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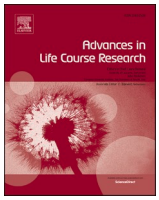

The gender division of paid work over family formation: Variation by couples' migration background

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ABSTRACT

Although the gender gap in labour force participation has narrowed considerably in many European countries, life course scholars have shown that the transition to parenthood exacerbates gender inequality in couples' division of paid work. Hitherto, variation by migration background has received limited attention in research on the effect of parenthood on couples' gender division of paid work. This is remarkable given that such heterogeneity is theoretically informative on differential interconnectedness of life course events, but may also inform policy makers on the life course transitions that induce migrant-native differentials in women's labour force participation. This study adopts a life course perspective and uses longitudinal microdata from Belgian social security registers to examine variation in couples' gender division of paid work around family formation by migration background. Taking into account couples' migration background – by considering the origin group and migrant generation of both partners – we identify four patterns of gender dynamics around family formation in couples where at least one partner is of migrant origin. These four patterns emerge from (dis)similarities with native couples with respect to their pre-birth division of paid work on the one hand and their changes in this division around family formation on the other hand. These results highlight that combining an account of couples' division of paid work prior to the birth of a first child with a perspective focussing on how the division of paid work changes around family formation is necessary for a thorough understanding of variation by migration background.

1. Introduction

In the second half of the 20th century, European countries experienced a massive increase in women's labour force participation, resulting in a gradual shift in couples' work-family organisation from a male-breadwinner to a dual-earner model. The gender revolution is, however, incomplete as women still display lower rates of labour force participation compared to men and still do most of the household and childcare tasks (Goldscheider, Bernhardt, & Lappegård, 2015). Previous studies have shown that couples' division of paid and unpaid work is not stable over the life course and that particularly the transition to parenthood exacerbates gender inequality in (un)paid work. While men's labour market participation remains relatively stable, women are more likely to reduce their working hours after the birth of the first child (Baxter, Hewitt, & Haynes, 2008; Gutierrez-Domenech, 2005; Kreyenfeld, 2015; Kuhhirt, 2011; Schober, 2013; Wood, Neels, De Wachter, & Kil, 2016).

Hitherto, population heterogeneity in terms of migration background[1] has received limited attention in literature on couples' gender division of (un)paid work around family formation. A limited number of studies have assessed how first and second generation migrants divide (un)paid work at a particular moment in time, controlling for the presence of children, rather than adopting a longitudinal perspective on variation in the gender division of work over the life course. Studies for Germany (Diehl, Koenig, & Ruckdeschel, 2009) and Sweden (Goldscheider Goldscheider & Bernhardt, 2011) indicate that natives are more likely to have an equal division of household tasks than first and second generation Turks. Further, Huschek, de Valk, and Liefbroer (2011) find

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[1] In this study, Belgian natives are defined as individuals whose first registered nationality is Belgian and of whom the first registered nationality of both parents is Belgian as well. Due to a lack of information on the first nationality of the grandparents, we cannot distinguish the third generation from natives. By extension, native couples refer to couples where both partners are Belgian natives. Migrant origin couples refer to couples where at least one partner has a migration background (first or second generation).

