Artículo de revista:

Castro Torres, Andrés F.; Gutierrez-Vazquez, Edith Y. (2023). "Power relations and persistent low fertility among domestic workers in Latin America". *The Sociological Review*, 00380261231181772 (ISSN 1467-954X) https://doi.org/10.1177/00380261231181772

Power relations and persistent low fertility among domestic workers in Latin America

Full author(s) name and affiliations*
Andrés F. Castro Torres (corresponding author)
Betriu de Pinos postdoctoral researcher, Center for Demographic Studies. Barcelona, Spain.
acastro@ced.uab.es
Research Guest, Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research, Rostock, Germany
castro@demogr.mpg.de

Edith Y. Gutierrez-Vazquez
Professor and researcher, Universidad de Guadalajara. Guadalajara, Mexico.
edith.gutierrez@cucea.udg.mx

Published version: Castro Torres, A. F., & Gutierrez-Vazquez, E. Y. (2023). Power relations and persistent low fertility among domestic workers in Latin America. *The Sociological Review*, 00380261231181772. https://doi.org/10.1177/00380261231181772

Abstract

Scholarly work on international chains of care have highlighted the stratified nature of reproductive work along the lines of gender, social class, race/ethnicity, and cross-national economic inequalities, particularly with regard to childbearing and childrearing tasks. Immigrant women from the global South are taking rising shares of domestic and care workloads in global North countries. Less attention has been devoted to national contexts, particularly from a quantitative perspective. Using large-scale nationally representative data for Brazil, Colombia, and Mexico, this work presents a quantitative assessment of fertility and offspring mortality patterns among live-in domestic workers and their employers (*patronas*) during the second half of the 20th century. Our results indicate that the historically low and delayed fertility of live-in domestic workers stems from the confluence of socioeconomic disadvantages throughout their life courses, the everyday mobility constraints they face, the physical control exerted towards them by their employers, and the expropriation of their daily and life course time by middle- and upper-class families. These results underline the stratified nature of reproduction in the Latin American context and urge scholars, particularly those working with quantitative data, to re-center research questions around the social mechanisms, including power relations, underpinning unequal living conditions and their consequences for the stratification of reproductive tasks. We use this evidence to argue that the increasingly feminized nature of domestic work and the rising trends of socioeconomic inequalities within and between countries render the examination of intersectionality-defined minorities central for a deep understanding of family change beyond the Latin American context.

Keywords: power relations, domestic work, demographic change, fertility, Latin America

Funding statement: This research was supported by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Technology (FJC2020-042965-I), the Department of Research and Universities of the Catalan government (2021-BP-00027), and the European Research Council (ERC-2020-STG-948557).

Acknowledgement: We thank Dr. Teresa Bernardes for her initial contributions to the paper and Drs. Leda Perez and Helena Cruz Castanheira for their comments on a previous version of this work. We thank the American Sociological Association and the Asociación Latinoamericana de Población for allowing us to present this work in their meetings in 2020 and 2022, respectively. We also acknowledge the institutional support of the Universidad de Guadalajara and the Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research (MPIDR). We thank the Red de Investigación sobre Trabajo del Hogar en América Latina (RITHAL) for being a major source of inspiration for researching domestic work in Latin America. We also thank reviewers and the editorial team.

Introduction

Spoiler alert! Alfonso Cuarón's 2018 film "Roma" portrays a typical middle-upper-class Mexican family in 1970; the breadwinner husband travels permanently due to his job, and the spouse, Sofia, stays at home with their four children. The family owns a big house, two cars, and a dog. Two young indigenous women of rural origin co-reside with this family and take care of most of the household chores. These two live-in domestic workers presumably have very few years of schooling, and their families back home have minimal economic resources. The youngest of them, Cleo, has a pregnancy throughout the movie that ends dramatically in a stillbirth. Though she could have more children afterward, it is doubtful that she will have as many as Sofia, her employer, given the traumatic experience of her short pregnancy and her living conditions as a live-in domestic worker (Chaney & Garcia Castro, 1989; Drouilleau, 2011; Durin, 2014; Filet-Abreu de Souza, 1980). Towards the end of the film, Cleo rescues Sofia's children from drowning in the sea after their father abandoned the family; this emotionally-charged scene is very symbolic (Rossi & Campanella, 2020), among other things, because it hints at a potential protective effect of domestic workers' presence in the very sense of preventing child deaths.

Characters like Cleo and Sofia are common in Latin American literature, films, and soap operas and have been studied in several content analyses (Casanova et al., 2018; Durin et al., 2014; Martin & Shaw, 2017, Chapter 5; Osborne & Ruiz-Alfaro, 2020; Rossi et al., 2018; Rossi & Campanella, 2020). Together with abundant qualitative studies on domestic workers' living and working conditions in the region (cited along the text[1]), these studies have highlighted the pervasiveness of asymmetric power relations between domestic workers and their employers (*patronas* hereafter as in Spanish). According to these works, domestic workers are under strict physical control, and their life courses are filled up with challenges, lack of recognition, and minimal opportunities (Casanova, 2019; Durin, 2014, 2020; Maich, 2010; Pérez, 2021); all of these are possible due to the high and entrenched levels of socioeconomic inequality and racial/ethnic discrimination that persist across virtually all Latin American and Caribbean societies (Sánchez-Ancochea, 2021; Woo-Mora, 2021).

[1] For ongoing scholarly and political activities refer to the "Red de Investigación sobre Trabajo del Hogar en América Latina" (Research Network on Domestic Work in Latin America).

Our research question is to what extent these asymmetric power relations and challenging life courses translate into different patterns of fertility and offspring mortality at the aggregated level among domestic workers, *patronas*, and other women, from a quantitative perspective. The benefits of a quantitative approach have to do with the representativeness of the results in the statistical sense. Additionally, fertility and offspring mortality are fundamental parts of biological reproduction, therefore, at the basis of social reproduction (Danna, 2021). However, this approach is not free of challenges, in part due to the existence of hegemonic theories and methods for quantitative data analysis and interpretation (Castro Torres, 2021; van de Kaa, 1996).

To present, fertility and mortality decline have been explained in terms of demographic transition and diffusion theories where societies' modernization improves average living conditions, therefore, reducing mortality and lowering the incentives for high fertility (Caldwell, 1982; Montgomery et al., 2003; National Research Council, 1999; van de Kaa, 1996). According to diffusion theories, fertility change occurs initially among upper-class women and gradually spreads across other societal groups, eventually reaching the vast majority of the population (Bongaarts & Watkins, 1996; Cleland & Wilson, 1987). There is little, if any, mention of the social structures that capitalism has perpetuated and strengthened in the so-called modernizing societies (a notable exception is the work of Yopo Díaz (2021)). These neglected structures include entrenched economic inequality, gender discrimination, exploitative power relations among social classes, and social exclusion based on racial and ethnic categories.

Existing variable-based quantitative approaches are not well suited to account for demographic outcomes among subgroups, especially if they are socially and economically excluded minorities (Castro Torres, 2021). For example, in the case of "Roma," the fact that Sofia had more children than Cleo is in sharp contrast to quantitative evidence (National Research Council, 1999; Quilodrán & Juarez, 2009; Rindfuss et al., 1996). According to these studies, increased educational attainment among women contributed significantly to fertility decline in global South countries; therefore, fewer children, on average, are expected among highly educated women compared to those with lower educational attainment, particularly in Latin America (Castro Martin & Juarez, 1995). Likewise, the potential contribution of domestic workers to lower mortality among children is not traceable in variable-based examinations.

At the same time, these group-specific fertility and mortality patterns will not surprise qualitative scholarship on domestic work. According to this scholarship, there are multiple challenges and incompatibilities between domestic work, particularly in live-in arrangements, and motherhood (Durin, 2014), and very often, taking care of others' children occurs at the expense of caring for their own (Drouilleau, 2011; Durin, 2020; Maich, 2010). As early as 1989, a collection of studies on domestic workers in Latin America and the Caribbean stated: "For live-in domestics, it is a job in which personal life is subsumed in the work situation, in which [working] hours are uncontrolled, and marriage and children impossible" (Chaney & Garcia Castro, 1989, p. 32). An intersectional perspective and group-based analysis are necessary to bring this qualitative-based clarity to aggregate quantitative analyses.

Under a group-based and intersectional approach, our quantitative analyses show (i) domestic workers' gendered, racialized, young, and socially disadvantaged profiles, (ii) how their fertility has historically been low compared to other women, and (iii) their potential contribution to enhanced fertility and lower mortality among the *patronas* and their children, respectively. In contrast to previous explanations, we argue that sustained low fertility of domestic workers, the enhancing of *patronas'* fertility, and lowering offspring mortality occur at the expense of domestic worker's well-being, i.e., as an undesirable yet not unexpected, consequence of the so-called modernization process and the increased inequality that has come with it (Ginsburg & Rapp, 1995; Sánchez-Ancochea, 2021).

Together, these results contribute to the existing literature on domestic workers worldwide by showing consistencies between well-established qualitative findings and large-scale quantitative assessments across the three most populous Latin American countries: Brazil, Colombia, and Mexico which together comprise more than two-thirds of the Latin American population. These consistencies include not only the similarity between quantitative and qualitative empirical findings, but also the appropriateness of power relations, intersectionality, and stratified reproduction, as conceptual frameworks for explaining the unequal distribution and valuation of reproductive tasks in Latin American societies (Choo & Ferree, 2010; Colen, 1995; Sassen-Koob, 1984).

Global domestic workers and their role in social reproduction

The socioeconomic changes implied by the expansion of the capitalist economy modified domestic work arrangements and their social standing worldwide (Moya, 2007). Domestic work changed from being a relatively socially and economically well-rewarded occupation that men and women performed during their youth as a way of gaining experience to a largely neglected, undesirable, and dead-end occupation that only people in extreme need take (Chaney & Garcia Castro, 1989; Moya, 2007). Kin and distant-kin relations between employers and employees were gradually disappearing as time passed leading to a virtual absence of kinship connection between employers and domestic workers in contemporary societies, favoring the possibility of enhanced physical control among workers (Pérez, 2021; Pérez & Freier, 2020). This latter characterization has become widespread across the world and the population occupied as domestic workers comprise mostly young women from rural areas or relatively disadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds in national and transnational chains of care, respectively (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2004; Jelin, 1977; Parreñas, 2017). The implications of these transformations have taken further the stratified nature of reproduction in societies.

According to the concept of stratified reproduction, fertility and offspring mortality are primer determinants of population replacement, and therefore the very base of social reproduction (Danna, 2021). We understand social reproduction broadly as the combination of social, economic, and cultural processes that preserve the social order through the existing relations among social classes (Wright, 2015). In social reproduction, fertility and early-life mortality are not experienced equally by individuals, but according to their race/ethnicity, social class, and their position in the global economy (Colen, 1995). Configurations of (under)privileged conditions boost stratification in reproductive tasks, for example, by allowing adults differential time and resources for parenthood, childbearing, and childrearing depending on their occupation; or by reducing the means to protect children from disease and death (e.g., differential access to primary care and food). Along with other factors such as economic inequality or uneven development, these unequal opportunities to perform reproductive tasks yield different demographic outcomes by social class, which further contribute to the reproduction of class relations (Schneider & Schneider, 1996; Szreter, 1996).

The feminization of labor and enhanced individuals' mobility within and between countries have been crucial drivers for the social and economic devaluation of domestic work (Oliveira & Ariza, 2002). Care tasks are continuously redistributed among women in different social positions. Increasingly, those who take most of the care burden are migrants of rural origin in domestic contexts, and immigrants from the global South in international chains of care (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007; Jelin, 1977). For example, Colen (1995) documented the increased presence of West Indian women working as domestic workers for middle-upper class households in New York since the 1960s. More recently, Filipina women (Parreñas, 2015) and women from Colombia and Mexico women (Durin, 2017, Chapter 10) have been shown to have a critical role in performing all kinds of domestic and childrearing tasks for the US and French middle-upper-class households, respectively. Some evidence has shown positive experiences for the live-in babysitters or *au pairs* as they get an opportunity to travel, gain experience outside of their country of birth, and learn a new language (Barros & Escobar Latapí, 2017; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007); while others experience exploitation from their employers due to their migration status, the lack of regulation and poor, if any, law enforcement regarding their rights.

