

# **Family formation, gender and labour during First Globalization in Uruguay**

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## **Introduction**

In 2000 Uruguayan and Argentine gender indicators were at the top level among Latin American countries in terms of female life expectancy, education, labour market participation rate and narrower gender gap (Camou and Maubrigades 2013, Camou and Maubrigades 2015). The relation between economic growth and gender inequality improvement works well, but part of the variations remains unexplained. So in this research the aim is to analyze the impact of institutions such as the family to explain the evolution of gender indicators in the case of Uruguay. Uruguay was a country with a large contingent of European immigrants who came mainly from Spain followed by Italy. Although these two countries are not representative of the western Marriage Pattern system (De Moor and Van Zanden 2010), it will be argued that the immigration process caused a disruption of the original family patterns and led to more unstructured family formation and to feebler family ties and greater predominance of the nuclear family. Weaker family ties characterized by more egalitarian gender and intergenerational relation are supposed to foster more educated people and a higher participation rate in the emerging wage labour market, specially of women.

To test this hypothesis the Uruguayan family structure will be analyzed taking account of the changes during the period 1858-1908, comparing immigrants and the settled Uruguayan population and two different economic and social landscapes: Montevideo and the rest of the country, mainly rural population.

In the first section we define the main questions within the context of our theoretical approach. The second section presents the data and methodology. Next follows a review of the population structure and changes in the period. The fourth section is devoted the family formation in Uruguay and its links to immigration behaviour while in the fifth section we discuss the performance of Uruguayan population comparing between the

different groups in terms of education and labour relations. At least we present some preliminary results.

### **Main questions and hypothesis**

The link between family and development is a discussion in social science that has been tackled in various disciplines like demography, economics, history and sociology. Family structure endures over time, more than other institutions, and this is one of the reasons for its powerful influence on society. At the same time, it is a characteristic that makes it possible for us to follow its footprints up to the present day.

Family structure impacts on the way a society is organized in various ways. One of the main conclusions of early research in this area was that there is a strong link between the nuclear family and the Industrial Revolution and subsequent economic growth. Children in nuclear families become independent and leave home early, and this is a stimulus to search for economic opportunities and fosters a society's education and entrepreneurial capacity.

Studies of the family's role in European development have emphasized that the move young people make from their parents' house to setting up their own home is the most important step in how individuals define their education and labour options (Reher 1998).

Todd and Le Bras (1981) built a framework to analyse cultural, political and economic outcomes related to ancestral family structures and their spatial distribution in France. One of their main arguments is that different types of authority produced different types of families, and this lay behind economic, political and cultural divergence.

Another line of thought is that regions with weak families tend to see the emergence of efficient group organizations and corporations that contribute to economic growth. These kinds of corporations evolve better and faster in regions where individuals are not so protected by groups, tribes or families (Greif 2006).

In this research my main focus is on the relation between the strength of family ties and their impact on women's education and labour force participation. As noted by Van Zanden (2011), in various societies women are participating more and more in decision-making at the family level and beyond, and this seems to be an indicator of progress in economic development.

The evolution of family patterns is closely connected to the social and cultural changes that societies undergo. Strong family ties require a member of the family (typically the wife) to stay at home to take care of family organization, and this means women have a more "traditional" role (Alesina and Giuliano 2010).

The timing of the decision about when to marry and form a new family reflects the level of independence that women have achieved and the position they occupy in the societies studied (Carmichael 2011) (Carmichael, De Moor et al. 2011).

The present research centres on Uruguay during the First Globalization, when the society was being built up with successive waves of immigrants. The impact of migration on the family system has been discussed in the literature, mainly by historians. Does migration make for a breakdown of traditional kinship systems? Some authors argue that it does not, and migrants – both from rural to urban areas and between countries – tend to recreate the family patterns of their land of origin. The chain migrations feature contributes to reconstructing kinship. Kin networks provide migrants with mutual assistance and are indispensable in the first steps of the settlement process (Hareven 1976).

Although this may have happened in European rural-urban migration or in migration from the Old World to the USA, it is difficult to accept global explanations without considering the specificities of regional context. As Williamson and Hatton (1994) point out, the first flows of migration to America were at the beginning of the 19th century and consisted of farmers and artisans travelling in family groups, but migrations later in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were dominated by young, single, unskilled males. The biggest migration flows into the River Plate and Uruguay were in this stage and share these characteristics. We argue that family formation in Uruguay was strongly determined by the population's characteristics, and this meant a change from family structures in the immigrants' countries of origin. One consequence of the development of weaker family ties was that individuals, especially women, had greater independence.