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that the division of (un)paid work of second generation Turkish men and women in six European countries is strongly influenced by the institutional context and the origin and generation of the partner. The degree to which changes in the gender division of paid work around the transition to parenthood vary by couples' migration background has hitherto not been addressed, which is remarkable given the theoretical and societal relevance. A large body of research indicates that labour market positions (Corluy, 2014; Heath, Rothon, & Kilpi, 2008), as well as gender role attitudes (de Valk, 2008; Kretschmer, 2018; Röder & Mühlau, 2014) differ considerably by origin group, migrant generation and gender. Considering micro-economic theories (Becker, 1991; Lundberg & Pollak, 1996) and socio-cultural theories (Blumberg, 1984; West & Zimmerman, 1987), gender dynamics around family formation are therefore likely to differ by couples' migration background due to variation in partners' pre-birth relative wage potential and/or differential parenting norms. In addition, the impact of economic and cultural mechanisms on couples' gender dynamics around family formation may also vary by migration background. From a societal perspective it is important to understand whether and why the gender division of paid work around family formation changes in a different way in migrant origin couples compared to native couples. European countries are becoming increasingly diverse and are challenged by high welfare state costs connected to population ageing (e.g. health care, pensions) and increasing labour force participation of migrant origin women has become an important policy goal (FOD WASO & UNIA, 2019; Holland & de Valk, 2017; Rubin et al., 2008). Moreover, gender inequality in paid work has long-term implications for women's financial independence, future labour market opportunities and social security protection (e.g. pensions) (Koelet, De Valk, Glorieux, Laurijssen, & Willaert, 2015; Neels, De Wachter, & Peeters, 2018).

Using longitudinal microdata from Belgian Social Security registers, this paper aims to unpack variation by migration background in couples' gender division of paid work in early family trajectories to parenthood. We contribute to the existing literature in two ways. First and foremost, whereas the effect of parenthood on couples' gender division of (un)paid work has been well-documented among majority populations (Baxter et al., 2008; Kuhhirt, 2011; Schober, 2013; Wood et al., 2016; Wood, Kil, & Marynissen, 2018), variation of this link by couples' migration background has hitherto only been examined to a limited extent due to the limited availability of large-scale longitudinal data. In addition, previous research focussing on migrants' gender division of (un)paid work has not addressed how this division unfolds over the life course and has not fully acknowledged heterogeneity by origin within and between couples (Diehl et al., 2009; Goldscheider Goldscheider & Bernhardt, 2011). In this exploratory study, we therefore combine these two strands of research to compare the gender division of paid work around the transition to parenthood among couples with different migration backgrounds. We distinguish ten types of couples considering the origin group and migrant generation of both partners and document how the division of paid work differs between native and migrant origin couples from one year before up to three years after the transition to parenthood. Subsequently, to further enhance our understanding of couples' reorganisation of paid work around family formation, we estimate couple-level fixed-effects models that only exploit variation within couples over time to assess whether the impact of the transition to parenthood on couples' division of paid work differs by migration background in couples where at least one partner was employed before the birth of the first child (Allison, 2009; Stock & Watson, 2015).

Second, the Belgian setting provides an interesting case to explore variation in couples' division of paid work around the transition to parenthood by migration background. Belgium is characterised by low employment gaps between mothers and childless women and is, alongside France and Nordic countries, considered as a context with extensive work-family reconciliation policies. Belgium is also an old immigration country with a substantial and increasing share of the population having a migration background. As a result of their long migration history, Southern European (mainly Italian), Turkish and Maghreb (with the overwhelming majority originating from Morocco) origin groups constitute - after neighbouring countries - the largest foreign origin groups in Belgium with a large second generation. However, the Belgian labour market is characterised by stark differentials in labour market opportunities and outcomes between insiders and outsiders (Doerflinger, Pulignano, & Lukac, 2020), mostly affecting outsiders such as groups—and particularly women—with a non-European migration origin (Maes, Wood, & Neels, 2019; Rubin et al., 2008). Belgium also exhibits one of the largest employment rate gaps between natives and migrant origin groups across Europe (Corluy, 2014; OECD, 2008; Rubin et al., 2008). Available research indicates that these labour market inequalities result in strong migrant-native differences in the uptake of reconciliation policies since access to childcare and parental leave are – in contrast to Nordic countries – strongly conditioned on stable employment (Kil, Wood, & Neels, 2017; Marynissen, Wood, & Neels, 2021; Vandenbroeck, De Visscher, Van Nuffel, & Ferla, 2008). Migrant-native differences in the access to reconciliation policies may therefore induce varying gender dynamics in couples' division of paid work around family formation by migration background since couples with limited access are more likely to resort to alternative work-family strategies that involve a higher degree of gender inequality. The findings for Belgium are relevant to other conservative and liberal European countries that also have large migrant groups and face similar challenges in improving the labour market integration of migrant origin women.

