

International migration and transitions to adulthood in Mexico

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Abstract

This research studies the process of transition to adulthood of young Mexicans with migratory experience in the United State and the effect that this displacement had on five transitional events using event history models of continuous time - history history analysis-, using for its elaboration as primary source of information the National Survey of the Youth of the year 2010. The interrelationship between the different transitional events is also analyzed, comparing the study group with the young without international migration experience in different contexts. The results show that migration experience has an effect on the timing and intensity of the various transitions into adulthood. Migration adds complexity and alter the course of life of young Mexican, limiting the well-being and sustainable development of their future life project.

Key words: Youth, migration, international, transitions, adulthood.

Resumen

Migración internacional y transiciones a la adultez en México

En esta investigación se estudia el proceso de transición a la edad adulta de los jóvenes mexicanos con experiencia migratoria en Estados Unidos y el efecto que tuvo este desplazamiento en cinco eventos transicionales empleando modelos de historia de evento de tiempo continuo —*event history analysis*—, utilizando para su elaboración como fuente de información primaria la Encuesta Nacional de la Juventud del año 2010. También se analizan la interrelación entre los diferentes eventos transicionales comparando al grupo de estudio con los jóvenes sin experiencia migratoria internacional en diferentes contextos. Los resultados ponen de manifiesto que la experiencia migratoria tiene un efecto en el calendario y la intensidad de las diversas transiciones hacia la adultez. La migración agrega complejidad y altera el curso de vida de los jóvenes mexicano, limitando el bienestar y desarrollo sustentable de su proyecto futuro de vida.

Palabras clave: Jóvenes, migración, internacionales, transiciones, adultez.

INTRODUCTION

The migration experience to the United States among young Mexicans is a significant event in their lives that facilitates their transition to adult economic roles. The relationship between migration and youth is not limited to the fact that both events take place in the same age group, nor in the structural and cultural situations that drive migration in the youth, but to the effects that the migratory experience has in the course of life.

Migration is an important economic strategy that young men and women employ to achieve specific goals such as access to well-paid employment, pursuit of economic autonomy, accumulation of purchasing power, and the formation of a family, among others. However, the social and economic differences provide specific nuances to the transition experience of young migrants, so their examination is of fundamental importance.

The migratory experience could generate contradictory effects in the course of life, becoming a catalyst to advance or delay some events. So what is the effect of the migratory experience on the first sexual relationship, the first marriage, finishing school, entry into the labor market and the birth of the first child?

To that end, the migratory experience was placed in the United States in relation to other transitions of young people whose effects can be multiple and interrelated because several transitional events can occur simultaneously, being difficult to separate the effect of migration within a single event without collectively considering other transitional events.

The objective of this paper is to analyze the transition process of young people with the migratory experience of going to the United States during the period of adulthood in Mexico, as well as to test if the particular migratory experience has an effect on the behavior of the transitional events characteristic of the passage to adulthood or whether their influence may vary according to other individual socioeconomic characteristics. In order to conduct this investigation, microdata from the National Survey of Youth from 2010 were used (ENJ2010).

The calendar and intensity of events such as first sexual intercourse, first marriage or partnership, first maternity or paternity, leaving school and entry into the workforce are compared with youth who have migratory experience to the United States as well as non-migrants. Likewise, the interrelationship between transitional events with generational, sexual and

social strata inequalities of this cohort that can accelerate or delay their occurrence is analyzed, assigning specific nuances to that transition.

Research is divided schematically into four sections. The first addresses the interconnection between migration and markers of the transition to adulthood; the second is about the methodology used for this investigation done in a way so that the characteristics of the National Survey of Youth and the statistical method are presented as an event history analysis; the third part addresses the descriptive results of the analysis and then the statistical models to determine the effect of migration on the five transitional family and reproductive events examined in this paper; in the fourth, by way of conclusion, a reflection of the main findings is made and finally the bibliography that was used is presented.

THE INTERCONNECTION BETWEEN MIGRATION AND MARKERS OF TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD

The development of modern society led to the emergence of the social status of youth, as a historical actor and as a cultural symbol, what Hobsbawm (2001) defines as the “juvenilization” of Western society. In this sense, Beck (1998) points out that “(...) the welfare state that was implemented at the end of World War II triggered a new process of individualization that would boost what is defined as a process of de-traditionalization of the lifestyles of industrial society”.

The new reality that Beck pointed out is characterized by the changing of a more de institutionalized, individualized and reversible biography (Macmillan, 2005) which therefore has become less conventional, modeled and predictable (Konietzka and Huinink, 2003). On the other hand, it is where young people are forced to make decisions and opt to choose, depending on inherited or accumulated capital (Bourdieu, 1997).

These are new forms of biographical construction and projection of the future of the present generations, typical of a time that demands an active role from young people that is adjusted in their determination to survive in the conditions of life that they have come to live, characterized by a socio-economic and labor situation where uncertainty, flexibility and adaptation are a constant rather than the certainties and security that gave them the model of emancipation from their parents and transition to adult life of industrialized societies (Montiel, 2009).

Youth migration is strongly embedded in this process of change and social transformation, as more and more young people migrate in search

of employment, education or lifestyle and consumer opportunities, facing the challenges of international mobility during the transition to adulthood.

The perspective of the path in life combined with age criterion is a useful tool to examine the effect of migration on the timing and intensity of reproductive and family transitional events of young people, and is key in the performance of their adult roles which also shape demographic changes in society.

The transition to adulthood and migration

The patterns of spatial mobility of individuals have also become more complex over time, thus migration is seen as an event that allows for continuity in the expected trajectory, migrating to continue with studies, to assume roles of adult life, insertion in the labor market or to form a family (Ariza, 2005).

The study of the interconnection between migration and the transition to adulthood is difficult and has been little explored in the international literature and in Mexico. This is due to methodological problems, including lack of adequate or sufficient data, dependence on cross-sectional surveys (Mussino and Strozza, 2012), the difficulties associated with the implementation of population measures for a mobile population (Parrado, 2011) and lack of a conceptual framework defining the basic concepts (Wilson and Sigle-Rushton, 2014), among others.

However, there are a number of studies on the effect of migration on some of the transition events, for example in:

- First sexual experience (Mberu and White, 2011; Anglewicz, Van Lingham and Pahuengsmran, 2014).
- The first marriage or union with a partner (Parrado, 1998 and 2011; Jampiklay, 2006; Chattopadhyay, 1999; Kendel and Massey, 2002; Fan and Huang, 1998; Lindstrom and Giorguli, 2007 and Pérez Amador, 2008).
- The birth of the first child (Parrado, 2011; Wilson and Sigle-Rushton, 2014).