## **2. Methodology and data**

The family history in Uruguay and more generally Latin America scarcely developed. The characteristics of settlement process induce to think that the family structures were weaker than in other parts of the continent. In this research based on census data it will be reconstructed the family structure in 1908 and the changes that occurred compared to an

earlier benchmark (1860) already studied (Camou and Pellegrino 1992). Departing from demographic characteristics of Uruguayan<sup>1</sup>/foreign and Montevideo/ Outskirts<sup>2</sup> populations, we construct indicators of family ties and women position in its.

For the first period (1860) the sources are the survey's sheets raised to prepare the census. The collected data was: age, sex, civil status, birth place. The way the enumerators registered the data allows to inferred kinship among people living in the same house.

The second period is based on the General Census of the Republic (Censo General de la República) in 1908, which was the first census with reliable data at the national level in Uruguay. The population census covered the whole country. Simultaneously an agricultural and a housing census were conducted, and for the city of Montevideo an industrial and commercial census. We use some figures from the agricultural census and the industrial and commercial census of Montevideo to estimate labours relations.

Considering the characteristics of these censuses, we focus on some important shortcomings that may affect the results.

First, the number of people occupied is probably overestimated. The censuses record an individual's profession or job position without regard to whether or not they were employed at the time. The present day concept of "unemployed" doesn't seem to be linearly applicable to this earlier stage in which wage labour was the exception rather than the rule. However, this was a period of rapid economic growth with increasing demand for labour and very low unemployment.

Second, female participation in the labour market is difficult to reconstruct because sources are scarce, and it was underestimated due to the registration techniques used and to prejudice. In general, women workers have not been well documented and probably underestimated.

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<sup>1</sup> For the Uruguayan population, we considered individuals classified by nationality as "oriental" (sic) in the data records we reviewed. This is a reference to the official name of the country, i.e. República Oriental del Uruguay. Obviously, this population is also the product of several components: the indigenous population living in the territory prior to colonization, the predominantly Spanish and Portuguese immigrant population who inhabited the territory during the colonial period, the population of African origin that was introduced as slaves and the different waves of American indigenous populations, mainly of Guaraní origin, that according to several authors moved to Uruguayan territory after the dissolution of the Jesuit Missions. Data records also include as "Oriental" the Uruguayan-born children of immigrants who came to the country in the post-independence period.

<sup>2</sup> .

Labour relations were classified according to the classification criteria of the database of the global Collaboratory on the History of Labour Relations, 1500-2000. Not all categories were represented in the kind of data presented in the selected census.

The categories used include the following occupations:

*Category 1: Cannot be expected to work*

Population under 10 or over 75 and students over 15.

*Category 4: Leading Household*

workers were divided between leading householders and wage earners according to the average number of wage earners per farm in the 1908 Agrarian Census Population

*Category 5: Household kin producers and non-producers*

Women or men of active age without declared occupation.

*Category 12: Self-employed*

Professions, unspecific traders<sup>3</sup> and other traders.

*Category 13: Employers*

Unspecific traders and owners in cattle raising sector.<sup>4</sup>

*Category 14: Market wage earners*

Workers in manufacturing sector, transport sector, domestic service and personal care, education, clerks, cattle raising workers and fishing, extractive industry and agricultural laborers.

*Category 18: Wage earners employed by non-market institutions*

Public employees

### **3. The unstable composition of Uruguayan Population between 1858 and 1908**

Since its establishment as an independent State (1825) Uruguay had a delimited territory controlled by a central government. At that time the population of the country was estimated at 74,000 habitants in a 187,000 km<sup>2</sup> area (Pollero 2013). The country was sparsely inhabited and a large part of the population was concentrated in the capital Montevideo.

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<sup>3</sup> Women in this group were divided between category 12 and 13

<sup>4</sup> Women in this group were divided between category 13 and 14.

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century the population increased due to reduction in civil wars, an improvement in life conditions and large inflows of immigrants. The Uruguayan society was built up from successive waves of immigrants, mainly coming from Spain and Italy in the context of the mass migration process. Among the Latin American countries, Uruguay was one with the highest proportion of immigrants at that time. The newcomers were unequally distributed across the territory: their impact on total population was greater in the south-west and around the city of Montevideo than in the rest of the country.