2. Couples' gender division of (un)paid work around the transition to parenthood

In line with the principle of parallel biographies in the life course paradigm, a large body of literature investigates the recursive interlinkage between parenthood and employment, also taking into account the division of paid and unpaid work within couples. A review of the literature indicates that micro-economic and socio-cultural theories provide complementary insights regarding couples' gender division of (un)paid work around the transition to parenthood. Micro-economic theories, such as the New Home Economics (Becker, 1991) and bargaining theories (Lundberg & Pollak, 1996), assume that couples are rational actors and that partners aim to maximise their (joint) utility through specialisation. The birth of a child requires financial resources as well as time availability and these are inherently interrelated since the more time is spent in labour market activities, the less time remains for childcare. Micro-economic theories therefore argue that couples have to find a balance between income and time availability and that couples' decision making on whether and when to become parents is in turn influenced by both considerations on partners' current employment positions and considerations on the anticipated changes in these labour market positions after the transition to parenthood. In a context of women's increasing labour market participation, but also of increasing labour market uncertainty and a declining ability of men to serve as the family's single breadwinner, role specialisation within couples may however no longer yield the most favourable labour market precondition to parenthood (Oppenheimer, 1994). In contrast, the dual-breadwinner model lowers income uncertainty whereas opportunity costs are limited due to the increasing availability of work-family reconciliation policies since the mid-1980s in most European countries. Empirical evidence indicates that both female and male labour force participation have become preconditions for the transition to parenthood in contemporary Western countries (Vignoli, Drefahl, & De Santis, 2012; Winkler-Dworak & Toulemon, 2007). Regarding couples' division of (un)paid work after the transition to parenthood,

micro-economic theories imply that the partner with the highest wage potential[2] will take up more paid work whereas the other partner will reduce working hours in order to take up more household work and childcare. Hence, according to the micro-economic perspective, couples' role specialisation is not related to gender, but to partners' comparative advantages and negotiation positions. In this respect, previous studies - predominantly pertaining to majority populations - have shown that female main earner couples have a significantly larger probability to adopt female-oriented parental employment strategies (i.e. the female partner works more hours than the male partner after childbirth) than couples where the male partner has the highest income (Kuhhirt, 2011; Schober, 2013; Wood et al., 2018).

Although women's pre-birth relative earnings moderate the impact of parenthood on gender inequality in paid work, male-oriented employment strategies remain dominant after childbirth even in couples where women exhibit a higher income than their male partner (Kuhhirt, 2011; Schober, 2013; Wood & Marynissen, 2019; Wood et al., 2018). Other studies also indicate that changes in partners' earnings around the transition to parenthood differ by couples' educational constellation, but that women's share of couple earnings decreases after first childbirth, even among couples where the female partner exhibits a higher level of education (Bergsvik, Kitterød, & Wiik, 2020; Nylin, Musick, Billingsley, Duvander, & Evertsson, 2021). These findings suggests that other factors, such as gender norms, potentially hamper more egalitarian divisions of work. The transition to parenthood implies that couples develop new social roles as mothers and fathers and these roles are influenced by prevailing parenting norms. Socio-cultural theories argue that couples conform to and reproduce societal gender norms, even when this division does not maximise couples' joint utility (Blumberg, 1984; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Deviating from the dominant gender-role expectations may entail social penalties (e.g. negative reactions, social exclusion) (Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004) or compensation behaviour (e.g. 'doing gender' by engaging in stereotypically female/male activities) (Brines, 1993). Although the dual-breadwinner model is the prevalent norm in contemporary Western countries, also when couples have children, research indicates that the transition to parenthood is associated with the emergence of more traditional gender role attitudes among both men and women (Baxter, Buchler, Perales, & Western, 2015; Schober & Scott, 2012).