Compared to international chains of care, care chains in national contexts have received less attention, with the cited exceptions where qualitative work predominates. According to these qualitative accounts, reproductive tasks within countries are also socially stratified as a consequence of increased feminization of labor and enhanced population mobility (Donato, 2010; Jelin, 1977). Greater mobility has been driven by a combination of a lack of opportunities in origin areas, typically rural dispersed populations and impoverished urban places, and increased demand for care work in destinations, typically well-off urban areas and big cities (Casanova, 2019). Country-specific social categories of disadvantage are strongly associated with domestic work, which goes along with an overrepresentation of young women in this occupation (Durin et al., 2014; Filet-Abreu de Souza, 1980; Tinsman, 1992).

Domestic work in the context of changing and unequal Latin America

The modern shape of domestic work in Latin America acquired its features within the context of the fertility transition, one of the most significant transformations of the region (Guzmán, 1996). The total fertility rate –the average number of children a woman is expected to

bear during her reproductive life– declined from six children in 1950 to below three by the end of the century (Guzmán et al., 2006). This transition to lower fertility has been interrelated with other social changes such as increased women's educational attainment and labor force participation, greater access to modern contraception, increased acceptance of smaller families, and the 1970 onwards process of urbanization (Cosio, 1992).

By the first decade of the 21st century, the total fertility rate for the region was around 2.5 children per woman, with a handful of countries and most urban areas displaying fertility rates hovering around two children (Montgomery et al., 2003). Substantial heterogeneity in the number of children across socioeconomic groups and areas of residence, and polarized patterns of transition to motherhood coexist with these low total fertility rates (Castro Torres, 2021; Esteve & Flórez-Paredes, 2018; Schkolnik & Chackiel, 2004).

During this period, domestic work accounted for a significant share of women's labor force participation. In 2010, 18 million women in Latin America and the Caribbean worked as domestic workers, that is, 17.4% of female employment; these figures were 9.6 million and 14.6%, respectively in 1995 (ILO, 2013). Compared to women in international chains of care, these increased numbers of national domestic workers are not only more numerous, but also more vulnerable and less likely to upwardly escape their social and economic positions. The confluence of adverse living circumstances through their life courses in Latin American contexts implied vulnerabilities of different kinds, which is in line with understanding their social position in terms of the intersection of gender, migration, social class, and race/ethnicity disadvantaged social categories (Chaney & Garcia Castro, 1989; Drouilleau, 2011; Durin, 2014; Filet-Abreu de Souza, 1980).

Domestic workers suffer from gender inequality and gender-based violence and discrimination, which have a long history in Latin American societies (García & de Oliveira, 2011), both in their origin communities and within the households they work for. As most of them are financially poor rural migrants without educational credentials, their bargaining power is limited once they arrive in cities. For example, they have very little capacity to negotiate and enforce good labor contracts, or to claim rights although some may be supported by national legislation (Durin et al., 2014; Pérez, 2021). The same applies to domestic workers from urban backgrounds who typically come

from impoverished urban areas such as slums, favelas, and *barrios de invasión* (Casanova, 2019; Hojman, 1989; Jelin, 1977; Pérez & Freier, 2020). In addition, afro-descendent and indigenous populations are overrepresented among domestic workers, making historical and institutional discrimination and exclusion against these groups an additional layer of oppression (Chaney & Garcia Castro, 1989; Durin et al., 2014). Finally, the lack of regulations and the weak law enforcement regarding their working conditions and rights made indigenous/racialized women from disadvantaged backgrounds vulnerable to exploitation by employers, particularly those living in the same household they worked for (Blofield & Jokela, 2018; Hordge-Freeman, 2022; Maich, 2014; Moya, 2007; Pérez, 2021).

Domestic work arrangements vary widely across and within Latin American countries (Gorbán & Tizziani, 2018; Tokman, 2010). Despite the overall socio-economic vulnerability of the women who perform these tasks, domestic workers are not a homogenous group (Valenzuela et al., 2009). A myriad of kinship, distant-kinship, and acquaintance arrangements exist within households that host, hire, or have a domestic worker as a co-resident, making their measurement challenging (Hordge-Freeman, 2022; Levinson & Langer, 2010). There is a correlation between the type of arrangement and the host family's class status (Pérez & Freier, 2020). Among high social class families in the mid-twenty century, hiring domestic workers was not only a possibility given their resources but a class marker and an element of distinction, especially if families could afford to have more than one domestic worker: a cleaner, a gardener, a cook, a driver, a babysitter. In more contemporary contexts, hiring live-in domestic workers has become less affordable. Only very affluent families can pay for these services (Bertoncelo, 2015; Blofield & Jokela, 2018; Valenzuela et al., 2009, Chapter III). Some families employ live-in domestic workers temporarily, while the children need daily adult supervision, and the parents need to free their time to work or continue higher education. Instead, live-out domestic workers have increasingly become an option.

Among working-class and lower-middle-class families, live-in domestic work arrangements are not a marker of class status nor an option to free time for the *patrona* to pursue higher education or professional careers. These arrangements could occur among distant family members or acquaintances who live in urban areas and are willing to receive a young, even a teenager, woman as a "helper" from a rural household (Valenzuela et al., 2009, Chapter VI). In exchange for her help, the host family offers shelter and access to urban amenities and benefits, including part-time,

nocturnal, or weekend-based schooling. In this context, a domestic worker in a working-class or emerging middle-class household could reduce the burden of household chores. However, it could also become a burden as the family needs to care for the young woman. These arrangements, often referred to as "chosen kinship (parentesco escogido)" or "neo-kinship," are full of tensions and contradictions and do not free live-in domestic workers from exploitation and abuse (Drouilleau, 2011; Fonseca, 2003; Pérez, 2021). For example, in the case of Peru, Perez (2021, p.11) summarizes these class-specific arrangements acknowledging their shared exploitative working conditions for domestic workers: "The result for a highly unregulated sector like domestic work is that those who can, pay privately for these services; those who cannot, turn to other strategies, including unpaid support that might be derived from a family or acquaintance, through a neo-kin relationship; and, in both cases, those who do the work remain highly devalued and unprotected."

Physical control and permanent surveillance indicate unbalanced power relations between *patronas* and live-in domestic workers. Private space management underpins these relations. Throughout the second half of the 20th century, middle- and upper-class dwellings included an additional small room called "*el cuarto del servicio*" or "*quarto de serviço/empregada*," (service/maids' room), usually located far from other rooms, next to the patio in houses, or beside the kitchen in apartments (Casanova, 2019; Maich, 2010; Pérez & Freier, 2020). These rooms are inside the dwelling but separate and isolated from other rooms and common spaces, and they allow *patronas* to physically control the life of domestic workers who are not allowed to bring external people, particularly men. Qualitative work has revealed how live-in domestic workers are usually asked to lock themselves inside their rooms to eliminate any possibility of contact with family members at night or when the *patronas* are not at home (Durin, 2014).

This particular form of co-residence has ambivalent consequences for domestic workers. On the one hand, it implies physical proximity and daily interactions, which, in some cases, generate emotional bonds, particularly with children (Brites, 2007; Colen, 1995). On the other hand, it exposes women to all kinds of abuse as they are isolated and practically 'at work' on a 24/7 basis. Live-out arrangements have become more prevalent than live-in after the 1990s due to multiple factors, including decreasing labor supply, lower and overall declining fertility, increasing (yet insufficient) regulations of domestic work, and the rise of substitute economic activities provided by the informal sector (Portes & Hoffman, 2003). As such, live-in and live-out domestic workers

are two categories that should not be conceived as two distinct socially disadvantaged groups. Women switch from live-in to live-out arrangements and other precarious occupations like street sales multiple times throughout their life courses.

As a result of these long-lasting historical processes and changes in labor markets, domestic workers' social position in Latin America lies at the intersection of socially disadvantaged categories of gender, race/ethnicity, social class, and domestic migration status. Most domestic workers in the region, particularly those in live-in arrangements, are young women from indigenous groups or racialized as black who were born in rural areas and moved to cities in search of better economic prospects and educational opportunities (Drouilleau, 2011; Filet-Abreu de Souza, 1980; Jelin, 1977). Violent confrontations among official and out-of-the-law armed actors and forced displacement often fuel these migration streams, adding a layer of vulnerability to the already challenging social position of domestic workers (Alvarado & Massey, 2010; Donato, 2016).

Census data, age-specific indicators, and comparison groups

We use the information from 12 census samples from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, International (Minnesota Population Center, 2020). These samples are statistically representative of the national populations, and their sizes allow us to study live-in and live-out domestic workers and the *patronas*. *Patronas* are women of reproductive age who are either household heads or spouses and co-reside with a domestic worker. Our analytical sample (Table 1) comprises more than 34.6 million women, ages 15 to 49, organized into five groups according to geographic and occupational criteria.

*** Table_1***

The first three groups are mutually exclusive geographical areas: Large cities, urban areas, and rural areas. The concentration of resources and economic development in large cities makes it essential to distinguish them from other urban areas, which sometimes look more akin to rural areas in terms of public services and infrastructure (Montgomery et al., 2003). Large cities include the two most populous urban areas in each country: Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, Bogota and Medellin in Colombia, and Mexico City and Guadalajara in Mexico. At the other end of the

development spectrum, rural areas have historically suffered from underinvestment, lack of state presence and infrastructure, and violence, particularly in Mexico and Colombia (Alegre, 2003; Mercado, 2014). These two geographical areas represent domestic workers' typical origin and destination areas, as shown in the last column of Table 1.

The following two groups are women who perform domestic tasks for a private household different from their own in live-in and live-out arrangements. Domestic duties include cooking, washing dishes and clothes, cleaning, and caring for the children and elderly. Live-in domestic workers co-reside with their employers. For the Colombian and Mexican samples, the measurement of live-in domestic workers partially relied on the question about the respondent's relationship with the household head. This strategy allowed us to capture domestic workers in neo-kinship arrangements. This was not possible in the case of Brazil, for which we mainly relied on questions regarding women's occupations. Live-out domestic workers live in separate dwellings. These women can work for more than one household, part-time or per hour. A detailed explanation of how we coded domestic workers can be found in the Appendix.

We conduct two analyses. First, we compare mean fertility and offspring mortality across subgroups based on the age-specific average number of children per woman and the percentage of women who have experienced the death of at least one child. Age-specific indicators approximate how these demographic processes evolve over women's life courses. We also compute age-specific average years of schooling and prevalences of childlessness, marriage and cohabitation, divorce, and domestic migration. We defined domestic migration as a change of residence across administrative units within the five years preceding the census. These latter measures of educational attainment, marriage, divorce, and migration allow us to contextualize fertility and offspring mortality differences (Tables A1 to A5).

Second, to assess the role of live-in domestic workers on *patronas'* fertility and offspring mortality, we compare the average number of children and child deaths between *patronas* and other women. To further capture differential power dynamics and the significance of domestic work for the reproduction of social class relations, we stratify these comparisons by women's age and educational attainment; early ages and low educational attainment are associated with social vulnerability and economic dependence. Thus, the disaggregation by *patronas'* educational

attainment proxies the class-specific arrangements of live-in domestic work described in the previous sections; highly educated *patronas* are likely women from high social classes, whereas *patronas* with few years of schooling are likely part of working- or middle-class families. Higher fertility among *patronas* and lower mortality among their children compared to other women would indicate that domestic workers potentially contribute to the reproduction of their employers, as portrayed in the above-referenced movies, soap operas, and literary accounts.

This second analysis does not aim to establish a unidirectional causal relationship between domestic workers' presence and *patronas'* demographic outcomes. Measuring unidirectional causality would imply ruling out the potential role of selection in hiring domestic workers, which is of little interest to our research. Whether *patronas* have more children because of the presence of live-in domestic workers or women with more children are more likely to hire live-in domestic workers is irrelevant to us. According to the cited qualitative literature on domestic workers' roles and living conditions, these two mechanisms are likely to coexist, and both manifest unequal power relations. Regardless of the mechanism generating these differences, domestic workers contribute to biological and social reproduction. A similar rationale can be applied to differences in offspring mortality: we are not concerned with the causal direction but with the existence of differential outcomes and the asymmetric power relations that undergird them.

Domestic workers' demographic profile from a quantitative perspective

The significance of domestic work as a working condition, particularly in live-in arrangements, must be considered from a life course perspective. Women who start working as domestic workers have historically had lower educational and occupational mobility chances due to cumulative disadvantages related to their socially subordinated position (Casanova, 2019; Castro et al., 2018; Pérez, 2021). This early start of cumulative disadvantages is evident in the age profiles displayed in Figure 1. In Panel A, at least 15% of live-in domestic workers are below the legal age of majority, and more than 50% are below age 25. By the 2000s and 2010s (Panel B), the proportion of domestic workers below age 18 declined, and the age profile became older than that of Panel A. However, the age group at which the proportion of live-in domestic workers peaks has not changed over time; the modal age of live-in domestic workers in our samples is between 17 and 18.