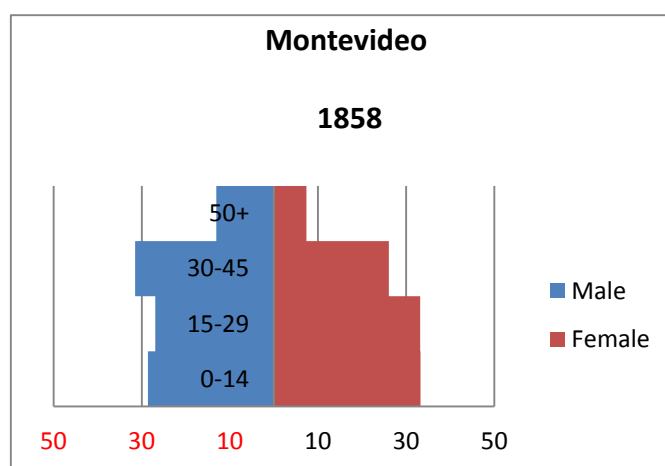
**TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGNERS IN THE TOTAL POPULATION**

<b>TOTAL URUGUAY</b>	
1860	33.5
1908	17.4
<b>MONTEVIDEO</b>	
1860	47.7
1884	44.4
1889	46.8
1908	30.4
Sources: Censo nacional 1860 and 1908, and Censo del Departamento de Montevideo 1884 and 1889	

Note: According to Uruguayan law, immigrants' children who are born in the country are Uruguayan citizens.

Uruguay had an atypical population pyramid for that time. In 1858 Montevideo's population had a low proportion of children and an overly-high proportion of men of active age.

**Figure 1. Population pyramid of Montevideo, 1858**

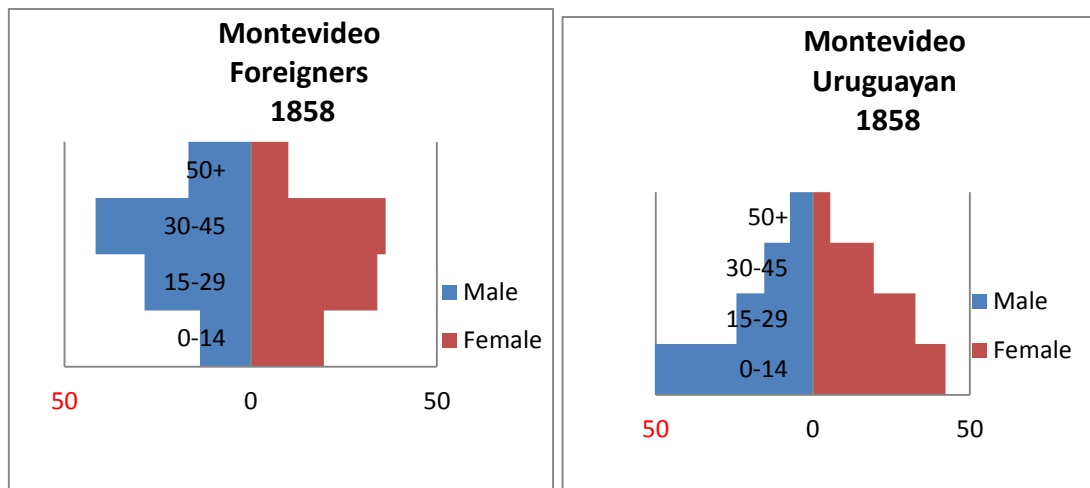


Sources: Padrón de Montevideo 1858-59

In the Uruguayan population of the city we find a young age structure, which was the result of the recently finished civil war (1851) and a yellow fever epidemic (1857). The female over-representation may be explained by the wars impacting more on men than on women and by the Uruguayan agrarian productive structure, which tended to exclude female labor and increase female migration from rural to urban areas.

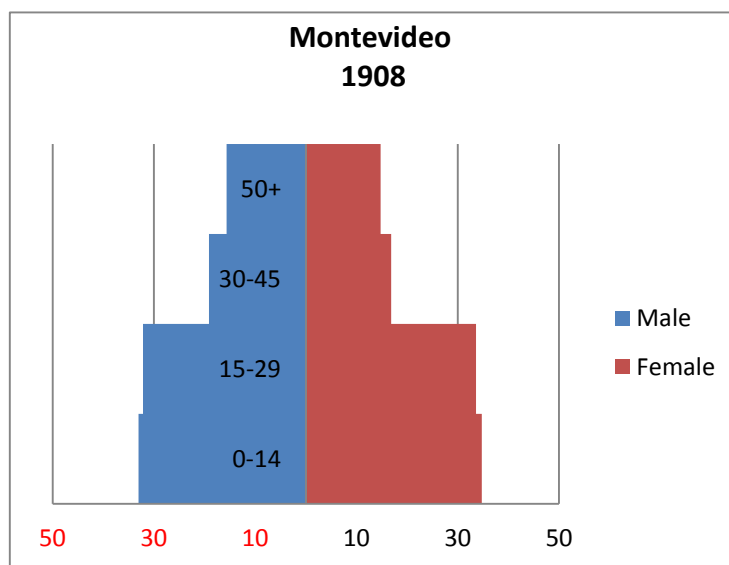
On the other hand, the foreign population was composed of different nationalities which in order of size were Italians, Spanish, French, Argentines, African and others, and it had a very different profile. In 1858, unlike the first flows of immigrants that arrived at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and were mainly family groups of farmers and artisans, we find a preponderance of young males of active age in the immigrant population. In addition, most of them were single and unskilled. This trend was similar across the American continent although the timing differed and the Latin American countries were latecomers to this process (Hatton and Williamson 1994).