While the effect of migration on the set of the five transitional events referred to above has been little examined even though some authors have pointed out that these events are not necessarily independent, in other words, that one event may influence the development of the others, this is why this investigation decided to examine the migration experience in conjunction with other youth transitions where there may be multiple effects

which may be interrelated because several transitional events can occur simultaneously.

Macro conditions are also manifested in the migration of young people such as inequality in generational cohorts, sex and social strata which act at the micro-social level both individually and as a family, and that may accelerate or delay the occurrence of transitional events (Hogan and Astone, 1986; Mora and Oliveira, 2008).

The research literature on migration has sufficiently tested the selectivity of migrants, leading us to hypothesize that young migrants are a special group of people whose transition from youth to adult life is different compared to non-migrant youth in the occurrence or absence of events that from a life-course perspective are part of the transition to adulthood.

In the literature on Mexico, it has been empirically verified that there are a number of social and economic inequalities that have a temporal effect¹ on the occurrence of the events that form the process of transition to adult life (Echarri and Pérez, 2004, Mier and Terán, 2004; Coubes and Zenteno, 2005; Araiza, 2005, Gandini and Castro, 2006; Oliveira, 2006; Mora and Oliveira, 2008; Avila and Jauregui, 2014).

The migratory experience is considered a disruptive factor in the process of transition to adulthood in young Mexicans. Migration is understood not only as an administrative boundary crossing but also as a process that involves a series of social and cultural contacts which permeate all areas of life. The migrant is constantly confronting their values and traditions with those of the culture of the destination country, forcing them to make concessions which lead to identity confusion that can affect their behavior, attitudes and decisions about sexual initiation, residence emancipation, and the adoption of conjugal or parental roles in complex ways. In this regard Ariza (2005: 177) considers “migration as an event in the course of life ... that gives meaning to the individual life story.”

METHODOLOGY

The investigation was performed using microdata from the ENJ2010, including a battery of retrospective questions about sexual activity, marriage, fertility, first jobs and leaving school, from which you can determine the age at the time of sexual initiation, the first marriage or union as a couple, the birth of the first child, completion of formal education, entry into the labor market and migration experience. One limitation of the survey is

¹ This refers to the speed or velocity of movement.

that it captures cross-sectional information on the current status of young people; therefore, data are limited as to the timing of events.

The group of young people between 15 and 29 years of age was divided into two subgroups. The first group is called migrants and refers to those who have migratory experience in the United States. The second group is composed of young people with no migratory experience. Both subgroups are identifiable in the ENJ2010. To define the young migrants, young people who in the last five years, between 2005 and 2010, who would have made at least one migration to the United States, were selected.

In addition, as it is assumed that the social and economic structure is determinant in the transitions of young migrants, two generational cohorts, 1981-1986 and 1987-1998², were analyzed. Their sex (as an approximation of gender), type of residence (urban and non-urban locality)³, region where the young person resided at the time of the survey (traditional migration region and the rest of the country)⁴ and the socioeconomic stratum of origin (very low-low and medium-high) were analyzed.

The socioeconomic variable was constructed by grouping three indices: the first on the quality of housing, the second related to the type of economic activity and the third on the education of household members⁵. It refers to the time of the survey, since due to the characteristics of the instrument there is no information from the moment it occurred.

After eliminating cases for which no valid information was available, the sample of the young migrants was made up of 441 individuals, of which 128 were women and 313 men. In Table 1, the number cases of young migrants who have experienced each transition according to the five variables

² The young people who make up the first cohort are those born between 1987 and 1998 and were between 18 and 23 years old at the time of the survey. Those of the second cohort were born between 1981 and 1986 and were between 24 and 29 years of age.

³ Urban localities were those with more than 15,000 inhabitants, while non-urban ones were defined as those with less than 15,000 people.

⁴ CONAPO has established a regionalization of places of origin, where it articulates geographic and migratory criteria and subdivides the Mexican territory into four regions: Traditional, North, Center and South-southeast.

⁵ The variable was developed by Dr. Carlos Echarri based on three indices:

a) Quality of housing, taken from the variables of home size, materials of the floors, exclusive kitchen for cooking, piped water, presence of a toilet inside the house, drainage, electric light and overcrowding (2.5 people per bedroom) .

b) Relative average schooling of all household members, which was elaborated from an indicator composed by the accumulated schooling according to sex and age and by the relative schooling by age and sex.

c) The best remunerated occupation of the household members, for which the highest paid activity per household was selected, then the economic activities were grouped into 12 categories: student, unpaid worker, job seeker, household chores, disabled, non-working, day laborer or peon, pieceworker, self-employed, retired or pensioned, employee or worker and employer or business owner.

used in this research is shown: Sex, birth cohort, type of dwelling, social class and region where they reside.

Table 1. Number of cases of young migrants who have experienced the occurrence of life-course events in transit to adulthood according to the dimensions of analysis, 2010

Categories /Event	Leaving school	Sexual initiation	First marriage	First live-born child	First job	Total
<i>Sex</i>						
Women	105	100	81	65	105	128
Mens	258	277	154	109	300	313
<i>Cohort</i>						
1995-1998	125	128	65	41	152	175
1981-1986	238	249	170	133	253	266
<i>Type of locality</i>						
Urban	199	216	127	90	235	248
No Urban	164	161	108	84	170	193
<i>Socioeconomic</i>						
Very Low-Low	307	189	133	101	201	223
Medium-High	172	188	102	73	206	218
<i>Region</i>						
Traditional	133	137	91	72	138	154
Rest	230	240	144	102	267	287

Source: Own calculations based on data from the ENJ2010.

Analysis of the information

First, a descriptive analysis of the five events took place. Second, event history analysis models, a statistical technique that allows for the use of fixed and variable variables in time and which does not require proportionality assumptions, were used (Allison, 1982).

The unit of analysis was year / person, since the answers to the duration of events is in years. This approach ensures the appropriate estimates of standard errors and significance tests (Petersen, 1991).

In particular, life tables were produced to compare the intensity and timing of transitional events by youth according to their migration status. Log-Rank and Wilcoxon (Breslow) tests were also used to determine if there was a significant difference ($p < 0.05$) between the survival curves (Hosmer, Lemeshow and May, 1999).

The variables which were considered when analyzing the transition process of young people with migratory experience to adulthood in the United States were defined by five events: sexual initiation, beginning of reproductive life, formation of couples, leaving from the educational system, and entry into job market which are reported in the literature (Hogan and Astone, 1986). The ENJ2010 provided information about the age at which each person experienced these transitions.

