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The Neglected Role of Domestic Migration on Family Patterns in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1950–2000

Andres Felipe Castro Torres

Urbanization has played a key role in shaping twentieth-century demographic changes in Latin America and the Caribbean (LACar). As a result, scholarly research on domestic migration and the family has primarily focused on fertility differentials by migration status in urban areas, finding a robust negative correlation between internal migration and fertility. This research has overlooked how this relationship varies across types of migration flows other than rural-to-urban migration and by women's age at migration and social class. Additionally, not enough attention has been paid to the family formation and dissolution trajectories underlying the lower fertility of rural migrants. I use a life-course inductive approach to examine these overlooked aspects among women from 10 LACar countries, including the three largest countries by population. Using retrospective information on women's childbearing and marital histories from the Demographic and Health Surveys, I build an eight-category typology of family paths and study the conditional distribution of this typology by women's age at migration, educational attainment, and origin/destination area. This examination demonstrates that social class is the primary source of differentiation across family formation and dissolution trajectories and that low-class young rural migrants played a crucial role in the demographic transformations that occurred in the region.

INTRODUCTION

Although the prevalence of domestic migration is higher compared to international migration globally, more attention has been given to studying family and fertility patterns among

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international migrants relative to domestic migrants (Portes 2010). Whereas international migrants represent slightly more than 3 percent of the world population, nearly one out of every 10 inhabitants has migrated domestically (McAuliffe and James 2019; United Nations 2013, 2017). The movement of a large proportion of socioeconomically and demographically diverse people from rural to urban areas and from small to large cities (or vice versa) can significantly shape the types of conjugal unions that are formed among individuals, as well as their timing, stability, and duration; these formations, in turn, may contribute to changes in fertility and family size (Dyson 2011).

Latin American and Caribbean (LACar) countries have witnessed extensive fertility decline during the second half of the twentieth century (Castro Torres 2021; Castro-Martín and Juárez 1995; Palloni 1990). The total fertility rate of countries in the region declined from above 6.0 children per woman in 1950 to below 3.5 children per woman by the end of the century (Guzmán 1996; Guzmán et al. 2006). Studies have also documented persistent differences over time between urban and rural areas and by women's domestic migration and socioeconomic status (Esteve and Flórez-Paredes 2018; Hervitz 1985; Lindstrom 2003; Martine 1975; 1996; Montgomery et al. 2003).

There is limited research on the childbearing and union formation and dissolution paths that undergird the fertility transition and the persistent differences in union and fertility trajectories by domestic migration status, place of residence, and women's sociodemographic characteristics. A notable exception is a work by Pesando et al. (2021), which focuses on low- and middle-income countries but does not look at the role of migration. Consequently, there is very little research on how socioeconomic disparities among domestic migrants, particularly by migrants' social class, influenced the link between migration, union formation and dissolution, and fertility. It is unclear if the generally lower fertility among rural migrants in cities compared to nonmigrants results from migration-induced childlessness, wider birth intervals, or an end to childbearing, all of which could be the result of marital separation, effective birth control, or a combination of the two. Social class-specific migration contexts, where migration may be a strategy to escape poverty or violence or to pursue higher education, are likely to shape union formation trajectories and, ultimately, fertility outcomes differently.

In this study, I descriptively examine the union (both formation and dissolution) and childbearing trajectories (family trajectories herein) of women whose reproductive years (15–39 years of age) spanned the period of the LACar fertility transitions (1950–1990). I rely on retrospective information collected by the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) in Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Haiti, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, and Peru. I build an eight-category typology for women's family trajectories using cluster analysis and compare the distribution of the typology according to women's childhood place of residence, years of schooling, and age at migration jointly in rural areas and large cities. Given the history of urbanization and the socioeconomic disparities between and within rural areas and large cities in the region, the combined use of these variables measures women's social position in LACar social stratification systems (Castro Torres 2021; Portes 1971, 1989). For example, women who migrated as adolescents from rural areas to a capital city and dropped out of school are likely to work in underpaid, unregulated, and potentially exploitative informal jobs such as domestic service or street sales with little or no opportunity to upward social mobility for them or their families (Casanova 2019; Chanel and Garcia Castro 1989).

The reverse is true for highly educated women who are born and raised in large cities (Juarez and Quilodrán 1990; Quilodrán and Juárez 2009).

The results show that domestic migration is associated with more substantial disruptions in the family trajectories of lower social class and younger migrant women compared to higher social class and adult migrants. On average, women from disrupted family trajectories had fewer children than women from other family paths. These social-class-specific associations are highlighted in inductive statistical analyses that investigate the LACar fertility transition and its relationship with economic and social development. I find there to be an insufficiently emphasized link between economic deprivation and social exclusion and lower fertility that previous studies have neglected due to their predominantly deductive (i.e., hypothesis-based) approaches.

HYPOTHESIS-BASED EXPLANATIONS FOR DIFFERENCES IN FERTILITY BY MIGRATION STATUS

I first summarize hypothesis-based examinations of fertility patterns by migration status. Next, I present some historical characteristics of the context that justify the study of family trajectories and migration by social class from an inductive perspective.

Most of the literature exploring differences in family outcomes by migration status concentrates on fertility differentials. Since the classic work of Goldberg (1959) on the "two-generations urbanites" until the mid-1980s, the study of the relationship between domestic migration and fertility has gained significant attention. The perspectives of urban growth in the global South prompted researchers to measure the contribution of domestic migrants to urban growth and, in turn, examine the relationship between migration and reproductive behavior (Macisco and Myers 1975; Preston 1979; Zárate and Unger De Zárate 1975). These studies pointed out the critical aspects of the negative relationship between fertility and domestic migration, including the *selectivity* of migrants, the processes of *disruption*, and *adaptation* that migration entails, and how the relative importance of these processes differs according to countries' level of urbanization (Martine 1975; Hervitz 1985; Goldstein 1973; Goldstein and Goldstein 1981).

The period between the mid-1990s and the 2000s witnessed a revival of scholarly interest in domestic migration and fertility with new studies from the Philippines, Turkey, Guatemala, Brazil, Thailand, Cameroon, and other Sub-Saharan African nations (Lindstrom 2003; Lindstrom and Hernández 2006; Jensen and Ahlburg 2004; Brockerhoff and Yang 1994; Eryurt and KOÇ 2012; Lee 1992). Migrant–nonmigrant differences in fertility outcomes—in particular, the lower fertility of rural-to-urban migrants compared to nonmigrants in rural areas—have been described through four hypotheses, often presented as competing explanations: *selection*, *socialization*, *disruption*, and *adaptation*. The first two hypotheses focus on differences in conditions before migration, such as family norms and values learned during childhood (*socialization*) and the less family oriented attitudes or anticipatory behavior of migrants (*selection*). According to these two hypotheses, rural migrants are a selected group with potentially lower fertility preferences. However, early socialization in high fertility contexts also influences their choices. *Selection* and *socialization* hypothesize that rural migrants' fertility

is therefore between that of rural nonmigrants and women living in urban settings (Hervitz 1985; Kulu 2005).

