The influence of partner choice on childbearing among second-generation Turkish and Moroccan women in Belgium

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Extended abstract

Introduction

Research on the transition to adulthood emphasises the importance of union – and family formation in young adults' lives. Although this strand of literature has covered migrants and their descendants both in the USA and Europe (e.g. Kalmijn & Tubergen, 2006; Milewski & Hamel, 2010), little is known on how these life-changing events are interrelated. Although it has often been claimed that partner characteristics are important in fertility choices, so far the relationship between the ethnic origin of both partners and the subsequent childbearing behaviour is lacking from the literature. This is unfortunate as a growing share of children of immigrants, in the USA and Europe alike, are choosing their partners who are either from the same or different origin. Research so far has mainly focused on the determinants of exogamous intermarriage. Given the growing numbers of children of immigrants in society, a mere distinction between endogamous versus exogamous unions, as dominant in the literature so far, is no longer sufficient. Even though children of immigrants, i.e. the second-generation, form a union with a partner of the same ethnic origin, the background may still vary from a first-generation migrant to someone who migrated at young ages (1.5-generation) or who grew up in the country of residence but who has foreign born parents (second-generation) (see e.g. Huschek, de Valk, & Liefbroer, 2012). Furthermore, these partner choices made by the young adult may affect subsequent childbearing within these unions.

Therefore, this paper aims to fill this gap in the literature and analyses how the partner choice of second-generation migrants affects their transition to parenthood. More specifically we question how and to what extent partner choice of second-generation young adults of Turkish –and Moroccan origin affects their childbearing behaviour. We focus on Belgium as we have unique data at hand that allow us to apply this longitudinal study of union –and family formation.

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Our study focuses on the Turkish – and Moroccan children of immigrants who were born and raised in Belgium but who have foreign born parents. These origin groups are among the largest non-Western groups in Belgium. The parents of these children mainly came to the country in the 1960s and 1970s to carry out low skilled labour. Most of them were already married or had their families reunited with them. This is also reflected in the very low levels of intermarriage in the parental generation. This makes the study of the union – and family formation choices of their children even more interesting.

The extensive intermarriage literature has claimed that partner choice is an indicator of whether or not boundaries between ethnic groups retain. It is argued that marrying someone from another ethnic group breaks down the boundaries between both groups. In contrast, marrying within the own ethnic group is interpreted as a way to maintain the group boundaries (Kalmijn, 1998; Schwartz, 2013). As a result, ethnic intermarriage is seen as the final stage of assimilation (Coleman, 1994; Gordon, 1964), whereas endogamous unions, and especially unions with a transnational partner, are (often) interpreted as the opposite of assimilation (González-Ferrer, 2006; Hooghiemstra, 2001).

Likewise, research on the fertility behaviour of migrants emphasises the significance of fertility for whether or not migrant populations are integrated into the host society (Scott & Stanfors, 2011). More precisely, scholars analysing migrants' fertility examine whether migrants retain the fertility behaviour of their country of origin, or whether they convert to the childbearing patterns (both in timing, and quantum) of the host society. Given that migrants' descendants are born and raised in the destination country, it is argued that fertility convergence towards the majority population will especially occur among them (Mayer & Riphahn, 2000).

So far these strands of literature have however been largely separate and the interplay between union – and family formation has not yet been explored. In order to do so, we need longitudinal data where we can follow the choices in the two domains over time. Belgium offers a unique opportunity to do so with the linked Census and Population Register data that are available to us. Therefore, this paper analyses how the partner choice of second-generation Turkish –and Moroccan women in Belgium affects their transition to a first birth. In order to do so we make a crucial distinction between types of partnerships these women have formed, namely those with a first -, a 1.5 -, a second-generation same origin partner and those with a native Belgian partner.

We apply, in addition to descriptive explorative analyses, discrete time event history models to data of the 2001 Belgian Census linked with data of the National

Population Register (2006). These data cover all residents legally present in the country and include individual-level information such as nationality, household composition, education, occupation as well as characteristics of the partner. Moreover, the longitudinally linked data give us the opportunity to analyse union formation choices based on the characteristics of the partner and the transition to a first birth of the couple between 2001 and 2006.

Our main preliminary findings reveal, first, that the rates of having a first birth are lower when the woman forms an exogamous union, compared to when the partner is a member of the own origin group. Second, we find clear evidence of diversity within endogamous unions: the rates of having a first child are higher when the partner is a first-generation man, compared to when second-generation women of Turkish –or Moroccan origin form a union with a co-ethnic born and raised in Belgium.

Theoretical framework

General framework of partner selection

Research on marriage patterns and in particular research analysing whether people marry someone from their own group (endogamy), or whether their partner is an out-group member (exogamy), has most often examined partner selection with respect to socioeconomic status, race/ethnicity and religion (Kalmijn, 1998; Schwartz, 2013). Despite their different topics within the field of partner selection, these studies have the tendency to analyse whether boundaries between (social) groups persist, or whether these boundaries gradually diminish. In-group marriage is often seen as a consolidation of the group boundaries, whereas out-group –or intermarriage is commonly interpreted as a weakening of these boundaries (Kalmijn, 1998; Qian & Lichter, 2007; Schwartz, 2013). The argument is that marrying someone from another group breaks down the borders between both groups, which might accelerate the acceptance of each other as social equals (Qian & Lichter, 2007). As union formation not only concerns the two potential partners, but also reunite their family and social network, the choice of the partner has also implications for them (Kalmijn, 1998).

Kalmijn (1991, 1998) argues that marriage patterns arise from the interplay of three forces: individuals' own preferences for certain characteristics in a partner, the preferences of significant others ("third parties"), and the constraints of the marriage market. Individual preferences and characteristics, along with those of significant others, determine what will be the demand side of the marriage market. The distribution of the desired characteristics in the population will determine the force exerted by the marriage market.

The partner choice of individuals, and in particular the desire of certain characteristics in a potential partner can be approached from both an economic and a cultural perspective. From an economic point of view, single men and women are evaluating their potential partners based on their socioeconomic resources. These resources are those that generate status and well-being. As individuals are trying to enhance their own socioeconomic position, their preference is given to a partner with at least the same amount of resources. As a result, the most attractive candidates have high chances to find a match, whereas the less attractive ones are limited in finding a partner within the lower socioeconomic classes (Kalmijn, 1998).

In a cultural perspective, similarity in terms of cultural resources (such as values, opinions, taste and knowledge) is much more emphasized. Cultural similarities encourage mutual understanding and might facilitate cementing a long-term relationship (Kalmijn, 1998).

Marriage not only concerns two partners but also implicates their respective families and social networks. As marrying outside the social group can be seen as a threat for the internal group cohesion and a weakening of group boundaries, intergroup unions might receive opposition of their significant others by the means of group identification and/or group sanction. A strong feeling of belonging to a group stimulates high endogamy at the expense of exogamy. And even if group identification is rather weak, group sanctions, provided by parents, church and/or the State, can still discourage intermarriages (Kalmijn, 1998).

The structural constraints of the marriage market make up a third force affecting partner selection. Marrying outside the own group is only possible when people have the opportunity to meet and interact with members belonging to another (social) group. Relevant macro-elements include the group size, the sex-ratio, the degree of segregation, and the heterogeneity of the group: the smaller the group, the more imbalanced the gender division within the group, the lower the degree of segregation and the more heterogeneity, the more likely someone will form a union with a member belonging to another group (Blau, Blum, & Schwartz, 1982; Kalmijn, 1998).

Ethnic intermarriage versus ethnic endogamy

Given its long migration history, the bulk of the literature (at least in English) dealing with ethnic intermarriage is about the USA (e.g. Blau et al., 1982; Fu, 2001; Hwang, Saenz, & Aguirre, 1995; Mittelbach & Moore, 1968). However, due to the growing proportion of the migrant population and their descendants in Western Europe,

research on this topic increased substantially during the last decades (e.g. Coleman, 1994; Hooghiemstra, 2001; Kalmijn & Tubergen, 2006).