Countries' work-family reconciliation policies furthermore shape the degree to which work and family are (in)compatible and in turn affect couples' gender division of paid work around the transition to parenthood (Liefbroer & Corijn, 1999). However, not all work-family reconciliation policies have the same effect on mothers' labour market outcomes and countries vary in the degree to which they rely on work-reducing policies such as parental leave versus work-facilitating policies such as formal childcare (Ciccia & Bleijenbergh, 2014; Mandel & Semyonov, 2006; Pettit & Hook, 2009). Whereas (especially long) maternity and parental leave can hinder an egalitarian division of paid work by reinforcing male breadwinner/female caregiver roles in addition to limiting women's financial resources and long-term labour market opportunities, the availability of affordable formal childcare reduces women's family demands and thus supports both women's labour force participation and gender equality in terms of working hours. In addition, the (long-term) effects of such policies on gender equality within households depend on the specific policy designs, which also vary between countries. Regarding Belgium, Saxonberg (2013) considers the leave system to be genderising, whereas the formal childcare system is considered de-genderising. While mothers are entitled to 15 weeks of maternity leave,[3] fathers only have 15 days of paternity leave after the birth of a child (10 days until 01.01.2021). In addition, parents can take up parental leave until the child is 12 years old and reduce their working hours by (i) 100 % for 4 months (3 months until 01.06.2012), (ii) 50 % for 8 months, (iii) 20 % for 20 months, or (iv) 10 % for 40 months, or combine periods of full-time and part-time leave, while receiving a relatively low flat-rate benefit. Although parental leave is an individual right conditioned by parents' labour market position, it is primarily used by mothers. In contrast, Belgium exhibits a high availability of subsidised formal childcare services for children under the age of three and all children are legally entitled to pre-primary education from the age of 2.5, which is free of charge and part of the Belgian educational system. Hence, particularly access to de-genderising reconciliation policies such as formal childcare is crucial to enable gender equality in paid work among parents in Belgium. In addition to formal childcare, parents may also rely on informal childcare to combine their work and family life. Therefore, not only the institutional context, but also parents' social and family networks can take up a part of the caring responsibilities and thus shape the setting in which couples develop their work-family reconciliation strategies.

3. Migration history of Southern European, Turkish and Moroccan origin groups in Belgium

Although Southern European, Turkish and Moroccan origin groups were initially recruited in the context of labour migration after the Second World War, they differ considerably regarding their subsequent migration mechanisms. This has shaped the socio-economic and ideational contexts of these origin groups in Belgium and may entail diverging gender dynamics around family formation by couples' migration background. Considering differences in the migration history of these origin groups, we expect variation between couples in terms of partners' (relative) labour market positions and gender role attitudes, depending on the origin group and migrant generation of both partners within a couple. Following micro-economic and socio-cultural theories (cf. Section 2), we expect that these differences in turn induce different dynamics in couples' gender division of paid work around the transition to parenthood. In addition, also parents' access to (in)formal childcare shapes how couples with different migration backgrounds organise their work and family life.

3.1. Turkish and Moroccan origin groups

The presence of Turkish and Moroccan origin groups in Belgium can be traced back to the large-scale migration of guest workers from 1964 onwards who were recruited to address labour shortages in sectors such as industry, mining and construction (Reniers, 1999; Van Mol & De Valk, 2016). These Turkish and Moroccan guest workers were predominantly recruited from low-educated rural areas characterised by rigid gender roles and since their stay in Belgium was considered to be temporary, there were very few civic integration and language programmes at that time (Höhne, 2013). Many Turkish and Moroccan guest workers decided however to settle permanently in Belgium and to bring over their spouses and family members in anticipation of or following the "migration stop" related to the oil crises in the early 1970s. In contrast to the close link with labour market participation among male Turkish and Moroccan guest workers, the migration of their female partners was not related to employment. This may have affected the labour market opportunities for Turkish and Moroccan women since the social networks within their community were predominantly rooted in male-oriented

[2] Partners' comparative advantages and negotiation positions are also based on other employment characteristics such as job security and other (non-monetary) benefits.