**Figure 2. Population Pyramid of Montevideo by nationality, 1858**



Sources: Padrón de Montevideo 1858-59

**Figure 3. Population pyramid of Montevideo, 1908**



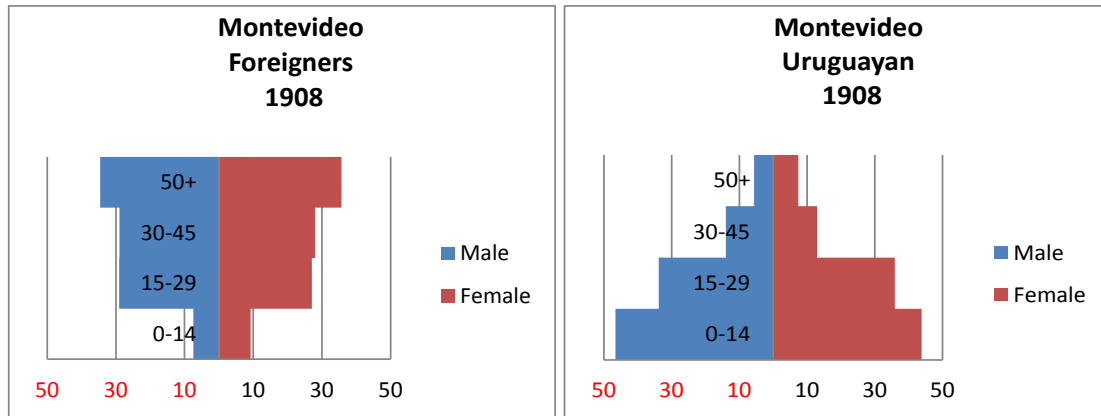
Sources: Censo Nacional de 1908

Fifty years later the population pyramid had changed and showed a higher proportion of children and less concentration in the active population age group. Society was on the way to the demographic transition. Research by (Damonte 1994) shows that mortality began to decrease in 1880 as a consequence of improvements in health care, wages and living conditions. There are difficulties in measuring fecundity, but despite these Pollero (2001) using a system based on birth rate data and his own child method, argues that by 1908 a



process of decreasing fertility had begun and that immigrants had a lower fertility rate than Uruguayans. At the same time, the outskirts had a higher fecundity rate than Montevideo.

**Figure 4. Population pyramid of Montevideo by nationality, 1908**

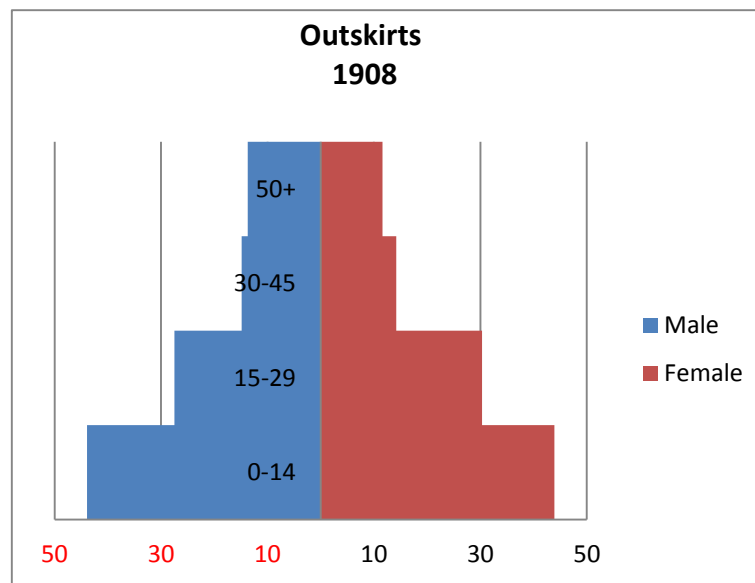


Sources: Censo Nacional de 1908

By 1908 foreigners had lost weight in the overall population structure but the main characteristics of their population structure were even stronger: the unbalanced sex ratio and weak representation of the 0-14 age group. Mass immigration increased at the end of the 19th century, in the context of distance-shortening due to the transport revolution and an increasing wage gap with the countries of origin.