Within the literature on ethnic endogamy, the prevalence of intermarriage has often been interpreted as the final stage of assimilation (Coleman, 1994; Gordon, 1964), in line with an old definition by Park and Burgess (1921, p. 396), "assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life". Nevertheless, although different studies found indeed a higher occurrence of intermarriages among immigrants' offspring (Kalmijn & Tubergen, 2006; Lievens, 1998, 1999; Van Kerckem, Van der Bracht, Stevens, & Van de Putte, 2013), union formation with someone from the majority population is rather scare: second-generation migrants most often marry someone from their origin group (Corijn & Lodewijckx, 2009; Hooghiemstra, 2001, 2003; Kalmijn & Tubergen, 2006; Lievens, 1999; Lodewijckx, 2010; Timmerman, Lodewyckx, & Wets, 2009; Van Kerckem et al., 2013).

To understand the patterns of partner choice in migrant populations and in particular those of their children, the interplay of the three forces described by Kalmijn (1991, 1998) is important, as research on ethnic intermarriage and ethnic endogamy are imbedded in his more general formulation of partner selection.

Individual preferences

The literature reports mixed findings on the role of individual preferences in ethnic intermarriage. Some studies have emphasized socioeconomic factors; others have focused on cultural aspects. According to the first strand of studies, individual characteristics have gained in importance due to two evolutions. First, there has been a shift from partner choice based on ascribed characteristics (such as ethnicity and family background) towards a choice based on achieved characteristics (like educational achievement) (Coleman, 1994; Hooghiemstra, 2001, 2003; Kalmijn & Tubergen, 2006). Second, there is a trend that moves away from the male breadwinner model, where the husband was solely responsible for the household income, towards a two-earner model, where women also contribute to the economic wellbeing of the family. As a result, the gender division will be more balanced (Hooghiemstra, 2001). Both changes have implications for migrants and their offspring as well, as they are exposed to the two evolutions within the country of destination (Hooghiemstra, 2001).

Generally, studies analysing the socioeconomic factors find a positive relation between the socioeconomic status and the degree of intermarriages. As status is often

operationalized as educational attainment, different studies found that higher educated migrants are more likely to marry outside their ethnic group compared to their lower educated counterparts (Kalmijn & Tubergen, 2006; Lievens, 1998; Milewski & Hamel, 2010; Mittelbach & Moore, 1968; Sánchez-Domínguez, de Valk, & Reher, 2011; Trilla, Esteve, & Domingo, 2008).

From a more cultural perspective, Kalmijn and van Tubergen (2006) found for the Netherlands that migrants of Turkish –or Moroccan origin most often marry a partner from their country of origin. Similar results have been found for Belgium (e.g. Corijn & Lodewijckx, 2009). As choosing a transnational partner is mainly interpreted as insuring the traditional values and as securing the group boundaries, it is often conceived as the opposite of assimilation (González-Ferrer, 2006; Hooghiemstra, 2001; Lodewijckx, 2010). Nevertheless, Lievens (1999) found in his research on family-forming migration from Turkey and Morocco to Belgium, that marrying a transnational migrant does not necessary mean that traditional values are reinforced. On the contrary, the author found that Turkish men and women hold quite different underlying motivations for marrying someone born in the country of origin. While men tend to look for partners embodying traditional norms and values indeed, many women think that they can better realise their "modern" rather than traditional goals by marrying a man born and raised in Turkey. Their reasoning is as follows: a Turkish woman living in Belgium is traditionally expected to move in with her in-laws after marrying a Turkish man living there as well. But if a woman marries someone who lives in Turkey, she manages to escape this habit because the groom is then usually expected to move to Belgium. Given the rather reluctant attitude of men to move in with the parents of their brides, women can moreover maintain their own households (see also Lodewijckx, 2010). Furthermore, since her husband does not know the country and therefore has to rely on her, she might take advantage of the situation and modify the traditional power relations between husbands and wives (Lievens, 1999).

Different outcomes of intermarriages between Turkish and Moroccan men and women can to some extend also be explained by the importance of religion. Given that children of an exogamous marriage where a woman of Turkish –or Moroccan origin forms a union with a non-Muslim man are considered to be lost for the Islam, interfaith marriages are more strongly prohibited for women as compared to their male counterparts. As a result, women of Turkish – and Moroccan origin marry less often exogenously than men (Coleman, 1994; Hooghiemstra, 2003; Kalmijn & Tubergen, 2006).

Significant others

Research analysing the importance of significant others on partner selection within migrant populations, most often focus on parents and the migrant community. Marriage does not only concern two potential partners but also connects families and social networks. Especially within Turkish and Moroccan migrant populations, the influence of parents is an important factor in choosing the future husband or wife (Callaerts, 1997; Hooghiemstra, 2001; Lodewijckx, 2010; Milewski & Hamel, 2010). Although Lesthaeghe & Surkyn (1995) found a shift from 'parental decision of their offspring's partner' to 'an individual decision with approval of the parents', arranged marriages have been a common practice among both migrant groups (Lievens, 1999; Milewski & Hamel, 2010; Schoenmaeckers, Lodewijckx, & Gadeyne, 1999). As already mentioned, this holds particularly for women as they represent the honour of their family and are therefore much more limited in the free choice of their future husband (Hooghiemstra, 2001, 2003).

Marriage market

On a more structural level, having the opportunity to meet and interact with someone from another ethnic group depends primarily on the relative group size and the presence of the opposite sex. Several researchers found an inversed relation between the relative groups size and the proportion of exogamous unions: the smaller the ethnic community, the more often people marry someone from outside their own group (Blau et al., 1982; Hooghiemstra, 2003). In addition to the size of the group, the sex-ratio within the group is also an important factor on whether or not intermarriage occurs. Marriage outside the own ethnic group will be more prevalent if there are insufficient marriage candidates of the opposite sex (Hooghiemstra, 2003; Lievens, 1998; Van Kerckem et al., 2013). This was especially the case among labour migration to Western Europe during the 1960s, where migrants were almost exclusively men. For their descendants, however, there is no longer a short supply of potential partners of the own ethnic origin and cohort (Hooghiemstra, 2003; Van Kerckem et al., 2013).

Nevertheless, irrespective this ethnic equilibrium, migrants' descendants still perceive a shortage of adequate marriage candidates for different reasons. First, according to Timmerman at al. (2009), second-generation men of Turkish origin prefer a transnational spouse, as their ethnic peers in Belgium do not meet their vision of how their wife should be: 'a good, obedient housewife and mother who should be respectful to his parents' (Timmerman et al., 2009, p. 241). Turkish women also give preference to a partner from their country of origin, but this preference is based on other desires.

Turkish women conceive their male counterparts in Belgium as too traditional and too conservative and by marrying a transnational partner, they hope to form a union with a responsible husband (see also Hooghiemstra, 2003). Second, due to the shift from a male breadwinner model towards a two-earner model, the power of women within a household increased. As a result, migrant women with a higher socioeconomic position will more often marry exogenously, because men of their own origin group with (at least) the same socioeconomic position are outnumbered (Hooghiemstra, 2001).

The transition to parenthood among migrants

The transition to parenthood is, along with union formation and partner choice, seen as one of the key determinants of the transition to adulthood. Nevertheless, the transition to parenthood is predominantly studied among the majority population, whereas migrant populations in general, and their descendants in particular, have been studies less often (de Valk & Milewski, 2011; Scott & Stanfors, 2011). Migrants' fertility patterns are often interpreted as an indicator of integration (Scott & Stanfors, 2011). Studies on migrants' fertility behaviour tend to analyse whether migrants retain the fertility behaviour of the country of origin, or whether they change their childbearing patterns after migration. These studies often rely on the theoretical concepts of adaptation or assimilation (Andersson, 2004; Kulu, 2005; Mayer & Riphahn, 2000), socialization (Kahn, 1988), selection (Kahn, 1988), disruption (Ford, 1990; Goldstein & Goldstein, 1981); and the interrelation of life course events (Andersson, 2004; Mulder & Wagner, 1993).

These studies look at how migration affects fertility and are therefore mainly relevant for the so-called first-generation, i.e. migrants indeed. However, some perspectives are also relevant for the second generation, i.e. the locally born descendants of migrants. The theoretical framework of adaptation and assimilation is, for instance, also applicable for the second-generation, as it is argued that over time and across generations, the fertility behaviour of ethnic minorities will convert to the norms and values dominant in the country of destination (Mayer & Riphahn, 2000).