RESULTS

Most young people with immigration experience in the United States have already made three transitions: entering into the job market, having their first sexual intercourse, and completing their schooling. Thus, eight out of ten had experienced their first sexual intercourse and had completed their formal education, and nine out of ten had entered the labor market (see Table 2) as had been pointed out by Echarri and Pérez Amador (2004).

Marriage with a partner is the third prevalent transition, with slightly more than half of the young migrants having already experienced marriage at the time of the survey. The birth of their first child was the least experienced transition, and only about one third of the young migrants had this experience.

Patterns of transition to adulthood differ according to their migratory status. The proportion of young immigrants who had experienced their first sexual intercourse at the time of the survey is 24 percentage points higher than non – migrants. Obtaining their first job, completion of formal education and first marriage is around 20 percentage points compared with non - migrants.

Regarding the first paternity or maternity experience, the difference between migrants and non-migrants is only 11 percentage points. Such differences indicate that young migrants experience a higher proportion of all transitions into adulthood with respect to their non-migrant peers, showing that migration is a key component in the transition to adult life and has an important effect in family life.

Table of transition events throughout life

The analysis of life tables by estimating the cumulative proportions of the occurrence of each event approximates the temporality of sexual initiation, marriage, the birth of the first child, leaving school and entering the workforce of young people with migratory experience to the United States. It allows us to make an analysis compared to the transitions of non-migrant

youth (Figure 1). Ages correspond to the values of 25%, 50% and 75% of the distribution by age for the occurrence of events.

Table 2: Percentage of migrant and non-migrant youth who have experienced the occurrence of life expectancy events in the transition to adulthood, 2010

Transitional Event	No migrants	Migrants	Total
<i>Sexual initiation</i>			
Yes	61.3	85.5	61.8
No	38.7	14.5	38.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>First live-born child</i>			
Yes	28.0	39.5	28.3
No	72.0	60.5	71.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>First marriage</i>			
Yes	33.2	53.3	33.5
No	66.8	46.7	66.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Leaving school</i>			
Yes	60.0	82.5	60.5
No	40.0	17.5	39.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>First job</i>			
Yes	70.9	91.8	71.3
No	29.1	8.2	28.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Own calculations based on data from the ENJ2010.

Of the total number of young migrants, one-quarter (25%) had dropped out of school at the age of 15, half (50%) at age 17 and three-quarters (75%) left school at 19 years of age. Compared with young non – migrants, there were no significant differences according to the Log-Rank and Wilcoxon tests, so the hypothesis of equality of survival curves is accepted and there is no effect of tempo in the age at which youth dropped out of school between migrants and non-migrants. This may be related to the fact that school is no longer a factor of social mobility and a means of accessing better work opportunities coupled with the disinterest of young people in

school, which accelerates early dropout rates (Giorguli and cough Serra, 2009) whether they are migrants or not.

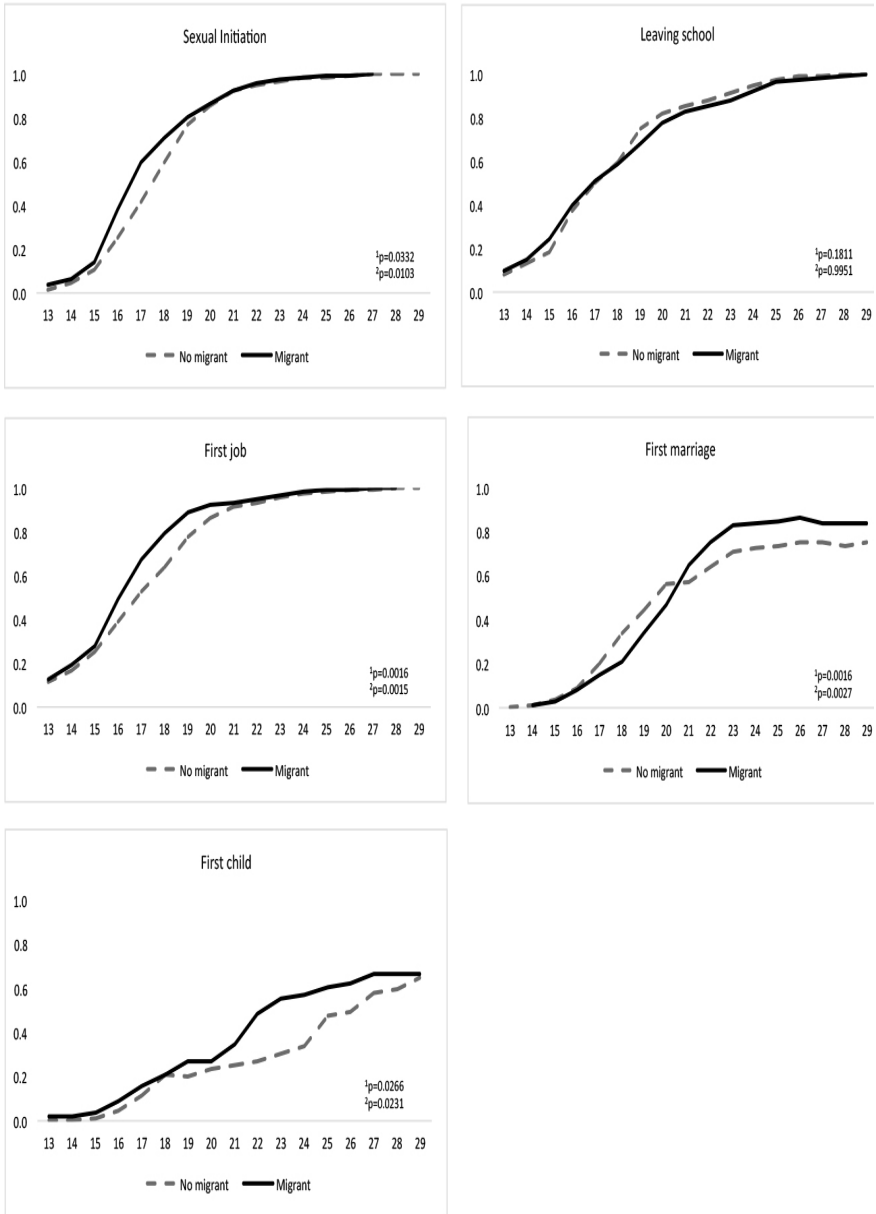
The young migrants' work life is the transition that occurs at an earlier age, with 25% of them having started working at age 14 and 50% at age 16, while 75% of young migrants had already entered the labor market at 18 years of age. However, there are significant differences in immigration status according to the statistical tests that were applied. There is a tempo effect on the age of occurrence of the transition to working life, with young migrants starting to work one year before their non-migrant peers in the three quartiles. Early admission has an impact on the quality of the labor insertion of young Mexican migrants. Oliveira (2006: 38-39) points out that "in a context of employment shortages and deregulation of labor relations, the younger work force it is exposed to extremely precarious working conditions".