*** Figure_1***

From ages 30 onward, the proportion of live-in domestic workers is below 5%. This small proportion is related to the fact that most live-in domestic workers change their occupation once they can afford to live independently and form their households. Moving back to work as a live-in domestic worker, however, is not uncommon; therefore, older live-in domestic workers likely comprised women who have been live-in domestic workers for their entire life as well as 'returnees.' The 1985 to 2000 census rounds depict patterns that resemble Panel A more than Panel B (see Figure A1), meaning the very young profile of live-in domestic workers was a feature of most of the second half of the 20th century. Despite changes over time, these two patterns: high shares at the beginning and low shares at the end of the reproductive period, are observed at the two points in time.

Besides the very young age profile of live-in domestic workers, two interrelated patterns in Figure 1 are worth mentioning. First, differences in the age structure across geographical areas persist over time and are more significant at younger than older ages and in more recent censuses than older ones. Rural and urban areas have higher shares of women below age 20 than large cities due to long-lasting fertility differentials across these three areas. These differences mean that domestic workers moved from high to low fertility contexts. Second, there is a crossover between the age structure of live-in and live-out domestic workers in all the census rounds. A hump follows this crossover in the age profile of live-out domestic workers, particularly in Panel B. This pattern is consistent with the fact that, through the life course, domestic workers transit from live-in to live-out work arrangements.

Persistently low fertility among live-in domestic workers

Table 2 shows the age-specific average number of children per woman in each country's oldest and most recent censuses. Women in the last age group are of particular interest because their reproductive years spanned the second half of the 20th century. In demography, the average number of children among women in this age group is referred to as completed fertility, and it is a relatively accurate measure of generational replacement. In our case, these averages capture the previously-mentioned fertility transition and the persistence of geographical gaps in family size within Latin American countries. In large cities, the average number of children among 45-55

years old women declined from 3.3 to 1.8 in Brazil, 5.5 to 2.4 in Colombia, and 5.3 to 2.3 in Mexico. These figures for rural areas were 6.6 to 3.7 in Brazil, 7.4 to 4.3 in Colombia, and 6.9 to 4.7 children in Mexico. Note the strong convergence over time in large cities, where the average number of children in the last census rounds hovers around two, versus the sustained heterogeneity in rural areas ranging from 3.7 in Brazil to 4.7 children in Mexico.

*** Table_2***

In this context of widespread and unequal fertility decline, the mean number of children among 45-55 years old live-in domestic workers is the lowest of all groups. This is also true for all other age groups in all three countries. This persistently low fertility means that, compared to all other women, fertility among live-in domestic workers starts later, displays lower intensity during adulthood, and results in lower completed fertility. Fertility decline over time is also less pronounced among live-in domestic workers than the other women, to the extent that changes in their completed fertility across censuses are not statistically significant.

Given the magnitude of the fertility decline among other groups of women, the fact that fertility among live-in domestic workers did not decline substantially indicates that the material conditions affecting fertility decisions and realizations of these minorities did not change throughout the fertility transition. This is remarkable, given the magnitude of the societal changes accompanying this demographic process. In addition, due to these low and unchanging average numbers of children, the age-specific fertility patterns of live-in domestic workers in the last census rounds resemble those of women in large cities, which further questions the scope of accounts based on the negative association between economic well-being and fertility. Why would socially privileged and disadvantaged women display similar fertility patterns?

Mainstream demographic transition theory and related theoretical explanations consider urbanization and educational expansion as the primary drivers of fertility decline (Castro Martin & Juarez, 1995; Shenk et al., 2013). These explanatory mechanisms remain short of understanding the fertility patterns of live-in domestic workers and why they resemble those of women in large cities. According to Table A2, live-in domestic workers display very low mean years of schooling compared to women living in large cities and urban areas. They are slightly better off than women in rural areas and live-out domestic workers. However, the size of the difference in years of

schooling cannot explain the lower fertility rates of live-in domestic workers. For example, among the birth cohort who lived throughout the intense fertility-decline period (1960-1970) and completed their fertility in the 2000s and 2010s (age group 45-55), the years of schooling of live-in domestic workers are below 6: 4 in Brazil, 4.7 in Colombia, and 5.5 in Mexico. These figures contrast with the 8.5, 9.2, and 10.8 mean years of schooling of the same cohorts of women in large cities, respectively.

These educational gaps between women in large cities and urban areas and domestic workers would not surprise scholars working on racial and ethnic inequalities in Latin America. Race and ethnicity are important factors in educational segregation in the region, and indigenous populations in Mexico and black and indigenous populations in Brazil and Colombia are overrepresented among domestic workers. In our sample, while these groups of women represent less than 10% of women in large Brazilian cities and less than 4% in Colombian and Mexican large cities, their share among live-in domestic workers is above 25% in the former and 15% in the latter two countries. This overrepresentation means that domestic workers suffer an additional layer of disadvantage due to the long-lasting historical discrimination that affects their communities. Since the national independence processes in the 19th century, ethnic and racial minorities in Latin America have faced structural and institutional discrimination. From states' absolute negligence, such as in the Colombian Guajira region, to daily racism and discrimination in the health and educational systems and the job market (Pinheiro et al., 2009; Woo-Mora, 2021).

Why do live-in domestic workers display persistently low fertility?

To shed light on this question, we focus on domestic workers' marital and migration status over age and how fertility and offspring mortality outcomes of *patronas* and other women compare. In a nutshell, early and ongoing migration through the life course and physical control in daily life prevent live-in domestic workers from having stable partnerships, reducing childbearing opportunities. In addition, their daily- and lifetime for childbearing are consumed as they take care of *patronas'* children. This explanation challenges the commonly accepted view that live-in domestic workers learn and adopt low fertility due to the influence of their *patronas*. As shown in Table 2, lower fertility among live-in domestic workers preceded the fertility decline among all other groups, which logically reduces the plausibility of the social diffusion argument. Union

formation, dissolution, and migration patterns among domestic workers are presented below as manifestations of their concrete living conditions and socially subordinated position within Latin American societies.

Marital status and marital/union stability: Table A3 displays age-specific proportions of women "in union" or formally married (women in couples hereafter) in the three geographical areas and for live-in and live-out domestic workers. Live-in domestic workers display the lowest marriage and union formation rates for all ages and countries. These percentages are strikingly low in Brazil, where the highest percentage of women in couples only reached 4% among 45 to 55 years old in 2010. This very low percentage only compares with the 12% and 10% of live-in domestic workers in couples in Colombia in 2005 and Mexico in 2010, respectively. These results mean that late-adulthood marriage and union formation rates for live-in domestic workers are lower than marriage and union rates for all women at the onset of transition to adulthood: 20% in Brazil in 2010, 21% in Colombia in 2005, and 18% in Mexico in 2010.

The lower percentages of married women in couples in the most recent census rounds compared to the old ones are partially explained by increases in divorces and separations, another feature of contemporary family change in the region (Ruiz-Vallejo & Solsona i Pairó, 2020). However, none of these declines compares with the high marital and union dissolution among live-in domestic workers. According to Table A4, across the three geographical areas, large cities display the highest rates of separation/divorce in the 2000s and 2010s. The prevalence of divorce/separation in large cities increases with age, the highest among women in the last age group: 22% in Brazil, 15% in Colombia, and 16% in Mexico. These figures are low compared to the prevalence of divorce/separation among live-in and live-out domestic workers in the same age group. These percentages range from 21% in Colombia in 2005 to 42% among live-in domestic workers in Brazil in 2010. Live-out domestic workers display a higher prevalence of separation/divorce than live-in domestic workers in Colombia and Mexico, but not Brazil. Together with patterns on marriage and union formation, these separation/divorce measures suggest that domestic workers' life courses involve either no transition to union formation or union formation that rapidly transforms into separations for a sizable fraction of them.

Domestic migration: A potential factor in domestic workers' low fertility is the high prevalence of domestic migration, particularly at younger ages. According to Table A5, in the 1990s, half of the live-in domestic workers aged 15 to 25 in Brazil and Colombia and one-third in Mexico lived in a different administrative area five years before the census. The proportions of recent migrants are above 10% in all age groups and all years among live-in domestic workers (except in 1990 for Mexican women aged 45 to 55). The prevalence of recent migration for other women is high at ages 15 to 25 but never as high as for live-in domestic workers. In addition, the prevalence of recent migration among non-domestic workers decreases with age to below 10% by late adulthood.

The decreasing prevalence of recent migration across the censuses, as depicted in Table A5, stems from the consolidation of urbanization processes. Among women aged 15 to 25, these changes are consistent between domestic workers and all other women. Despite the higher migration rates of the former, the proportion of recent migrants declined across censuses for both groups. Instead, the changes in the prevalence of migration over time for older ages are the opposite if one compares live-in domestic workers and other women. These reversed trends further highlight the uniqueness of the living condition of live-in domestic workers. For example, for women aged 35 to 45, the percentage of recent migrant women among live-in domestic workers across the two censuses is 17%-16% in Brazil, 24%-26% in Colombia, and 13%-22% in Mexico; these are all high figures, signaling the higher and life-course-extended mobility of live-in domestic workers. There is no other group of women with comparable levels of recent immigration at this age or even at younger ages.

Patronas higher fertility and lower offspring mortality compared to other women: Figure 2 displays the difference in the mean number of children between *patronas* and women living in households without domestic workers (*non-patronas*) by age groups and educational attainment: less than primary (LessP), primary completed (PrimC), secondary completed (SecoC), and tertiary completed (TertC). Filled markers indicate statistically significant differences, and the size of the marker is proportional to the relative difference: 100 x [1 - [mean children for patronas / mean children for non-patronas]]. Positive values indicate a higher average number of children among *patronas* than *non-patronas.* This latter group excludes all domestic workers.

*** Figure_2***

Figure 2 reveals three patterns. First, there is a divergent relationship between live-in domestic work arrangements and fertility across the social class spectrum: Fertility is higher among tertiary and secondary educated *patronas* than their *non-patronas* counterparts, and there are negative or null differences in fertility between *patronas* and *non-patronas* with primary and less than primary education. Second, relative differences in fertility between *patronas* and *non-patronas* are more prominent for the first age groups than others, meaning that live-in domestic work may be more significant during the transition to adulthood than later in women's life course. Third, the relevance of these two patterns decreased over time, except in Mexico, meaning that live-in domestic work has lost its salience for fertility outcomes in recent years.

These patterns mean that live-in domestic workers potentially contributed to the higher fertility of their high-class *patronas*, enabling reproduction and that this contribution was more significant when women formed new households, had their first child, gained tertiary educational degrees, and entered the labor force. For example, the mean number of children for 25 to 35-year-old tertiary-educated *patronas* in large cities in Brazil (1980), Colombia (1973), and Mexico (1990) were twice that of their *non-patronas* counterparts: 0.5 children and 100% higher fertility. These associations are less significant for women aged 35 years old and more. However, the positive association between live-in domestic workers and fertility persisted at around 25% in relative terms. The decreasing trend in the absolute and relative magnitude of these associations across censuses is consistent with the reduced demand for live-in domestic workers, secular fertility decline, and increased regulation on live-in domestic work arrangements.

The presence of a live-in domestic worker among women with less than primary education is associated with lower fertility. This negative association could be due to the dynamics of the neo-kinship (parentesco escogido) link between live-in domestic workers and lower social class *patronas* in which the latter may have some financial, surveillance, and supervision responsibilities, for example, when the household head is the godfather/godmother, "padrino/madrina", of a very young domestic worker. This *padrinazgo* may discourage or limit fertility among the host family. Another explanation could be that these families are emerging middle-class households that enjoy relatively better socioeconomic conditions despite their lack of educational credentials (Drouilleau, 2011; Fonseca, 2003; Pérez & Freier, 2020).

A protective influence of domestic workers on offspring mortality accompanies these class-specific associations between domestic work and fertility. Figure 3 displays the absolute and relative differences in the mean number of offspring deaths between *patronas* and *non-patronas*.

