The household context of *family transitions* in Mexico

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Abstract.

Transitions to first union and childbearing in Mexico, as well as in most Latin American countries, often occur within the context of extended households. However, little is known about the prevalence and socioeconomic determinants of this practice. Using retrospective data from the 2017 Retrospective Demographic Survey (EDER) for cohorts born between 1962 and 1987 (N=13,215), we examine the household contexts in which men and women (i) begin cohabiting with a partner; (ii) cohabit with a child; and (iii) live with a child as single parents. The analysis is limited to men and women who were living in nuclear households prior to each transition. The results indicate that approximately 42% of women and 32% of men transition from a nuclear to an extended household when they start cohabiting. This practice is more prevalent at younger ages, among individuals with lower socioeconomic status, and in more recent cohorts. This pattern holds for all transitions examined, except for single motherhood, where extended coresidence is more common among high social strata. Further research is needed to explore whether these arrangements are temporary or more permanent. Overall, the results show that extended families play a significant role in adulthood transitions for young Mexicans.

Keywords: family transitions, extended household, Mexico, cohabitation, childbearing, single parenthood

Introduction.

In Mexico, as well as in most Latin American countries, it is common for young people to live with their parents or other adult relatives when they start a relationship or have children, forming intergenerational households, also known as extended households. Despite the prevalence and social relevance of this practice, empirical work on the subject is scarce. Intergenerational coresidence, common in societies with strong family ties and traditional marriage systems, takes on a unique form in Mexico. Unlike the universal and indissoluble marriage followed by patrilocal post-nuptial residence, unions in Mexico often form through consensual unions rather than marriage, and are highly subject to separation. Women usually assume most of the child-rearing responsibilities after the dissolution. During these family transitions, parents and grandparents play a key role, providing care, housing, and resources associated with shared residence.

Using data from the 2017 EDER, this article leverages its retrospective information to examine the family context at first partnership (first time living with partner), first parenthood within partnership (first time living with children and partner), and at first single parenthood (first time living with children and without a partner) among men and women born in Mexico between 1962 and 1987. We examine whether these transitions happen within extended coresidence (other family members present) or nuclear coresidence (only partner and/or children present). We explore the dynamics of extended coresidence across birth cohorts and outline the sociodemographic profile of those who are more likely to transition from nuclear to extended coresidence during these three key life stages. With this work, we aim to answer the following questions: How often do young Mexicans co-reside with their parents or other relatives when they start a relationship, have children, or separate? How has this practice evolved across cohorts? What differences exist between men and women? And what is the sociodemographic profile associated with this practice?

Findings show unequivocally that extended co-residence is a widespread practice at the time of first partnership and childbearing, reaching figures higher than 40% at the time of the first union. This practice is more prevalent among women who partner and have children at a young age, and among the lower socioeconomic groups. The age-cohort analysis reveals little to no change over time. Results suggest the importance of extended family networks in the transition to family life in Mexico and add a piece to the puzzle about the stability of early family formation in the broader Latin America and Caribbean context, despite decades of widespread change.

Background.

Leaving parental home, entering a union, and becoming a parent for the first time constitute three common milestones in the transition to adulthood in people's lives. These events represent turning points that imply increased autonomy as well as the assumption of new societal roles (Castro Torres et al., 2022). The age and sex of individuals, combined with events such as completing education, entering the labour market, forming a union, childbearing, or migration, explain trends, habits, and cultural characteristics of the analysed population (Mier y Terán y Rabell, 2004).

Most literature on life-course transitions focuses on the sequence and timing of events, drawing from European and North American experiences (Buchmann & Kriesi, 2011; Sironi et al., 2015; Sironi & Furstenberg, 2012). These studies assume normative trajectories to adulthood guided by age-related and societal standards (Buchmann & Kriesi, 2011). In these regions, family transitions usually occur in a sequential order: leaving the parental home, achieving residential and economic independence, forming a union, and then having children. It is uncommon for young adults to cohabit with a partner or have a child before attaining independence from their parents. The

European experience exemplifies what is known as Neolocality (Gruijters & Ermisch, 2019). Under this family system, union formation involves creating a new independent household. Forming a union and having a child may be postponed until the couple (or one of its future members) achieves economic sufficiency, stable employment, and the capacity to emancipate from the family of origin and establish an independent household. Thus, the prevalence of extended coresidence – such as intergenerational living arrangements – is low, especially in Northern European countries (Kolk, 2014).

In other societies, people marry or enter into cohabitation while continuing to live in the parental home, usually in the husband's parents' house (Yasuda et al., 2011). This practice is defined as patrilocality, and it is a widespread family system in most Asian societies (e.g., China, India, Middle East) (Gruijters & Ermisch, 2019). Intergenerational coresidence in East Asia reflects unique cultural norms (Yasuda et al., 2011), such as that of filial piety (Takagi & Silverstein, 2011). In these societies, individuals typically marry at young ages, especially women, and childbearing is almost universal. The economic potential of both the future partner and their respective families significantly influences marriage decisions on who and when to marry. The need to ensure family continuity and to provide support to aging parents form the basis of the patriarchal model. Although divorce is legally recognized, the levels of union dissolution in this system are comparatively lower than in other regions of the world. Additionally, the practice of extended co-residence tends to be transversal across all social classes or strata (Efron Pimentel & Liu, 2004), given its strong ties to traditional values and the provision of care rather than being a response to socioeconomic uncertainty (Yasuda et al., 2011).

Even though we find common elements with Neolocality and Patrilocality, the Mexican family system does not fully fit within these models (Therborn, 2004). From the literature, we know that while couples usually reside in nuclear households, the transition to first union does not universally occur after residential emancipation from the family of origin (Coubes et al., 2017; Solís, 2016). Extended coresidence with one's own parents, other relatives, or in-laws is not uncommon. The Mexican family model also differs from the parameters of a classic patriarchal model, like those of East Asian countries. Several practices justify this difference. Firstly, marriage is not universal. Although most women and men live with a partner at some point in their lives, marriage is not the sole formula (Esteve et al., 2012; Esteve & Lesthaeghe, 2016). As we elaborate later, consensual unions have long been rooted in Latin American and Caribbean societies (Covre-Sussai et al., 2015). Secondly, union instability is high, both in marriages and cohabiting unions, though more so in the latter (Ruiz-Vallejo & Solsona i Pairó, 2020). Thirdly, parental authority and influence on the timing of union formation and the choice of spouse are comparatively lower than in strong patriarchal societies. Lastly, family transitions to adulthood – in terms of age, sequence of events, and type of union - are heavily stratified by class and social

origin. Family transitions are largely shaped by structural constraints and inequality, which also make them less responsive to socioeconomic changes over time (Pesando et al., 2021).