The *disruption* and *adaptation* hypotheses emphasize how changing circumstances caused by migration could disrupt migrants' family trajectories or how these circumstances lead them to *adapt* their behaviors to socioeconomic conditions at their destination. According to these hypotheses, migration-related circumstances such as reduced social networks at the destination, spousal separation, or increased living costs override the influence of *selection* and *socialization* (Chattopadhyay, White, and Debpuur 2006; Hervitz 1985). The reconciliation of findings across these studies is difficult due to differences in data sources and methodologies (Zárate and Unger De Zárate 1975). However, an overarching conclusion is that the validity of each of these four hypotheses, and the extent to which they produce differences in fertility by migration status, are context dependent (Kulu 2005). A noticeable limitation of these approaches is that the result of hypothesis testing refers to a rather abstract social subject, namely, the average migrant (De Haas 2014). This, in turn, neglects a number of potentially important material conditions that differentiate migrants, including their reasons for migrating, the resources they have, their background, and the social and institutional context under which they pursue their migration projects.

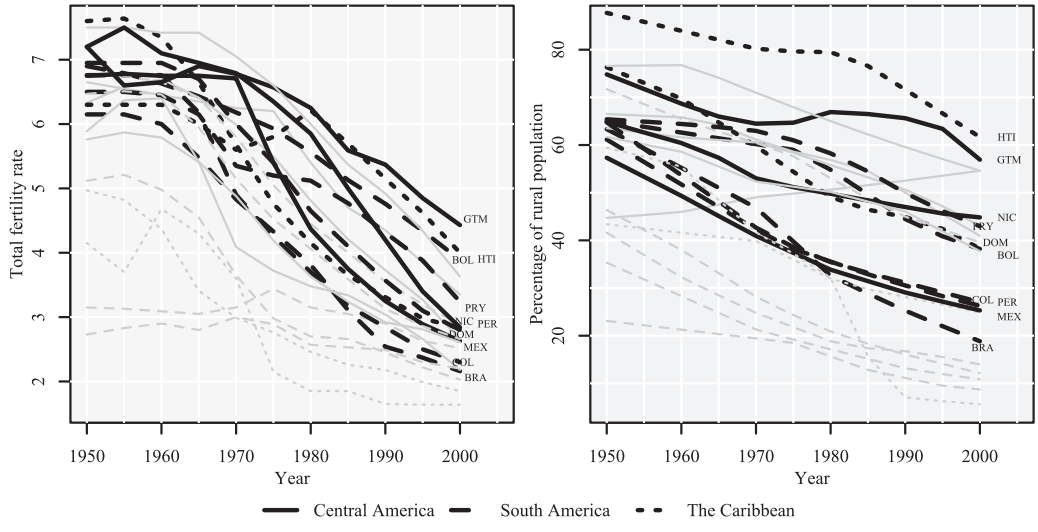
STUDY CONTEXT

Figure 1 shows the temporal correlation between fertility decline (left panel) and the sustained decrease in the proportion of the rural population (right panel) among LACar countries from 1950 to 2000. The bold lines represent the countries included in this article, and line types indicate countries' subregions. Due to the higher fertility of rural areas compared to urban areas, the decrease in the share of the rural population was driven mainly by rural-to-urban migration (Portes 1989; Rodríguez Vignoli and Busso 2009).

Within-country inequalities in economic development and employment opportunities, along with violent conflicts, boosted internal migration and increased urbanization at different rates across countries (Bernard et al. 2017; Ibáñez and Moya 2010; Massey and Capoferro 2006). Government-led initiatives towards industrialization actively promoted rural-to-urban migration, especially during the 1950–1970 period (Arnaut 2010; Bethell 1998). Despite cross-national differences in the relative success of these initiatives, there is a common negative trend in the proportion of the rural population. In countries like Nicaragua, Mexico, Peru, and Colombia, internal armed conflicts also pushed peasants and indigenous populations out of their rural territories towards cities (Ibáñez and Moya 2010; Urdinola 2001). These violence-driven migration flows further diversified the socioeconomic and demographic composition of the domestic migrant population (Alvarado and Massey 2010). Notably, in 2013, due to a 70-year-long undeclared civil war, Colombia had the second largest internally displaced population worldwide (approximately 5.6 million people), only surpassed by Syria (UNHCR 2013).

Domestic migration flows were not unidirectional (Rodríguez Vignoli and Busso 2009). People moved from urban to rural areas, between cities, and between rural areas. These latter flows were especially prevalent after 1970, when national economies abandoned import

FIGURE 1 Fertility decline and urbanization in Latin America and the Caribbean from 1950 to 2000



NOTE: Data come from the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean and the Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat. https://www.cepal.org/en/datos-y-estadisticas. Country-codes are Bolivia (BOL), Brazil (BRA), Colombia (COL), Dominican Republic (DOM), Guatemala (GTM), Haiti (HTI), Mexico (MEX), Nicaragua (NIC), Paraguay (PYR), and Peru (PER).

substitution models, and structural economic reforms imposed significant restrictions on social expenditures (Baer 1972). These changes negatively affected the economy and infrastructure of rural areas and small cities as government incentives to invest in them decreased (Babb 2005; Sassen-Koob 1984). These reforms fueled migration flows in multiple directions as some subnational regions and economic sectors benefited (e.g., services) more than others (e.g., agriculture and mining), creating opportunities for people to migrate in search of better economic prospects.

Migration-driven urbanization was paralleled by rapid fertility decline. Partnership regimes and gender relations within couples, instead, remained relatively unchanged (Ducoff et al. 1965; Dufour and Piperata 2004; Elizaga, Lee, and Arias 1965; Rodríguez Vignoli and Busso 2009). Union formation and marriage patterns developed during the colonial time and the persisting influence of the Catholic Church and newly established evangelical churches have contributed to preserving a conservative family model in most LACar countries (Esteve, Castro-Martin, and Castro Torres 2022; Lesthaeghe 2020). This model is characterized by a traditional division of work by sex, relatively early union formation, and formal and stable marriage as the normative context for childbearing. The mean ages at first birth and first marriage remained relatively stable as a consequence of divergent patterns by social class; while lower social class women were accelerating the transition to childbearing, high social class women continued to postpone this transition (Esteve and Florez-Paredes 2014; Pantelides 2004; Rodríguez Vignoli 2010).

Socioeconomic inequality remained high in LACar countries throughout the second half of the twentieth century (Ward, Jiménez Huerta, and Di Virgilio 2015; Williamson 2010), with a small portion of the population holding a large share of income and wealth and having

access to quality education and housing (Sánchez-Ancochea 2021). From 1980 to 2000, the share of total income held by the top 10 percent of the income distribution was 57 percent, with the lowest level observed for Argentina (45.3 percent); in contrast, the top 10 percent of income earners in the United States in 1980 held an estimated 34 percent of total income (World Inequality Lab 2020). These inequalities manifest across different dimensions, including geography (e.g., rural vs. urban), gender, racial, and ethnic groups (Chackiel and Schkolnik 2004; Deere and Leon 2003; Woo-Mora 2021), implying that the most vulnerable (and privileged) groups in LACar countries are defined by the intersection of social categories (Viveros Vigoya 2015). An example of these intersecting social and economic disparities can be observed among indigenous women born in rural areas who migrated to urban areas as teenagers: these women typically work as live-in domestic workers in the middle- and upper-class households of highly educated women (Castro Torres, Gutierrez Vazquez, and Bernardes 2022).