*** Figure_3***

Most statistically significant differences in Figure 3 are negative, i.e., offspring mortality was lower among *patronas* than *non-patronas*. These negative differences were slight in Brazil and significant for Colombia in 1973 and Mexico in 2010. In Brazil and Colombia, differences are insignificant from the 2000s onward. Although our data cannot tell if the presence of domestic workers in households coincided with *patronas'* childbearing and childrearing periods, these general patterns suggest that live-in domestic workers potentially played a protective role on offspring mortality, which is in accord with the cited qualitative studies. This result underlines a significant, yet unnoticed, contribution of live-in domestic workers to a fundamental aspect of social reproduction. As live-in domestic workers come from high infant mortality contexts, these results reveal how power relations can potentially deepen demographic inequalities across the social spectrum. Together with results showing domestic workers' lower fertility and potentially boosting effect on *patronas'* fertility, these patterns support the notion that reproduction in these three Latin American countries is socially stratified, i.e., valued and performed differently by women according to their social class, race/ethnicity, and position within the national economies.

These results should be taken with care because all our data are cross-sectional. We do not know when and for how long *patronas* actually had live-in domestic workers, and therefore we cannot tell if domestic workers were present during the entire childhood of *patronas'* children. However, the consistency across all our analyses, from the age profiles (Figure 1) to the offspring mortality differentials (Figure 3), and the extant cited qualitative literature on domestic workers, makes us confident that our interpretation is plausible.

Conclusion

Recognizing the significance of power relations in understanding demographic variation remains relatively uncommon in population studies, despite its undeniable relevance. This sociological approach transcends mere individualistic explanations by contextualizing individuals

within the power dynamics that influence their lives and perpetuate social and economic inequalities. Power analysis enables to conceptually connect individuals within networks of constraints, possibilities, and unequal opportunities, thereby providing more concrete explanatory factors for individual behaviors and the aggregate patterns that emerge from them. Under this approach, our study has shown the long-lasting scope of the unequal distribution of reproductive and care tasks on social reproduction. Using large-scale representative data for the three most populous Latin American countries, our study documents patterns in reproductive outcomes and their potential determinants among live-in domestic workers and *patronas*, hitherto highlighted exclusively by qualitative research. Differential patterns in reproductive outcomes and determinants between live-in domestic workers and other women, particularly their *patronas*, underline the importance of power relations and intersectional social positions for understanding biological and social reproduction.

Through the second half of the 20th century, fertility among live-in domestic workers was persistently low and delayed compared to other women. Domestic work was associated with higher fertility and lower offspring mortality among *patronas*. These patterns are potentially a consequence of asymmetric power relations between these groups; the qualitative research on live-in domestic workers' living conditions and roles within households provides a solid basis for this explanation. The physical control exerted on live-in domestic workers, their daily mobility and living space restrictions, and the lack of regulations and law enforcement of their rights facilitate an unspoken exploitation that favors the reproduction of social class relations in high economic inequality contexts.

These explanatory factors are rarely acknowledged in demographic theories of fertility variation and change. Previous research in Latin America portrays low fertility and fertility decline as a result of changing reproductive preferences across generations triggered by rising educational attainment, access to effective contraception, and modern-like modes of living, in one word: the myth of enhanced modern subjectivity (Bhambra & Holmwood, 2021). The lack of attention to structural factors such as lifelong socio-economic exclusion/discrimination and power relations limit the scope of these explanatory frameworks, particularly for understanding demographic patterns among minorities whose social positions are defined by the intersection of disadvantaged social categories.

Looking through mainstream demographic transition and modernization frameworks, the historically low fertility among live-in domestic workers could be puzzling or misleading. Some literature suggests that low fertility among lower social class women results from the diffusion of positive ideas about having small families that disseminate from upper social class to lower social class women. These studies often assume that co-residency implies the transmission of these ideas. For example, *patronas* could advise live-in domestic workers and orient them into using effective contraception. These interactions become the channel by which domestic workers learn and enact lower fertility. Our results challenge this cultural-based explanation. Contrary to the experience of the majority, live-in domestic workers and, to a lesser extent, live-out domestic workers display a combination of unique living conditions in terms of disadvantages and subordination. Domestic workers enter the labor force very early in an ill-remunerated and dead-end occupation, with no regulations and recognition; this exposes them to abuse, consumes their daily and life course time, and prevents them from having stable families, reducing their childbearing opportunities. The rural, socially-disadvantage and racial/ethnic background of most live-in domestic workers boost their vulnerability due to existing forms of individual and institutional discrimination in Latin America. This confluence of disadvantaged circumstances over live-in domestic workers' life courses is a more plausible explanation for their low fertility than a narrative based on the diffusion of ideas across social classes.

More generally, domestic workers and women in highly precarious income-generating activities such as street sales did not benefit from educational expansion and urbanization processes in the countries we studied and potentially across other countries with similar historical legacies and developmental trajectories during the 20th century. On the contrary, urbanization and unequal educational development brought detrimental consequences for domestic workers. They put their lives aside when they work in live-in arrangements. In this context, the interpretation of their fertility patterns resulting from a learning process from their employers is doubtful. At the very least, an alternative hypothesis that explains their low fertility based on their working and living material conditions is plausible. The disconnection from the family and social networks implied by live-in arrangements, the low occupational status of domestic work, the lack of family stability, and the absence of financial/economic security intersect in the life course of domestic workers since early adulthood. Fertility patterns among live-out domestic workers, who were likely once live-in domestic workers are consistent with this interpretation. Consequently, any demographic

outcome among disadvantaged populations, such as domestic workers, should be understood within the context of these intersecting disadvantages.

This alternative explanation also highlights the importance of power relations among women for understanding fertility differentials. There are differences in the average number of children among women from different socio-economic backgrounds and in the value and care societies ascribed to these children, particularly children of disadvantaged minorities. Therefore, the relevance of our results goes beyond our contexts of study for two interrelated reasons. First, the burden of domestic and care work has remained on women's shoulders, and it is becoming a transnational phenomenon where the burdens are resting more and more on immigrant women from the global south countries (Gratton, 2007; Herrera, 2013; Parreñas, 2017; Sassen-Koob, 1984). Second, increasing socio-economic inequalities warrant the perpetuation of groups of individuals suffering from social exclusion and discrimination. This second conclusion implies that studies of fertility differentials and family patterns should put more significant efforts into developing theoretical frameworks that account for the social mechanisms underpinning the gaps in opportunities for families' socio-economic well-being.

Finally, our work shows that comparing key demographic measures across groups helps critically develop alternative hypotheses about demographic differentials and patterns when groups are defined in terms of intersectional social positions and power relations. This is an advantage of intersectional group-based research compared to variable-based research because the latter approach focuses on the relationships among variables, neglecting more constitutive relations among social groups. Our results help to correct some of the pitfalls of mainstream demographic transition theory that overemphasize the experiences of majority populations by focusing on aggregate trends such as means or medians and neglect interrelations and heterogeneity within population subgroups. These unwarranted emphases have mistakenly relegated power imbalances as a factor underlying demographic differences within populations. Our paper has shown that a power analysis of fertility and offspring mortality patterns among privileged (*patrona*s) and underprivileged (domestic workers) groups, while relatively neglected in quantitative population studies, is central to offering a more complex, intersectional understanding.

References

Alegre, P. (2003). *Estructura agraria y violencia rural en América Latina*. 29.

Alvarado, S. E., & Massey, D. (2010). In Search of Peace: Structural Adjustment, Violence, and International Migration. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *630*(1), 137–161. https://doi.org/10.1002/ana.22528.Toll-like

Barros, M., & Escobar Latapí, A. (Eds.). (2017). *Migración internacional y mercados de trabajo* (Primera edición). CIESAS.

Bertoncelo, E. (2015). Social Classes in Brazil: Time, Trajectory and Immaterial Inheritance. *The Sociological Review*, *63*(2), 451–479. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12290

Bhambra, G. K., & Holmwood, J. (2021). *Colonialism and modern social theory*. Polity.

Blofield, M., & Jokela, M. (2018). Paid domestic work and the struggles of care workers in Latin America. *Current Sociology*, *66*(4), 531–546. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392118765259

Bongaarts, J., & Watkins, S. (1996). Social Interactions and Contemporary Fertility Transitions. *Population and Development Review*, *22*(4), 639–682. https://doi.org/10.2307/2137804

Brites, J. (2007). Afeto e desigualdade: Gênero, geração e classe entre empregadas domésticas e seus empregadores. *Cadernos Pagu*, *29*, 91–109. https://doi.org/10.1590/S0104-83332007000200005

Caldwell, J. (1982). *Theory of Fertility Decline*. Academic Press.

Casanova, E. M. de. (2019). *Dust and dignity: Domestic employment in contemporary Ecuador*. ILR Press, an imprint of Cornell University Press.

Casanova, E. M. de, Randall, R., Canevaro, S., Campanella, L., & Rossi, M. J. (2018). ROMA (film dossier) 2018 drama film written and directed by Alfonso Cuarón. *Latin American Perspectives*. https://latinamericanperspectives.com/roma/

Castro, M. G., de Souza, M. das G. N., & da Silva, J. V. M. (2018). Between Biography and History: Domestic Workers in Contemporary Brazil. *Journal of Latino/Latin American Studies*, *9*(1), 19–34. https://doi.org/10.18085/1549-9502.9.1.19

Castro Martin, T., & Juarez, F. (1995). The Impact of Women's Education on Fertility In Latin America: Searching for Explanations. *International Family Planning Perspectives*, *21*(2), 52. https://doi.org/10.2307/2133523

Castro Torres, A. F. (2021). Analysis of Latin American Fertility in Terms of Probable Social Classes. *European Journal of Population*, *37*(2), 297–339. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10680-020-09569-7

Chaney, E., & Garcia Castro, M. (1989). *Muchachas No More: Household Workers in Latin America and the Caribbean* (1st ed.). Temple University Press.

Choo, H. Y., & Ferree, M. M. (2010). Practicing Intersectionality in Sociological Research: A Critical Analysis of Inclusions, Interactions, and Institutions in the Study of Inequalities. *Sociological Theory*, *28*(2), 129–149. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9558.2010.01370.x

Cleland, J., & Wilson, C. (1987). Demand Theories of the Fertility Transition: An Iconoclastic View. *Population Studies*, *41*(1), 5–30.

Colen, S. (1995). Like a Mother to Them': Stratified Reproduction and West Indian Childcare Workers and Employers in New York. In *Conceiving the New World Order: The Global Politics of Reproduction* (1st ed., p. 78). University of California Press.

Cosio, M. E. (1992). La transición demográfica en América Latina y en Europa. *Notas de Población*, *12*(56), 11–32.

Danna, D. (2021). *Procreation and population in historical social science*. Anthem Press.

Donato, K. M. (2010). U.S. Migration from Latin America: Gendered Patterns and Shifts. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *630*(1), 78–92. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716210368104

Donato, K. M. (2016). *Gender and International Migration: From the slavery era to the global age* (1st ed.). Russell Sage Foundation.

Drouilleau, F. (2011). Parentescos por elección y servicio doméstico en Bogotá. In F. Lestage & M. E. Olavarría (Eds.), *Parentescos en un mundo desigual: Adopciones, lazos y abandonos en México y Colombia* (1. ed, pp. 57–81). Univ. Autónoma Metropolitana.

Durin, S. (2014). Servicio doméstico de planta, embarazo y crianza. Dilemas y estrategias de las trabajadoras domésticas en Monterrey. In M. E. de la O, S. Bastos, Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social (Mexico), & Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey (Eds.), *Trabajadoras en la sombra: Dimensiones del servicio doméstico latinoamericano* (Primera edición). CIESAS ; Escuela de Gobierno y Transformación Pública, Tecnológico de Monterrey, Sede Monterrey.

Durin, S. (2020). ¡Ni muchacha, ni esclava! Trabajo del hogar, racismo y trata de personas. *Revista de Divulgación Del Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores En Antropología Socia*.

Durin, S., O, M. E. de la, Bastos, S., Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social (Mexico), & Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey (Eds.). (2014). *Trabajadoras en la sombra: Dimensiones del servicio doméstico latinoamericano* (Primera edición). CIESAS ; Escuela de Gobierno y Transformación Pública, Tecnológico de Monterrey, Sede Monterrey.

Ehrenreich, B., & Hochschild, A. R. (Eds.). (2004). *Global woman: Nannies, maids, and sex workers in the new economy* (First Holt paperbacks edition). Metropolitan Books/Holt and Company.

Esteve, A., & Flórez-Paredes, E. (2018). Families in Latin America: Dimensions, Diverging Trends, and Paradoxes. In J. Carbone, L. F. DeRose, N. R. Cahn, & W. B. Wilcox (Eds.), *Unequal Family Lives: Causes and Consequences in Europe and the Americas* (pp. 40–65). Cambridge University Press; Cambridge Core. https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/unequal-family-lives/families-in-latin-america/27F2E01B797AD1489A238BFDF2075F1C

Filet-Abreu de Souza, J. (1980). Paid Domestic Service in Brazil. *Latin American Perspectives*, *7*(1), 35–63.