The differences between the Mexican family system and Neolocality or Patrilocality invite us to assign an alternative role to the extended coresidence in Mexico, which can be defined as follows: intra-family solidarity in a context of high informality, early transitions to unions and childbearing, particularly among the most disadvantaged classes. The central hypothesis of this research is that extended households in Mexico represent a familial response to the difficulties young people face in establishing an independent household and securing self-sufficient resources (Giorguli Saucedo, 2016). This difficulty is conditioned by the informality of the labor market, the hardship of finding stable jobs that guarantee economic sustenance, unequal access to quality education, and social mobility (Echarri Cánovas & Pérez Amador, 2007). Therefore, family networks function as essential support system. In line with this argument, the practice of extended co-residence should be more frequent among the lower classes and those who experience family transitions at a young age.

While extended households are a widely known and common arrangement in Mexico (Giorguli Saucedo, 2016; Solís, 2016), empirical research on this reality and its link to life-course events is scarce. Despite this, the literature on adulthood transitions is broad and diverse. Some works offer an overview of all transitions among different population sectors (Coubes et al., 2017; Echarri Cánovas & Pérez Amador, 2007; Fussell, 2005); others emphasize family events (Echarri Cánovas, 2003; Mier Y Terán, 2014; Solís, 2016) or examine the interaction between two or more transitions (Pacheco et al., 2016). Lastly, comparative studies attempt to locate Mexico and other Latin American countries in the debate about the eventual postponement or advancement of adulthood transitions (Menezes Dos Santos et al., 2021; Ramm & Salinas, 2019). Despite all these works provide valuable insights on the topic, little attention is paid to the household context in which these transitions occur, which is often ignored or treated tangentially. Compared to other Latin American and Caribbean countries, Mexico has a repertoire of survey data that allows for the investigation of these topics (Zavala de Cosio & Sebille, 2023). In our case, the *2017 Encuesta Demográfica Retrospectiva* (from now on EDER) provides retrospective data, not only to reconstruct the usual union and fertility histories, but also living arrangement histories, as we will elaborate on further in the methodological section.

From the literature based on surveys and population censuses, we know that Mexico is a country where couples form at a relatively young age, with more than 80% of women and men having formed a union before the age of 30 (Páez & Zavala De Cosío, 2023). The predominant form of union entry remains marriage, but it is increasingly giving way to cohabiting unions (Esteve et al., 2012). Nowadays, one-third of Mexican women cohabit (Pérez Amador, 2016). Historically,

cohabiting unions (known as *unión libre* in Spanish) were prevalent among lower social groups but have recently gained ground among the more educated sectors of society (Amador & Bernal, 2012; Esteve et al., 2012). Historical accounts indicate that in some states of Mexico, levels of cohabiting unions before the 1960s may have been higher than those registered in the census in that decade (Quilodrán Salgado & Arrieta-Arrieta, 2022).

Between the 1960s and 1990s cohabitation rates decreased due to government legalization campaigns (Pérez Amador, 2016). This period likely represents the era when marriage was more widespread in the country (Quilodrán, 2004). While cohabitation before the 2000s was a stage leading to formal marriages, the pattern has changed after that. Contemporary cohabitation is less likely to result in legalized unions and more likely to end in dissolution (Pérez Amador, 2016). This recent trend in cohabitation in Mexico functions as a response to the increasing economic uncertainty in adulthood transitions in modern societies (Mills et al., 2005), and as an alternative to formal marriage for low SES couples.

In terms of median age at union formation, entry into partnership in Mexico typically occurs early, around 22.5 years among women and 25.1 among men (López Ruiz et al., 2011). Exact ages may vary slightly depending on the source, calculation method, and measurement time. General evidence suggests that the age at first union has remained stable over time, but this stability differs according to the type of union (Pérez Amador, 2016). Age at marriage is increasing, while age at cohabitation remains stable (López Ruiz et al., 2011). As more and more people enter into cohabitation, the overall age at first union has remained steady.

Alongside partnership formation, there is an early and stable pattern of childbearing, with a mean age at motherhood around 23 years old (Zavala de Cosio & Sebille, 2023). Meanwhile, fertility rates declined sharply (Juárez & Gayet, 2014), dropping from 6.8 in the 1960s to 1.8 today (World Bank). Finally, a constant increase in union dissolution among marriages and cohabitations has been registered. At least 11% of women and men separated and re-partnered before the age of 30 (Quilodrán Salgado & Arrieta-Arrieta, 2022), which suggests that the total number of union dissolutions is arguably higher. The lower the age at first union, the higher the probability of separations (Ruiz-Vallejo & Solsona i Pairó, 2020). Furthermore, the propensity to separate is higher in cohabiting unions than in marriages. Anthropological studies on separation and divorces suggest that cultural, institutional and gender aspects affect the decision-making regarding dissolution, which can be a difficult process, especially for women and more so in rural communities. A significant portion of these separations occurs among couples with children, where custody and care often fall on the mother (Luna-Santos, 2007).

The patterns described here are strongly stratified by social class and education (Castro Torres, 2021). Education is associated with the timing of entry into union, type of union, fertility levels,

and union dissolution. Individuals with lower levels of education tend to form partnerships and have children at younger ages, often through cohabitation and higher rates of dissolution. Conversely, those with higher education levels typically postpone union formation (Castro Torres, 2021; Juárez & Gayet, 2014), experience less union instability, and tend to access partnership through formal marriages at later ages. Previous studies attempted to disentangle the relationship between the widespread educational expansion in Latin America and the Caribbean and the early pattern to family transitions (Esteve & Florez-Paredes, 2018). Despite public policies favoring universal primary and secondary education for the whole population, this has not been followed by substantial changes in the age at first union or child. Some studies point to the educational system's ability to transform higher education into changed expectations for young people's family choices and the uneven behavior among educational groups (Esteve & Florez-Paredes, 2018).

However, more recent works are changing the analysis perspective from an individualistic understanding of demographic change to a macro perspective of structural factors in each country. In Mexico, as in most parts of Latin America and the Caribbean, structural disadvantage and social inequalities contribute to the polarization in family behaviors, even in a context of higher average education. Not only educational access and coverage are to be considered, but also disparities in quality (Rodríguez-Vignoli & Cavenaghi, 2014). The educational expansion did occur, but still social and economic inequalities continue to reproduce disparities, perpetuating divergent behaviors among individuals. Education may not be sufficient for improving one's socioeconomic conditions and change patterns of adulthood transitions (Fussell, 2005).

Research on family survival strategies adopted to cope with vulnerable stages of the life course and economic crises, has shown how extended families function as safety nets during these periods (Fussell, 2005). This practice has been suggested by several authors. In Mexico, the enduring cultural tradition of economic and social support through family networks has historically reinforced the practice of extended coresidence. This practice has arguably contributed to maintaining stable and early patterns of family transitions, particularly among disadvantaged groups. This suggests that the *familism* strategy has been able to provide the necessary support to young adults, leading to minimal changes in the timing of transitions for the younger generations (Fussell & Palloni, 2004). However, as mentioned earlier, there are no empirical studies that focus on extended co-residence during family transitions.

In conducting this research, we focus on three key moments in people's family lives: the first co-residence with a couple, the first child within partnership, and first-time single parenthood. We analyze men and women separately, focusing on young people under 30 years old, as this is when the majority of the population undergoes these transitions and typically still has at least one parent

alive to reside with them. The specific measurement of these transitions is conditioned by the nature of the data as we will explain in the methodological section.