Evidence of fertility convergence to the fertility behaviour of the majority population are among others found by the scholars Scott and Stanfors (2011) and Milewski (2011). Both studies indicate that whether the transition to parenthood among second-generation migrants of different origin groups in one country is examined (Scott & Stanfors, 2011), or whether one origin group is studied across different countries (Milewski, 2011), the general conclusion is that the fertility behaviour of second-

generation migrants convert to the fertility patterns of the majority population (Milewski, 2011; Scott & Stanfors, 2011).

Partner selection and fertility among migrants

In contrast to the amount of literature dealing with marriage patterns among ethnic groups and to a lesser extend research on the transition to parenthood among migrants' descendants, little is known on how choice of partner affects fertility behaviour. Nevertheless, marrying someone from the own origin group or with someone from another ethnic group has implications for the next generation as well. Generally, it is argued that intermarriage blurs the boundaries between groups and that children of ethnic exogamous couples are less likely to identify themselves with a single group (e.g. Kalmijn, 1998).

For the United States of America, Fu (2008) analysed the relation between ethnic exogamous/endogamous couples and their fertility behaviour. More precisely, the author wanted to analyses whether the fertility behaviour of ethnic exogamous couples is similar to the fertility behaviour of endogamous couples, or whether a difference occurs depending on the partner choice. Depending on the chosen theoretical framework he sees three potential outcomes. First, if the social capital theory by Schoen and colleagues (1997) is emphasised, ethnic exogamous unions are expected to have lower fertility compared to endogamous couples (Fu 2008). The reasoning is that children from such unions may strengthen inter-ethnic social ties (Schoen et al., 1997). Significant others from the own ethnic group may perceive this as a threat to the cohesion or identity of the their group. As a result, the support given by third parties from within the own community may be limited. This limited support in turn, is argued to negatively affect the fertility of the exogamous couple.

Second, Fu (2008) argues that the fertility behaviour of exogamous couples might, in contrast, be higher than the fertility behaviour of endogamous couples, if having children is seen as a mean to reduce the uncertainty of the couple (according to the uncertainty reduction perspective by Friedman and colleagues (1994)). This because having a child changes the roles of the partner within a couple: instead of solely being each other life companion, they become permanent attached to each other by the parental role (Friedman et al., 1994).

A third framework is the conventional view of intermarriage offered by Kalmijn (1998). According to the latter author, intermarriage only occurs when significant others approve the partner choice of the individual. As a result, the group boundaries will gradually diminish. Therefore, Fu (2008) states that the fertility behaviour of

exogamous couples will be the same as the fertility behaviour of endogamous unions. By analysing the fertility behaviour of different partner choices, the author found for the USA evidence in favour of the latter hypothesis: whether the partner is someone form the own origin group, or whether the partner is a member of the 'white' community, the fertility behaviour is not affected by the union composition (Fu, 2008). It remains to be seen whether this also holds outside the USA.

Research population and hypothesis

As already mentioned, little is know on the subject partner choice and fertility among migrant populations. Therefore, in an attempt to contribute to this particular topic, this paper analyses how the partner choice of migrants affects their childbearing behaviour in Belgium. We do so by analysing second-generation women of Turkish –and Moroccan origin, as they are part of the two principal non-European migrant groups in this country (Schoenmaeckers et al., 1999; Timmerman et al., 2009).

Migrants coming from Turkey and Morocco were initially recruited by the government to compensate labour shortage in certain industrial sectors during the 1960s' (Lievens, 1997). By the nature of this first migration wave, the immigrants were predominantly men (Reniers, 1999), and were supposed to return to the country of origin once the labour shortage was resolved. However, the majority of these so called 'guest workers' stayed in Belgium, which initiated the second migration wave of family reunification during the 1970s. And although the government altered migration with new restrictive migration laws (1974), immigration continued to increase since 1980 by the means of marriage migration (Lievens, 1997; Timmerman et al., 2009).

Following the permanent settlement of migrants of Turkish –and Moroccan origin, the population size increased substantially, as (first-generation) migrants expanded their family through marriage and childbearing. For instance, in 2001, there were in total 74 618 and 137 970 second-generation migrants of respectively Turkish –and Moroccan origin. Among them, 36 117 were second-generation Turkish women and 66 856 second-generation women of Moroccan origin (Belgian Census, 2001, authors' calculations). Therefore, this paper analyses how the partner choice of second-generation women of both origin groups affects their transition to a first birth.

Based on previous research, we derived three different hypotheses. In line with the idea of assimilation with - and convergence to the majority population (both applicable for union formation (e.g. Coleman, 1994; Gordon, 1964) as for the transition to parenthood (e.g. Mayer & Riphahn, 2000)), we expect that exogamous couples have a lower

transition rate to a first birth than endogamous couples. More precisely, we expect that partnering a native Belgian men is associated with a lower transition rate to a first birth compared to those who partner someone from their own origin group (*Hypothesis 1)*. This because it is argued that intermarriage is an indication of diminishing group boundaries and therefore, the fertility behaviour of ethnic exogamous couples will be more or less the same as when the union is constructed by two members of the majority population (see also Fu (2008)).

Within endogamous unions, we also expect to find fertility diversity. Our second hypothesis states that the rates of having a first child are lower when the partner is a second-generation man of the same origin group, compared to when second-generation women of Turkish –and Moroccan origin partner a first-generation migrant (*Hypothesis 2)*. This because previous studies already indicated that partnering a first-generation migrant might be conceived as the opposite of assimilation. Moreover, Scott and Stanfors (2011), as well as Milewski (2011) found fertility convergence across migrant generations. Therefore, it can be argued that the degree of convergence will be even more pronounced if the partner is also a second-generation migrant.

Alternatively, second-generation women of Turkish –and Moroccan origin indicated in previous studies (e.g. Lievens, 1999; Lodewijckx, 2010) that their male counterparts born and raised in Belgium are too traditional and too conservative, and by choosing a first-generation migrant they hope to form a union with a responsible husband. Moreover, Lievens (1999) research revealed that these women partner a first-generation man to secure their modern aspirations. As in the Turkish –and Moroccan community, the transition to parenthood is traditional accomplished at a younger age (Lodewijckx, 2010; e.g. Milewski, 2011), one could assume that if especially high assimilated women decide to partner a first-generation migrant, the age of having a first birth will be higher when choosing a transnational partner, compared to when the partner is a second-generation man of the own origin group. Therefore, our third and final hypothesis expects that the age of firth birth is higher when the partner is a first-generation migrant, compared to when the partner is a second-generation man (*Hypothesis 3)*.

Data and method

We use data from unique linked population data on Belgium. Data from the 2001 Belgian Census (first of October 2001) are combined with the National Population Register (situation on 01/01/2006). The Belgian Census covers all residents legally present in Belgium and provides a wide range of information on an individual level

including e.g. nationality, family –and household composition, as well as information on the standard socio-economic factors. By linking these data to the National Population Register, we are able to determine the transition to a first birth between 2001 and 2006. In addition, the pooled data gives us the opportunity to analyse the formation or disruption of households during the period under study for every individual both present in 2001 as in 2006. As a consequence, individuals who immigrated to Belgium between 2001 and 2006, or those who left the country in between or died before the first of January 2006, are not included in the analysis.

Given the purpose of our research we focus on second-generation women of Turkish - or Moroccan origin aged between 15 and 35 years and who were childless at the time of Census. The analysis consists of a series of discrete-time event history models predicting the likelihood of conception leading to a first live birth for all second-generation women (both singles as unions) at the time of Census as well as for new matches or union dissolutions between 2001 and 2006.

Although we are interested in the process of the transition to first birth, we model the rate of conception leading to a first live birth occurred during a given month instead, in order to allocate the appropriate partner characteristics to the event. This because couples might break up during the pregnancy, with the result that the first birth would erroneously be attributed to single women. Therefore, the rate of conception to a first live birth is operationalized as the earliest birth between the first of October 2001 and the first of January 2006 for those who were childless when entering the risk set, minus gestation time, fixed at 280 days. Hence, the period of observation starts nine months prior to the Census date (01/01/2001) and ends at 01/04/2005. If no birth occurred by the first of April 2005, we consider the event to be right censored:

$$\text{Logit}\,(h_{ij}(t)) = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1(age_i) + \alpha_2(age_i)^2 + \beta_1 X_i + \beta_2 Z_i(t) \qquad (1)$$

In equation (1), α_0 represent the trajectory's intercept when all predictors equal 0. α_1 is the parameter associated with the current age and represent the instantaneous rate of change in the logit of the hazard at t=15, and α_2 is the curvature parameter associated with the predictor age^2. X_i and $Z_i(t)$ are respectively observed time-constant and time-varying covariates. They measure the characteristics of individual *i*, which affect *i*'s transition to conception leading into a first live birth (equation 1).