Fonseca, C. (2003). La circulation des enfants pauvres au Brésil: Une pratique locale dans un monde globalisé. *Anthropologie et Sociétés*, *24*(3), 53–73. https://doi.org/10.7202/015671ar

García, B., & de Oliveira, O. (2011). Family Changes and Public Policies in Latin America. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *37*(1), 593–611. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-081309-150205

Ginsburg, F. D., & Rapp, R. (1995). *Conceiving the new world order: The global politics of reproduction*. University of California Press.

Gorbán, D., & Tizziani, A. (2018). Comparative Perspectives on Domestic Work in Latin America (Argentina and Brazil). *Journal of Latino/Latin American Studies*, *9*(1), 4–18. https://doi.org/10.18085/1549-9502.9.1.4

Gratton, B. (2007). Ecuadorians in the United States and Spain: History, gender and niche formation. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *33*(4), 581–599. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830701265446

Guzmán. (1996). *The fertility transition in Latin America*. Oxford Universit Press.

Guzmán, J., Rodríguez, J., Martínez, J., Contreras, J., & González, D. (2006). The Demography of Latin America and the Caribbean since 1950. *Population English Edition*, *61*(5–6), 519–576. https://doi.org/10.3917/pope.605.0519

Herrera, G. (2013). Gender and International Migration: Contributions and Cross-Fertilizations. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *39*(1), 471–489. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-071811-145446

Hojman, D. E. (1989). Land Reform, Female Migration and the Market for Domestic Service in Chile. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *21*(1–2), 105–132. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X00014449

Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2007). *Doméstica: Immigrant workers cleaning and caring in the shadows of affluence*. University of California Press.

Hordge-Freeman, E. (2022). *Second-Class Daughters: Black Brazilian Women and Informal Adoption as Modern Slavery* (1st ed.). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009086639

ILO. (2013). *Domestic workers across the world: Global and regional statistics and the extent of legal protection* (p. 146). International Labour Organization.

Jelin, E. (1977). Migration and Labor Force Participation of Latin American Women: The Domestic Servants in the Cities. *Signs*, *3*(1), 129–141. https://doi.org/10.1086/493446

Levinson, D., & Langer, A. (2010). Counting Child Domestic Servants in Latin America. *Population and Development Review*, *36*(1), 125–149.

Maich, K. (2010). Geographies of Inequality and Racism: Peruvian Domestic Workers Navigate Spaces of Servitude. In *Critical Cities: Ideas, Knowledge, and Agitation from Emerging Urbanists* (1st ed., Vol. 1–4, pp. 104–126). Myrdle Court Press.

Maich, K. (2014). Marginalized Struggles for Legal Reform: Cross-Country Consequences of Domestic Worker Organizing. *Social Development Issues*, *36*(3), 73–91.

Martin, D., & Shaw, D. (Eds.). (2017). *Latin American Women Filmmakers: Production, Politics, Poetics* (1st ed.). I.B.Tauris & Co. Ltd. https://doi.org/10.5040/9781350987012

Mercado, J. R. (2014). Estado y violencia en el medio rural de México y Brasil. *Desacatos. Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, *14*, 169. https://doi.org/10.29340/14.1092

Minnesota Population Center. (2020). *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, International: Version 7.3* (7.3) [Data set]. Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS. https://doi.org/10.18128/D020.V7.3

Montgomery, M., Stren, R., Cohen, B., & Reed, H. (2003). *Cities Transformed*. National Academies Press. https://doi.org/10.17226/10693

Moya, J. C. (2007). Domestic service in a global perspective: Gender, migration, and ethnic niches. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *33*(4), 559–579. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830701265420

National Research Council. (1999). *Critical Perspectives on Schooling and Fertility in the Developing World* (p. 6272). National Academies Press. https://doi.org/10.17226/6272

Oliveira, O. de, & Ariza, M. (2002). Transiciones familiares y trayectorias laborales femeninas en el México urbano. *Cadernos Pagu*, *17–18*, 339–366. https://doi.org/10.1590/S0104-83332002000100012

Osborne, E., & Ruiz-Alfaro, S. (Eds.). (2020). *Domestic Labor in Twenty-First Century Latin American Cinema*. Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-33296-9

Parreñas, R. S. (2015). *Servants of globalization: Migration and domestic work* (Second edition). Stanford University Press.

Parreñas, R. S. (2017). The Indenture of Migrant Domestic Workers. *WSQ: Women's Studies Quarterly*, *45*(1–2), 113–127. https://doi.org/10.1353/wsq.2017.0031

Pérez, L. M. (2021). On her shoulders: Unpacking domestic work, neo-kinship and social authoritarianism in Peru. *Gender, Place & Culture*, *28*(1), 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2019.1708273

Pérez, L. M., & Freier, L. F. (2020). Family Bonds: Kinship Reciprocity, Female Teenage Trafficking and Domestic Labor Exploitation in Peru. *Journal of Human Trafficking*, 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2020.1842638

Pinheiro, L. S., Fontoura, N. de O., Querino, A. C., Bonetti, A. de L., & Rosa, W. (2009). *Retrato das desigualdades de gênero e raça*.

Portes, A., & Hoffman, K. (2003). Latin American Class Structures: Their Composition and Change during the Neoliberal Era. *Latin American Research Review*, *38*(1), 41–82. https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2003.0011

Quilodrán, J., & Juarez, F. (2009). Las pioneras del cambio reproductivo: Un análisis partiendo de sus propios relatos. *Notas de Población*, *87*.

Rindfuss, R. R., Morgan, S. P., & Offutt, K. (1996). Education and the changing age pattern of American fertility: 1963–1989. *Demography*, *33*(3), 277–290. https://doi.org/10.2307/2061761

Rossi, M. J., & Campanella, L. (2020). La conveniente extranjería de la empleada doméstica y los ecos de lo no dicho. Sobre Roma de Alfonso Cuarón. *En La Otra Isla. Revista de Audiovisual Latinoamericano*, 88–100.

Rossi, M. J., Campanella, L., & Fraisse, G. (Eds.). (2018). *Los de abajo: Tres siglos de sirvientes en el arte y la literatura de América Latina* (1a ed). UNR Editora, Editorial de la Universidad Nacional de Rosario.

Ruiz-Vallejo, F., & Solsona i Pairó, M. (2020). Antecedentes en la investigación sociodemográfica sobre las separaciones conyugales en Latinoamérica, 1980-2017. *Estudios Demográficos y Urbanos*, *36*(1), 291–325. https://doi.org/10.24201/edu.v36i1.1932

Sánchez-Ancochea, D. (2021). *The Costs of Inequality in Latin America: Lessons and Warnings for the Rest of the World*. Bloomsbury Publishing Plc. https://doi.org/10.5040/9781838606275

Sassen-Koob, S. (1984). Notes on the Incorporation of Third World Women into Wage-Labor Through Immigration and Off-Shore Production. *The International Migration Review*, *18*(4), 1144–1167. https://doi.org/10.2307/2546076

Schkolnik, S., & Chackiel, J. (2004). Less advanced sectors in the Latin American fertility transition Los sectores rezagados en la transición de la fecundidad en América Latina. *CEPAL Review*, *83*, 13–30.

Schneider, J., & Schneider, P. (1996). *Festival of the Poor. Fertility Decline and the Ideology of Class* (1st ed.). The university of Arizona press.

Shenk, M. K., Towner, M. C., Kress, H. C., & Alam, N. (2013). A model comparison approach shows stronger support for economic models of fertility decline. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *110*(20), 8045–8050. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1217029110

Szreter, S. (1996). *Fertility, class and gender in Britain, 1860–1940* (1st ed.). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511582240

Tinsman, H. (1992). The Indispensible Services of Sisters: Considering Domestic Service in United States and Latin American Studies. *Journal of Women's History*, *4*(1), 37–59.

Tokman, V. (2010). *Domestic Workers in Latin America: Statistics for New Policies* (Issue June).

Valenzuela, M. E., Mora, C., & International Labour Organization (Eds.). (2009). *Trabajo doméstico: Un largo camino hacia el trabajo decente* (1. ed). Organización Internacional del Trabajo.

van de Kaa, D. J. (1996). Anchored Narratives: The Story and Findings of Half a Century of Research into the Determinants of Fertility. *Population Studies*, *50*(3), 389–432.

Woo-Mora, L. G. (2021). Unveiling the Cosmic Race: Racial Inequalities in Latin America. *Social Science Research Network*, 60.

Wright, E. O. (2015). *Understanding Class* (1st ed.). Verso.

Yopo Díaz, M. (2021). "It's hard to become mothers": The moral economy of postponing motherhood in neoliberal Chile. *The British Journal of Sociology*, *72*(5), 1214–1228. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12901

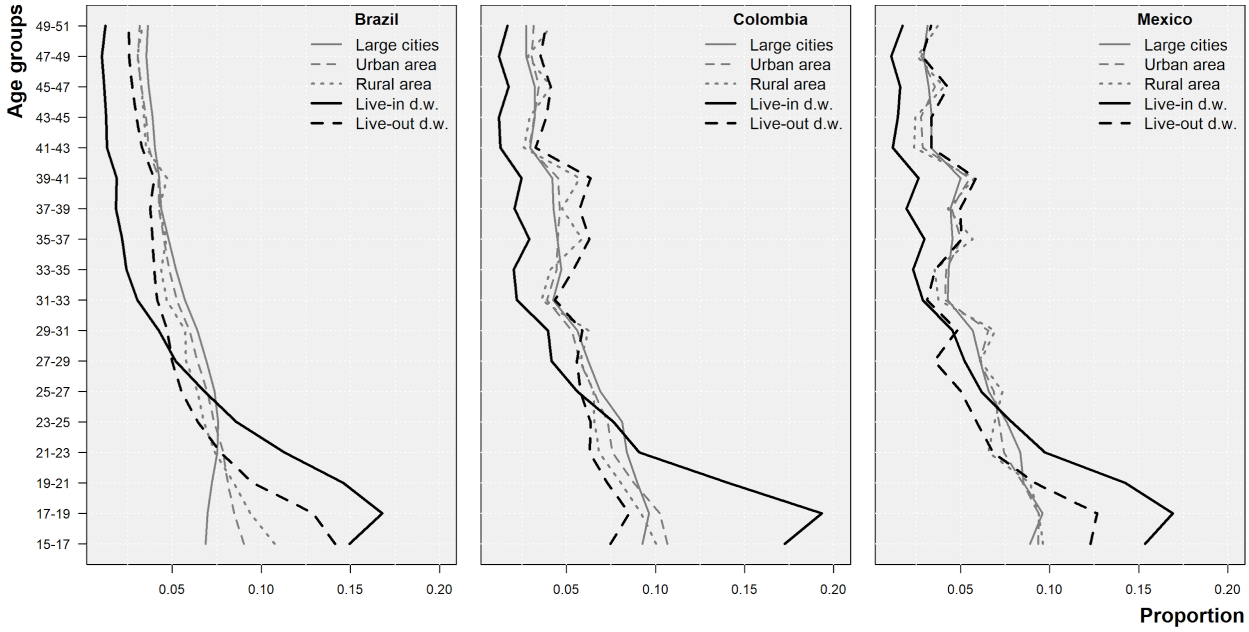
Table 1. Sample size (in thousands) by country and place of residence, and for domestic live-in and live-out workers in Brazil, Colombia, and Mexico.