Sexual initiation is an event that occurs to a quarter of young migrants at 15 years of age, while half experience it at age 17 and three quarters at 18 years of age. In addition, young migrants had their first sexual intercourse a year earlier than non – migrants, resulting in a significant difference according to the Log-Rank and Wilcoxon tests. It is clear that young migrants become sexually active earlier than non - migrants. This finding is consistent with findings in other studies that show how migration can accelerate sexual initiation (Mberu and White, 2011; Anglewicz, VanLandingham and Phuengsamran, 2014).

This is because changing the environment increases the opportunities for young migrants to be able to initiate and participate in a wider range of sexual relationships than were available in their place of origin. In fact, this greater permissiveness increases exposure to risky sexual behavior in these young migrants.

The onset of marital life had been experienced by 25 per cent of young migrants by the age of 18, 50% by the age of 20 and 75% of the youth by the age of 23. Comparing among young people according to their migratory status of having experienced their first marriage or couple makes it possible to establish how migrants marry or form stable relationships one year after non-migrants in the three quartiles, and that there is significant difference in the curves according to the statistical tests.

Figure 1: Age of occurrence of events sexual initiation, first marriage, first child, leaving school, first job among young people according to migratory condition.



Note: 1p =Test Log-Rank; 2p = Test Wilcoxon (Breslow).

Source: Own calculations based on data from the ENJ2010.

This is concomitant with the literature in this regard that indicates that migration has a negative impact on marriage, that is, it contributes to the delay of marriage until having made a first migration or having accumulated the economic resources and material goods necessary to join as a couple with prevailing traditions in their place of origin (Parrado, 1998 and 2011; Jampiklay, 2006; Chattopadhyay, 1999 and Pérez, 2008).

However, it is noteworthy that in graph 1 on first marriages, it can be seen that from the age of 21 the curves of the migrants and non-migrants cross, indicating that there are changes in the trend in the intensity of the entry of migrants into their first marriage, since the percentage of those who have had their first marriage experience is greater than non-migrants. This would mark an irregular trend at the beginning of conjugal life that slows down among migrants in the early years of their youth and accelerates after the age of 21, ending the time of social deferral for migrants to join as a couple and assume adult obligations.

Admission to paternity and maternity occurs for 25 per cent of young migrants by the age of 19, 50% at the age of 21 and 75% at the age of 23. This behavior contrasts with young non - migrants who had their first child a year before migrants in three quartiles, and is there is also a significant difference between migrants and non - migrants in the behavior of the curves of the cumulative proportion of young people experiencing maternity or paternity.

It was identified that three patterns of entry to paternity or maternity coexist among young Mexican migrants. The first is composed by those who would be experiencing fertility in adolescence possibly before their first migration. The second group, which is more numerous, would be postponing maternity or paternity in order to first go through other transitions such as marriage or migration, while other groups of migrants choose not to be fathers or mothers in the stage of youth reaching the end of the period of observation at the age of 29, without having made the transition to parenthood.

Interrelation between transitional events and social characteristics

In this section we analyze the impact of social, gender and generation characteristics on the evolutionary patterns of the transitional events of young migrants, such as: leaving school, entering the labor market, first sexual intercourse, the first union as a couple and parenthood. These features are perceived in terms of inequalities or structural and cultural constraints on

biographical choices of young migrants, which could give specific nuances to their transition process.

Moment for young migrants to leave school

Applying the Log-Rank and Wilcoxon tests, the hypothesis of equality for survival curves per cohort, locality size, socioeconomic status and region of residence in the event of dismissal are rejected (Figure 2), and the hypothesis is accepted regarding sex because the differences in the calendar were not significant in tests (with a probability of less than 5%).

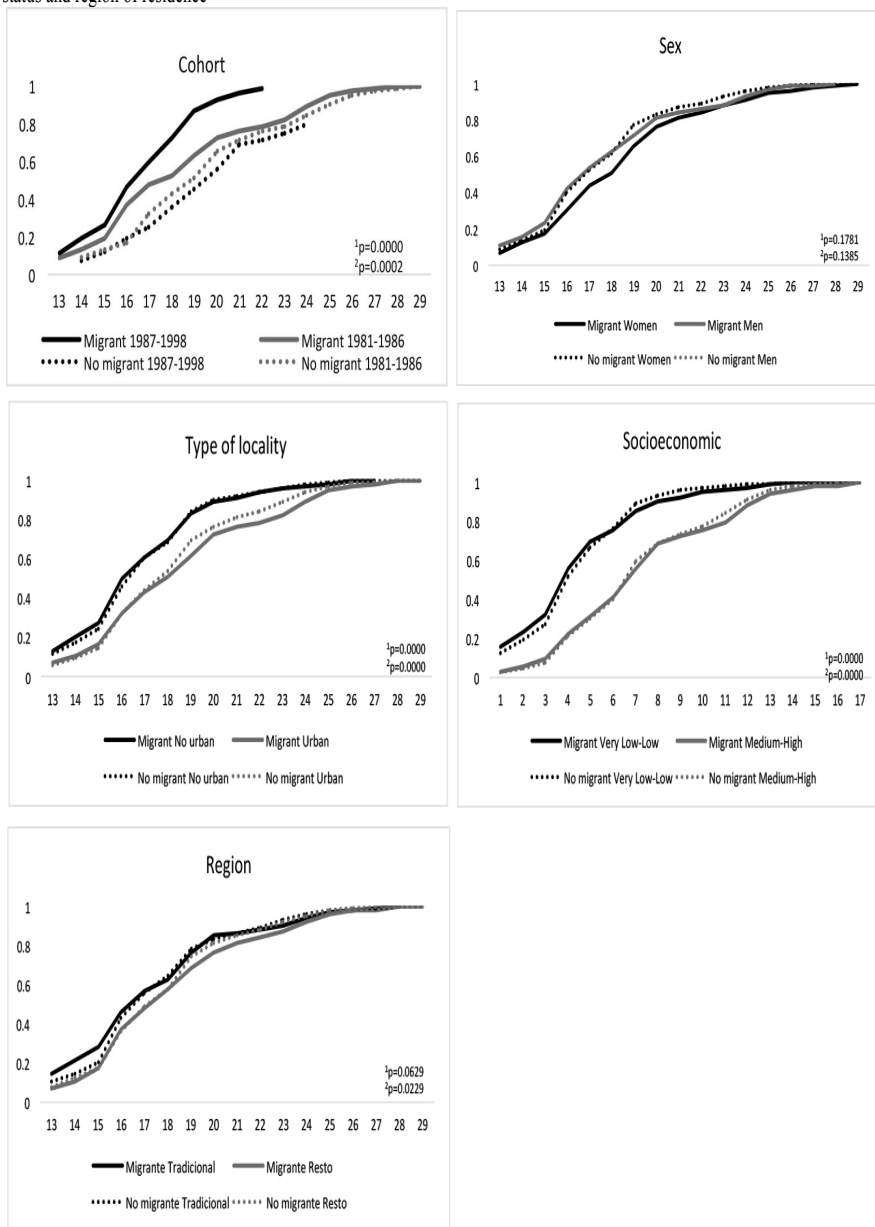
The leaving school schedule varies significantly by generational cohort, as shown in figure 2. Thus, half of the young migrants in the 1987-1998 cohort dropped out of school at age 16, one year earlier than the generation 1981-1986. While half of the non - migrant youth 1987-1998 cohort had left at age 20 - one year after the 1981-1986 cohort who had completed their studies up to 19 years of age.