The outskirts pyramid shows a younger population with more people in the 0-14 age group than in Montevideo. The explanation is that in rural areas there was a smaller proportion of foreigners and more pre-modern family formation.

**Figure 5. Population pyramid of Outskirts, 1908**



Sources: Censo Nacional de 1908

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#### **4. Family ties in a changing society**

In 1858 the nuclear family already predominated in Montevideo, and there were other particularities related to the rapid growth of the population in the city and integration between the previously-settled population and newcomers.

The typology used to classify families is based on Pollero (2004), who adapts Lasslett's typology to capture local particularities. This classification enables us to distinguish between nuclear and augmented nuclear families (Nuclear II) and then extended families and others. Unlike in other regions in Latin America, the incidence of non-relatives living in households was very high (Kuznesof 1980). In Montevideo, the data show a large number of non kin living with nuclear families. It is difficult to know

exactly what the role of these persons in the household was. Probably they were apprentices, workers in the family business, homeless people and others. The proportion of people living in nuclear households was 64% of the population and people living in households with non-relatives amounted to 38%.

There were fewer other relatives living with nuclear families, and these were mostly brothers and sisters rather than parents. The multi-generational family was an exception. Here we must consider the immigration factor (70% of household heads were immigrants) and the short life expectancy at birth estimated for the time (less than 40 years).

**Table2. Family types. Montevideo 1858 (percentages)**

	Nuclear I	Nuclear II	<b>Subtotal</b>	Extended	One-person	Unstructured	Doubtful
Household No.	34	28	<b>62</b>	14	6	15	4
Person No.	26	38	<b>64</b>	17	1	12	6
Nuclear I: household head with or without spouse and children							
Nuclear II: nuclear plus other non relatives							

Sources: Padrón de Montevideo 1858-59

**Table 3. Family types by Household Head Nationality. Montevideo 1858**

	Nuclear I	Nuclear II	<b>Subtotal</b>	Extended	One-person	Unstructured	Doubtful
Uruguayan	27	24	<b>51</b>	26	7	13	3
Foreingers	37	29	<b>66</b>	9	5	15	4

Sources: Padrón de Montevideo 1858-59

As regards nationalities, as expected, the nuclear family was more common among foreigners than in the native population. Spaniards and Italians living in Montevideo tended to build nuclear families in a stronger way than in their country of origin. According to a study based on marriage registers, the Spanish in Montevideo came mainly from northern Spain: Galicia, the Basque country, Catalonia and Asturias (Camou 1997). In these regions the stem family was predominant in 1860 (Peña 1992).

Although immigrants came from the less developed parts of Western Europe, their family structure in their destination country may differ considerably from what they built up in their country of origin. The people who settled in Argentina and Uruguay had

diverse regional and social origins and the cultural traditions they brought with them responded to different models of society. The drastic rupture caused by migration to the New World must have brought about far-reaching changes in their lives. First because emigration meant a release from family ties and the construction of a new kind of family, very often with partners of a different nationality or region of origin (Camou and Pelegrino 2014). Hereditary ties with the family of origin were in most cases non-existent.

Furthermore, migration does not only mean breaking away from a place of origin and an effort to adapt to a new society, it also involves the selection of the people who emigrate. These would have tended to be individuals who were more determined to solve their economic or other problems than the people who remained behind, and also individuals who were more disposed to make and accept changes.

The data available for 1908 do not enable us to identify household types. The city had a higher number of children living with their parents than in 1858. This evolution responds to two parallel features: an increase in children's survival and better registration of children. In the outskirts there was a higher proportion of children, which was due to a higher birth rate. The number of servants decreased sharply between 1858 and 1908 and only high income families continued to employ them, but the number of non-relatives in households remained stable over the period.