Country	Census year	Large cities	Urban areas	Rural areas	Live-in domestic workers	Live-out domestic workers	% urban among live-in d.w.
Brazil	1980	889	4,116	2,077	180	305	94.6
	1991	403	2,636	1,081	66	258	89.8
	2000	442	3,592	1,082	42	435	70.7
	2010	232	3,932	1,119	16	443	94.0
	Subtotal	1,967	14,276	5,359	304	1,442	
Colombia	1973	90	216	150	25	8	92.7
	1985	158	353	174	27	22	73.5
	1993	195	468	200	22	11	67.0
	2005	87	551	380	8	11	91.4
	Subtotal	530	1,589	904	83	51	
Mexico	1970	16	47	42	2	3	90.6
	1990	204	1,354	520	23	37	79.1
	2000	163	1,459	945	22	103	60.2
	2010	72	1,591	1,421	7	106	94.4
	Subtotal	455	4,450	2,927	55	249	
Total		2,952	20,316	9,190	442	1,742	34,641
Percentage		8.5	58.6	26.5	1.3	5.0	100

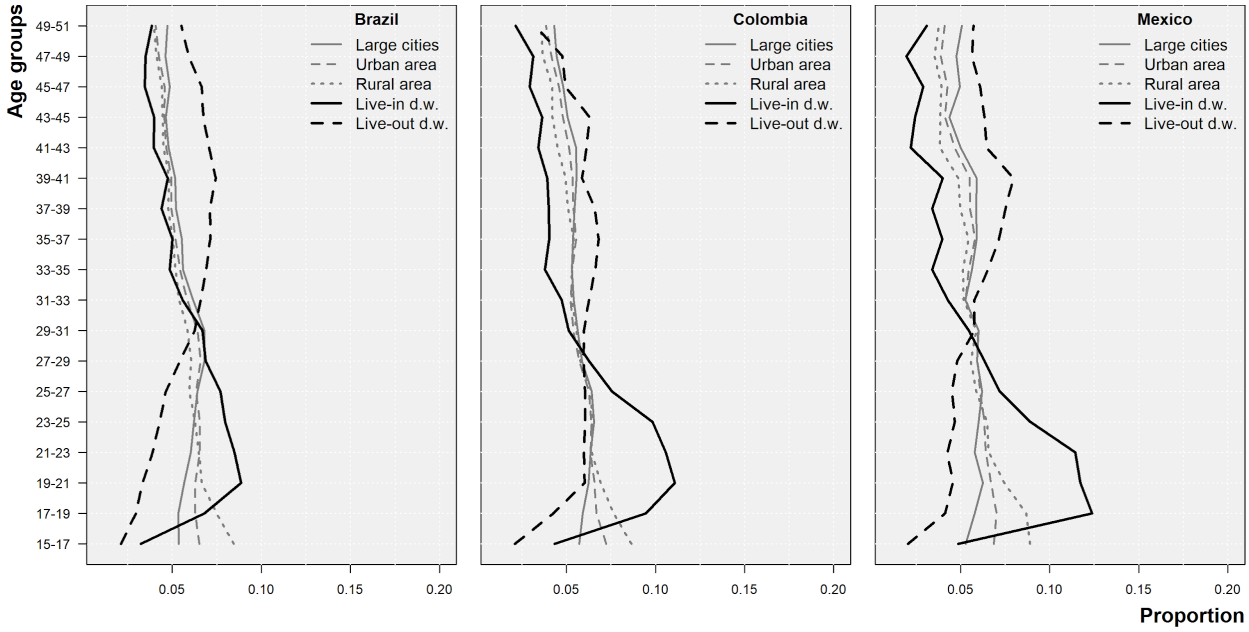
Note: samples include women ages 15 to 49 and were extracted from IPUMS-I. The % urban includes domestic live-in workers in large cities and other urban areas.

Figure 1. Persistent younger profiles among live-in domestic workers compared to live-out domestic workers and women residing in large cities, urban areas, and rural areas

Panel A: Brazil 1980, Colombia 1973, Mexico 1970.



Panel B: Brazil 2010, Colombia 2005, Mexico 2010



Note: Age profiles for the other census rounds are reported in Figure A1 and are more similar to Panel A than Panel B.

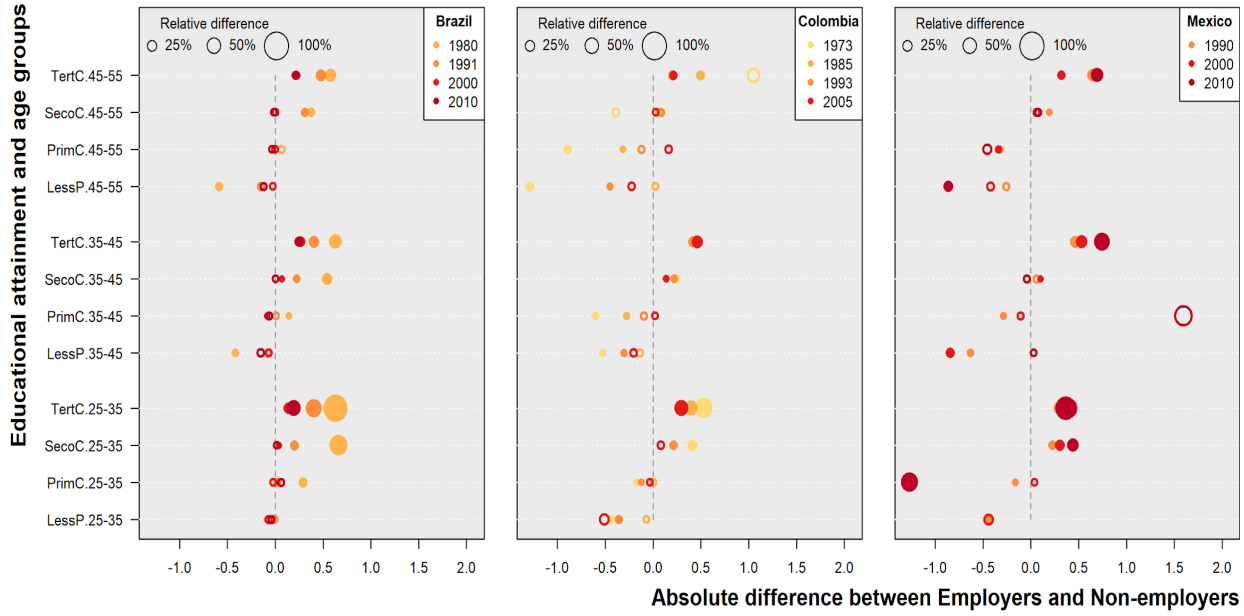
Table 2. Age-specific mean parity by country and place of residence, and for domestic live-in and live-out workers.

Country and age group	Large cities		Urban areas		Rural areas		Live-in domestic workers		Live-out domestic workers	
Brazil	1980	2010	1980	2010	1980	2010	1980	2010	1980	2010
[15,25)	0.4 (0.00)	0.3 (0.00)	0.5 (0.00)	0.3 (0.00)	0.7 (0.00)	0.5 (0.00)	0.1 (0.00)	0.2 (0.01)	0.3 (0.00)	0.6 (0.00)
[25,35)	1.7 (0.00)	0.9 (0.00)	2.4 (0.00)	1.3 (0.00)	3.4 (0.00)	2.0 (0.00)	0.7 (0.01)	0.6 (0.02)	2.3 (0.01)	1.8 (0.00)
[35,45)	2.9 (0.01)	1.6 (0.01)	4.4 (0.00)	2.0 (0.00)	5.9 (0.01)	3.0 (0.00)	1.3 (0.02)	1.1 (0.03)	4.3 (0.01)	2.4 (0.00)
[45,55]	3.3 (0.01)	1.8 (0.01)	5.3 (0.01)	2.4 (0.00)	6.6 (0.01)	3.7 (0.01)	1.5 (0.03)	1.4 (0.05)	4.9 (0.02)	2.7 (0.01)
Colombia	1973	2005	1973	2005	1973	2005	1973	2005	1973	2005
[15,25)	0.6 (0.01)	0.4 (0.01)	0.8 (0.00)	0.4 (0.00)	1.2 (0.01)	0.7 (0.00)	0.3 (0.01)	0.2 (0.01)	1.0 (0.03)	0.7 (0.03)
[25,35)	2.6 (0.01)	1.3 (0.01)	3.3 (0.01)	1.6 (0.01)	4.4 (0.01)	2.4 (0.01)	1.4 (0.03)	1.1 (0.04)	3.6 (0.06)	2.1 (0.04)
[35,45)	4.6 (0.03)	2.1 (0.01)	5.6 (0.02)	2.5 (0.01)	6.9 (0.02)	3.5 (0.01)	2.3 (0.06)	1.7 (0.06)	5.4 (0.08)	2.9 (0.05)
[45,55]	5.5 (0.05)	2.4 (0.02)	6.2 (0.03)	2.9 (0.01)	7.4 (0.03)	4.3 (0.02)	2.5 (0.10)	2.0 (0.10)	6.0 (0.15)	3.5 (0.09)
Mexico	1970	2010	1970	2010	1970	2010	1970	2010	1970	2010
[15,25)	0.6 (0.02)	0.3 (0.01)	0.7 (0.01)	0.4 (0.00)	0.9 (0.01)	0.5 (0.00)	0.3 (0.02)	0.1 (0.01)	0.3 (0.03)	0.5 (0.01)
[25,35)	3.0 (0.04)	1.1 (0.01)	3.6 (0.03)	1.7 (0.00)	4.2 (0.03)	2.3 (0.01)	1.7 (0.10)	0.7 (0.04)	3.1 (0.12)	2.0 (0.02)
[35,45)	5.2 (0.07)	1.9 (0.02)	5.9 (0.04)	2.6 (0.00)	6.5 (0.04)	3.6 (0.01)	3.0 (0.21)	1.3 (0.07)	5.5 (0.16)	3.0 (0.02)
[45,55]	5.3 (0.11)	2.3 (0.02)	6.0 (0.07)	3.1 (0.01)	6.9 (0.07)	4.7 (0.02)	3.3 (0.33)	1.9 (0.13)	5.6 (0.26)	3.6 (0.03)

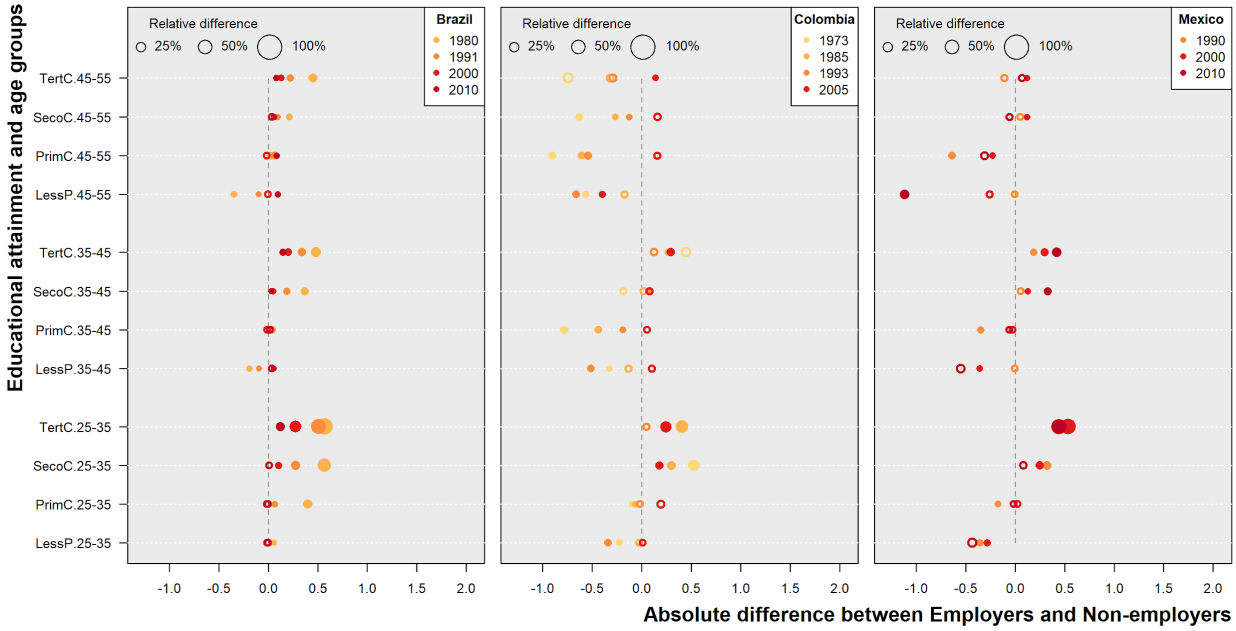
Note: Standard errors in parenthesis.

Figure 2. Differences in mean parity between Employers and Non-employers by ten-year age groups and educational attainment.