Based on the data, a formal school dropout pattern is observed earlier for young migrants and in particular for the youngest generation. This could be a result of migration at an earlier age, as it has been demonstrated by Giorguli and Serratos (2009) that young people complete their formal education before emigrating, placing them in a vulnerable situation and lagging in education, contrary to the tendency observed among young non - migrants where one can note a postponement of leaving school among the younger generation.

Differences in the pattern according to the locality of residence show that young migrants who are living in non-urban areas leave school a year earlier than young migrants living in urban areas. According to the average ages, in non-urban youth this event occurred at 16 years of age versus 17 for urban youth. Compared with young non-migrants, a pattern of behavior similar to that of young migrants is observed. Therefore beyond immigration status, the observed differences are the result of structural inequalities in access to education which persist between urban and non - urban areas.

As for the region of residence of the young migrants, there is a small difference between the traditional region and the rest of the country in terms of the intensity and the timetable for dropping out. According to the average ages, young migrants residing in the traditional region completed their formal education at age 16 while those living in the rest of the country was at 17.

Figure 2. Age of leaving school for non-migrants and migrants by cohort, sex, type of locality, socioeconomic status and region of residence



Note: 1p =Test Log-Rank; 2p = Test Wilcoxon (Breslow).
 Source: Own calculations based on data from the ENJ2010.

This means that the young migrants living in the traditional region experience the transition from leaving school at a younger age, which could be related to the greater propensity to migrate for the young people who live with the culture of migration which exists in communities that make up the traditional migration region.

In this regard, several studies have found that in families or communities with greater exposure to international migration, youth are less likely to complete educational transitions following their post-secondary education. For them, migration is more attractive than to continue school for the lifestyle that young people want to reach (Kandel, 1998; Meza and Pederzini, 2009; Halpern -Modales, 2011).

The values of the median age of school drop-outs show a disparity by socioeconomic stratum, since the difference between the young migrants belonging to the very low and low strata with those of the middle and upper stratum is about three years, being 16 years versus 19 years of age respectively, corroborating as expected that young migrants from the most disadvantaged strata make this transition earlier than their middle and upper stratum peers. This behavior corresponds to what young non – migrants demonstrate which show that regardless of immigration status the dropout rate at an early age is the result of socioeconomic inequalities in the place of origin.

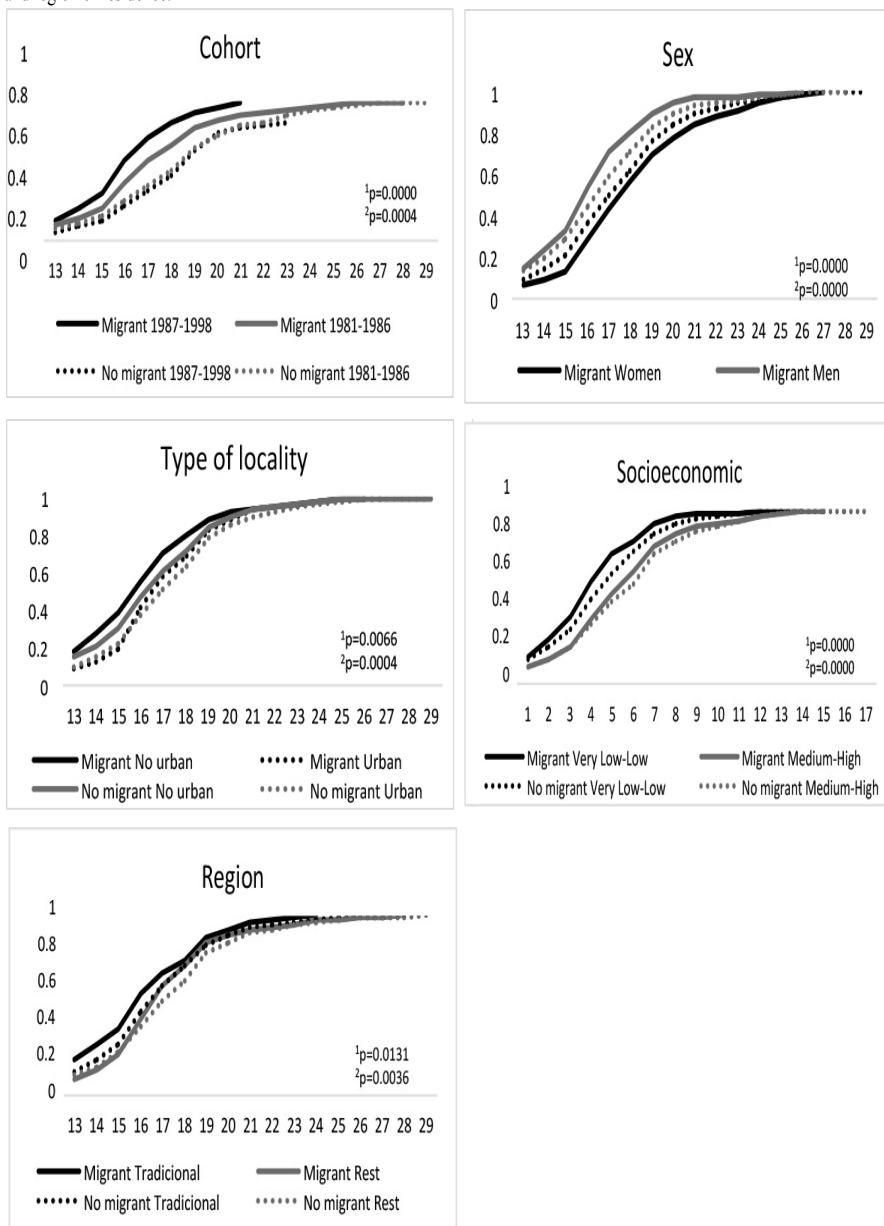
Moment of entry into the labor market

Differences in the Log-Rank and Wilcoxon tests show that the hypothesis of equality for survival curves by cohort, sex, socioeconomic status, locality and region of residence in the case of entering the labor market is rejected, since the differences depending on the characteristics that were studied were significant ($p < 0.05$).