**Table 4. Household structure 1858-1908 (number of people per household)**

	Montevideo 1858	Montevideo 1908	Outskirts 1908
Male household head	0.9	0.8	0.8
Female household head	0.1	0.2	0.2
Children	1.4	2.5	3.3
Other relatives	0.2	0.5	0.6
Servants	0.4	0.1	0.1
Non related person	0.8	0.7	0.8
<i>Number of cases</i>	2,287	54,836	108,418

Sources: Padrón de Montevideo 1858-59 and Censo Nacional de 1908

**Table 5. Household structure by nationality (number of people per household).  
Montevideo 1858**

	Uruguayan	Foreigners
Male household	0.7	0.9
Female househo	0.3	0.1
Children	3.8	0.6
Other relatives	0.6	0.1
Servants	0.8	0.4
Non related pers	1.1	0.8
<i>Number of cases</i>	<i>706</i>	<i>1,582</i>

Sources: Padrón de Montevideo 1858-59

**Table 6. Household structure by nationality (number of people per household).  
Montevideo 1908**

	Uruguayan	Foreingers
Male household head	0.8	0.8
Female household head	0.2	0.2
Children	5.6	0.4
Other relatives	0.8	0.3
Servants	0.1	0.1
Non related person	1.1	0.5
<i>Number of cases</i>	<i>22,681</i>	<i>32,155</i>

Sources: Censo Nacional de 1908

Note: In both censuses children were classified by their nationality, not their parents' nationality.

In 1908 non-relatives were more concentrated in Uruguayan than in foreigners' homes, which along with the difference in number of children made for big differences in household size.

**Table 7. Household size in Montevideo by nationality**

<b>1858</b>	<b>Uruguayan</b>	<b>Foreigners</b>
Household size	8.1	3,4
<b>1908</b>	<b>Uruguayan</b>	<b>Foreigners</b>
Household size	9.5	2.8

Sources: Padrón de Montevideo 1858-59 and Censo Nacional de 1908

This household profile cannot be seen exclusively as pre-modern behaviour. On the contrary, it increased with the urbanization process and household size did not decrease in the Americas until the 1920s (Hareven 1976). At that time the rapid population growth of previous decades due to continuous new flows of immigrants and also to natural growth made for a serious housing shortage. For this reason the city was overcrowded and rents were very high. According to Bertola, Camou et al. (1999), while in 1913 Southern Cone PPP food prices were similar to or slightly higher than European levels, rents for apartments were five or six times higher than those in Europe. Mass immigration also put great pressure on urban housing.

Households composed of a nuclear family plus other non relatives is a type that reflects economic and social aspects of society. These were often mentioned as a characteristic of Latin American societies linked to family building complexity existing in many shanty towns today (Kuznesof and Oppenheimer 1985).

#### **4.1 Women's position in the family**

The number of households with female heads was not high compared to other regions in Latin America.

Many Latin American countries had a higher proportion of female household heads in this period (Pollero 2001) (Kuznesof 1980) . In Montevideo in 1858 and 1908 the percentage was somewhat higher than in Europe, which was around 10 to 15%.

There are interesting differences between the Uruguayan and foreign populations.

Among the Uruguayans, the proportion of female household heads was very high in 1858. Despite the important influence of the Catholic Church in Latin America, marriage as a behavioral norm was not as universal as it had been in pre-industrial European societies, and free union was a fairly widespread practice. In the middle of the 20th century, Uruguay and Argentina with the influence of European immigrants had fewer consensual unions than other Latin American countries, but nevertheless marriage was not as generalized as in Europe (Maubrigades 2015). As Kuznesof indicates for Sao Paulo, in Montevideo this high frequency of female household heads was associated with low-class women and was not an indicator of a strong position in society. Moreover it shows the background of a pre-modern world with great differences in marriage pattern in society. Circumstances like wars and men in rural regions having a temporary work structure may also contribute to increases in these figures. In 1908 the

percentage of Uruguayan households with female heads diminishes. The end of the civil wars, the strengthening of the State and the spread of civil marriage contributed to this evolution.

The foreigners have the opposite trend from very low to higher numbers of households headed by women. In the case of foreigners the low level appears to be related to the sex ratio (152.8 men per woman in 1858). Among immigrants the proportion of married women was very high. In 1858 the proportion of Uruguayan single women over 35 is double the number of female foreigners in this age bracket (Camou and Pellegrino 1992). Presumably at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century more single women were arriving to Uruguay.

**Table 8. Female Household Head (% of total Household Heads)**

<b>Montevideo 1858</b>	<b>14.3</b>
Uruguayan 1858	31.6
Foreigners 1858	6.6
<b>Montevideo 1908</b>	<b>18</b>
Uruguayan 1908	21.6
Foreigners 1908	15.4
<b>Outskirts 1908</b>	<b>21.2</b>

Sources: Padrón de Montevideo 1858-59 and Censo Nacional de 1908

Age at marriage is another indicator of women's role in the family and their independence as regards personal decisions. Research by Maubrigades (2015) has showed a correlation between fewer legal marriages and young female age at marriage. Montevideo marriage data show that in the period 1860-1880, Uruguayan women married at a younger age than foreigners.

Both indicators point to differences between the two groups as regards women's position in the family, and it can be seen that Uruguayan women were in a more subservient position.