Panel A: Large cities



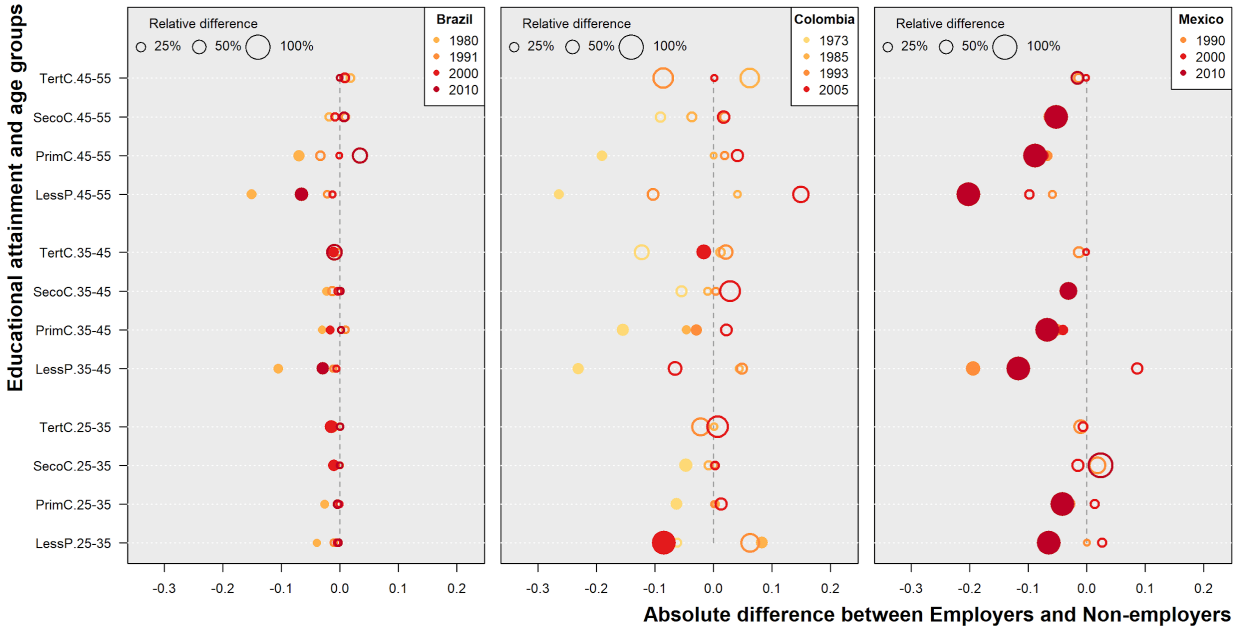
Panel B: Urban areas



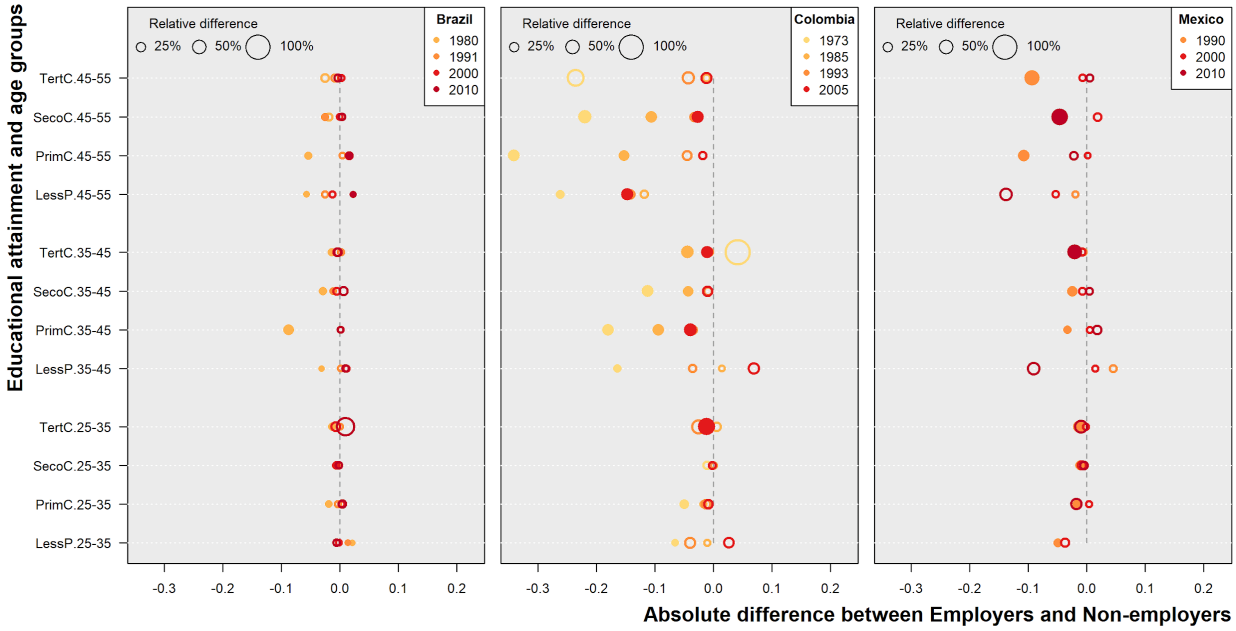
Note: Filled circles represents statistically significant differences (alpha = 0.95).

Figure 3. Differences in the mean number of offspring deaths between Employers and Non-employers by ten-year age groups and educational attainment.

Panel A: Large cities



Panel B: Urban areas



Note: Filled circles represents statistically significant differences (alpha = 0.95).

Appendix

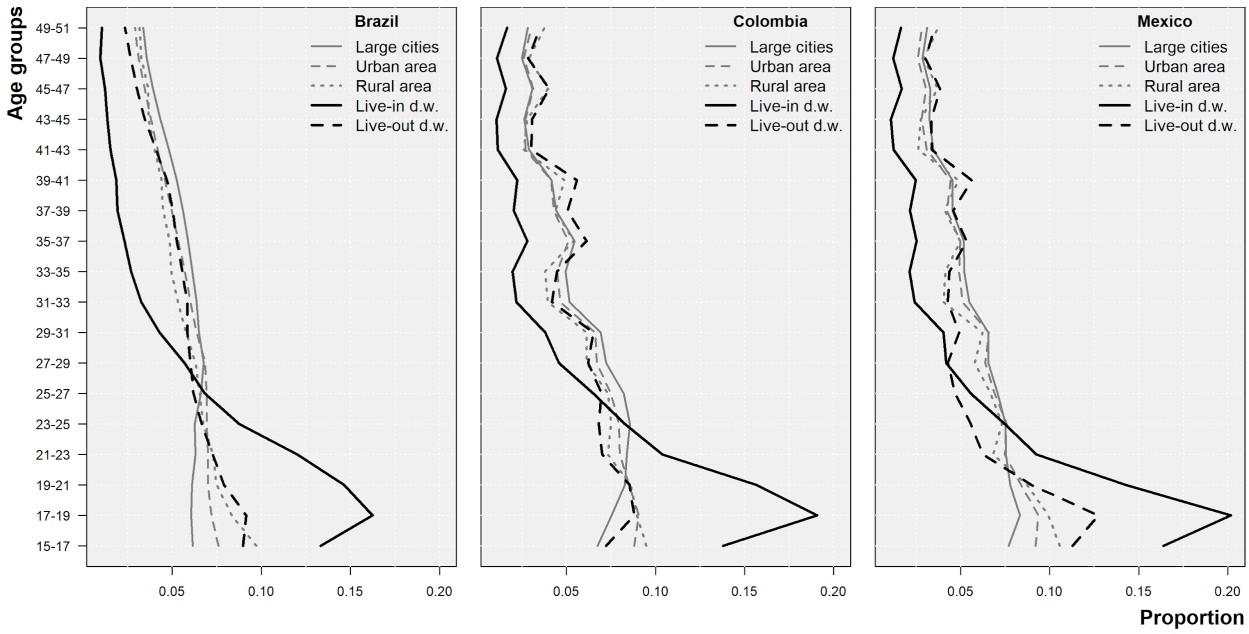
Identifying live-in and live-out domestic workers

We identify domestic workers and their mode of work (live-in or live-out) in two steps. First, we combine information on the position at work (variable CLASSWK), occupation (variable OCC), and industry (variable IND) to identify all women performing household/domestic tasks for a private household, regardless of their work arrangement. Because data availability and collection methodologies differ across countries and over time, we follow country-year-specific strategies. For Brazil, we use the variable describing the occupation of the respondent. We include as domestic workers all women whose occupational status implies performing household chores, on a full-time or part-time basis, for a private household. For Colombia, we use the variable class of workers (CLASSWK). This variable has one category for "domestic workers." For Mexico, we combine information on respondent's occupation and industry to include all women performing the same type of tasks for a private household different from their own. Next, we check the relationship to the household head of all women identified as domestic workers. We assume that those not related to the household head by kinship (e.g., daughter, niece, grandchild, sister) or the law (spouse, partner, daughter-in-law, etc.), are live-in domestic workers; all the others are classified as live-out domestic workers. Hence, live-in domestic workers are those reported as "domestic employee," "relative of employee (not classified elsewhere)," "spouse of a servant," "child of a servant," "other relative of a servant," and "non-relative, non-classified elsewhere."

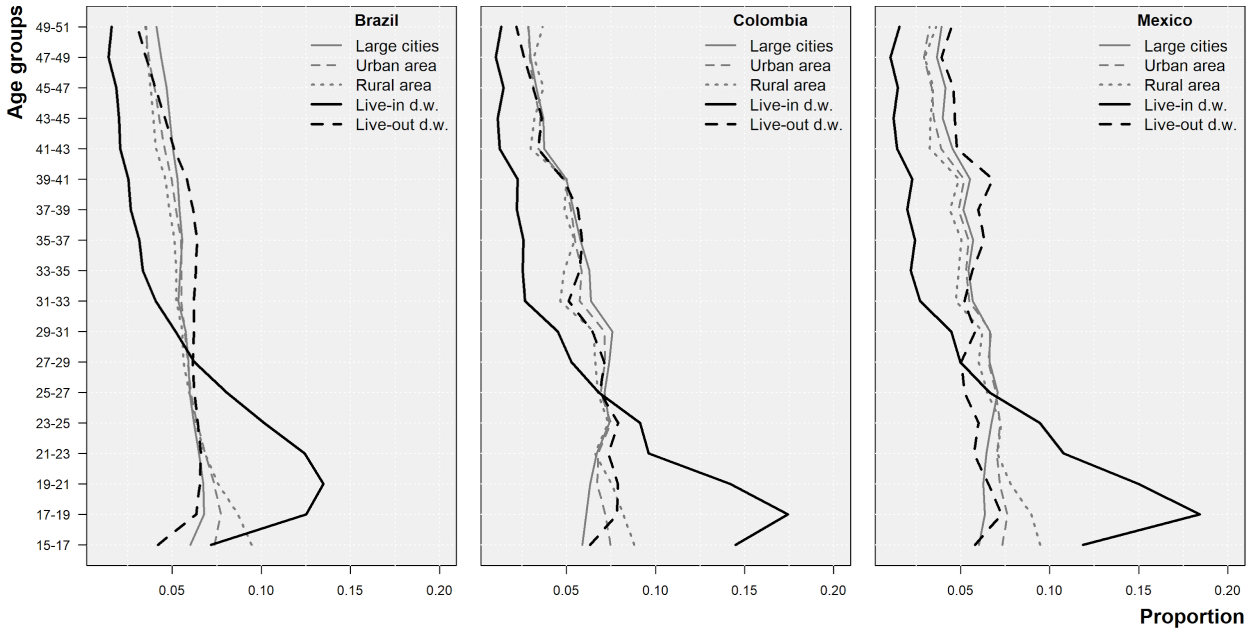
This assumption is necessary given the tendency to misreport live-in domestic workers. Families were often unwilling to declare live-in domestic workers because they fear social judgment and penalties from the authorities given the irregularity of working conditions of these women. Hence, live-in domestic workers were often reported either as living somewhere else or as family members, though they did not have a kinship relationship with the household head. Our assumption partially alleviates the first type of misreporting, but it does not address the second. This is the best possible measurement strategy with the data at hand.

Figure A1. Persistent younger profiles among live-in domestic workers compared to live-out domestic workers and women residing in large cities, urban areas, and rural areas.

Panel A: Brazil 1990, Colombia 1985, and Mexico 1980



Panel B: Brazil 2000, Colombia 1993, and Mexico 2000.



Note: Age profiles for the other census rounds are reported in Figure A1 and are more similar to Panel A than Panel B.

Table A1. Age-specific percentage (%) of nulliparous women by country and place of residence and for domestic live-in and live-out workers.