Measures

The variables used in the discrete-time event history models are divided into four different groups: the baseline variable, the characteristics of the second-generation migrant, the characteristics of the partner if appropriate and the control variables.

The baseline variable is captured by the *age* of the second-generation migrant for each month between the beginning and end of our research period, expressed in years. Given the fact that there is no constant rate of change during the observation period, we included a second order polynomial for quadratic change (equation 1).

The characteristics of the second-generation migrant at our disposal are the level of education, occupational status at the time of Census (both included as time-constant), and the relationship status (time-varying). For *highest level of education* a distinction is made between lower education (reference category), medium education, higher non-academic education and higher academic education. Following the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) (UNESCO, 2012) low education includes those who have 'no formal -, primary -, lower secondary professional -, lower secondary technical – and lower secondary education'. Medium education consist of those with a 'higher secondary professional -, higher secondary technical -, higher secondary -, and post secondary education'. Higher non-academic education contains those with a 'higher non-academic degree and those who followed maximum two years of higher education'. And finally, higher academic education combines everyone 'who followed at least three years of higher education, higher academic cycle 1 or 2, and advanced academic education'.

Occupational status compares those who work full time at time of Census (reference category) with those who work part time or are unemployed. A full time occupational status also covers everyone with several part-time occupations, exceeding over 35 hours of work a week. Individuals with multiple part-time jobs working less than 35 hours are included among those who work part-time.

Due to the information of the *relation status* of the second-generation migrant both provided by the Census and the National Population Register, as well as the exact date of the formation or disruption of a household in between, we were able to determine for each individual whether she was single (reference category in models including singles), married (reference category for the models exclusively analysing those in relation) or unmarried cohabitation.

Once the second-generation woman is in a relationship, the same variables are available for the partner (educational level, occupational status), as well as his age (time-varying) and a variable combining his generation and origin group (time-constant).

Second-generation women of Turkish –or Moroccan origin have the possibility to partner respectively with someone of Turkish or Moroccan origin (endogamy) or with a native Belgian man (exogamy) (reference category). There is also the possibility to form a union with a partner from another origin group, but given the rarity of these unions, they are not included in the analysis. For the endogamous couples, the male partner can be a first-generation migrant, a 1.5-generation -or a second-generation migrant. A first-generation migrant is operationalized as someone with foreign origin, born outside Belgium and immigrated to Belgium at 19 years or older. Someone of the 1.5-generation has the same characteristics as a first-generation migrant with the exception that this person moved to Belgium between the ages 1 and 18 year. A second-generation migrant is someone of foreign origin who is born in Belgium or immigrated to Belgium before age 1. To determine the origin of the respondent, information on the current nationality (Census 2001) and nationality at birth are combined.

Following the operationalization of second-generation women, the same subdivision for *highest level of education* and *occupational status* of her partner are conducted, with the exception that his *educational level* is operationalized as having a partner who has the same education level (e.g. education homogamy) (reference category), a partner with a lower educational level (e.g. education downward heterogamy) or a partner with a higher educational achievement (e.g. education upward heterogamy). The *occupational status* of the partner compares those who work full time (reference category) with those who have a part time job or are unemployed. The *age* of the partner is calculated for each month during the research period.

Finally, the last set of indicators includes the control variables. These are measured by the housing, the quality of the housing, as well as the region the second-generation migrant lived in at time of Census (all time-constant). The indicator *housing* compares those who own a real estate (reference category) with those who rent a property. For the *quality of housing* a distinction is made between properties of basic quality (reference category), deficient quality, good housing quality and, finally, good quality combined with a spacious surface. The variable *region* compares those who live in the

Flemish Region of Belgium (reference category) to those who live in the Walloon Region of Belgium or in the Brussels Capital Region.

Results

The descriptive findings concerning the type of union, as well as the generation and nationality of the partner for second-generation women of Turkish –and Moroccan origin are respectively displayed in Table 1 and 2. Out of the in total 1 493 second-generation women of Turkish origin, 525 of them where single during the observation period, whereas 968 were in a relation (both married and unmarried cohabitation). For second-generation women of Moroccan origin, nearly half of the 4 014 women were single (1 934) and 2 080 were in union, regardless the type of union. A second feature shown in Table 1 is that if Turkish –and Moroccan second-generation women are in a relationship, it almost exclusively concerns marriages. Only a small percentage lives together with their partner without being married to him: 4.6 per cent among the women of Turkish origin and 6.4 per cent among second-generation Moroccan women are unmarried cohabiting with their partner.

Table 1. Number and percentage of second-generation women of Turkish and Moroccan origin, by relation status (column percentages)

	Turkey	Morocco
	(N: 1 493)	(N: 4 014)
Relation status		
Single	525 (35.2%)	1 934 (48.2%)
Married	899 (60.2%)	1 824 (45.4%)
Unmarried cohabitation	69 (4.6%)	256 (6.4%)

Source: Belgian Census (2001) and National Population Register (2006).

Moreover, as Table 2 indicates, among those in union, around 60 per cent of second-generation women are together with a first-generation migrant from their own origin group. This is true for both women of Turkish – and Moroccan origin. For second-generation women of Turkish origin, 19.2 per cent forms a union with a second-generation man and 12.6 per cent forms a union with a native Belgian man. For women of Moroccan origin, approximately 16 per cent has a second-generation man and 16.8 per cent forms an exogamous relation with a native Belgian men. The smallest percentages are found for couples where the partner is a 1.5-generation migrant of the same origin group. These descriptive findings are in line with previous research.

Second-generation women are still more inclined to partner endogenously, and in particular with a transnational partner. Additional descriptive findings are presented in Appendix, Table A.

Table 2. Number and percentage of second-generation women of Turkish and Moroccan origin in union, by generation and origin of the partner (column percentages)

	Turkey	Morocco
	(N: 930)	(N: 1 941)
Generation and origin		
Native Belgian	117 (12.6%)	327 (16.8%)
1st-generation	563 (60.5%)	1 199 (61.8%)
1.5-generation	71 (7.6%)	97 (5.0%)
2nd-generation	179 (19.2)	318 (16.4%)

Source: Belgian Census (2001) and National Population Register (2006).

The results of the event history models are shown in Table 3, 4 and 5. Given that some individual characteristics, such as educational attainment and occupation, are only captured at time of Census and are therefore time-constant, we analyse the transition to a first birth for second-generation women between the ages 15 and 25 years and 26 thru 35 years separately, as well as models including the entire age rage (15-35 years). This because women between the ages 15 and 25 are probably still at school at time of Census and thus not have completed their education yet. It is plausible to assume that the effect of educational attainment might be different for them compared to those between the ages 26 and 35, as the latter age group completed their schooling. The same reasoning is applicable for occupational status.

Table 3. Discrete time hazard model of the transition to a first birth for all second-generation women of Turkish and Moroccan origin: exponentiated regression coefficients

	Turkey			Morocco		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	15-25 year	26-35 year	15-35 year	15-25 year	26-35 year	15-35 year
	(N: 1 150)	(N: 412)	(N: 1 562)	(N: 2 448)	(N: 1 759)	(N: 4 207)
Constant	0.366	0.000	0.001	0.006	0.000	0.000
Exposure time						
Age in years	0.736	1.180	1.214	0.994	2.200	1.435
Age*Age in years	1.007	0.996	0.996	1.001	0.986	0.993
Respondent characteristics						
Education (ref.=low education)						
Medium education	1.077	1.918	1.219	0.885	1.140	0.988
High non-academic education	1.303	1.504	1.292	0.778	1.075	0.911
High academic education	0.120	1.534	0.781	0.615	1.104	0.909
Occupation (ref.=full-time)						
Part-time	1.145	0.882	1.050	0.952	1.080	1.008
Unemployed	1.437	1.032	1.304	1.366	1.205	1.318
Relation status (TV) (ref.=single)						
Married	2.949	6.325	3.549	4.388	5.561	4.839
Cohabitation	1.298	2.400	1.618	1.911	2.121	1.989
Control variables						
Housing (ref.=owner)						
Tenant	0.809	1.367	0.928	0.877	0.961	0.902
Quality of housing (ref.=basic)						
Deficient	1.266	1.182	1.266	1.255	0.869	1.082
Good	0.893	0.987	0.926	1.169	0.901	1.049
Good and spacious	1.083	1.072	1.084	0.902	0.907	0.935
Region (ref.=Flanders)						
Brussels	0.950	1.833	1.078	1.021	1.045	1.030
Wallonia	0.762	1.830	0.987	0.886	0.901	0.891
-2 Log Likelihood	3 552.569	1 287.271	4 878.381	6 130.732	4 988.566	11 142.954