Data and Methods

Our analysis of family transitions and living arrangements draws upon retrospective data from Encuesta Demográfica Retrospectiva 2017 (EDER-2017), a nationally representative survey that provides information on the temporal nature of socio-demographic processes on migration, education, marriage, fertility, mortality, and living arrangements in Mexico. It includes retrospective information on 23.831 individuals aged 20 to 54. For each year from age 0 to the present, details about individuals' living arrangements are provided, allowing the configuration of family typologies over the life course and the tracking of family events (e.g. first union, first child, union dissolution, etc.).

This article examines the *family context* in which specific adulthood transitions occur – namely first cohabitation, first childbearing, and first-time single parenthood – focusing on whether these transitions involve a change from a nuclear to an extended household. By *family context*, we refer to the type of household in which individuals reside, based on the kinship relationship between household members. This requires identifying the moment of the transition, as well as the household structure before (*lag year*) and at the time of the transition. Given the nature of the data, we examine change over time through an age-cohort analysis from individuals' perspective (*Ego*). To ensure an equal probability of experiencing at least one family event, all estimations are computed conditional on the events occurring by age 30. Thus, we observe family transitions experienced between ages 15 to 30 among individuals born between 1962 and 1987 (N = 13,930). We group them in five birth cohorts: 1962-1967, 1968-1972, 1973-1977, 1978-1982, and 1983-1987.

The first step is to identify the moment when the *first cohabitation with a partner* (T1), *first childbearing within partnership* (T2), or *first cohabitation with children as single parent* (T3) begins. The first two events represent a starting point for the formation of a new family, while the third is an event that potentially involves living arrangements re-organization and a period of economic and emotional vulnerability. Figure 1 shows a conceptual map of the three events of interest and the potential statuses of origin, while arrows outline the interdependency between events. All individuals' starting status is "not coresiding with partner nor children" (grey boxes). From here they can potentially transition to each one of the other three statuses. The preferred sequence is starting cohabitation with a partner, followed by having the first child within the union, and eventually becoming a single mother\father. Some trajectories start with having the first child within a union without a previous period of cohabitation with a partner of at least one

year. Transitions to single parenthood can occur both from a previous union (dissolution or out-migration of the partner) or from being single (out-of-wedlock birth). In some instances, almost exclusively among women, coresidence with children as a single parent is the first and only event experienced (from "not coresiding with partner nor children" to "First single parenthood"). There are only a few cases in which individuals, mostly women, transition from cohabitation with a partner to single parenthood, without a period of coresidence with a partner and the child of at least one year, suggesting that separation/divorce or partner's out-migration occurred before the child-birth.

Figure 1. Conceptual map

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Once we identify all key transitions for each individual, the second step is building the household structure. To this end and to create living arrangements typologies, the survey provides a set of time-varying variables for each family member: mother, father, siblings, partner, offspring, parents-in-law, other biological relatives (grandparents, etc.), and political family (partner's kin). No variable exists for non-family members. For analytical purposes, we initially aggregate parents-in-law, other biological relatives, and political family under the label *other relatives*. From here, we create 32 living arrangements categories for each year of life using all possible combinations of household members, as shown in Table 1. These are broadly divided into three family types: unipersonal, when Ego lives alone or with non-family members only; nuclear, when Ego lives with the immediate family (e.g. with own parents, siblings, or with a partner and/or children); extended, for any extension of the immediate family (e.g. with other relatives, intergenerational or stem family). As last step, we exclude individuals who were already living in an extended household the year before the family events occurs, in order to avoid mismeasurement and capture the change in living arrangements associated with the event itself. When we only include transitions that originate from a unipersonal or nuclear household the lagged year, we end up with a sample size of 13,215. An exploratory analysis of the data shows that 61% of transitions within extended living arrangements originate from a nuclear household[1], reaching 90% when considering only transitions to first cohabitation.

Table 1. Classification Living Arrangements

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[1] Authors' calculations based on EDER 2017.

Methods

While most works focus on the sequence and timing of life-course events, our analysis looks at a combination of family events and the living arrangements in which the events take place, leaving timing and order aside. As already mentioned, we examine three life-course events: transition to first cohabitation with a partner (T1), transition to first parenthood within a partnership (T2), and transition to first single parenthood (T3). Based on theoretical notions on family transitions in Mexico and low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) found in previous works (Echarri Cánovas & Pérez Amador, 2007; Giorguli Saucedo, 2016; Juárez & Gayet, 2014; Solís, 2016), our primary interest lies in determining whether these transitions result in a shift from a nuclear/unipersonal household to an extended household, and in measuring how common this practice is among young adults in Mexico. Thus, our outcomes of interest are defined as follows:

- Extended coresidence at first cohabitation with a partner (EC-C)
- Extended coresidence at first parenthood within a partnership (EC-P)
- Extended coresidence at first single parenthood (EC-SP)

The data analysis is conducted in two stages. First, we estimate the proportion of women and men who experience these family events within extended living arrangements, our populations of interest, by type of transition and birth cohort. Second, we profile these populations using individual-level characteristics. For this purpose, we run multivariate logistic regression models to estimate the likelihood of living in extended arrangements based on a set of sociodemographic and socioeconomic predictors. Models are run separately by type of transition (EC-C, EC-P, and EC-SP) and sex.

Our dependent variable is dummy and assumes value 1 whether the transition to cohabitation, parenthood, or single parenthood involves a change to extended living arrangements, and 0 when it occurs in a nuclear household. As explanatory variables, we use urban/rural residence, marital status, union duration (only for EC-C and EC-P) and lagged union status (only for EC-SP), educational attainment, and an indicator of social origin as a proxy to socioeconomic status, while controlling for age at transition, and birth cohort. The same method was used for similar purposes by De Vos (1995).

Marital status classifies the type of union at the time of transition, distinguishing between *Marriage*, *Consensual Union* and *Not in Union*. Following the same criterion, Union duration measures the length of the partnership in number of years (0, 1-2, >2) based on the marital status reported, up to the moment of the transition. We do not include this variable in the model of T1,

since 100% of men and women started the cohabitation within the same year they declare to be in a partnership. This variable is not used in T3 neither, because transitions to single parenthood can originate from a union dissolution or from an out-of-union birth, and in both cases Union duration would be coded as "0". Therefore, we include an additional variable, Lagged union, which reports the union status of ego the year before transition to single parenthood, and assumes values "Not in union" – proxy for out-of-union birth – and "In union" – proxy for union dissolution or partner's out-migration.

At each age, the variable *educational level* informs on the last level of school attended for at least one year and is time-varying. We recoded it into three categories, as suggested by Paez & Zavala (2023): low, middle, and high. Low education includes no schooling, pre-school and primary school; middle education corresponds to high school, post-secondary and vocational education; high education comprises all tertiary studies from bachelor to Ph.D. The level informed is the last one attended at the moment of the transition, and not the highest one achieved over the life course.