The study of the interrelations between domestic migration and family trajectories in the context of these concurrent societal transformations and high and sustained socioeconomic inequality would benefit from an inductive approach to analyze highly heterogeneous data, as opposed to a deductive approach for testing hypotheses. By pooling together samples from different countries, the analytical sample captures heterogeneous patterns of migration, childbearing, union formation, and social stratification systems. In following the "maximum difference" research design (Przeworski and Teune 1982), the patterns that emerge from a varied sample of countries reflect the structural factors (e.g., sustained inequality) underpinning the associations between migration and family trajectories.

The data selection strategy is also in line with critiques against demography´s methodological nationalism (Glick Schiller 2010), which take countries as a given unit of analysis. Instead, this analysis focuses on women from countries that, despite their social and economic differences, share several institutional aspects, such as the European colonial legacy, and a common set of socioeconomic transformations over 50 years (Portes 1989; Portes and Smith 2008).

DATA, MEASURES, AND METHODS

The Demographic and Health Surveys Sample

I use data from LACar DHS with information on birth histories, age at first marriage, current place of residence, marital status, and place of residence during childhood. This latter variable is available for 27 waves in 10 countries. The DHS is nationally representative of women of reproductive ages (15–49). I focus on women aged 39 or more because this age provides a good compromise between sample size and the life course span for the analysis ($39 - 15 = 24$ years); a higher cutoff age provides a longer life course span for the analysis but a lower sample size. Additionally, I restricted the sample to women born between 1945 and 1964 to ensure that their family trajectories unfolded throughout the second half of the twentieth century (1960–2000).

TABLE 1 Analytical sample by country and current place of residence, and Demographic and Health Survey years

Country	Place of residence			Total	Year(s)
	Large cities	Urban	Rural		
Bolivia	1,957	2,005	2,469	6,431	1989, 2003, 2008
Brazil	2,658	724	1,016	4,398	1986, 1991, 1996
Colombia	3,264	5,751	924	9,939	1986, 1990, 1995, 2005
Dominican Republic	1,247	3,926	3,323	8,496	1986, 1991, 1996, 1999, 2002
Guatemala	82	99	329	510	1987
Haiti	454	641	1,998	3,093	1994
Mexico	180	253	265	698	1987
Nicaragua	638	2,288	2,077	5,003	1998, 2001
Paraguay	203	189	432	824	1991
Peru	4,105	13,911	10,236	28,252	1991, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2009-12
Total	14,788	29,787	23,069	67,644	

NOTE: The analytical sample includes women aged 39–49 who were interviewed by the Demographic and Health Surveys from 1986 to 2012 and were born between 1945 and 1964.

Table 1 presents the sample size by country and current place of residence. I use the DHS country-specific definition of rural and urban areas to stratify the sample by women's current place of residence. To partially account for the fact that some urban areas may offer similar living conditions as rural areas, I code the capital city of each country plus cities of more than 500 thousand inhabitants as large cities. This category accurately captures urban-like living conditions and amenities. These urban-like characteristics include the prevalence of a service economy, higher costs of living and childbearing, better access to basic services, and fewer opportunities to reconcile childrearing and work (Dorélien, Balk, and Todd 2013; Montgomery et al. 2003).

In all individual-level statistical analyses, I used standardized sampling weights divided by the number of waves per country to account for country-specific differences in the number of survey waves. For example, sample weights for women from Peru are divided by six, whereas sample weights for women from Bolivia are divided by three. This weighting strategy ensures that the total weight of Peruvian and Bolivian women in the analysis is the same: one. Equal contributions by country allow for a more general representation of family and migration patterns where no country drives the results.

A Typology of Family Formation and Dissolution Trajectories

To create a typology for trajectories, I first conduct a multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) on six variables that measure women's family trajectories. These variables are as follows: age at first marriage or union, age at first and last birth, number of children ever born, current marital status, and whether the woman had been in multiple unions or marriages. Table 2 displays these six variables, their categories, and the cutoff points that were used to categorize the four numerical variables. These cutoff points are based on substantive and technical criteria. Substantively, cutoff ages correspond to the age of majority (18 years), and ages where first births and unions/marriages concentrate among lower (19–25) and upper (26–32) social class women. Technically, the grouping of some categories is necessary to avoid relative frequencies below 2 percent as they can bias results from the MCA. Relatedly, to ensure each variable's contribution to the MCA's variance decomposition, variables are categorized into a similar number of categories (Lebart, Morineau, and Piron 1997).

TABLE 2 Variables related to family formation and dissolution trajectories, cutoff points for numerical variables, and categories

Variable	Number of categories	Categories and cutoff points
Age at first marriage or union	5	Never married, nonadult (<18), adult-early (18–25), adult-mid (26–32), Adult-late (>32)
Age at first birth	5	Childless, nonadult (<18), adult-early (18–25), adult-mid (26–32), adult-late (>32)
Age at last birth	5	Childless, adult-early (<25), adult-mid (26–32), adult-late (33–39), adult-latest (>40)
Children ever born	6	Childless, one, two, three to four, five to six, seven or more
Current marital status	5	Never married or in union, in union, married, divorced/separated, widow
Number of marriages or unions	3	Never married or in union, once married or in union, more than once

NOTE: The percentage distribution of women across all these variables by country is displayed in Table A1.

Second, I rely on the MCA axes to cluster women using the Ward method and the K-mean algorithm (Pardo and Del Campo 2007). This widely used combination of clustering methods groups women according to similarities in their family trajectories. The nested nature of the Ward-method clusters allows us to indirectly assess neighboring cluster solutions, that is, cluster solutions with $1-c$, c, and $c+1$ clusters. I denote this grouping as a *family typology*. The primary purpose of this typology is to examine family formation and dissolution as the cumulative occurrence of events over the life course, accounting for the occurrence, timing, repetition, and ordering of events (Billari 2001). In that sense, the categories of this typology do not represent the individual experience of any woman (or the average woman); rather, they reflect the most salient connections across family events over the life course among women in the sample.

Measures of Lifetime Migration, Age at Migration, and Social Class

To measure migration status and women's age at migration, I use the information on the current place of residence (large city, urban area, rural area), childhood place of residence (urban area, rural area), and the number of years that women have lived in the place they were interviewed (years since last migration). These three variables allow me to separate nonmigrant women (i.e., those who have lived their entire life in the place they were interviewed) and migrant women according to their childhood place of residence and age at migration: before age 18, 19–24, 25–30, and after age 30. These age groups reflect crucial stages in women's transition to adulthood and autonomy-gaining trajectories. Age 18 is the legal age of the majority in all these countries. Women who migrated before this age could be considered dependent migrants. At the other end (after age 30), migration occurs after most of the critical transitions to adulthood, that is, finishing school, leaving the parental home, and entering the job market. This measurement approach does not account for return or multiple migration moves.