Source: Belgian Census (2001) and National Population Register (2006).
TV = time-varying; ref. = reference category

Table 3 gives an overview of the exponentiated coefficients for all second-generation women of Turkish (models 1 to 3) -and Moroccan origin (models 4 to 6). In line with previous concerns of the time-constant variables, Table 3 includes in addition with a model for the entire age population (model 3 and 6), a model for second-generation women between 15 and 25 years (model 1 and 4), and between 26 and 35 years (model 2 and 5). As all women are included in the analysis, solely the characteristics of the research population are incorporated in the models. The most striking findings between the two origin group, are the different coefficients according to the educational level, relation status and region. First, second-generation women of Turkish –or Moroccan origin aged between 26 and 35 years with medium education experience the highest rates of first birth. The coefficients are respectively 1.918 and 1.140. Within the same age group, the number of second-generation women of Turkish –or Moroccan origin experiencing a transition compared to those who retain childless is respectively 53.4% and 10.4% higher for women with a high academic education compared to their low

educated counterparts. A second important finding is the importance of marriage on the transition to a first birth. This is true for both origin groups. Within the age category 26-35, the exponentiated coefficient for married women is 6.325 for those of Turkish origin and 5.561 for the Moroccan women. Third, and finally, the odds-ratios for second-generation women regardless their origin group are the highest among those living in Brussels, and the lowest for those residing in the French Region of Belgium (Models 3 and 6).

Table 4 displays the exponentiated coefficients for the transition to a first birth for second-generation women of Turkish –and Moroccan origin together. The first three models includes all second-generation women, whereas the odds ratios from the last six models solely concerns those in relation.

With the exception of women between the ages 26 and 35 for all women (model 2), the rate of experiencing a first birth is lower among women of Turkish origin, compared to second-generation Moroccan women. The exponentiated coefficients are 0.969 for all women between the ages 15 and 35 years (Model 3) and 0.903 for those in relation (Model 6). This means that the number of second-generation women experiencing the transition to a first birth in comparison to those who do not is respectively 3.1% and 9.7% lower among women of Turkish origin compared to women of Moroccan origin.

For women between the ages 26 and 35 with at least a medium educational attainment, the rates of experiencing a conception are higher compared to those with a low education. Taking into account second-generation women younger than 26 years, having a medium or a high non-academic education is associated with higher odds-ratios, whereas the rate of a first birth is lower for those with a high academic education compared to second-generation women with low education, regardless whether the single women are included in the analyses or not (Model 3 and 6).

As already mentioned, 60.2 per cent of the second-generation women of Turkish origin are married. Among women of Moroccan decent, 45.4 per cent has a husband. For those in relation, the majority of both origin groups are forming a union with a first generation man (Table 1 and 2). The results of the event history analyses for those in relation indicate that the rates of experiencing a first birth are the highest when second-generation women of Turkish -or Moroccan origin are in an endogamous couple (Table 4). Moreover, the rates are the highest when the partner is a first-generation partner from their own origin group. For women between the ages 15 and 35 years in relation (Model 6), the exponentiated coefficients for a first-generation partner, a 1.5-generation partner or a second-generation partner are respectively 1.388, 1.237 and 1.342. This

means that the number of second-generation women experiencing a first birth compared with those who do not is 38.8% higher if the partner is a first-generation migrant, 23.7% when he is a 1.5-generation migrant and 34.2% higher if he is born in Belgium, compared to second-generation women of Turkish –or Moroccan origin in an exogamous couple with a native Belgian man.

These findings are consistent with our first two hypotheses. The rates of experiencing the transition to a first birth are the lowest when second-generation women of Turkish –or Moroccan origin partner a native Belgian man (Hypothesis 1). Our second hypothesis, expecting higher rates of a first birth when partnering a first-generation partner from the own origin group, compared to partnering a second-generation man, is also confirmed.

To analyse whether the transition to parenthood between Turkish –and Moroccan women with respect to the generation of her partner differs, we included the interaction between her own origin and the generation of her partner (model 7, 8 and 9 in Table 4). And although none of these additional terms were found to be significant, within the youngest age group (15-25 years) some interesting aspects appeals for those who partner a 1.5-generation man. The rates of experiencing a first birth for Moroccan women who partner a 1.5-generation man are more or less comparable to those who form a union with a first-generation partner. For Turkish women, however, partnering a 1.5-generation man is associated with odds-ratios comparable to when she partners a native Belgian man (see also Figure A, presented in Appendix).

Table 4. Discrete time hazard model of the transition to a first birth for all second-generation women of Turkish and Moroccan origin: exponentiated regression coefficients

	All women			In relation					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	15-25 year	26-35 year	15-35 year	15-25 year	26-35 year	15-35 year	15-25 year	26-35 year	15-35 year
	(N: 3 598)	(N: 2 171)	(N: 5 769)	(N: 2 146)	(N: 902)	(N: 3 048)	(N: 2 146)	(N: 902)	(N: 3 048)
Constant	0.026	0.000	0.000	0.032	0.002	0.002	0.024	0.002	0.002
Exposure time									
Age in years	0.896	1.870	1.352	0.963	1.276	1.279	0.979	1.314	1.283
Age*Age in years	1.003	0.989	0.994	1.002	0.996	0.995	1.001	0.995	0.995
Respondent characteristics									
Origin (ref.=Moroccan origin)									
Turkish origin	0.940	1.050	0.969	0.937	0.894	0.903	1.046	0.964	0.998
Education (ref.=low education)									
Medium education	0.960	1.298	1.065	0.953	1.159	1.017	0.947	1.159	1.018
High non-academic education	0.934	1.192	1.022	1.049	1.077	1.035	1.038	1.083	1.029
High academic education	0.500	1.248	0.932	0.446	1.121	0.848	0.438	1.102	0.842
Occupation (ref.=full-time)									
Part-time	0.999	1.078	1.020	1.047	0.927	1.001	1.044	0.901	1.002
Unemployed	1.368	1.200	1.303	1.392	1.256	1.339	1.385	1.248	1.338
Relation status (TV) (ref.=single)									
Married	3.869	5.533	4.444	(=ref.)	(=ref.)	(=ref.)	(=ref.)	(=ref.)	(=ref.)
Cohabitation	1.704	2.135	1.885	0.515	0.419	0.490	0.520	0.421	0.490
Partner characteristics									
Generation and origin (ref.=native)									
1st-generation				1.401	1.318	1.388	1.422	1.337	1.407
1.5-generation				1.167	1.308	1.237	1.533	1.200	1.374
2nd-generation				1.340	1.225	1.342	1.385	1.350	1.408
Education difference (ref.=homogamy)									
Downwards heterogamy				0.885	1.018	0.935	0.883	1.018	0.937
Upwards heterogamy				0.973	1.016	0.989	0.965	1.033	0.985
Occupation (ref.=full-time)									
Part-time				0.812	1.071	0.890	0.816	1.081	0.895
Unemployed				0.879	0.697	0.827	0.872	0.699	0.827
Age (TV)				1.001	0.959	0.985	1.001	0.959	0.985
Control variables									
Housing (ref.=owner)									
Tenant	0.843	1.068	0.926	0.854	0.989	0.904	0.848	0.974	0.901
Quality of housing (ref.=basic)									
Deficient	1.268	0.920	1.141	1.311	0.998	1.233	1.341	1.020	1.242
Good	1.066	0.908	1.013	1.002	0.746	0.934	1.013	0.751	0.939
Good and spacious	0.994	0.944	0.995	0.930	0.852	0.932	0.944	0.857	0.938
Region (ref.=Flanders)									
Brussels	1.014	1.186	1.065	1.095	1.300	1.152	1.097	1.301	1.146
Wallonia	0.838	1.127	0.934	0.948	1.386	1.079	0.946	1.377	1.076
Interaction									
Origin*generation and origin of partner (ref.=Moroccan and partner is native Belgian man)									
Turkish*1st-generation							0.943	0.935	0.930
Turkish*1.5-generation							0.533	1.406	0.726
Turkish*2nd-generation							0.897	0.701	0.849
-2Log Likelihood	9 705.402	6 292.628	16 037.381	5 843.039	3 263.498	9 133.807	5 839.434	3 261.590	9 132.349

Source: Belgian Census (2001) and National Population Register (2006).

