63.3	9.6	100.0	39.4	52.1	8.5	100.0
30-34	31.7	56.1	12.2	100.0	37.1	53.6	9.3	100.0
35-39	64.3	27.1	8.6	100.0	55.6	29.5	15.0	100.0
40+	61.7	13.6	24.7	100.0	48.5	23.5	28.1	100.0
Mother's education:								
None	58.5	26.0	15.5	100.0	41.0	35.4	23.5	100.0
Some primary	42.2	44.1	13.8	100.0	35.8	53.1	11.1	100.0
Primary grad	31.8	56.2	12.1	100.0	38.2	49.9	11.9	100.0
Urban status:								
Rural	45.6	42.8	11.6	100.0	30.8	54.6	14.6	100.0
Urban	41.7	42.6	15.6	100.0	42.4	44.0	13.6	100.0
(N)	(555)	(544)	(175)	(1274)	(405)	(460)	(150)	(1015)

Note: Sample is of children aged under 15 who are related to the household head and who live with their mother.
Colombian sample based on weighted counts.

Source: World Fertility Survey household files.

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