The measurement of women's social class is based on the Bourdieusian premise that socioeconomic position and social status do not depend on one single variable but on the interaction of the relevant social categories for a given outcome (Bourdieu 1996; Weininger 2005). To operationalize this premise of multidimensional and relational social class, I interact the age at migration with years of schooling groups (0–4 years, 5–8 years, 9–12 years, and 13 or more years). The first category comprises the lowest end of LACar social stratification

systems. Women with 5–8 years of schooling have only basic literacy and numeracy skills, and no training for the labor market is offered during these school years. Women with 9–12 years of schooling have a considerable relative advantage because they would have completed educational cycles granting official degrees (9 years, completed secondary education; 12 years, high school degree). A secondary education diploma gives access to the formal labor market, and a high school degree allows for entry into the higher education system. Finally, women with 13 years of schooling or more are privileged for two reasons. First, they likely grew up in families and contexts that allowed them to be students (partially dependent) for a longer period. Second, they are likely to have the best socioeconomic prospects when entering the labor market, given the rising returns to education in LACar economies. Women's years of schooling correlate positively with other measures of socioeconomic status available in the DHS, such as the wealth index. I use the wealth index to examine socioeconomic disparities between rural areas, urban areas, and large cities.

Combined, migration status, age-at-migration groups, and years of schooling categories yield $9 \times 4 = 36$ groups that are observed across three areas of residence for a total of $36 \times 3 = 108$ groups of women. I denote the conditional distributions of the *family typology* in each of these groups as *family profiles*. To account for country-level and cohort differences, conditional distributions are predicted from a model specification that includes dummy variables for countries and birth-cohort groups (1945–1949, 1950–1954, 1955–1959, and 1960–1964).

If migration and family trajectories are not independent, migrant women may be over or underrepresented in certain categories of the family typology. To show the under- and overrepresentation of migrant- and social-class groups in *family profiles*, I apply a principal component analysis (PCA) to a table that appends all 108 *family profiles*. The scatterplot of the first two principal components of the columns (family formation categories) and the rows (groups of women) displays the main similarities and discrepancies across *family profiles*.

RESULTS

The Prevalence of Lifetime Domestic Migration

Table 3 shows the prevalence of domestic migration and the striking differences in social and economic well-being between urban and rural areas, highlighting the concentration of well-being and educational opportunities in LACar large cities and urban areas compared to rural areas. More than five out of 10 women in large cities (59.2 percent) and urban areas (56.8 percent) were residing in an administrative area that was different from their place of birth. In contrast, 57.7 percent of rural women reported residing where they lived during childhood.

Migrant women of urban origin are the most mobile, representing 42 percent, 34 percent, and 14.1 percent of women in large cities, urban and rural areas, respectively. Women of rural origin are less mobile than women of urban origin, except when examining rural-to-rural migration. Women of rural origin represent 17.2 percent, 22.9 percent, and 28.3 percent of women in large cities, urban and rural areas, respectively. In addition, as shown by column (1), the distribution of migrant women across age-at-migration groups generally follows a

TABLE 3 Migration prevalence, educational profiles, and wealth profiles by area of residence, residence during childhood, and age at migration

			Years of schooling					Wealth quintile					
Ch. place of residence	Origin and age at migration	Percent (1)	0–4 (2)	5–8 (3)	9–12 (4)	13+ (5)	Total	1st (6)	2nd (7)	3rd (8)	4th (9)	5th (10)	Total
Panel A													
Large cities	Non-migrant	**40.8**	21.0	27.7	30.0	21.4	100	**2.1**	**7.0**	**13.8**	**26.1**	**51.0**	100
		(2.2)	(3.4)	(2.8)	(1.8)	(3.1)		(0.6)	(1.5)	(1.3)	(1.4)	(2.7)	
Urban origin (42%)	<18	13.5	27.3	31.1	26.6	15.0	100	1.4	6.9	15.8	25.8	50.0	100
		(1.1)	(3.0)	(1.7)	(1.7)	(1.6)		(0.5)	(1.4)	(2.1)	(1.7)	(2.4)	
	19–24	9.0	26.2	29.5	27.6	16.8	100	1.8	5.6	14.6	28.5	49.5	100
		(0.5)	(3.6)	(2.0)	(2.3)	(2.1)		(0.4)	(1.0)	(1.7)	(1.6)	(2.4)	
	25–30	6.9	28.7	28.8	25.0	17.5	100	1.4	10.4	18.0	32.5	37.7	100
		(0.5)	(4.5)	(3.6)	(2.0)	(2.2)		(0.6)	(2.0)	(1.1)	(1.8)	(2.6)	
	>30	12.5	31.1	27.3	24.4	17.2	100	3.1	10.0	18.0	24.7	44.2	100
		(0.9)	(3.7)	(2.2)	(1.5)	(2.0)		(0.6)	(2.0)	(1.5)	(1.3)	(3.5)	
Rural origin (17.2%)	<18	4.7	47.1	29.5	16.7	6.7	100	2.6	9.6	20.2	33.3	34.3	100
		(0.7)	(4.8)	(3.4)	(2.4)	(1.7)		(1.3)	(2.3)	(2.4)	(2.9)	(3.8)	
	19–24	4.1	52.3	26.6	15.1	5.9	100	3.3	10.8	23.2	28.7	34.0	100
		(0.6)	(4.6)	(2.0)	(2.9)	(1.8)		(0.7)	(2.3)	(3.9)	(3.4)	(3.6)	
	25–30	2.9	64.6	23.2	8.5	3.7	100	6.1	15.0	23.5	32.5	22.8	100
		(0.4)	(6.3)	(3.9)	(2.1)	(1.6)		(2.3)	(2.6)	(3.7)	(1.8)	(3.2)	
	>30	5.5	64.7	20.5	11.1	3.7	100	9.7	23.9	21.9	25.4	19.2	100
		(0.9)	(4.4)	(2.4)	(2.1)	(0.7)		(2.2)	(3.6)	(2.8)	(3.0)	(3.6)	
Panel B													
Urban areas	Nonmigrant	**43.2**	28.4	29.1	26.5	16.0	100	4.5	11.8	20.8	29.5	33.4	100
		(2.2)	(3.5)	(1.6)	(2.0)	(2.2)		(0.9)	(1.4)	(0.9)	(1.0)	(1.7)	
Urban origin (34%)	<18	9.3	26.6	29.3	27.7	16.5	100	2.7	9.5	20.4	28.2	39.3	100
		(1.1)	(2.4)	(1.7)	(1.3)	(2.0)		(0.7)	(1.7)	(1.0)	(1.8)	(1.5)	
	19–24	7.0	26.7	28.5	25.4	19.4	100	2.0	7.9	20.9	28.3	40.8	100
		(0.7)	(2.5)	(1.9)	(1.7)	(1.8)		(0.7)	(1.3)	(1.6)	(1.3)	(1.5)	
	25–30	6.0	22.9	28.7	25.8	22.7	100	3.1	9.9	19.7	28.5	38.8	100
		(0.5)	(2.3)	(2.1)	(1.6)	(2.8)		(0.9)	(1.4)	(1.3)	(1.6)	(1.1)	
	>30	11.6	25.7	28.4	26.6	19.2	100	4.2	14.5	20.6	27.1	33.5	100
		(0.8)	(2.9)	(2.0)	(1.3)	(2.5)		(0.7)	(1.3)	(1.5)	(1.4)	(1.7)	
Rural origin (22.9%)	<18	5.3	46.4	30.0	15.5	8.1	100	5.0	13.6	25.7	28.7	27.1	100
		(0.4)	(3.7)	(2.4)	(2.0)	(1.5)		(1.3)	(1.4)	(1.3)	(2.0)	(1.8)	
	19–24	4.8	54.5	26.3	12.6	6.7	100	5.7	17.0	25.5	29.4	22.4	100
		(0.4)	(4.4)	(2.1)	(2.0)	(1.3)		(1.3)	(1.1)	(1.3)	(1.7)	(1.8)	
	25–30	4.2	52.5	28.9	13.4	5.3	100	6.2	21.9	25.2	26.6	20.0	100
		(0.4)	(3.8)	(1.8)	(1.7)	(1.2)		(1.1)	(2.1)	(1.8)	(2.6)	(1.7)	
	>30	8.5	60.9	25.2	9.0	4.9	100	12.3	24.9	27.1	21.3	14.5	100
		(0.8)	(5.5)	(2.8)	(2.0)	(1.2)		(1.3)	(1.7)	(2.4)	(1.3)	(1.3)	