TV = time-varying; ref. = reference category

Table 5 displays the results of the event history models for second-generation women of Turkish (Models 1-3) –and Moroccan (Models 4-6) origin in union for both origin groups separately. The results indicate for second-generation women exceeding 25 years a decrease of the odds-ratios as the educational attainment increases. With the exception of medium educated Turkish women, this is true for both origin groups. Another similarity between the two origin groups can be found in the effect of occupational status: the rate of entering into parenthood is the highest when the second-generation woman of Turkish –or Moroccan origin is unemployed. As Table 4 already indicated for both origin groups together, the rate of experiencing a first birth is the highest among endogamous couples. When analysing second-generation women of Turkish or Moroccan origin separately, the same conclusion can be made. However, both origin groups differ from each other with respect to the intensity of the rates. First, regardless the age group, second-generation women of Moroccan origin who partner endogenously, have at all time higher exponentiated coefficients compared to the reference category. For second-generation Turkish women between the ages 15 and 25 years, however, the rates to parenthood are lower when they partner a 1.5-generation man compared to when they are in an exogamous union. The same conclusion is already made when the interaction between origin of the women and generation of the partner are included in the analysis (Table 4, models 7-9; Appendix, Figure A). A second difference between both origin groups is that the rates are almost at all time higher for Moroccan second-generation women, regardless the generation of the partner. As model 3 and 6 of Table 5 illustrate, the number of second-generation women experiencing the transition compared to those who do not is 42.6% higher when the partner is a first–generation man compared to when her partner is a native Belgian. For Turkish second-generation women, this percentage equals 26.6%. And whereas the rate of experiencing a first birth is more or less the same among Moroccan women with a 1.5 –or second-generation migrant, the rate for Turkish women is 0.953 when her partner is a 1.5 –generation Turk, and 1.145 when she forms a union with a second-generation man.

A subsequent difference between both origin groups can be found in the educational difference with her husband. Whereas the highest rates are observed for Moroccan women whose partner has the same educational attainment (Model 5), the rate of entering into parenthood among second-generation women of Turkish origin is the highest when her significant other is higher educated and the lowest when she maintains the highest educational achievement (model 3).

The interaction between the educational level of the women and the generation of the partner reveals interesting aspects towards the transition to parenthood. The results are shown in Figure 1 and 2. An overview of the coefficients is included in Appendix, Table B. As women between 15 and 25 years might still be at school the interaction terms are solely included in the model were the entire age range is considered. Especially for second-generation women of Turkish origin, the educational level exhibits different outcomes depending on the origin and generation of her partner. Among medium educated Turkish women, the fertility behaviour will be higher when she partners exogenously, whereas women holding a high non-academic education experience higher rates of transition when partnering a 1.5-generation Turk. The highest rates among high academic educated women are notable for those forming a union with a second-generation man.

In conclusion, also when second-generation women of Turkish –or Moroccan origin are analysed separately, our first –and second hypothesis is confirmed. The rates of entering into parenthood are not identical when partnering exogenously or with a member of the own origin group (Hypothesis 1). Moreover, the highest rates are observed when the second-generation woman partners a first-generation man (Hypothesis 2).

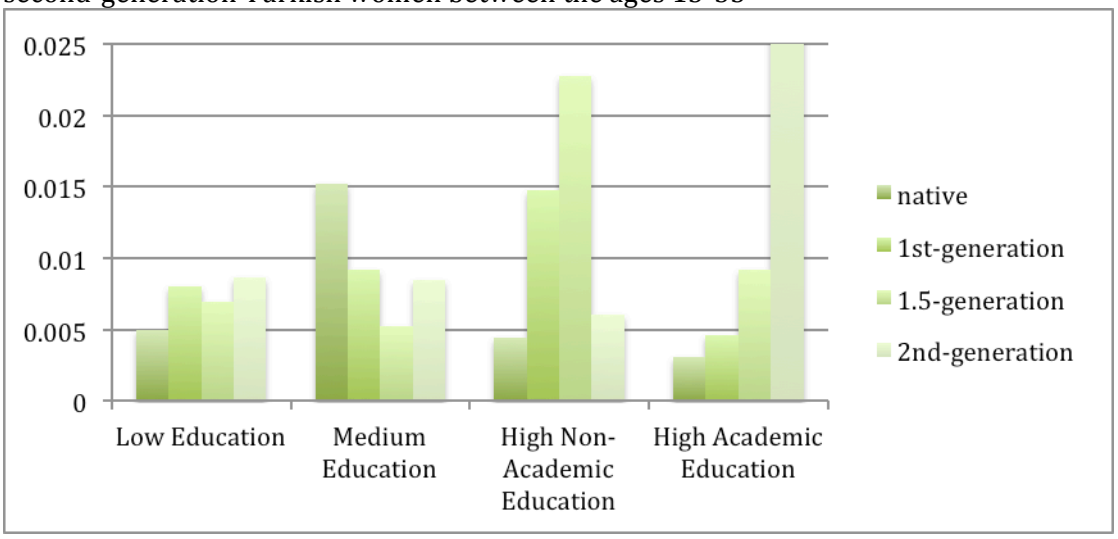
Table 5. Discrete time hazard model of the transition to a first birth for all second-generation women of Turkish and Moroccan origin in relation: exponentiated regression coefficients

	Turkey			Morocco		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	15-25 year	26-35 year	15-35 year	15-25 year	26-35 year	15-35 year
	(N: 764)	(N: 204)	(N: 968)	(N: 1 382)	(N: 698)	(N: 2 080)
Constant	0.069	0.783	0.009	0.040	0.000	0.001
Exposure time						
Age in years	0.889	0.837	1.095	0.920	1.828	1.396
Age*Age in years	1.003	1.004	0.998	1.003	0.990	0.994
Respondent characteristics						
Education (ref.=low education)						
Medium education	1.041	1.728	1.133	0.919	0.960	0.939
High non-academic education	1.518	0.963	1.166	0.925	0.990	0.945
High academic education	0.133	0.844	0.653	0.593	0.910	0.826
Occupation (ref.=full-time)						
Part-time	1.298	0.636	1.151	0.988	0.888	0.956
Unemployed	1.343	1.497	1.323	1.473	1.148	1.371
Relation status (TV) (ref.=married)						
Cohabitation	0.531	0.287	0.472	0.491	0.450	0.484
Partner characteristics						
Generation and origin (ref.=native)						
1st-generation	1.387	1.030	1.266	1.388	1.437	1.426
1.5-generation	0.820	1.408	0.953	1.484	1.238	1.386
2nd-generation	1.172	0.789	1.145	1.396	1.452	1.420
Education difference (ref.=homogamy)						
Downwards heterogamy	0.844	1.632	1.061	0.880	0.851	0.873
Upwards heterogamy	0.739	1.143	0.891	1.039	0.918	0.995
Occupation (ref.=full-time)						
Part-time	0.921	4.659	0.967	0.798	1.029	0.888
Unemployed	0.867	0.872	0.883	0.880	0.610	0.791
Age (TV)	1.013	0.931	0.996	1.000	0.962	0.984
Control variables						
Housing (ref.=owner)						
Tenant	0.775	1.427	0.927	0.970	0.784	0.866
Quality of housing (ref.=basic)						
Deficient	1.262	0.818	1.293	1.379	0.973	1.221
Good	0.851	0.750	0.880	1.124	0.737	0.967
Good and spacious	1.134	0.899	1.103	0.835	0.792	0.854
Region (ref.=Flanders)						
Brussels	1.059	1.926	1.239	1.094	1.135	1.090
Wallonia	0.746	2.561	1.032	1.136	1.012	1.067
-2Log Likelihood	2 327.968	784.884	3 161.274	3 492.839	2 448.308	5 958.886

Source: Belgian Census (2001) and National Population Register (2006).