As a proxy for socioeconomic status we use the indicator of Social Origin (*IOS - Indicador de Origenes Sociales* in Spanish), which is a multidimensional measure of the social class of ego's family when he/she was 15 years old. It includes an economic dimension of the household, and a combination of ego's parental education and occupational status. IOS is a relative measure by birth cohort and takes the form of a continuous scale. The bigger the value, the higher ego's position in the social stratification within his cohort. EDER also provides a classification of IOS in quartiles, which is the one we include in our analysis.

Table 2 Sample characteristics

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Note: the sample includes all individuals who experienced at least one family transitions before the age of 30 and who were living in a nuclear household the year before the event. The demographic and socioeconomic differences between those who transition to an extended household and those who transition to a nuclear household will be tested with logistic regression models in the section of results.

Table 2 shows the descriptive statistics of the three final samples used in the logistic analysis, one for each type of family transition. Individuals who experience more than one transition, are included in more than one sample. All results are weighted, and all the calculation are made using the Survey Package in R for complex survey designs. In any case, causal relationships cannot be established with our approach, but merely associations consistent with the interpretative framework we suggest in the Background section.

Results

Intensity and timing of transitions to family formation in Mexico

Analysis of the intensity and timing of transitions to cohabitation and childbearing using EDER confirms the patterns described in the literature review. Figure 2 depicts the proportion of women (left) and men (right) who live with a partner (top) and with children (bottom) by age and birth cohort. Regardless of the birth cohort, more than 50% of women live with a partner by the age of 23. For men, this occurs at age 25. At age 30, more than 70% of the population live with a partner. The difference between cohorts may be attributable to a postponement of cohabitation or to an increase in union dissolutions before age 30. In broad terms, these descriptive results confirm well-known dynamics, such as that women start cohabitation before men and that signs of union postponement exist, even though there might be hidden underlying socioeconomic gradients. In the bottom panel, all individuals who coreside with children by age and cohort are counted, irrespective of their marital status. The proportion of women living with offspring is higher than the proportion of men at every age. We find less difference among cohorts, especially within women. By the age of 23, levels of coresidence with children are higher than coresidence with a partner among women, which indirectly point to the existence of union dissolutions and an increase in single motherhood. Indeed, this could explain a part of the difference between cohorts of women in the top panel. The lower incidence of coresidence with a partner among younger cohorts after age 20 is not translated into a lower proportion of coresidence with children, which points to an increase in union dissolutions more than to a postponement of family transitions. By the age of 30, an average of 80% of women and 65% of men have transitioned to childbearing. These estimations are based on coresidence patterns and are not cumulative, thus the percentage of men who are fathers is likely to be higher if we consider that some of them do not live with their children due to separation/divorce or migration. Overall, the figure shows how calendars to cohabitation and childbearing have barely changed among cohorts, despite the changing demographic and socioeconomic context in Mexico.

Figure 2. Calendars to union formation

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Extended coresidence at family transitions

With the scale of the calendars to union formation in mind, Figure 3 shows the proportion of women (left) and men (right) who experienced extended coresidence at first cohabitation (EC-C), extended coresidence at first parenthood within partnership (EC-P), and extended coresidence at first single parenthood (EC-SP) by birth cohort. As a reminder, the denominators are individuals who were living in a unipersonal/nuclear household the year before the transitions (N = 13,215). Findings show that, on average, 42% of women and 32% of men who transition to first cohabitation, do it within an extended household. Among those who cohabit with a partner and have a child, approximately 17% of women and 10% of men experience an EC-P. Lastly, around 42% of women who become single mothers live with their children in an extended family (EC-SP), against a 30% of men. Here, a strong increase among cohorts of women is clear, with the youngest reaching a mean of 53%. Estimation are lower and more erratic among men, being this practice not common and the sample size much smaller. An increase between cohorts is found in all transitions among women (significance of the difference of means is tested in the logistic analysis in the next section). Overall, we observe that union formation and childbearing not uncommonly involve the transition from a unipersonal/nuclear household to an extended one. This suggests that residential independence with a partner and children, when not achievable for any reason, is postponed for a significant proportion of the population, whilst the events themselves maintain early age patterns.

Figure 3 Extended coresidence at family transitions

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Source: XXX

While Figure 3 provides a raw estimation of how common this practice is within the Mexican society, who are the coresident extended household members in terms of relationship with ego has not been explored. Table 3 shows the proportion of extended coresident members, by sex and type of transition. Rows are grouped according to the type of family relationship with ego, and combinations between them. In group 1, ego's parents are the extended members. In group 2, these are ego's parents-in-law, whereas the third includes only ego's other relatives and all extended members together. Details about living arrangements can be found in Table 1.

Important differences between women and men, and by type of transitions exist. The patrilocal system is exemplified when looking at EC-C and EC-P. The proportion of men who live with their parents when starting cohabitation with a partner almost doubles the proportion of women, being 70,5 and 30,7 % respectively. Similar results are found in the EC-P (57% for men and 31,8% for women). Following the concept of patrilocality, in which the female partner moves to the male partner's parental household, the second group of results in the table also confirms this practice. The proportion of women who experience EC-C with parents-in-law doubles men's one,

and more than triplicates when other relatives are present. In this case, other relative are likely to be political family. Similar pattern is found when a child arrives. The story is different with EC-SP. Both women and men move – or stay - with own parents, with 92,8 and 88,8% respectively. Considering that single parenthood is more common among women, union dissolutions or out-migration of the partner when children are present imply a probable return to the parental home for single mothers, creating three-generational households.

Table 3 Extended members

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Demographic and socioeconomic profile of extended co-residence at family transitions

The last part of the analysis proceeds by profiling individual characteristics associated with extended co-residence at first family transitions. To this end, we use multivariate logistic regression models, one for each family transition considered in this study. Models' outcomes shown in Table 4, Table 5, and Table 6 allow us to reconstruct the context in which complex household structures, such as extended households, are produced in correspondence with transitions to cohabitation and childbearing. Our dependent variables are experiencing EC-C, EC-P, or EC-SP, assuming value 1 when individuals transition to cohabitation, childbearing, or solo parenting within extended living arrangements, and value 0 when within nuclear households. All three models control for birth cohort and age, and include predictors such as urban-rural residence, marital status at the moment of transition, educational attainment, and a proxy for socioeconomic status. The second model (Table 5) also includes a variable of union duration until the moment of the transition, given that having a child more likely involves having a previous period of cohabitation with a partner. This variable is not included in the first model (Table 4) since 100% of men and women had a partnership of no more than 1 year at the time of cohabitation. Detailed description of the sample and models' predictors is in the Data and Methods section.