(Continued on next page)

TABLE 3 (Continued)

Ch. place of residence	Origin and age at migration	Percent	Years of schooling					Wealth quintile					
			0–4	5–8	9–12	13+		1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	Total	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	Total
Panel C													
Rural areas	Non-migrant	**57.7**	79.2	15.6	3.9	1.3	100	43.5	32.5	14.9	6.0	3.1	100
		(2.6)	(3.8)	(2.6)	(1.0)	(0.4)		(3.4)	(2.1)	(1.1)	(1.1)	(1.0)	
Urban origin	<18	2.5	65.8	23.2	8.0	3.0	100	26.4	35.3	19.6	9.0	9.7	100
(14.1%)		(0.3)	(5.2)	(3.0)	(2.5)	(1.1)		(2.2)	(3.9)	(2.8)	(1.6)	(3.5)	
	19–24	3.3	56.8	27.6	12.6	3.0	100	26.3	31.6	24.9	10.4	6.9	100
		(0.3)	(4.6)	(2.3)	(2.7)	(0.9)		(2.1)	(3.6)	(2.6)	(2.8)	(2.7)	
	25–30	2.9	57.8	25.5	11.5	5.2	100	31.4	30.2	19.3	10.0	9.1	100
		(0.2)	(5.0)	(3.2)	(2.3)	(1.8)		(4.6)	(2.3)	(2.9)	(1.6)	(4.2)	
	>30	5.4	60.1	20.7	11.0	8.2	100	34.3	28.1	16.9	11.1	9.5	100
		(0.5)	(4.1)	(1.6)	(1.6)	(1.7)		(3.1)	(2.5)	(1.4)	(1.2)	(4.2)	
Rural origin	<18	5.2	82.0	14.7	2.4	0.8	100	43.8	30.6	15.3	6.7	3.5	100
(28.3%)		(0.6)	(3.4)	(2.7)	(0.6)	(0.4)		(3.8)	(2.4)	(1.6)	(1.0)	(2.2)	
	19–24	6.9	81.8	14.4	3.2	0.6	100	47.8	31.1	12.9	5.0	3.2	100
		(0.6)	(4.0)	(3.1)	(1.0)	(0.2)		(4.1)	(2.5)	(1.2)	(1.2)	(1.3)	
	25–30	5.8	80.5	14.8	3.6	1.1	100	46.2	29.3	14.3	8.2	2.0	100
		(0.5)	(3.7)	(2.7)	(0.9)	(0.4)		(5.1)	(2.7)	(1.6)	(2.3)	(0.7)	
	>30	10.4	80.5	14.7	3.7	1.1	100	46.7	28.9	14.6	6.5	3.3	100
		(0.7)	(3.1)	(2.1)	(0.8)	(0.4)		(3.2)	(2.0)	(1.4)	(1.2)	(1.5)	

NOTE: Standard errors, in parentheses, account for the sample design.

U-shaped pattern, with the highest proportion of women migrating before adulthood and after age 30, potentially indicating the migration of mothers with their daughters.

Differences across areas of residence in educational attainment and wealth profiles reveal structural disparities in access to formal education and basic services (columns (2)–(10)). Secondary and higher education institutions are concentrated in cities, and the provision of basic services is precarious in rural areas. Among nonmigrant women, the proportion with more than 13 years of schooling is 21 percent in large cities, 16 percent in urban areas, and only one percent in rural areas. Women in urban areas are also wealthier, with 51 percent of women in large cities belonging to the top wealth quintile, compared to 33 percent of women in urban areas and 3 percent of women in rural areas, respectively.

Educational and wealth profiles of migrants vary substantially across origin, destination, and age-at-migration groups. These variations reflect how domestic migration is a function of selection and limited improvements in socioeconomic conditions among migrants; despite migrants' being, on average, wealthier, and more educated than nonmigrants at their place of origin, those who move from deprived/underserved rural areas to urban areas have lower educational and wealth profiles than nonmigrant women at the destination. This pattern is observably stronger among women who migrate after the age of 25. Taken together, the heterogeneity across destination, origin, and age at migration in migrants' socioeconomic conditions is likely to play a role in how migration relates to family trajectories.

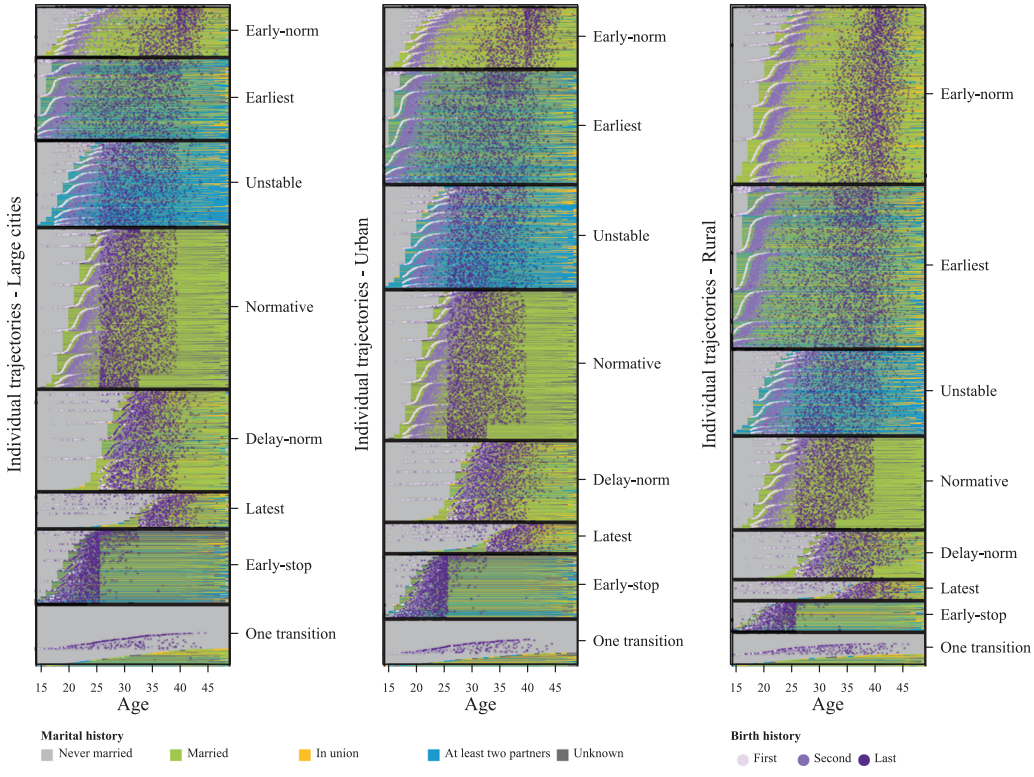
A Typology of Family Formation and Dissolution Trajectories