Country and age group	Large cities		Urban areas		Rural areas		Live-in domestic workers		Live-out domestic workers	
Brazil	1980	2010	1980	2010	1980	2010	1980	2010	1980	2010
[15,25)	77	81	72	76	67	67	90	88	82	63
	(0.07)	(0.16)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.49)	(0.10)	(0.20)
[25,35)	29	47	21	34	15	20	62	66	26	19
	(0.09)	(0.19)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.25)	(0.79)	(0.16)	(0.13)
[35,45)	14	24	10	15	8	10	54	52	12	10
	(0.08)	(0.18)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.07)	(0.41)	(1.00)	(0.14)	(0.09)
[45,55]	12	20	9	12	8	9	52	48	12	9
	(0.10)	(0.23)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.09)	(0.63)	(1.42)	(0.21)	(0.12)
Colombia	1973	2005	1973	2005	1973	2005	1973	2005	1973	2005
[15,25)	44	70	42	69	36	56	57	81	36	53
	(0.25)	(0.38)	(0.16)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.38)	(0.94)	(0.92)	(1.71)
[25,35)	17	28	13	23	9	14	35	46	11	15
	(0.24)	(0.37)	(0.14)	(0.18)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.71)	(1.56)	(0.70)	(1.04)
[35,45)	10	13	7	11	5	9	28	31	6	7
	(0.23)	(0.27)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.90)	(1.73)	(0.56)	(0.67)
[45,55]	9	12	8	10	5	9	29	23	8	8
	(0.33)	(0.37)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.17)	(0.19)	(1.33)	(2.11)	(0.94)	(1.15)
Mexico	1970	2010	1970	2010	1970	2010	1970	2010	1970	2010
[15,25)	73	77	70	68	62	65	84	88	85	67
	(0.53)	(0.46)	(0.33)	(0.12)	(0.37)	(0.20)	(0.94)	(0.81)	(0.98)	(0.59)
[25,35)	24	41	20	23	16	16	40	57	29	20
	(0.65)	(0.52)	(0.35)	(0.12)	(0.34)	(0.15)	(2.20)	(2.14)	(1.90)	(0.44)
[35,45)	13	19	13	9	11	8	25	42	11	7
	(0.58)	(0.44)	(0.34)	(0.09)	(0.34)	(0.10)	(2.80)	(2.44)	(1.24)	(0.23)
[45,55]	14	15	14	7	12	6	28	31	13	6
	(0.90)	(0.63)	(0.51)	(0.12)	(0.50)	(0.14)	(4.36)	(3.44)	(1.95)	(0.31)

Note: Standard errors in parenthesis.

Table A2. Age-specific mean years of schooling by country and place of residence and for domestic live-in and live-out workers.

Country and age group	Large cities		Urban areas		Rural areas		Live-in domestic workers		Live-out domestic workers	
Brazil	1980	2000	1980	2000	1980	2000	1980	2000	1980	2000
[15,25)	7.2	9.0	6.1	8.0	2.6	5.1	3.3	5.9	3.7	6.2
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
[25,35)	7.1	9.7	5.6	8.1	2.0	4.3	3.0	5.9	2.8	5.3
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.01)
[35,45)	5.7	9.3	4.0	7.4	1.3	3.5	2.2	4.8	2.0	4.4
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.05)	(0.01)	(0.01)
[45,55]	4.9	8.5	3.2	6.4	1.0	2.6	1.8	4.0	1.6	3.6
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.08)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Colombia	1973	2005	1973	2005	1973	2005	1973	2005	1973	2005
[15,25)	6.6	10.5	5.5	9.7	2.8	6.6	2.9	7.7	2.8	6.9
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.08)	(0.04)	(0.11)
[25,35)	6.0	11.1	4.5	9.8	2.1	5.5	2.4	7.3	2.5	6.0
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.11)	(0.05)	(0.11)
[35,45)	5.1	9.9	3.7	8.6	1.7	4.5	1.9	5.7	2.1	4.9
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.14)	(0.05)	(0.09)
[45,55]	4.9	9.2	3.4	7.6	1.4	3.5	1.6	4.7	2.0	4.3
	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.06)	(0.18)	(0.08)	(0.15)
Mexico	1980	2010	1980	2010	1980	2010	1980	2010	1980	2010
[15,25)	6.2	11.1	4.9	10.2	2.5	8.5	3.0	8.3	3.2	8.2
	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.03)
[25,35)	5.6	12.5	3.9	10.6	1.7	7.1	2.4	7.0	2.2	7.1
	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.10)	(0.15)	(0.10)	(0.03)
[35,45)	4.9	11.7	3.0	9.8	1.3	6.0	2.2	6.5	1.7	6.4
	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.16)	(0.14)	(0.08)	(0.03)
[45,55]	4.7	10.8	2.7	8.9	1.0	4.6	2.0	5.5	1.5	5.5
	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.19)	(0.29)	(0.12)	(0.05)

Note: Standard errors in parenthesis.

Table A3. Age-specific percentage of married or 'in union' women by country and place of residence, and for domestic live-in and live-out workers

Country and age group	Large cities		Urban areas		Rural areas		Live-in domestic workers		Live-out domestic workers	
Brazil	1980	2010	1980	2010	1980	2010	1980	2010	1980	2010
[15,25)	27	20	31	28	39	37	0	1	12	37
	(0.07)	(0.10)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.02)	(0.12)	(0.07)	(0.12)
[25,35)	71	57	76	65	84	78	2	2	52	65
	(0.09)	(0.18)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.10)	(0.05)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.14)
[35,45)	76	67	80	71	87	84	2	3	56	66
	(0.11)	(0.21)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.28)	(0.21)	(0.14)
[45,55]	72	63	74	68	83	83	1	4	49	60
	(0.15)	(0.29)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.15)	(0.13)	(0.45)	(0.31)	(0.20)
Colombia	1973	2005	1973	2005	1973	2005	1973	2005	1973	2005
[15,25)	26	21	28	26	37	38	5	5	23	23
	(0.21)	(0.16)	(0.13)	(0.08)	(0.18)	(0.09)	(0.12)	(0.29)	(0.63)	(0.37)
[25,35)	70	56	70	62	78	74	14	11	49	44
	(0.30)	(0.36)	(0.21)	(0.19)	(0.25)	(0.19)	(0.41)	(0.55)	(1.02)	(0.88)
[35,45)	74	63	74	67	81	78	18	15	48	43
	(0.35)	(0.42)	(0.24)	(0.22)	(0.26)	(0.23)	(0.64)	(1.18)	(1.05)	(0.95)
[45,55]	66	57	66	62	73	75	16	12	43	42
	(0.54)	(0.59)	(0.34)	(0.32)	(0.38)	(0.34)	(0.91)	(1.40)	(1.53)	(2.12)
Mexico	1970	2010	1970	2010	1970	2010	1970	2010	1970	2010
[15,25)	30	18	36	29	47	37	8	5	13	21
	(0.53)	(0.23)	(0.33)	(0.08)	(0.36)	(0.12)	(0.59)	(0.38)	(0.72)	(0.31)
[25,35)	75	53	81	69	86	78	23	14	41	51
	(0.70)	(0.49)	(0.39)	(0.14)	(0.43)	(0.19)	(1.54)	(1.15)	(1.84)	(0.53)
[35,45)	80	64	84	76	88	83	29	20	49	58
	(0.77)	(0.55)	(0.45)	(0.15)	(0.49)	(0.25)	(2.59)	(1.55)	(1.89)	(0.52)
[45,55]	71	62	78	73	82	81	25	10	46	52
	(1.23)	(0.79)	(0.69)	(0.22)	(0.71)	(0.29)	(4.10)	(1.49)	(2.74)	(0.66)

Note: Standard errors in parenthesis.

Table A4. Age-specific percentage separated/divorced women by country and place of residence, and for domestic live-in and live-out workers.

Country and age group	Large cities		Urban areas		Rural areas		Live-in domestic workers		Live-out domestic workers	
Brazil	1980	2010	1980	2010	1980	2010	1980	2010	1980	2010
[15,25)	1	5	1	6	1	5	2	11	2	12
	(0.02)	(0.09)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.47)	(0.04)	(0.14)
[25,35)	4	12	3	13	2	8	8	27	10	20
	(0.04)	(0.13)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.06)	(0.14)	(0.74)	(0.11)	(0.13)
[35,45)	7	18	5	17	2	8	13	39	15	24
	(0.06)	(0.16)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.06)	(0.28)	(0.98)	(0.15)	(0.13)
[45,55]	8	22	6	19	3	9	14	42	16	28
	(0.09)	(0.24)	(0.04)	(0.07)	(0.04)	(0.09)	(0.45)	(1.40)	(0.23)	(0.19)
Colombia	1973	2005	1973	2005	1973	2005	1973	2005	1973	2005
[15,25)	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	6
	(0.04)	(0.09)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.36)	(0.31)	(0.80)
[25,35)	3	6	3	7	1	4	6	9	9	13
	(0.11)	(0.20)	(0.07)	(0.11)	(0.06)	(0.09)	(0.35)	(0.79)	(0.63)	(0.96)
[35,45)	5	11	5	11	2	5	7	17	12	20
	(0.16)	(0.27)	(0.10)	(0.14)	(0.07)	(0.11)	(0.52)	(1.30)	(0.74)	(1.24)
[45,55]	5	15	6	13	2	6	7	21	11	22
	(0.25)	(0.42)	(0.16)	(0.22)	(0.11)	(0.18)	(0.77)	(2.13)	(1.04)	(2.07)
Mexico	1970	2010	1970	2010	1970	2010	1970	2010	1970	2010
[15,25)	1	2	1	2	1	2	5	2	3	7
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.08)	(0.04)	(0.09)	(0.04)	(0.56)	(0.35)	(0.50)	(0.32)
[25,35)	4	7	3	7	2	5	22	10	18	18
	(0.30)	(0.26)	(0.14)	(0.08)	(0.13)	(0.07)	(1.85)	(1.16)	(1.60)	(0.40)
[35,45)	6	13	4	11	2	6	20	14	21	22
	(0.41)	(0.36)	(0.19)	(0.10)	(0.16)	(0.09)	(2.59)	(1.56)	(1.61)	(0.41)
[45,55]	6	16	5	13	3	6	23	21	14	25
	(0.62)	(0.58)	(0.31)	(0.15)	(0.24)	(0.13)	(4.10)	(3.08)	(2.04)	(0.59)

Note: Standard errors in parenthesis.

Table A5. Age-specific percentage of women who lived in another administrative area (migrant) five years prior to the census by country and place of residence, and for domestic live-in and live-out workers

Country and age group	Large cities		Urban areas		Rural areas		Live-in domestic workers		Live-out domestic workers	
Brazil	1990	2010	1990	2010	1990	2010	1990	2010	1990	2010
[15,25)	9	6	15	11	11	8	51	42	17	13
	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.26)	(0.73)	(0.13)	(0.15)
[25,35)	6	6	14	11	12	9	31	27	15	9
	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.41)	(0.74)	(0.14)	(0.09)
[35,45)	3	3	10	7	8	7	17	16	10	6
	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.53)	(0.72)	(0.14)	(0.07)
[45,55]	2	2	7	5	7	5	13	12	8	4
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.06)	(0.03)	(0.09)	(0.07)	(0.78)	(0.90)	(0.21)	(0.08)
Colombia	1993	2005	1993	2005	1993	2005	1993	2005	1993	2005
[15,25)	14	11	15	11	13	7	51	45	17	13
	(0.14)	(0.25)	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.37)	(1.26)	(0.42)	(1.45)
[25,35)	11	7	16	10	15	9	33	31	16	10
	(0.14)	(0.21)	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.17)	(0.12)	(0.65)	(1.48)	(0.47)	(0.94)
[35,45)	8	4	11	7	10	6	24	26	12	6
	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.17)	(0.11)	(0.86)	(1.61)	(0.47)	(0.77)
[45,55]	8	3	9	6	8	5	19	22	10	5
	(0.23)	(0.21)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.20)	(0.13)	(1.12)	(2.31)	(0.61)	(1.00)
Mexico	1990	2010	1990	2010	1990	2010	1990	2010	1990	2010
[15,25)	5	10	7	9	3	5	35	56	7	9
	(0.08)	(0.33)	(0.03)	(0.08)	(0.03)	(0.08)	(0.38)	(1.47)	(0.19)	(0.43)
[25,35)	4	13	8	11	3	6	18	27	7	8
	(0.08)	(0.35)	(0.04)	(0.09)	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.59)	(1.77)	(0.28)	(0.30)
[35,45)	2	9	6	7	2	4	13	22	5	6
	(0.07)	(0.28)	(0.04)	(0.08)	(0.04)	(0.09)	(0.71)	(2.16)	(0.24)	(0.22)
[45,55]	2	6	4	5	1	2	9	25	5	5
	(0.10)	(0.43)	(0.06)	(0.13)	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.89)	(3.56)	(0.34)	(0.34)

Note: Standard errors in parenthesis.