In Figure 3, it can be seen that young migrants from the younger generation started working at 15 years of age compared to 16 years of age for the older generation. This means that younger migrants experienced entering the labor market earlier, which relates to the previous point where we observed an early dropout rate among younger migrants which in turn is associated with greater job insecurity.

There is a gap of two years in the average age of entry into the labor market among young migrants and non-migrants.

Figure 3. Age of first job for non-migrants and migrants by cohort, sex, type of locality, socioeconomic status and region of residence.



Note 1p =Test Log-Rank; 2p = Test Wilcoxon (Breslow).
 Source: Own calculations based on data from the ENJ2010.

Also, the cumulative percentage curves show relevant gender differences, both in intensity and time, for young male migrants who begin to work two years earlier than migrant women (18 and 16 years old, respectively), corroborating what has been pointed out by several authors (Mier and Teresa, 2004; Gandini and Castro, 2009) that women leave school early and enter the job market later than men.

Admission to the labor market by immigration status and sex, with respect to average age, showed that migrant women experienced this transition one year later than non-migrants. In other words, migrant women show a greater lag regarding starting work. On the other hand, migrant men entered the labor market before their peers. What is apparent is that immigration status increases the gender gap between men and women entering the labor market.

As for the place of residence, young migrants residing in non - urban areas enter the labor market at an average age of 15 years old, one year earlier than urban residents. When comparing the curves of the cumulative proportion of young non - migrants, it is observed that the intensity and timing of entry into the labor market are higher among young urban and non - urban migrants, although the curves tend to overlap starting from age 20 softening the differences for the two contexts.

Among young migrants living in the traditional migration region, it warns that the greatest variation occurs before age 16, that is, they tend to push back the age of entry into the job market. The difference in the average age was one year in young migrants from the traditional region with respect to non - migrants in the same region (16 years old versus 17 years old).

Socioeconomic status is the variable where the greatest disparities were recorded in the age of entering the job market, which was among the different categories analyzed for the youth. The average ages show that young migrants belonging to very low and low socioeconomic levels enter two years younger into the labor market than young migrants from the middle and high strata (16 years versus 18 years old).

In comparing young migrants and non - migrants from the low and lowest socioeconomic stratum, the difference in median age is one year. In other words it is the young migrants who tend to enter younger into this transition, entering the job market before the youth from the same social stratum. This finding shows that the migratory experience, together with socioeconomic inequalities, is strengthened to the detriment of young poor migrants because early entry into the labor market is undoubtedly an element of social disadvantage while young high and middle - income

migrants begin their working lives almost at the same time than their non-immigrant peers who belong to the same stratum.

Moment of sexual initiation

With the results obtained from the Log-Rank and Wilcoxon tests, the hypothesis of equality of the survival curves by cohort and sex are rejected, while differences depending on location, region and socioeconomic status were not significant ($p < 0.05$) (see figure 4).

Young migrants from the younger cohort, 1987-1998, were advanced in the age at which they had their first sexual intercourse by one year (16 years old) compared with those belonging to the older cohort 1981-1986 (17 years old). According to the immigrant experience, young migrants from the younger cohort advanced in their sexual initiation compared with young non - migrants from the same cohort (Figure 4). This result shows that the migration experience accelerates the onset of sexual experiences, since switching to a different environment provides a wider range of opportunities to have sex compared to their place of origin (Mberu and White, 2011).

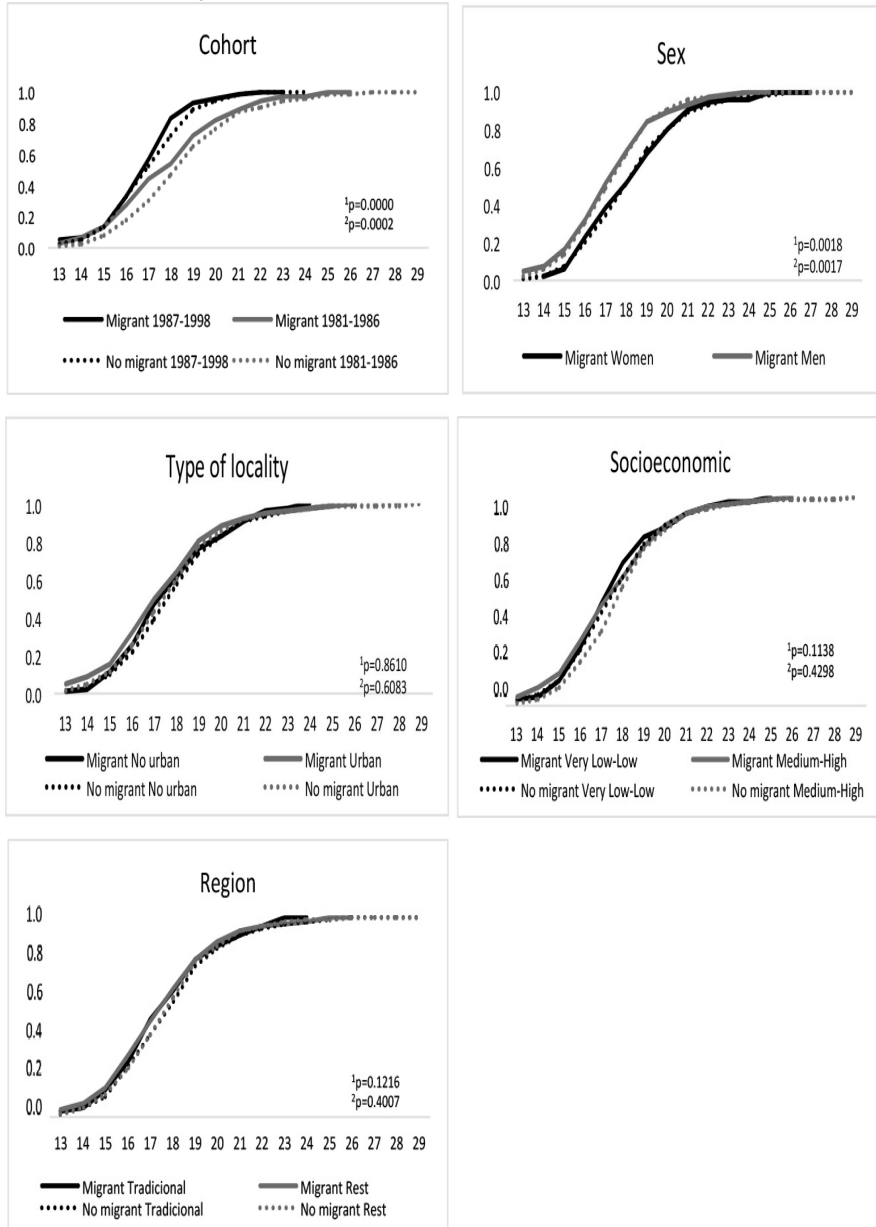
The transition to the first sexual experience among young migrants shows that half of men began a year earlier sexually than women, 17 and 18, respectively. When comparing the curves of the cumulative proportion of men and women, major changes are not recorded in the life timetable as the start of sexual life between migrants and non - migrants. This reveals that the migration experience does not influence the onset of sexual life of men and women since for migrants and non - male migrants there predominates the idea that sexual activity is a demonstration of virility and conforming to the masculine identity.