Figure 2 presents the 67,000 individual family trajectories separated by the area of residence and the eight-category family typology resulting from the cluster analyses (CA). The average number of children sorts family categories from lowest (bottom) to highest (top). Within categories, individual trajectories are sorted by the age of transition to first marriage or cohabitation and then by the age at first birth (light purple dot). The detailed results of the MCA and CA are reported in the online Appendix, Figure A1 in the online Appendix presents the MCA eigenvalues (left panel) and six goodness-of-fit measures for cluster solutions from two to 15 clusters. The left panel in the figure justifies the use of the first six MCA-axes for the clustering (i.e., above-average eigenvalues). The right panel suggests that a seven-cluster solution, plus the ad hoc cluster of one transition, is adequate (refer to Studer (2013) for clusters' goodness-of-fit measures).

To emphasize the distinctiveness of each family category, I label them according to their most salient characteristic. Table A2 in the online Appendix presents the cluster-specific family formation and fertility indicators that form the basis for the categorization.

The *"Normative"* category is the most prevalent, with 23 percent of the total women reflecting tacit societal norms regarding marriage, marriage timing, and childbearing (Quilodrán 2008; Fussell and Palloni 2004). On average, women in this category have 3.9 children, with 89 percent having at least three children. Women in this category give births between the ages of 22 and 31. The *"Normative"* group also displays the highest prevalence of unique marriages, which, on average, precede the first child by 1.4 years. Most women in this group (87 percent) reported having only one partner over their life course. There are no women in a consensual union in this group.

FIGURE 2 Individual family trajectories, family typology and women's distribution by current area of residence



NOTE: Individual trajectories are sorted by age at first marriage, children ever born, and age at first birth within each family category. Interpretations should be cautious due to over plotting.

Relatedly, the group with the largest share of women in rural areas is the "*Early-norm*" group. This group also displays a high prevalence of stable marriages (85 percent of women reported having only one partner), suggesting that marital stability is also normative in rural areas. Here, the use of the word "normative" does not imply that these family paths are more desirable than others in a moral sense; rather, these family trajectories are followed by a majority of women, thus reflecting an implicit societal norm. This societal norm may be due to the influence of the Catholic church and recently established evangelical churches in these countries, among other factors (Lesthaeghe 2020).

The first category of the *family typology* comprises mainly women who did not have a child and who did not enter marital/consensual unions or only experienced one of these two transitions ("*One transition*").[1] The second category (*"Early-stop"*) is very particular because women in this group transition to family formation relatively early, on average, at ages 19 (marriage/union) and 20 (first birth), and have low complete fertility (2.1 children). This configuration of features occurs because these women stop childbearing before age 24 (mean age at last birth). Marital and union dissolution is prevalent in this group of women, with 37

1 See the online Appendix for a detailed definition of this group.

percent being divorced or separated at the time of the survey and 22 percent reporting having had more than one partner over their life course. In accordance with emerging quantitative and well-established qualitative studies, this group may comprise women who are working in private domestic service, street sales, and other informal, underpaid, and potentially exploitative occupations, which tend to be incompatible with higher fertility and more stable familial unions (Casanova 2019; Castro Torres, Gutierrez Vazquez, and Bernardes 2022; Chanel and Garcia Castro 1989; Pérez 2021).

The *"Latest"* category is the only group where, on average, the transition to childbearing and union formation co-occur at about age 33; these women are the latest, in terms of their average age, to transition to marriage and motherhood in our data. The average completed fertility in the *"Latest"* group is relatively low, about 2.3 children per woman. Union stability is high, with 89 percent of women reporting having had only one partner over their life course. Women in the following group ("*Delay-norm*") transition to union formation and first birth relatively late, at about ages 27 and 28, respectively. In this group, marriage/union precedes motherhood, which is not the case in the *"Latest"* group. In addition, women in this group have, on average, 2.8 children (i.e., 0.5 more children than women in the *"Latest"* group). Marital and union stability is high in this group, with 93 percent of women reporting having had only one partner, and only 14 of women being divorced or separated by the time of the survey.

Generally, the four categories of the *family typology* below the *"Normative"* category in Figure 2 comprise family trajectories of low intensity, delayed transitions (except for *"Early-stop"*), and compressed family schedules, implying that women in these groups form unions (mostly through marriage) and have few children in a relatively brief period of their lives.

Moving to family categories on the top of the *"Normative"* category, early transitions to union formation and childbearing characterize the *"Unstable"* group. This group has the second-largest percentage of divorced and separated women (23 percent), and the largest percentage of women who had been in more than one marriage or union (73 percent), implying that 96 percent of these women experienced couple dissolution at some point in their lives. The average completed fertility of the *"Unstable"* group is just slightly above that of the *"Normative"* group (4.3 vs. 3.9 children). The following group includes mostly women who entered unions, on average, two to three years before the legal age of majority (*"Earliest"*). The transition to first birth in this group occurs one year after union/marriage. This group displays the second highest level of complete fertility and intermediate levels of marriage prevalence, union stability, and repartnering relative to other groups. Finally, women in the top group (*"Early-norm"*) are characterized by early ages of transition to family formation, high prevalence of marriages (90 percent are married), and low marital instability (only 2.6 percent reported to be divorced or separated, and less than 4 percent reported having had more than one partner). One distinctive characteristic of this last group is its extended period of childbearing; on average, women give birth to their last child at age 39.

The high average fertility of the *"Earliest"* and *"Early-norm"* groups may seem surprising. However, it is worth recalling that these women were born between 1945 and 1965 and lived through the fertility transition, which was a heterogeneous process with class-specific trajectories and persistent fertility differences across the place of residence and women's socioeconomic status (Castro Torres 2021; Schkolnik and Chackiel 2004).

Taken together, the categories of the family typology vary in two interrelated ways. First, they range from a category that groups mostly never married and childless women (*"One transition"*) to a category that comprises mostly women who transitioned to union formation at an early age, had multiple partners, and had high fertility (*"Earliest"*). These two opposing family trajectories are referred to as *low-intensity* and *high-intensity* family paths, respectively. Second, family categories also vary in the prevalence of marriage, cohabitation, divorce, and separation. This variation allows for separating normative family paths: universal, unique, and stable marriages from less normative ones, i.e., a dual regime of marriage and cohabitation, unstable unions, and multiple partners over the life course.