**Table 9. Female age at marriage by nationality**

	Montevideo	
	Uruguayan	Foreigners
1860	21	23
1865	20	23
1870	21	23
1875	20	23
1880	20	23

Sources: Marriage records

Although at the beginning of 20th century Uruguay's literacy rate was very far behind that of the developed countries, it was top among the Latin American countries (Bértola and Ocampo 2012). An interesting aspect of our research is that we consider the literacy rate by gender and nationality, and examine the relation between literacy and the different family characteristics of Uruguayans and foreigners who arrived in the country as immigrants. The 1908 census registered literacy by nationality, and we find marked differences between these two groups. It is difficult to track other education indicators by nationality because most immigrants' children were born in Uruguay and were registered as Uruguayan. It is supposed that the influence of family ties on education spread through the whole of society in subsequent decades through people's offspring. In Montevideo literacy rates among Uruguayan and foreign-born women were very high, but in the outskirts the level of illiteracy was more than twice that in the city itself.

**Table 10. Rate of illiteracy among over 15s, 1908.**

1908	Illiterate over 15 by nationality			
	Urug.		Foreigners	
	men	women	men	women
Montevideo	16.8	16.3	1.8	2.9
Outskirts	42.5	43.3	5.2	9.6

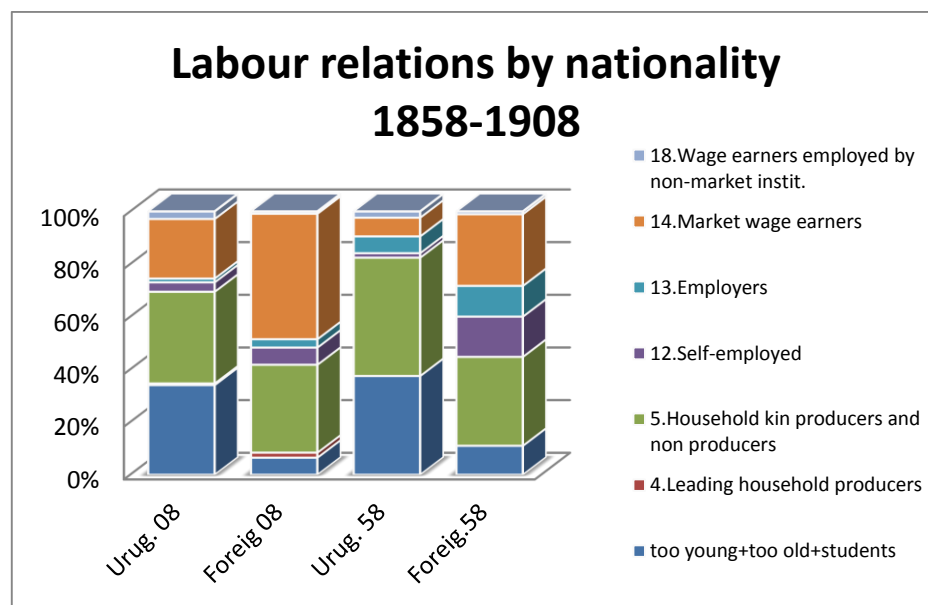
Sources: Censo Nacional de 1908.

When we come to examine labor indicators, again we find that Uruguay was different from the other Latin American countries, and within Uruguay there were differences between groups by nationality and gender. During this period Uruguay and Argentina were the most advanced countries in the region in terms of GDP and had the highest share of market wage earners in their employment structures (Camou 2014).



At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup>, the Uruguayan economy was undergoing big changes stemming from its insertion in the international economy. The export sector, supported by the modernization of transport, was driving the economic boom. The development of an urban economy generated increased demand for labour in manufacturing and services. From 1858 to 1908 the labour relations structure changed to an increased market wage labour proportion. Nevertheless the proportion of economically dependent people (category 5) was quite high.

**Figure 6**



Sources: Padrón de Montevideo 1858-59 and Censo Nacional de 1908.

Leaving aside the differences in the demographic profile of each population group, in 1858 the participation rate of Uruguayan men in the labour market was very low. We think this behaviour can be attributed to the fact that “modern” work habits had not become consolidated. Apart from some upper class professions such as "owner", "merchant" and "military", we found few occupations among the Uruguayans. This pattern appears to match the world Barrán (2001) describes, in which entertainment, gambling, war, politics and big business were the inhabitants' main activities. There must have been an unstable and informal labour force that could not be registered by the formal institutions.

In 1908 Uruguayan participation in the wage labour group increased, but this was still markedly different from the prevailing pattern among foreigners.