[3] Self-employed mothers have a separate system and are entitled to 12 weeks of maternity leave (1 week before and 2 weeks after the birth of the child are obligatory).

secondary labour market sectors. In addition, besides the fact that they predominantly originated from low-educated rural areas, the specifically gendered migration patterns of these first generation migrants may have entailed favourable attitudes toward the male-breadwinner model among Turkish and Moroccan origin groups, which may have continued to affect the gender division of labour in younger generations.

As a result of the specific migration history of their parents, second generation Turkish and Moroccan migrants have been disproportionately raised in working-class and low-income families by low educated parents with limited Dutch language skills. This affects their labour market outcomes both directly, through social networks, economic resources and job advice, and indirectly, through educational outcomes and language skills (Gracia, Vázquez-Quesada, & Van de Werfhorst, 2016; Verhaeghe, Li, & Van de Putte, 2013; Zuccotti, 2015). Although migrant-native differentials in labour market positions are most pronounced among the first generation, research for Belgium consistently shows that second generation Turkish and Moroccan migrants (particularly women) still display lower employment levels than native Belgians and are overrepresented in part-time employment, temporary contracts and employment sectors with low wages and irregular working hours (Baert, Heiland, & Korenman, 2016; FOD WASO & UNIA, 2019; Maes et al., 2019). Moreover, the gender gap in employment is significantly larger among Turkish and Maghreb origin groups compared to native Belgians, particularly when there are children in the household (FOD WASO & UNIA, 2019). Further, although second-generation Turkish and Moroccan migrants have grown up in a generally egalitarian family context in Belgium (Esping-Andersen, 1999; Lück, 2005) and may have partially assimilated to Belgian behavioural patterns, it is also likely that parental attitudes, family networks and the wider migrant community stimulate more traditional gender role attitudes (de Valk & Milewski, 2011; de Valk, 2008; Khoudja & Fleischmann, 2015). As a result, second generation migrants may have developed a transnational identity by synthesising the culture of Belgium and that of their origin country (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013). Studies on the gender role attitudes of the Turkish and Moroccan second generation in Belgium (Güngör & Bornstein, 2009), the Netherlands (de Valk, 2008; Maliepaard & Alba, 2016) and Germany (Idema & Phalet, 2007) indicate that second generation women have fairly similar attitudes compared to natives, whereas Turkish and Moroccan origin men have a stronger preference for a traditional male-breadwinner household. While gender role attitudes shape labour market outcomes, limited labour market opportunities may also foster traditional work-family attitudes. If Turkish and Moroccan origin women have limited labour market prospects, they may limit their investment in education and employment and consider family formation as an alternative career (Elloukmani & Ou-Salah, 2018; Friedman, Hechter, & Kanazawa, 1994). This interplay between specific labour market opportunities and gender role attitudes of second-generation Turkish and Moroccan migrants is in turn likely to entail differential gender dynamics around the transition to parenthood compared to native couples.

Due to restrictive migration policies towards non-European migrants, family reunification and formation have become and remain major migration channels for Turkish and Moroccan origin groups. A substantial share of second generation Turkish and Moroccan migrants continues to marry a partner from their country of origin, which is associated with specific socio-economic and ideational contexts (Corijn & Lodewijckx, 2009; Hartung, Vandezande, Phalet, & Swyngedouw, 2011; Heyse, Pauwels, Wets, Timmerman, & Perrin, 2006; Timmerman, Lodewyckx, & Wets, 2009). For second generation men this is a way to ensure a male-breadwinner household, as many consider second generation Turkish or Moroccan women as too liberal in their attitudes, whereas these first generation women frequently originate from low-educated rural areas and have limited country-specific human capital. In contrast, marrying a partner from their origin country provides second generation Turkish or Moroccan women with the opportunity to bend traditionally gendered power relations as they avoid the traditional habit of moving in with their husbands' parents. Also, given that their recently arrived husband has no or limited country-specific human capital and social networks, while frequently being higher educated themselves, second generation women are likely to have better labour market opportunities than their partner. Besides partnerships with a marriage migrant or a second generation migrant from the own community, relationships with a native partner increasingly occur among second generation Moroccan migrants, particularly among men, but remain low among Turkish origin groups (Hannemann et al., 2018). Previous research suggests that the choice for a native partner is associated with generally better socio-economic positions and more egalitarian gender role attitudes (Dribe & Lundh, 2008; Hooghiemstra, 2001; Huschek et al., 2011). Given these diverging socio-economic and ideational contexts depending on women's own migration background as well as the migration background of their partner, varying gender dynamics around the transition to parenthood are likely to emerge among couples with different migration backgrounds.