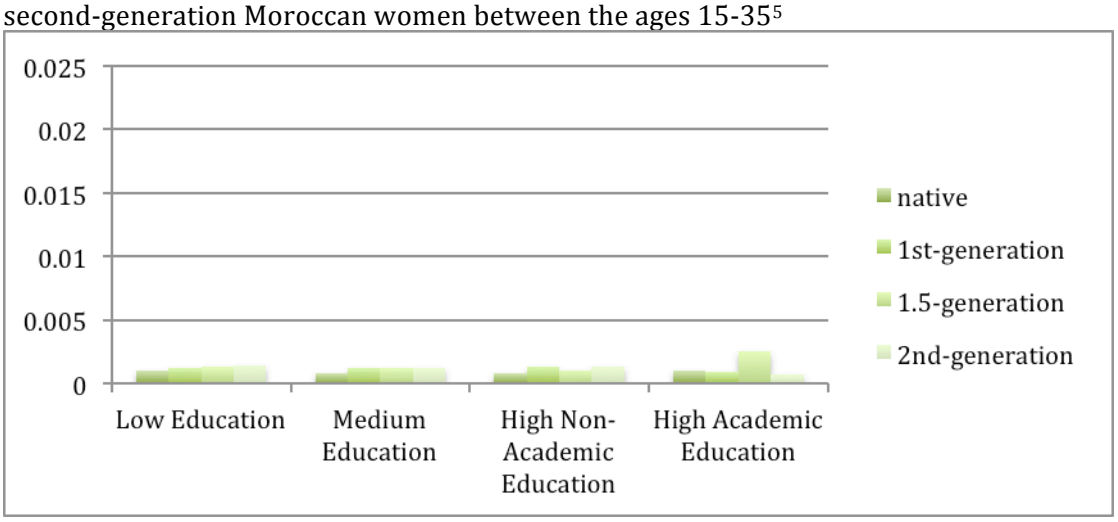
TV = time-varying; ref. = reference category

Figure 1. Interaction effects of educational level and the generation of the partner for second-generation Turkish women between the ages 15-35[4]



Source: Belgian Census (2001) and National Population Register (2006).

Figure 2. Interaction effects of educational level and the generation of the partner for second-generation Moroccan women between the ages 15-35[5]



Source: Belgian Census (2001) and National Population Register (2006).

Main preliminary findings

Union formation and the transition to parenthood are in the literature often interpreted as key determinants for the transition to adulthood. Although both events are already examined for migrants and their descendants separately, little is known on the interplay of these events. Our paper analyses how partner choice of migrants affects their childbearing behaviour. In particular, we examined how the partner choice of second-generation women of Turkish –and Moroccan origin influenced their transition to

[4] With the exception of the educational level of second-generation women of Turkish origin and the generation of her partner, all other predictors are held constant.
[5] With the exception of the educational level of second-generation women of Moroccan origin and the generation of her partner, all other predictors are held constant.

parenthood in Belgium. These women can form a union with someone from her own origin group (endogamous unions) or with a native Belgian man (exogamous unions). Moreover, within the own group, a second-generation woman can partner a first –, a 1.5 -, or a second-generation migrant. We used data for Belgium and used the linked 2001 Belgium Census with the National Population Register in 2006. This resulted in a dataset where we not only have individual information for all residents legally present in the country, but also the necessary information to analyse the transition to a first birth.

Based on previous research, we derived two main hypotheses. First, we expected that partnering a native Belgian man would be accompanied with the lowest rates of having a first birth. Second, we assumed diversity within endogamous unions: the rates of having a first child were expected to be higher when the partner is a first-generation man compared to when the partner is a second-generation man of the own origin group.

By the means of discrete event history models, we did find evidence in favour of our hypotheses. First, the rates of having a first child are lower when second-generation women partner exogenously compared to when the partner is a member of the own origin group. Second, the rates to parenthood differ according to the generation of the partner: the highest rates to parenthood are found when the partner is a first-generation man, and the lowest when the partner is also born and raised in Belgium (e.g. second-generation). These findings are true for both origin groups.

Although these first analyses are already providing new insights in a so far under-researched domain, further research is necessary. We will expand our analyses further to test one of the alternative hypotheses provided in the literature. These suggest that it might be especially highly assimilated women deciding to partner a first-generation migrant (e.g. Lievens, 1998). This would result in higher ages at first birth when the partner is a first-generation man, compared to when the partner is a second-generation man of the own origin group. Further analyses will be performed to complement our work and finalize the paper.

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Appendix

Table A. Number and percentage of second-generation women of Turkish and Moroccan origin, age 15-35 (column percentages)

	Turkey		Morocco	
	(1) S-M-C (N: 1 562)	(2) M-C (N: 968)	(3) S-M-C (N: 4 207)	(4) M-C (N: 2 080)
Respondent characteristics				
Education	1 445	922	3 680	1 939
Low education	422 (29.2)	255 (27.7)	971 (26.4)	460 (23.7)
Medium education	808 (55.9)	541 (58.7)	1 963 (53.3)	1 084 (55.9)
High non-academic education	166 (11.5)	102 (11.1)	534 (14.5)	295 (15.2)
High academic education	49 (3.4)	24 (2.6)	212 (5.8)	100 (5.2)
Occupation	1 048	680	2 778	1 399
Full time	548 (52.3)	361 (53.1)	1 461 (52.6)	768 (54.9)
Part time	179 (17.1)	120 (17.6)	458 (16.5)	263 (18.8)
Unemployed	321 (30.6)	199 (29.3)	859 (30.9)	368 (26.3)
Relation status	1 493	968	4 014	2 080
Single	525 (35.2)	/	1 934 (48.2)	/
Married	899 (60.2)	899 (92.9)	1 824 (45.4)	1 824 (87.7)
Cohabitation	69 (4.6)	69 (7.1)	256 (6.4)	256 (12.3)
Partner characteristics				
Generation and origin		930		1 941
Native		117 (12.6)		327 (16.8)
1st generation		563 (60.5)		1 199 (61.8)
1.5-generation		71 (7.6)		97 (5.0)
2nd generation		179 (19.2)		318 (16.4)
Education difference		863		1 792
Homogamy		427 (49.5)		726 (40.5)
Downwards heterogamy		299 (34.6)		610 (34.0)
Upwards heterogamy		137 (15.9)		456 (25.4)
Occupation		763		1 722
Full time		578 (75.8)		1 254 (72.8)
Part time		51 (6.7)		176 (10.2)
Unemployed		134 (17.6)		292 (17.0)
Age		950		1 941
Control variables				
Housing	1 231	828	3 228	1 785
Owner	318 (25.8)	258 (31.2)	394 (12.2)	253 (14.2)
Tenant	913 (74.2)	570(68.8)	2 834 (87.8)	1 532 (85.8)
Quality of housing	1 266	851	3 219	1 756
Basic	522 (41.2)	340 (40.0)	1 384 (43.0)	727 (41.4)
Deficient	200 (15.8)	108 (12.7)	539 (16.7)	242 (13.8)
Good	342 (27.0)	249 (29.3)	941 (29.2)	559 (31.8)
Good and spacious	202 (16.0)	154 (18.1)	355 (11.0)	228 (13.0)
Region	1 562	968	4 207	2 080
Wallonia	447 (28.6)	266 (27.5)	692 (16.4)	314 (15.1)
Flanders	700 (44.8)	509 (52.6)	1 089 (25.9)	565 (27.2)
Brussels	415 (26.6)	193 (19.9)	2 426 (57.7)	1 201 (57.7)

Source: Belgian Census (2001) and National Population Register (2006).