The first model in Table 4 displays the likelihood for men and women to reside in an extended household when transitioning to the first cohabitation with a partner. In both models, some of the variables have a significant association with our outcome of interest, with differences by sex. For women, we find a higher likelihood of EC-C among the two younger cohorts, while no cohort effect is found for men. Age is strongly negatively associated for both. Given that *Age at transition* is a continuous variable, ranging from age 15 to 30, an Odds Ratio of 0.941 represents a relative strong effect. This means that each additional year of age is translated into a ~6% decrease in the likelihood of experiencing EC-C. Therefore, a young woman or man who

transitions to first cohabitation at age 22 is 35%[2] less likely to do that in an extended household compared to a fifteen-year-old (*reference*). For men the effect is even stronger. Urban residence and cohabitation through marriage are associated with a lower likelihood of extended coresidence. Only for men, marriage significantly decreases the likelihood of EC-C. An educational and SES gradient is present. Highly educated women within the top quartile of IOS show a lower likelihood of EC-C. The socioeconomic gradient does not hold for men, while the educational one differs from women. The ORs show a significant higher likelihood of EC-C among middle-educated men compared to low-educated ones, while tertiary education associates with a lower likelihood. Therefore, the demographic and socioeconomic profile associated with this practice is defined: young men and women from low socioeconomic backgrounds, with an early entry into union and cohabitation. For women, the practice also highlights a cohort effect, and for men the importance of middle education.

Table 5 shows the outcome of transitions to the first child within a partnership. While significant age effect for women remains, the cohort effect disappears. Age at transition still represents an important predictor of extended co-residence upon family transitions also for men. The urban-rural residence has almost no effect, whereas union duration until transition and marital status are amongst the strongest predictors. When childbearing is preceded by a partnership longer than two years, the odds ratios of having a child within an extended household drops dramatically, for both men and women. Similar effects are found when the couple is married. This suggests that longer and formalized unions have a higher capacity of having the first child in an independent residence as a nuclear household. While educational attainment and social origin has barely no effect on the likelihood of EC-P for women, it has for men, with higher odds ratios at higher levels of education. However, these predictors are not significant. Extended co-residence at transition to first child seems to be more strongly related to characteristics of the couple rather than to individual and socioeconomic features. Therefore, the couple profile associated with this practice can be defined as: recently formed young couples (around 1-2 years long) in a consensual union (*unión libre*). Less differences by gender exist. Cohort, education, and social origin are not important predictors for women anymore.

Table 6 estimates the likelihood of experiencing extended co-residence at first single parenthood (EC-SP). We run this model only for women because men's sample size was too small for the model to produce good estimations. Few remarks about this transition are necessary, before interpreting results. Single parenthood, whether experienced in extended living arrangements or not, can be the result of diverse mechanisms. For instance, women, amongst whom this transition is far more common, can become single mothers from a union dissolution, after the out-migration

[2] 35% = 1- (0.941^7)

of the partner, or result from an out-of-union pregnancy. We are aware these mechanisms are not comparable and imply diverse preconditions and consequences. Experience an out-of-wedlock birth or having a child while cohabiting with a partner and then separate describe two completely different transitions to single parenthood, with different implications for the mother and the child. For this reason, we include two predictors that can help account for these different paths to single motherhood (separation, out-migration, out-of-union birth). The first one is Lagged union status, which inform on whether the woman was in union the year before becoming single mother. A union status of "Not in union" most likely indicates a case of out-of-union birth, otherwise a separation or out-migration. The second one is Marital Status, which in this model compares women in any type of union to those who are not in union at the moment of the event. The first case may suggest the migration of the partner, while the second a separation or out-of-union birth.

Regarding the outcome of Table 6, a cohort effect exists, with the youngest two birth cohorts almost doubling the likelihood of EC-SP. Age seems to have no effect on this practice, while urban residence, for the first time, is associated with a lower likelihood of EC-SP. Lagged union status is amongst the strongest predictors. Transitioning to single motherhood from a prior union almost annuls the likelihood of experiencing the event in an extended family. This result is also confirmed from the variable Marital status, that shows how being in any type of union decreases the odds ratios for EC-SP. Finally, another strong predictor is social origin. Women from the third and fourth quartiles display more than double the likelihood of EC-SP than those from the bottom quartile. With this last result, we find that the profile associated with this practice is less clear than the previous two transitions. Findings describe a situation in which a young woman, probably from a recent cohort, who's living with her parents and not in a legalized union, gets pregnant, and has the baby within the parental household for care and support. A three generational household emerges. The socioeconomic gradient would need to be explored further.

Conclusions and discussion

In this study we attempted to shed light on the association between family transitions and extended living arrangements among young adults in Mexico. We focused on women and men aged 15 to 30, a life span where most individuals experience at least one family formation event. Specifically, we examine events such as transition to first cohabitation (T1), to first child (T2) and to single parenthood (T3). Often but not necessarily, these transitions go hand-in-hand with residential emancipation from the parental household. The cases in which this does not occur, and extended household structure emerge, represented the main interest of our work. In Mexico, where starting cohabitation with a partner or having a child within the parental household is not an uncommon practice, asking who do young adults live with when forming a family significantly contributes

to the literature on transitions to adulthood and family formation. We proposed a methodology to answer this question, that combines the use of longitudinal data and cross-sectional photographs of individuals' living arrangements upon specific family events. To capture the practice, we selected only those who were living in a nuclear household before the event.

Our findings corroborate what suggested by Mexican scholars. 42% of women and 32% of men move to an extended household when they start cohabiting with a partner (EC-C). The analysis of coresiding extended household members highlight patrilocal tendencies: young women more likely move to the partner's parental home, while young men stay with their parents, bringing the female partner to live with them. Upon the arrival of a child, a lower proportion of young Mexicans move to an extended household (EC-P). Here, couple stability emerges as a key predictor. The modality in which it is experienced, strongly depends on whether the couple start cohabiting and transition to parenthood within the same year, or whether cohabitation had started longer before. A couple who is already cohabiting in an independent nuclear household, less likely move with extended family upon childbearing. Again, patrilocality is confirmed by the analysis of coresiding extended members. As for transition to single parenthood, we find a substantial proportion of single mothers (42%) and fathers (30%), who live with their child(ren) together with extended family members (EC-SP). This is especially the case for young mothers. Here, coresidence with own parents is way more common than with any other extended member.

Overall, an important predictor of EC-C and EC-P is age. The earlier the age at which the event occurs, the higher the likelihood that the event involves moving to an extended household. The incidence level of this practice among the population, especially for younger cohorts, underscores the role of family network in shaping and reproducing early pattern to family formation in Mexico. Proxies for couple stability, such as union duration and type of union, reveal that more consolidated partnerships are less likely to move to an extended household, in particular for transitions to parenthood. A socioeconomic gradient exists for the first cohabitation, even though exclusively for women, with the top quartile displaying a lower tendency for experiencing extended coresidence. The economic capacity of emancipating and creating a new household plays a primary role. However, for single motherhood, we find an opposite effect for social origin, with the highest quartiles associated with a higher propensity for EC-SP. For a reason we already mention before, we suggest this finding to be taken cautiously. The exclusion of individuals who were living in an extended household before the event from our sample design, could potentially omit a vulnerable segment of the population. However, this selection is necessary in order to capture the raw link between these family events and the decision to move with extended family members. These last findings need to be explored further in future works, exploring full life trajectories up to the moment of single parenthood.