Family Typology, Migration, and Social Class

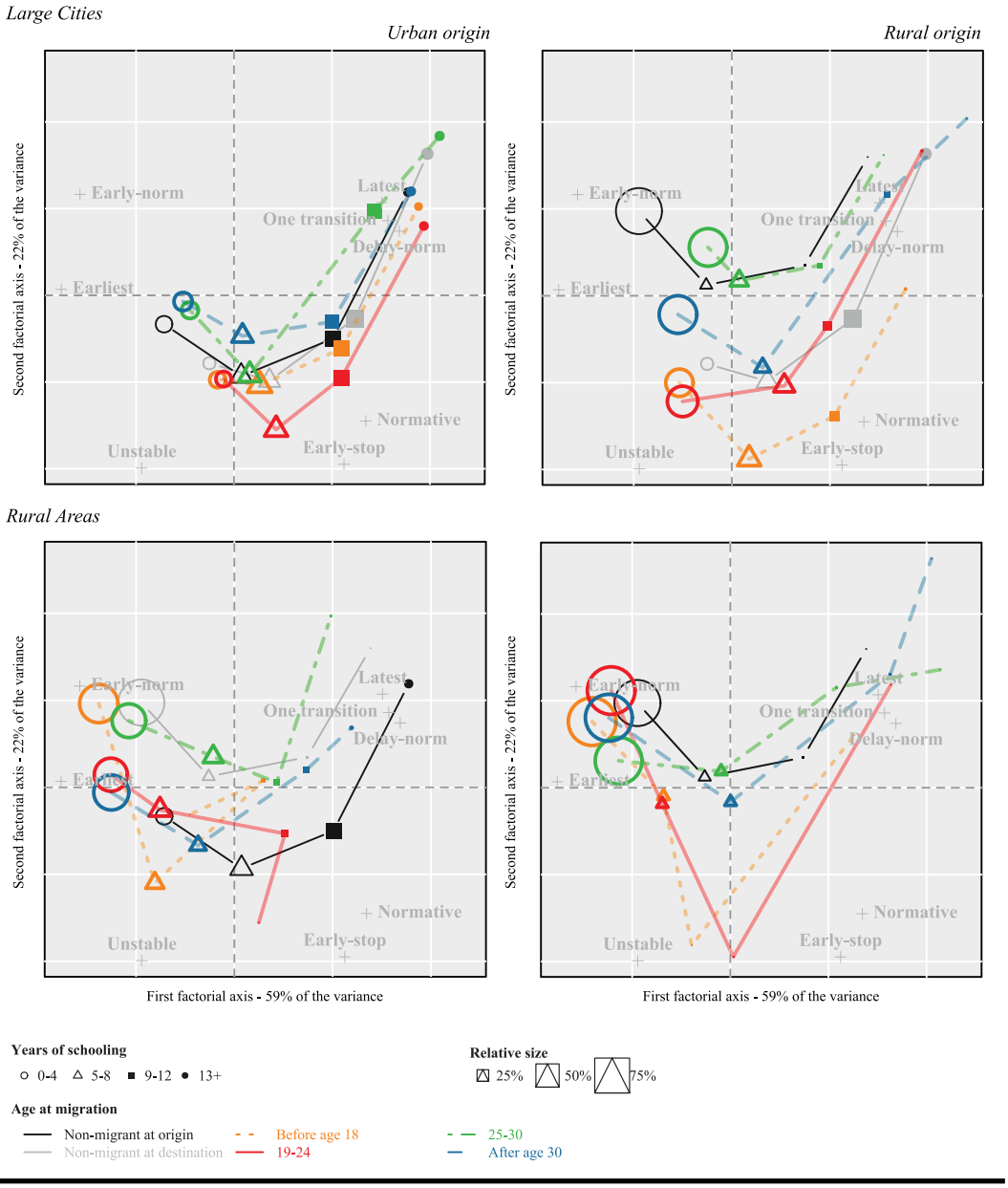
I next examine how *family profiles* look jointly across migration streams (origin destination), years of schooling groups, and age at migration groups -i.e., the intersection of the social categories that determine women's socioeconomic position and status in the context of domestic migration. Figure 3 presents PCA plots that allow for comparisons of *family profiles* in large cities and rural areas, respectively.[2] I focus on the first two PCA axes, comprising 81 percent of the total variance across *family profiles*.

All panels in Figure 3 should be interpreted jointly; however, I separate them by destination and origin to facilitate interpretation. The left panels present the *family profiles* of migrants of urban origin, and the right panels present the *family profiles* of migrants of rural origin. Family categories are displayed as "**+**" gray markers. Groups of women are differentiated with four markers for years of schooling groups, and five colors and line patterns for each age-at-migration group. The sizes of the markers are proportional to the percentage of women by years of schooling within the age at migration (as displayed in Table 3). The center of the PCA plot corresponds to the marginal distribution of the family typology. Proximity between groups of women implies similar *family profiles* and proximity between groups of women and family categories implies a positive correlation.

According to the top left panel in Figure 3, the *family profiles* of women in large cities follow a J-shaped pattern that reflects the associations between educational attainment and family categories. Regardless of migration status, highly educated women are overrepresented in three family categories: *"One transition," "Latest,"* and *"Delay-norm,"* whereas low-educated women are overrepresented in the *"Earliest"* and *"Earliest-norm"* categories. Among nonmigrant women, the proportions of women in the *"Latest"* category increase with increasing educational attainment. In contrast, the proportion of women in the *"Earliest"* category decreases with increasing educational attainment (refer to Table A3). The only slight departure from the J-shaped pattern concerns women with 0 to 4 and 5 to 8 years of schooling who migrated between ages 19 and 24. Among these groups of young-adult migrants, the proportion of women in the "*Normative*" category (21.7 percent and 31.1 percent for the 0 to 4 and 5 to 8 years of schooling groups, respectively) is higher than among their nonmigrant counterparts with the same educational attainment (17.8 percent and 24.1 percent, respectively).

2 *Family profiles* are reported in online Table A3 for large cities, online Table A4 for urban areas, and online Table A5 for rural areas. The plot for urban areas is included in the online Appendix (Figure A2).

FIGURE 3 ***Family profiles*** **by origin, age at migration, and years of schooling**



NOTES: The percentages of variance of the axes refer to the total variance across the 108 family profiles, that is, to the total sum of squared Euclidean distances of the PCA coordinates. There were no significance patterns along the third axis (6 percent of the total variance).

In contrast to the overlapping pattern in the left panel, the top right panel displays a nonconcurrent distribution of *family profiles* for migrant women of rural origin, signaling the multiplicity of disruptions or adaptations of rural *family profiles* relative to *family profiles* in large cities. This lack of overlap is evident for women with 0–4 and 5–8 years of schooling; these are the two largest groups as reflected by their marker sizes. Women in these two

groups who migrated from rural areas to large cities are less likely to be in the "*Earliest"* and *"Early-norm"* categories than those women who remained in rural areas. Migrant women of rural origin are more likely to be in the *"Unstable,"* "*Early-stop,"* and "*Normative*" categories than nonmigrant women, implying that rural-to-large-cities migration is simultaneously associated with lower fertility, higher marriage/union instability, and early cessation of childbearing. This association is robust for young (0–18) and young adult (19–24) migrant women with 0–4 and 5–8 years of schooling.