S-M-C = single-married-unmarried cohabitation; M-C = married-unmarried cohabitation

Table B. Discrete time hazard model of the transition to a first birth for all second-generation women of Turkish and Moroccan origin in relation, including interaction between educational level of women and generation of the partner: exponentiated regression coefficients

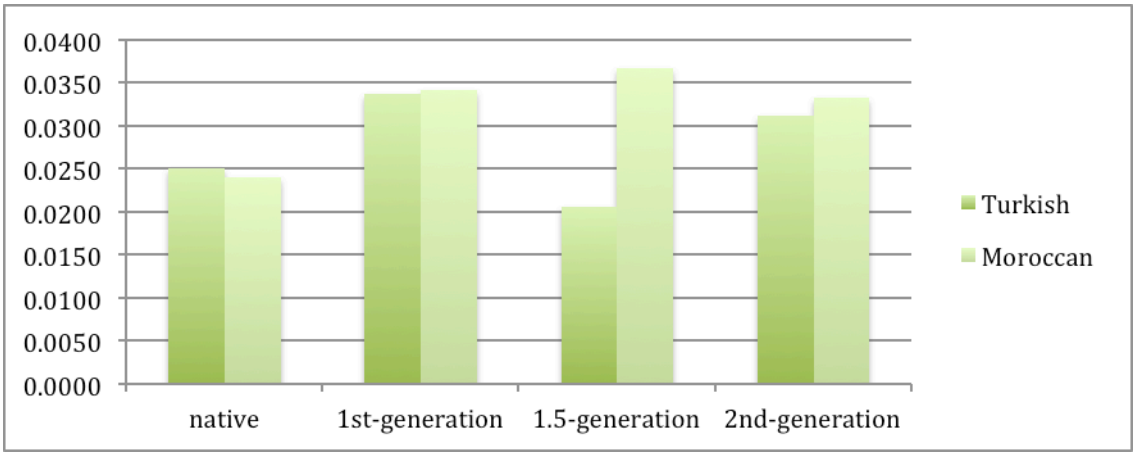
	Turkey		Morocco	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	15-35 year	15-35 year	15-35 year	15-35 year
	(N: 968)	(N: 968)	(N: 2 080)	(N: 2 080)
Constant	0.009	0.005	0.001	0.001
Exposure time				
Age in years	1.095	1.117	1.396	1.398
Age*Age in years	0.998	0.998	0.994	0.994
Respondent characteristics				
Education (ref.=low education)				
Medium education	1.133	3.047	0.939	0.843
High non-academic education	1.166	0.882	0.945	0.802
High academic education	0.653	0.614	0.826	1.029
Occupation (ref.=full-time)				
Part-time	1.151	1.213	0.956	0.976
Unemployed	1.323	1.375	1.371	1.389
Relation status (TV) (ref.=married)				
Cohabitation	0.472	0.427	0.484	0.483
Partner characteristics				
Generation and origin (ref.=native)				
1st-generation	1.266	1.614	1.426	1.256
1.5-generation	0.953	1.386	1.386	1.283
2nd-generation	1.145	1.727	1.420	1.395
Education difference (ref.=homogamy)				
Downwards heterogamy	1.061	0.967	0.873	0.874
Upwards heterogamy	0.891	0.848	0.995	0.998
Occupation (ref.=full-time)				
Part-time	0.967	0.915	0.888	0.873
Unemployed	0.883	0.899	0.791	0.787
Age (TV)	0.996	1.001	0.984	0.982
Control variables				
Housing (ref.=owner)				
Tenant	0.927	0.892	0.866	0.864
Quality of housing (ref.=basic)				
Deficient	1.293	1.274	1.221	1.206
Good	0.880	0.827	0.967	0.946
Good and spacious	1.103	1.081	0.854	0.837
Region (ref.=Flanders)				
Brussels	1.239	1.289	1.090	1.095
Wallonia	1.032	0.949	1.067	1.065
Interaction				
Education*generation of partner (ref.=Low education and native Belgian man)				
Medium Education*1st-generation		0.375		1.189
Medium Education*1.5-generation		0.248		1.109
Medium Education*2nd-generation		0.322		1.029
High Non-Academic Education*1st-generation		2.077		1.301
High Non-Academic Education*1.5 generation		3.725		1.022
High Non-Academic Education*2nd-generation		0.790		1.184
High Academic Education*1st-generation		0.939		0.702
High Academic Education*1.5-generation		2.169		1.919
High Academic Education*2nd-generation		8.202		0.521
-2Log Likelihood	3 161.274	3 131.950	5 958.886	5 953.113

Source: Belgian Census (2001) and National Population Register (2006).

TV = time-varying; ref. = reference category

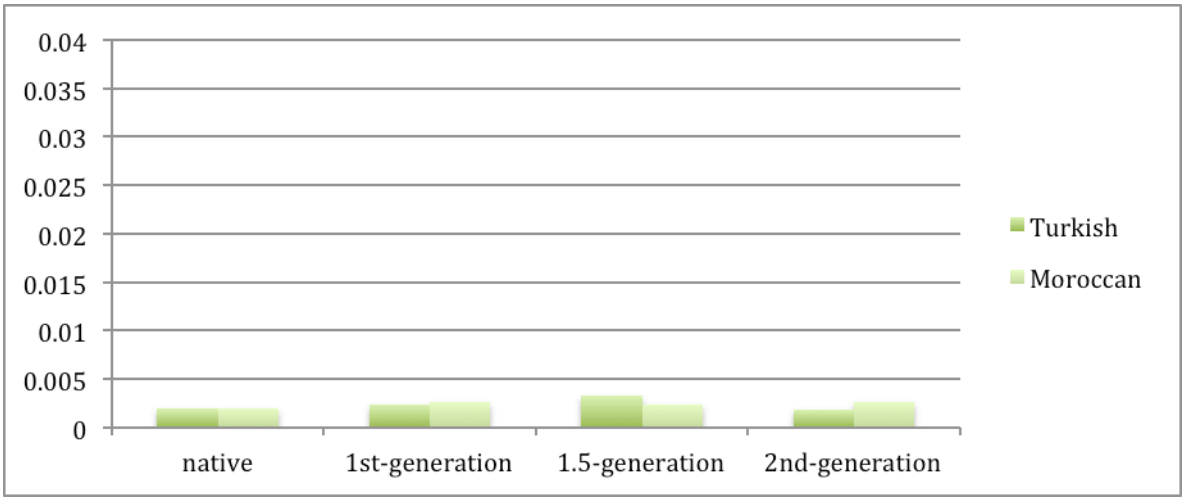
Figure A. Interaction effects of origin of second-generation women and the generation of the partner[6]:

Between the ages 15-25



Source: Belgian Census (2001) and National Population Register (2006).

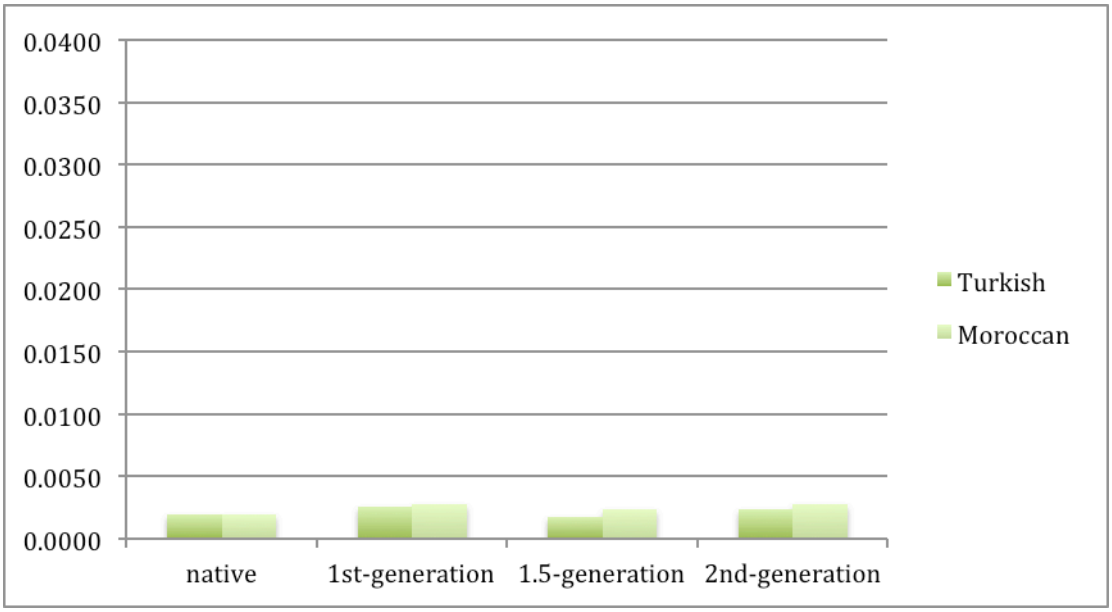
Between the ages 26-35



Source: Belgian Census (2001) and National Population Register (2006).

[6] With the exception of the origin of second-generation women and the generation of her partner, all other predictors are held constant.

Between the ages 15-35



Source: Belgian Census (2001) and National Population Register (2006).