In conclusion, our study contributes to multiple research areas. As mentioned, our analysis confirms notions and adds insights on the literature on transitions to adulthood in Mexico, exploiting recent survey data and its longitudinal component. According to the nature of our research goals, we propose a methodology that makes use of the retrospective dimension of the data with cross-sectional snapshots of key family events and an in-depth analysis of living arrangements. Our findings also reaffirm well-known dynamics of family formation in Mexico, such as trends in early patterns to unions and childbearing, and contributes to this body of literature by providing a complementary explanation to these trends based not only on the events themselves, but also on the family context in which the events take place. Extended family networks facilitate these transitions, while other components of the emancipation process such as residential independence are not essential. Moreover, this point constitutes an ingredient that offers insights on the topic of extended living arrangements and complex household structure in Latin America and the Caribbean, which are important features of this region's family systems. Lastly, this work exposes how the forces of Familism legitimate, influence and shape life-course behaviors, bridging the gap of unfulfilled necessities by the welfare system.

Our analysis has some limitation, that help set research gaps for future research. While our focus on individual events as independent observations is part of our methodology design, we acknowledge the need for a longitudinal perspective that considers full life trajectories leading up to these events. Another point that needs to be addressed in future works is the temporal nature of extended living arrangements upon family transitions. We only provide snapshots of the moment, but we do not answer to the question on whether this type of arrangements is temporary, and functions as a bridge between family transitions and residential independence, or whether they are long-lasting arrangements that endure over time. This is a line that can be answered with retrospective data as EDER. Finally, while our findings are primarily descriptive, they underscore the need for further empirical investigation into the association between family transitions and extended living arrangements, given the relative scarcity of research on this topic.

Table 1. Classification of living arrangements.

Household Type	Living Arrangements	
I. Unipersonal	1	Ego lives alone
II. Nuclear	2	Ego lives with partner
	3	Ego lives with child(ren)
	4	Ego lives with parent/s
	5	Ego lives with siblings
	6	Ego lives with parent/s and siblings
	7	Ego lives with partner and child(ren)
III. Extended	8	Ego lives with other relatives
	9	Ego lives with partner and parents
	10	Ego lives with partner and siblings
	11	Ego lives with partner and other relatives
	12	Ego lives with child(ren) and parents
	13	Ego lives with child(ren) and siblings
	14	Ego lives with child(ren) and other relatives
	15	Ego lives with parents and other relatives
	16	Ego lives with siblings and other relatives
	17	Ego lives with child(ren), partner, and parents
	18	Ego lives with child(ren), partner, and siblings
	19	Ego lives with child(ren), partner, and other relatives
	20	Ego lives with partner, parents, and siblings
	21	Ego lives with partner, parents, and other relatives
	22	Ego lives with partner, siblings, and other relatives
	23	Ego lives with child(ren), parents, and siblings
	24	Ego lives with child(ren), parents, and other relatives
	25	Ego lives with child(ren), siblings, and other relatives
	26	Ego lives with parents, siblings, and other relatives
	27	Ego lives with child(ren), partner, parents, and siblings
	28	Ego lives with child(ren), partner, parents, and other relatives
	29	Ego lives with child(ren), partner, siblings, and other relatives
	30	Ego lives with partner, parents, siblings, and other relatives
	31	Ego lives with child(ren), parents, siblings, and other relatives
	32	Ego lives with child(ren), partner, parents, siblings, and other relatives

Figure 1. Family Transitions and statuses of origin.