3.2. *Southern European origin groups*

In contrast to Turkish and Moroccan origin groups in Belgium, the migration history of Southern Europeans resulted in a more heterogenous origin group in terms of socio-economic positions and gender role attitudes. Since Southern Europeans could move within Europe without legal restrictions since the 1960s and due to economic growth in their origin countries during that period, there was a larger extent of return migration among Southern European guest workers. Compared to the predominantly male and low-educated migration flows after WWII, more recent Southern European migrants are characterised by a more diverse profile in terms of their socio-economic position and gender, and display a mainly urban background (Myria, 2016). Besides, the close link between migration and family formation that is typical for Turkish and Moroccan origin groups is absent among Southern European origin groups given the free mobility within Europe and also relationships with a native partner are common among both first and second generation Southern Europeans (Hannemann et al., 2018; Koelet & De Valk, 2014). Regarding their labour market outcomes, Southern European origin groups hold an intermediate position between the labour market positions of native Belgians on the one hand and those of Turkish and Moroccan origin groups on the other hand (FOD WASO & UNIA, 2019). Yet, in contrast to Turkish and Moroccan origin groups, the gender gap in employment among this population subgroup is more similar to the corresponding gender difference among native Belgians. Given that Southern European countries are characterised by relatively rigid gender roles (Esping-Andersen, 1999; Lück, 2005), we could also expect more traditional gender role attitudes among Southern European origin groups than native Belgians. Unfortunately, less is known about the gender role attitudes of Southern European origin groups in West-European countries.

3.3. *Variation in couples' gender dynamics around the transition to parenthood by migration background*

The migration histories of Turkish, Moroccan and Southern European origin groups resulted in specific socio-economic and ideational contexts, which in turn are likely to entail diverging gender dynamics

around the transition to parenthood depending on the origin group and migrant generation of both partners within a couple. Following micro-economic and socio-cultural theories (cf. Section 2), variation in labour market positions and gender role attitudes may result in differential employment-fertility links by couples' migration background. In this respect, prior research for Belgium indicates that whereas native and European origin women (couples) are most likely to have a first child in case they (both partners) are employed, non-European origin women (couples) are most likely to have their first child when they are not employed (or only the male partner is employed) (Wood & Van den Berg, 2017; Wood, Neels et al., 2017). To the extent that couples already adopt a male-breadwinner employment strategy before the transition to parenthood, changes in their gender division of (un)paid work after the transition to parenthood are expected to be more limited compared to dual-earner couples. Besides differential selection into parenthood, couples may also differ to the extent that partners' labour market opportunities and gender role attitudes change with the transition to parenthood, which is in turn an additional source for varying gender dynamics around family formation. Regarding the latter, based on available literature on gender role attitudes in migrant populations it is unfortunately unclear whether and to what extent gender role expectations change around parenthood, and whether this differs from natives (de Valk, 2008). Although there are hitherto no specific quantitative studies for Belgium, there are some qualitative indications for more traditional gender norms after family formation among Turkish and Moroccan origin groups. For instance, research among the Turkish and Moroccan second generation in Belgium indicates that once women are married, and particularly when they have children, it is no longer considered desirable to work within the Turkish or Moroccan community (Adam & Torrekens, 2015). In addition, the impact of partners' relative labour market opportunities and parenting norms on couples' gender dynamics around family formation may also vary by migration background.