Moment of first relationship or formation of a couple

For admission to the first union as a couple or marriage based on the Log-Rank and Wilcoxon tests, the hypothesis of equality for survival curves by cohort, sex and socioeconomic status is rejected. In addition, the hypothesis is accepted for the city and region of residence, since the difference was not significant with $p < 0.05$.

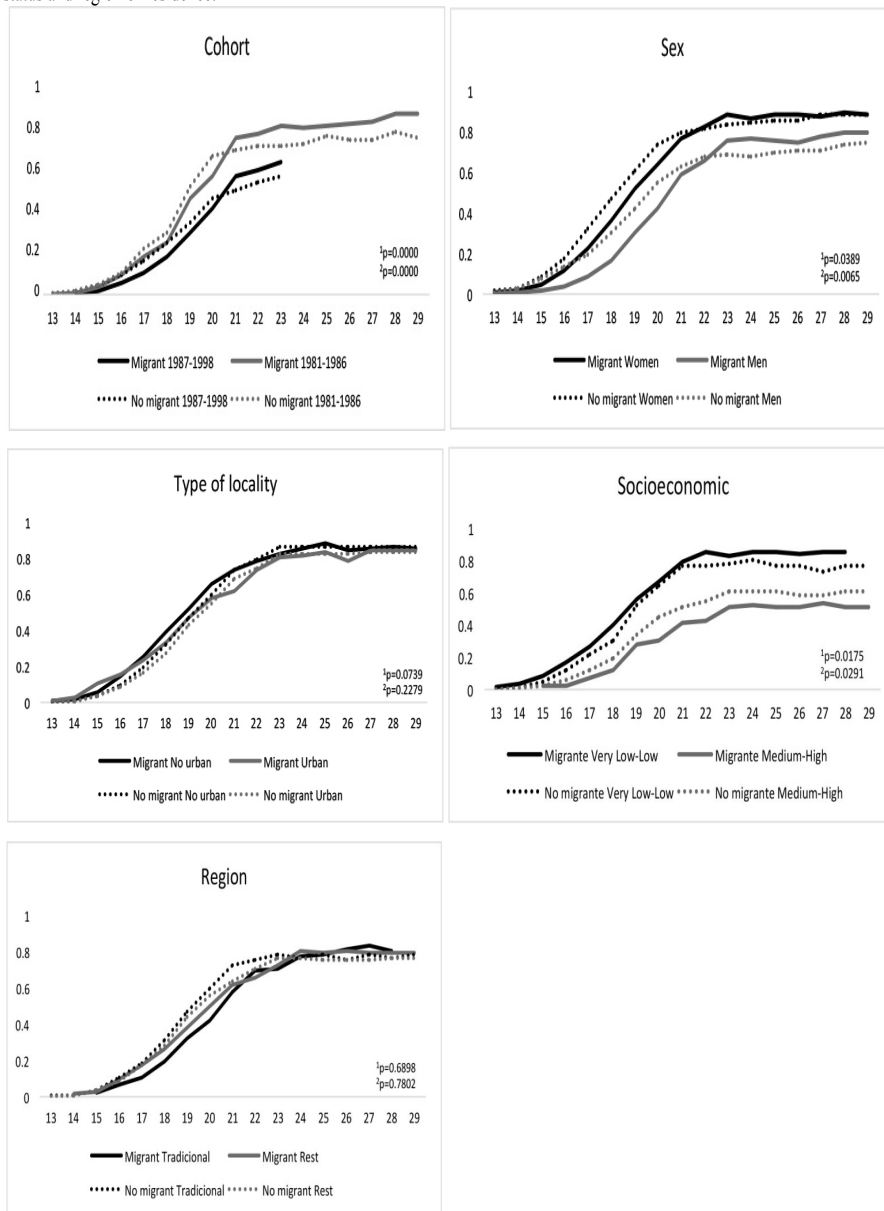
In figure 5 it can be seen that young migrants are older at the time of entering their first marriage. In the 1987-1998 cohorts, they are delayed by two years (19 years of age) in the formation of the union compared with the age in the 1981-1986 cohort (21 years of age).

Figure 4. Age of sexual initiation for non-migrants and migrants by cohort, sex, type of locality, socioeconomic status and region of residence.



Note: 1p =Test Log-Rank; 2p = Test Wilcoxon (Breslow).
Source: Own calculations based on data from the ENJ2010.

Figure 5. Age of first marriage for non-migrants and migrants by cohort, sex, type of locality, socioeconomic status and region of residence.



Note: $\chi^2 p$ =Test Log-Rank; $\chi^2 p$ = Test Wilcoxon (Breslow).
 Source: Own calculations based on data from the ENJ2010.

In comparing the curves of the cumulative proportion of having experienced the first marriage among migrants and non - migrants in the two cohorts, it shows that young migrants from the two birth cohorts which were studied transit later for this event in relation with non - migrant peers.