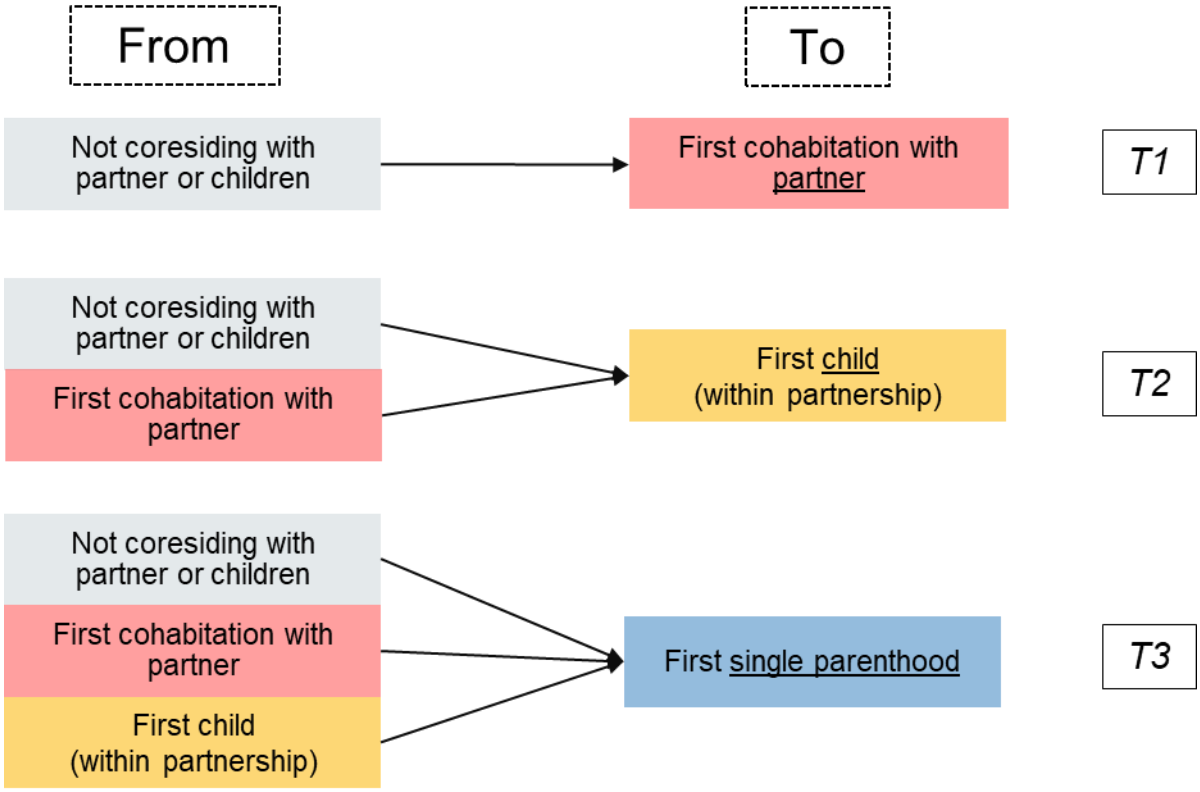

Table 2. Sample characteristics

	Women			Men		
	EC-C	EC-P	EC-SP	EC-C	EC-P	EC-SP
N	5073	4358	1916	4363	3459	586
% Cohort						
1962-1967	17,9	18,2	15,8	19,2	18,5	17,5
1968-1972	20,0	20,2	15,9	19,1	19,7	15
1973-1977	21,9	20,8	20,7	22,5	21	24,5
1978-1982	21,3	20,6	23,4	19,4	19,1	23,8
1983-1987	19,0	20,1	24,2	19,7	21,6	19,3
Mean age at Transition	20,7	21,7	23,1	22,4	23,6	24,1
% Urban Residence	77,8	79,9	80,5	76,2	75,7	76,8
% Marital Status						
Not in union	0	0	83,7	0	0	71,4
Consensual union	34,7	31,6	5,6	38,3	31,4	9,9
Marriage	65,3	68,4	10,7	61,7	68,6	18,8
% Union Duration[1]						
0	0	0	n.a.	0	0	n.a.
1-2	100	67,9	n.a.	99,9	61,3	n.a.
>2	0	32,1	n.a.	0,1	38,7	n.a.
% In union (*lagged year*)[2]						
Not in union	n.a.	n.a.	50,0	n.a.	n.a.	52,0
In union	n.a.	n.a.	50,0	n.a.	n.a.	48,0
% Educational Att.						
Low	32,8	30,7	33,7	28,7	29,5	29,2
Middle	51,7	54,6	52,6	53,8	54,2	50
High	15,5	14,7	13,7	17,4	16,3	20,8
% Social Origin - IOS						
Quartile 1 (bottom)	26,4	23,9	26,4	27,1	27,5	26,4
Quartile 2	25,7	26,6	24,9	25,4	25,3	19,5
Quartile 3	24,7	25,2	26,9	23,3	25,7	25,2
Quartile 4 (top)	23,1	24,3	21,8	24,2	21,5	29

[1] Union Duration counts the number of years in union, included the year of the event. This measure does not apply to the transition to single parenthood (EC-SP), because it would be misleading in cases of prior union and dissolution (individuals would be categorized as 0 even if they were in union over the last year).

[2] To account for trajectories to single parenthood resulting from a union dissolution and replace Union Duration for this particular event, we include the lagged variable In Union, which describes the union status during the year before single

TABLE 3 Proportion of extended household members by sex and type of transit. Weighted estimations.

	Women			Men		
	EC-C	EC-P	EC-SP	EC-C	EC-P	EC-SP
Parents	11,3	13,7	29,4	25,7	20,5	28,8
Parents + Parents-in-law	1,0	0,2	0,1	0,4	1,3	58,1
Parents + Other Relatives	18,3	18,0	63,3	44,4	35,2	1,9
Parents-in-law	27,7	30,5	1,5	13,2	22,2	1,9
Parents-in-law + Other Relatives	33,5	27,8	1,0	9,3	11,7	8,8
Other Relatives	5,8	8,7	4,1	5,6	6,8	0,6
Parents + Parents-in-law + Other Relatives	2,4	1,2	0,7	1,5	2,3	0,0

Figure 2

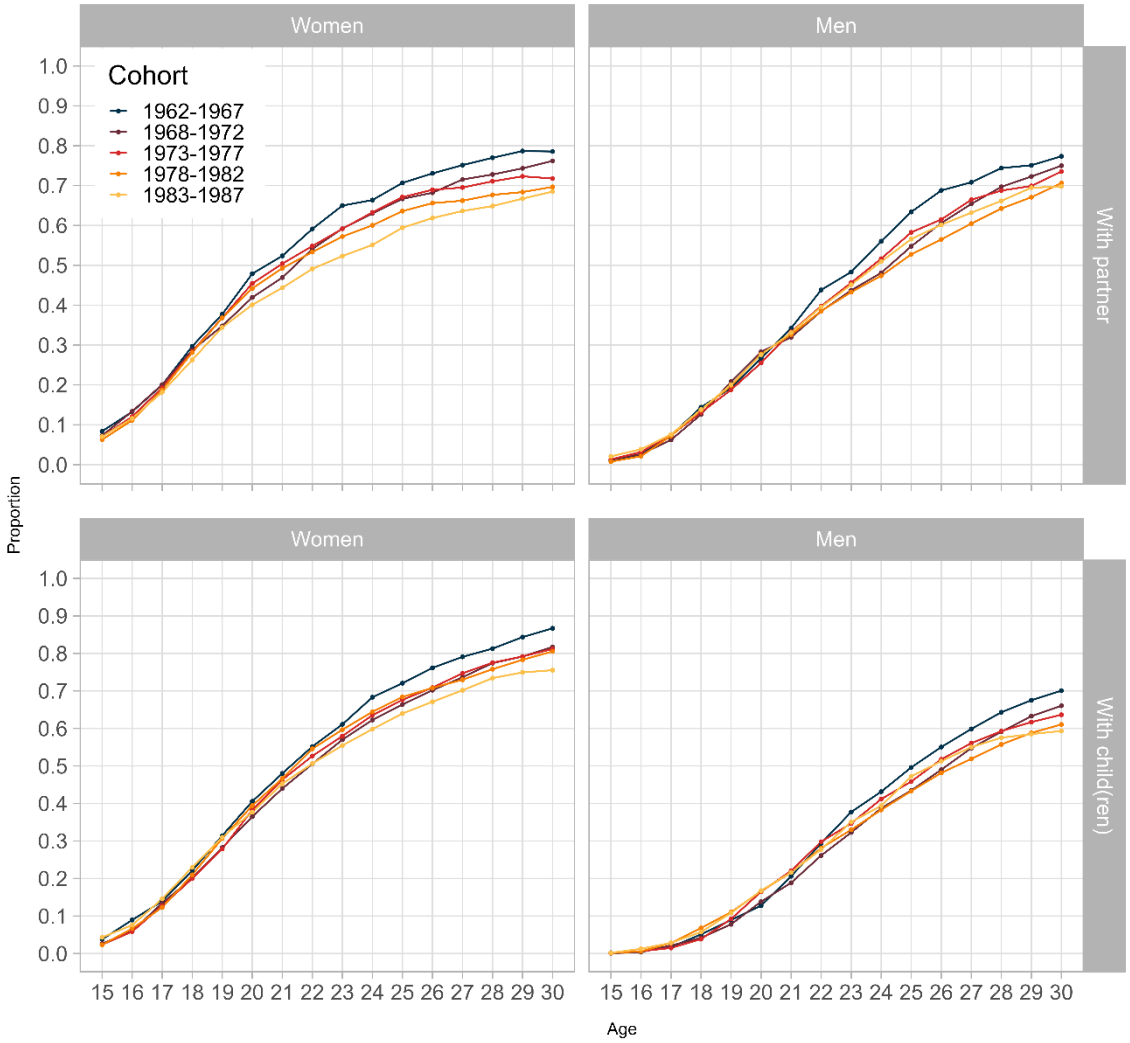
Women
Men
With partner
With child(ren)
Cohort
1962-1967
1968-1972
1973-1977
1978-1982
1983-1987
Proportion
Age
0.0
0.1
0.2
0.3
0.4
0.5
0.6
0.7
0.8
0.9
1.0
15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