In terms of female participation in the labour market, Uruguay also performed well in the Latin American context. At the beginning of the 20th century, Uruguay was in a group with Chile and Argentina that had a relatively higher rate of women's participation in the labour market, while Brazil, Colombia and Mexico were much further behind. As regards foreigners, their female labour force participation rate was higher throughout the period. From 1889 to 1908 labour force participation in both groups declined, a trend that may have been linked to a more global pattern of female labour evolution with higher levels of female participation in the early stages of development and then a decrease in the rapid industrialization period (Goldin 2006, Seguino and Grown 2006, Camou 2014).

**Table 11. Labour force participation rate. Montevideo.**

	<b>Men</b>		<b>Women</b>	
	<b>Urug.</b>	<b>foreign</b>	<b>Urug.</b>	<b>foreign</b>
<i>1858-59</i>	55	87	17	21
<i>1889</i>	68	89	23	33
<i>1908</i>	81	98	16	22

Sources: Padrón de Montevideo 1858-59, Censo de Población del departamento de Montevideo and Censo Nacional de 1908.

Note: The data do not allow us to disaggregate the population by age, so we calculate the rate in the total population in each group.

## **Main results**

First, we should emphasize that these are preliminary results. We plan to exploit our sources more intensely and also to make comparisons with other Latin American countries in which immigrant groups did not play such a crucial role. Unfortunately there is a problem with sources because Latin American censuses at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century do not carry information about family structures.

The evidence for Uruguay shows an unstructured society in a phase of rapid population growth due to immigration flows and natural population growth. The population profile

with young single males over-represented was part of the reason why the traditional family structure was distorted as many people who were not relatives lived in households. The under-representation of relatives of older generations reinforced the predominance of the nuclear family. These characteristics are clearly stronger among foreigners or newcomers.

The position of women in this atypical family is also different between Uruguayans and immigrants. Among foreigners there were more married women, but Uruguayans were more likely to build households headed by women. At that time, Uruguayans' behaviour can be associated with their lower-status positions in society and a lower average age at first marriage.

Finally the immigrant showed better education outcomes and more wage labour relation and female labour participation than the natives.

Our hypothesis is that the influx of immigrants in society resulted in weaker family ties not only through individual characteristics of the immigrants themselves but more through the development of a new society with fewer ties to their ancestors.

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## Appendix

### Population by age, sex and nationality

Montevideo 1858	Uruguayan		Foreigners	
	men	women	men	women
0-14	1345	1658	540	510
15-29	618	1282	1132	885
30-45	394	760	1656	942
50+	186	219	663	263
<b>Total</b>	<b>2543</b>	<b>3919</b>	<b>3972</b>	<b>2602</b>

Montevideo 1908	Uruguayan		Foreigners	
	men	women	men	women
0-14	48159	48922	4037	3639
15-29	34988	40109	15859	10722
30-45	14450	14440	15785	11084
50+	5817	8217	18871	14132
<b>Total</b>	<b>103414</b>	<b>111688</b>	<b>54552</b>	<b>39577</b>

Outskirts		
1908	men	women
0-14	163700	158413
15-29	102361	109476
30-45	55455	51101
50+	51026	41923
<b>Total</b>	<b>372542</b>	<b>360913</b>

### Labour relations

Montevideo	Uruguayan		Foreigners		
	1858	Women	Men	Women	Men
1.too young+too old+students		231	424	1237	1040
5.Household kin producers and non producers		1649	360	2235	493
12.Self-employed		26	883	16	88
13.Employers		13	681	106	281
14.Market wage earners		410	1210	288	144

18.Wage earners employed by non-market instit.	0	62	40	103
	<b>2329</b>	<b>3620</b>	5949	2149

<b>Montevideo 1908</b>	<b>Women</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>All</b>
1.too young+too old+students	37.691	40.540	78.231
4.Leading household producers	59	3160	3.219
5.Household kin producers and non producers	89711	12383	102.094
12.Self-employed	781	12398	13.179
13.Employers	189	5740	5.929
14.Market wage earners	21891	70750	92.641
18.Wage earners employed by non-market instit.	95	6715	6.810
	150.417	151.686	302.103

<b>Outskirst 1908</b>	<b>Women</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>All</b>
1.too young+too old+students	117.679	123.898	241.577
4.Leading household producers	2.881	36.706	39.587
5.Household kin producers and non producers	206.094	28.449	234.543
12.Self-employed	4.089	34.103	38.192
13.Employers	2.647	32.867	35.514
14.Market wage earners	25.951	111.044	136.995
18.Wage earners employed by non-market instit.	2.711	7.901	10.612
	362.052	374.968	737.020