Notably, educational differences remain across all age-at-migration groups, meaning that domestic migration does not erase the role of years of schooling in differentiating women's *family profiles*. For example, women who migrated after the age of 30 and completed 13 years of schooling (top-rightmost point in the right panel) display a very different *family profile* compared to women with 0–4 years of schooling who migrated at the same age (third quadrant). It is important to recall that the patterns observed for women with fewer years of schooling are more critical than those observed among highly educated, given the differences in the size of these three groups.

The bottom panels display results for rural areas as a destination. Most migrants in rural areas are women with 0–4 years of schooling. Their *family profiles* resemble those of noneducated rural nonmigrants; most of these women follow the *"Early-norm"* and *"Earliest"* categories. Migration to rural areas displays two main early- and late-migration patterns. For women who migrated before age 25, *family profiles* move sharply towards the left of the panels (partially disrupting the U-shaped pattern), meaning that early migration to rural areas and high educational attainment are not associated with delayed transitions to family formation and low fertility. This result should not be overemphasized because it refers to a relatively small proportion of women.

For migration after age 25, the *family profiles*' distribution replicates the educational discrepancies of urban nonmigrants (left panel), and rural nonmigrants (right panel), meaning that women who migrated as adults to rural areas have similar *family profiles* compared to rural nonmigrants. The similarity is apparent between rural migrants and rural nonmigrants. These patterns are also consistent with the idea that late migration between similar contexts should be associated with less family disruption.

Some caveats regarding the composition of the sample and the measurement of lifetime migration are necessary for understanding the scope of these results. The sample of countries only includes some LACar nations; although nations from central and south America and the Caribbean are included, the so-called Southern-cone nations (Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay) are omitted. With this said, the sample includes the three largest countries of the region in terms of population size: Brazil, Colombia, and Mexico. Together, these three countries account for more than half of the total LACar population. When constructing the lifetime migration measure, it should be noted that the measure ignores multiple migrations and only considers the place of residence during childhood. Women who migrated multiple times and, by the time of the survey, had returned to their place of residence during infancy are misclassified as nonmigrants, downwardly biasing our measurement. However, the fact that the most significant patterns of migration-related differences in family profiles are observed for women in the first two age groups reassures us about the conclusions from the

analysis because these two age-at-migration groups are the least affected by the potential bias of lifetime migration measures.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Domestic migration in LACar countries during the second half of the twentieth century was characterized by the mobility of almost one out of every two women in the region. Domestic migrant women are represented by diverse educational and wealth profiles, suggesting that migration had distinct implications for family formation and childbearing trajectories. Previous accounts of family and fertility change based on average trends and hypothesis-based explanations have masked these heterogeneities and their implications. In contrast, thanks to a bottom-up approach to data analysis, this study shows that the diversity of migration flows and migrants' socioeconomic and demographic profiles are associated with heterogeneous relationships between family and migration. Hypothesis-based approaches have been incapable of accounting for this heterogeneity as most of these patterns become invisible when analyses separately measure the degree of *selection*, *assimilation*, *adaptation*, or *socialization*, without accounting for the socially stratified nature of family and migration dynamics.

The study findings show that migration and family formation processes are embedded in the social structure in several ways. First, because migration and family formation require resources, the relationship between the two processes depends on women's social and economic background; lower social class and higher social class women experience migration and family formation differently. Second, migration is nondisruptive for family trajectories only when socioeconomic opportunities at the origin and destination are similar for a given group. Third, *socialization* and *assimilation/adaptation* mechanisms shape family formation and life course outcomes; the latter mechanisms are especially notable among lower social class women, making this group of women a significant contributor to family change during the period of analysis.

These results find that it is among vulnerable individuals that *family profiles* are more disrupted by migration compared to individuals in socially privileged positions. The temporal coincidence of family formation and migration within the life course may be more demanding for women with fewer years of schooling than for the highly educated. Indeed, high socioeconomic status and late migration are associated with minimal disruption in *family profiles*. These findings suggest that the so-called disruptions associated with the migration experience do not necessarily result in deviations from the norm. Domestic migration was such an integral part of LACar's social and demographic history that the family trajectories of migrants contributed significantly to the tacit societal norms underlying family trajectories in the region. This result contrasts sharply with the conception of migrants as having very distinct and nonnormative preferences and behaviors (e.g., *selection*). The fact that this conclusion concerns primarily lower social class women suggests that further attention should be devoted to understanding the drivers of family and fertility change among less privileged groups (e.g., young migrant women in cities), who tend to be underrepresented in mainstream theories of demographic change (van de Kaa 1996; Mason 1997). This particular attention to disadvantaged groups is essential for our understanding of demographic and

social change in LACar societies, and other regions in the Global South, given the high and sustained levels of social and economic inequality and its connection with the timing of the transition to motherhood (Castro Torres, Batyra, and Myrskylä 2022). Of particular interest for future research are women and families who are suffering the consequences of violence as they experience increased levels of vulnerability (Castro Torres and Urdinola 2019; Hill 2004)

Differences in the social and economic opportunity structures across large cities, urban areas, and rural areas allow for us to speculate about the potential mechanisms driving the heterogeneity in *family profiles*. Because living in large cities imposes material restrictions on family expansion and stability, the similarity in family outcomes between migrant and nonmigrant groups can be interpreted as a structural adaptation. This structural adaptation stems from the material constraints that a large city imposes on migrant women. These include higher childbearing and childrearing costs, separation from support networks of family members who are left behind, and low income in a predominantly monetary economy. This latter aspect likely undermines the economic prospects of the low-educated women who come into cities from rural areas. Hence, stopping childbearing shortly after the first birth, limiting fertility, being part of a stable formal marriage, or having multiple partners over the life course, have become identifying features of the family paths among migrants in large cities. The prevalence of informal live-in and live-out domestic work arrangements among migrant women in LACar cities, along with the overrepresentation of rural-to-urban migrants in this occupation, underline the importance of material and financial constraints for family formation paths (Casanova 2019; Jelin 1977; Moya 2007). Indeed, the results are consistent with census-based analysis documenting sustained low fertility among live-in domestic workers in Brazil, Colombia, and Mexico (Castro Torres, Gutierrez Vazquez, and Bernardes 2022).

In rural areas, it is among women who migrated before and during crucial ages for family formation that *family profiles* depict the most considerable deviations compared to *family profiles* of women at the origin. The fact that these deviations are more significant among the highly educated than the less educated highlights the importance of the context of reception for family trajectories. Despite being highly educated, young adult-migrant women in rural areas are underrepresented in low-intensity, delayed transition, and no-transition family categories. In contrast, for women who migrated after aged 25 and 30, *family profiles* tend to replicate the educational differences of women at the destination.

Although our findings only examine the role of migration for women born between 1946 and 1964 in 10 LACar countries, the lessons learned about the role of social class inequalities on family and migration trajectories could help us understand demographic change among more recent birth cohorts in LACar. The literature suggests that the patterns documented in this work may have become more severe among women born between the 1970s and 1990s (Esteve, Castro-Martin, and Castro Torres 2022). The structural factors undergirding differences in family trajectories by social class did not change substantially. Educational systems have continued to be elitist, armed internal conflicts did not cease in several countries, and socioeconomic inequalities, including inequalities in income and housing conditions, have continued to rise (Sánchez-Ancochea 2021). An analysis of more recent data is necessary to test whether these patterns and inequalities continue to persist today.

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