Figure 3. Extended coresidence at family transitions

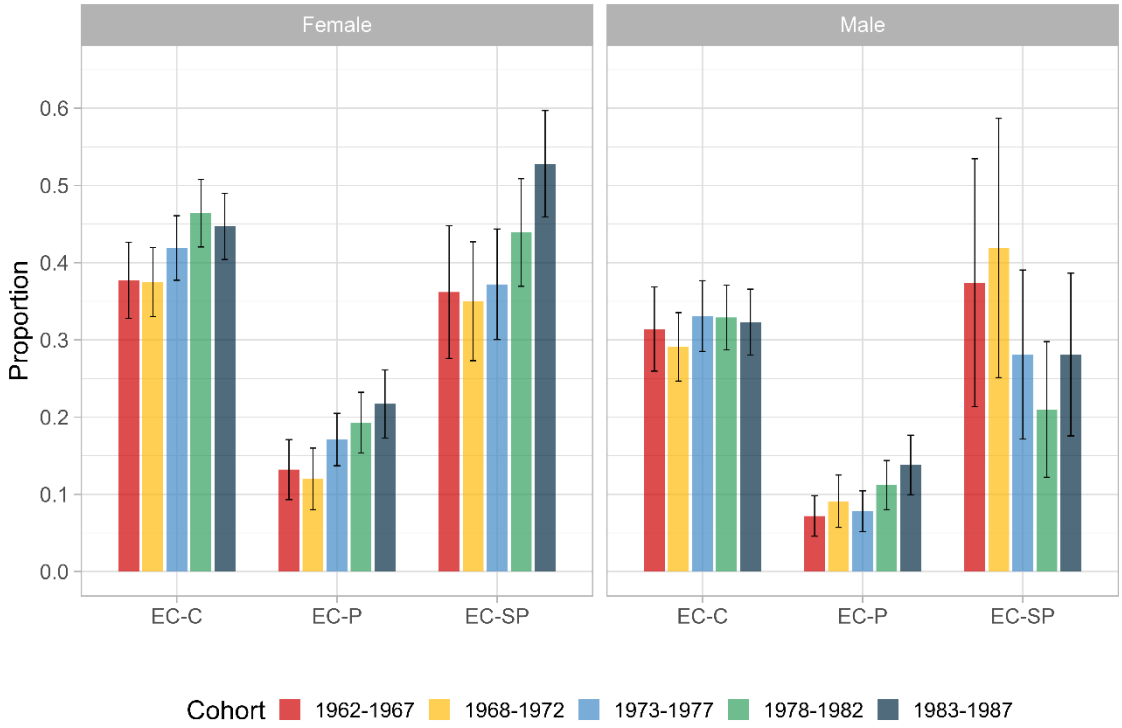

Table 3 UNION

	Women				*Men*			
	Demographic, Socioeconomic				Demographic, Socioeconomic			
	OR	**CIs**		**p-value**	**OR**	**CIs**		**p-value**
(Intercept)	3,368	1,971	5,757	***	3,673	1,889	7,144	***
Birth cohort								
1962-1967 *(ref.)*								
1968-1972	0,991	0,750	1,310		0,879	0,626	1,234	
1973-1977	1,116	0,851	1,464		1,044	0,748	1,456	
1978-1982	1,387	1,048	1,835	*	0,989	0,711	1,375	
1983-1987	1,328	0,999	1,765	*	0,914	0,659	1,267	
Age at transition (*cont.*)	0,941	0,918	0,965	***	0,919	0,894	0,944	***
Residence								
Rural *(ref.)*								
Urban	0,878	0,709	1,087		0,967	0,761	1,230	
Marital Status								
Consensual Union *(ref.)*								
Marriage	0,853	0,719	1,012		0,715	0,587	0,871	***
Educational Attainment								
Low *(ref.)*								
Middle	0,992	0,806	1,221		1,293	1,017	1,644	*
High	0,662	0,469	0,933	*	0,768	0,506	1,167	
Social Origin - IOS								
Quartile 1 (*ref.*)								
Quartile 2	0,967	0,781	1,196		1,052	0,813	1,360	
Quartile 3	0,884	0,689	1,134		0,884	0,672	1,164	
Quartile 4	0,518	0,384	0,699	***	1,000	0,723	1,385	
N (unique individuals)	5008				4308			

Note: p-value <0,001 ***; <0.01 **; <0.05*.

Table 4 CHILD UNION

	Women				*Men*			
	Demograhic, Socioeconomic				Demograhic, Socioeconomic			
	OR	**CIs**		**p-value**	**OR**	**CIs**		**p-value**
(Intercept)	1,082	0,423	2,767		1,176	0,318	4,342	*
Birth cohort								
1962-1967 *(ref.)*								
1968-1972	0,912	0,533	1,561		1,265	0,712	2,248	
1973-1977	1,309	0,832	2,062		0,906	0,507	1,618	
1978-1982	1,407	0,895	2,212		1,262	0,735	2,167	
1983-1987	1,451	0,901	2,337		1,466	0,868	2,476	
Age at transition (*cont.*)	0,936	0,895	0,978	***	0,907	0,856	0,961	***
Residence								
Rural *(ref.)*								
Urban	1,168	0,769	1,773		1,039	0,689	1,567	
Marital Status								
Consensual Union (*ref* .)								
Marriage	0,562	0,423	0,748	***	0,715	0,505	1,012	*
Union Duration (*in years*)								
1 - 2 *(ref.)*								
>2	0,080	0,052	0,125	***	0,091	0,053	0,155	***
Educational Attainment								
Low *(ref.)*								
Middle	1,162	0,822	1,643		1,280	0,863	1,899	
High	0,943	0,537	1,658		1,676	0,870	3,231	
Social Origin - IOS								
Quartile 1 (*ref.*)								
Quartile 2	1,329	0,852	2,072		1,119	0,719	1,741	
Quartile 3	1,005	0,640	1,580		1,431	0,896	2,286	
Quartile 4	1,018	0,615	1,687		0,938	0,561	1,569	
N (individuals)	4297				3399			

Note: p-value <0,001 ***; <0.01 **; <0.05*

Table 5 CHILD

	Women			
	Demograhic, Socioeconomic			
	OR	**CIs**		**p-value**
(Intercept)	1,260	0,352	4,511	
Birth cohort				
1962-1967 *(ref.)*				
1968-1972	0,929	0,484	1,783	
1973-1977	0,798	0,444	1,435	
1978-1982	1,741	1,000	3,032	*
1983-1987	2,134	1,160	3,926	*
Age at transition (*cont.*)	1,023	0,974	1,074	
Residence				
Rural *(ref.)*				
Urban	0,454	0,274	0,751	***
Union (*lagged year*)				
Not in union *(ref.)*				
In union	0,053	0,036	0,079	***
Marital Status				
Not in union (*ref* .)				
In union (*all types*)	0,593	0,318	1,108	
Educational Attainment				
Low *(ref.)*				
Middle	1,201	0,760	1,899	
High	1,193	0,653	2,180	
Social Origin - IOS				
Quartile 1 (*ref.*)				
Quartile 2	1,350	0,790	2,307	
Quartile 3	2,827	1,718	4,651	***
Quartile 4	2,581	1,395	4,774	***
N (individuals)	1880			

Note: p-value <0,001 ***; <0.01 **; <0.05*

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