Our analysis confirms that migration has a negative impact on marriage, or that migration contributes to a delay in marriage as pointed out by several studies (Parrado 1998; Chattopadhyay , 1999, Mier and Teran , 2004; Jampiklay , 2006), however the effect of the migratory experience varies according to the age of the cohort since the difference curves between migrants and non - migrants is higher in the 1981-1986 cohort than that recorded among their peers in the 1987-1998 cohort.

Migrants are present earlier in the timetable in the formation of the first marriage for women than for men, 19 and 21 years of age respectively. Comparing women and men by their migration experience shows that migrants do not follow a traditional pattern of early marriage. In other words, both women and migrant men marry at a later age in relation to their similar non - migrants. Although there still dominates a clear gender differentiation and strong family and social pressure for migrant women to form couples at younger ages in life compared with male migrants.

Regarding the socioeconomic strata, large gaps are apparent in the transition to the first marriage. In addition, young migrants (very low and low socioeconomic levels) from disadvantaged strata have an average age for their first marriage four years younger (19 years old) compared to young people from more advantaged strata (23 years of age). In the case of young migrants from the low and very low social strata, it is possible for them to undertake their first migration after joining as a couple due to the financial and family responsibilities that they have obtained.

Comparing young people according to their migratory experience reveals that young migrants from the very low and low social strata are those that marry at higher rates and at younger ages than non – migrants of the same social stratum. Thus, migrants belonging to the middle and upper social stratum experience a delayed transition into marriage regarding their non-migrant peers. This result shows that the migration experience can be as strong as or stronger than socioeconomic status when defining the marital pathway, although the effect differs depending on the layer to which it belongs. These contrasts found among young migrants from different social strata are more pronounced than those reported by Ariza (2005) when analyzing young people in general.

Moment of first birth

With the results of the Log-Rank and Wilcoxon tests, the hypothesis of equality for survival curves by cohort, sex and socioeconomic status in relation to the onset of parenthood is rejected, while the hypothesis is accepted for context and region of residence, since differences in the timing were not significant ($p < 0.05$) (see figure 6).

Among young migrants, the average ages of the members of the younger cohort (1987-1998) presented a two - year delay in age of the birth of the first child, which was 22 years of age compared with the older cohort (1981-1986) which experienced parenthood at age 20. Regarding non - migrants, young migrants belonging to both age cohorts show a postponement of the transition to the birth of the first child. This behavior coincides with the delay in the formation of a couple observed in the previous point. So you could say that young people with migration experience, regardless of the cohort to which they belong, join as a couple, become pregnant and have their first child later than non - migrant peers.

According to sex, migrant women experience the entrance into parenthood at an earlier age than men, and had their first child at age 22 while men at 24 years of age. However, in comparing the proportion of parenthood, regardless of whether they had or didn't have migratory experience, points in the same direction.

Although the differences between women and men remain despite their migratory experiences, they are more pronounced among young migrants where migrant women experience the event of having their first child before non - migrant women. However migrant men experienced a delay in paternity in comparison to their peers. This result shows that young people with immigrant experience, particularly women, tend to stick to more traditional social and cultural norms when defining the beginning of their reproductive life.

The transition to having the first child for migrants according to the social stratum reveals a polarization in the input intensity to parenthood. The average age of having the first child for migrants belonging to the low and very low social stratum is three years younger than the average for peers from the medium and high social strata, 21 and 24 years of age, respectively. Similar results are provided by other authors who point out that the youth of low social status are more likely to have their first child earlier than youth from medium and high socioeconomic levels (Mora and Oliveira, 2008).

However, we find that despite that the differences between social strata are maintained, there is a warning of a delay in the transition to parenthood among young people with immigrant experience in both of the studied social strata. This shows that the migration experience can be more decisive or stronger than economic restrictions when defining the path to parenthood of young migrants.

CONCLUSIONS

In this study an event history analysis was presented of the patterns of transition to adulthood of young international migrants. This type of analysis allowed the quantification of the intensity and timing of occurrence of events such as: sexual initiation, the first marriage or formation of a couple, the birth of the first child, completion of formal education and entry into the labor market.

Among the highlights of the findings are the most important transitions to adulthood by international migrant youth according to the average ages include that their entry into the labor market occurs at age 16, followed by a school dropout age of 17- almost at the same age of sexual initiation- three years after that the start of married life begins at age 20, one year later they enter into parenthood with the latter of these two events the least experienced by young migrants demonstrating that young migrants follow a transitional sequence that does not correspond to the normative model.

The results show that the international migration experience has a differentiator and catalytic effect on the process of transition to adulthood, and particularly affects the timing of four of the five transitional events that were considered which included entering into the workforce, sexual initiation, first marriage and birth of first child. Meanwhile, regarding the event of abandoning school, there were no significant differences found in the ages and therefore there is no effect due to the migration experience.

Young migrants show a pattern of transition to adulthood significantly different than non-migrants. Young migrants tend to advance their entry into the labor force and with their sexual initiation, as they tend to postpone both marriage and forming of a couple as well as the beginning of parenthood compared to non-migrants. In this sense, the migratory experience causes a longer postponement of family transitions (marriage, pregnancy and birth of first child) due to an increase in restrictive immigration policies in the United States. Young people need to generate savings and the conditions to form a family, which helps to explain the delay in family transitions of young migrants.

Within the group of young migrants there tends to be heterogeneous family transitions occurring. It is noteworthy to mention that from the age of 21, migrants experience the forming of a couple, pregnancy and birth of first child more quickly. That is, for young migrants from this moment the social moratorium ends, which is why they must assume adult responsibilities.

It is confirmed that migration, in interaction with the different axes of inequality such as those derived from age, gender and class modulate different paths to the transition to adulthood, albeit to varying degrees both within the youth with migration experience as well as young people without migration experience. The youngest migrants and those belonging to low and very low socioeconomic strata are those with a pattern of transition to more precarious adult life because younger migrants leave school, enter the workforce and begin their sexual lives at an earlier age than older migrants. Similarly, young migrants belonging to low and very low socioeconomic levels leave school, enter the labor market, get married, get pregnant and have their first child before young migrants from the middle and upper strata. The migration experience together with socioeconomic inequalities is strengthened to the detriment of the young and poor migrants, which impacts the welfare and sustainable development of the future life project of these young people.

Finally this investigation allows us to confirm that young migrants belong to a group which is highly vulnerable to economic, social and educational exclusion, reducing the opportunities available for their transitions to adulthood. A pending task is to examine the significance for young migrants who become adults.

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