Finally, we expect that couples with different migration backgrounds also vary regarding their access to affordable formal childcare as well as to informal childcare providers. This may in turn again induce varying gender dynamics in couples' division of paid work around family formation by migration background since couples with a lower access to (in)formal childcare may have to develop alternative work-family strategies, such as a (partial) retreat from the labour market of one partner. In the Belgian context of supply shortages in subsidised formal childcare and long waiting lists, migrant origin groups may face more barriers to the access of affordable formal childcare services compared to natives, since the greater instability of their labour market trajectories makes their demand for care more difficult to predict (Biegel, Wood, & Neels, 2021; Vandenbroeck, De Visscher, Van Nuffel, & Ferla, 2008; MAS, 2007). Hence, in the Belgian labour market context characterised by insiders and outsiders, commodified work-family reconciliation policies that condition access on stable employment positions may particularly exclude first generation migrants (especially if they migrated recently), non-European origin groups and women, and in turn perpetuate their precarious labour market outcomes. With respect to informal childcare, first generation migrants (particularly those who migrated recently) may lack social networks in Belgium on which they can rely for combining a job and children (Wall & José, 2004). In contrast, given the generally low labour market participation of first generation migrant women, particularly of Turkish or Maghreb origin, second generation migrants may have more access to grandparents as informal care providers compared to natives.

Based on the aforementioned considerations, two working hypotheses regarding variation in couples' gender dynamics around family formation are put forward in this study. Section 2 highlighted the importance of i) partners' (relative) labour market opportunities, ii) parenting norms, and iii) the access to formal as well as informal childcare for shaping parents' work-family organisation. Since the migration histories of Turkish, Moroccan and Southern European origin groups suggest that couples are likely to differ in terms of (some of) these aspects depending on the origin group and migrant generation of both partners within a couple, the first working hypothesis is the following:

H1. *We expect variation by couples' migration background in both the gender division of paid work prior to the birth of the first child and the changes in this division around family formation.*

Considering the migration history of Turkish, Moroccan and Southern European origin groups that have shaped specific socio-economic and ideational contexts, the second working hypothesis guiding the analyses is therefore:

H2. *We expect that the differences with native couples' gender dynamics around family formation are more pronounced among non-European origin couples than Southern European origin couples.*

4. Data and methods

4.1. Data

We use data from the Flemish administrative panel on Migration, Integration and Activation (MIA Panel) from 2005 to 2016, which provides longitudinal microdata from the Social Security Registers (KSZ/CBSS).[4] The MIA Panel provides information on a sample of individuals without a migration background (i.e. natives), individuals of Southern European origin (i.e. Italy, Spain, Portugal or Greece) and individuals of non-European origin (i.e. predominantly Turkey and Maghreb, and to a lesser extent other Africa, Asia, Oceania, and North-, South- or Central-America), aged 18–65 and legally residing in Flanders on January 1st 2005. Natives are defined as individuals whose first registered nationality is Belgian and of whom the first registered nationality of both parents is Belgian as well. An individual is considered to be of migrant origin when the person himself or one of the parents has a first nationality that is not Belgian. Individuals with a migration background who are not born in Belgium are defined as the first generation and individuals with a migration background who are born in Belgium are defined as the second generation.[5] Sampled individuals are followed until i) the age of 65, ii) emigration[6] or death, or iii) the end of the observation period on the 31st of December 2016. To maintain cross-sectional representation, supplementary annual samples of 18-year-olds were drawn to guarantee the presence of the youngest age group in the data throughout the observation period. For each observation year, household members of sampled individuals on the first of January are also included in the data. The dataset is disproportionately stratified by age and migration background (i.e. overrepresentation of the younger age groups and individuals with a migration background), which allows us to analyse variation in couples' gender division of paid work around the transition to parenthood by migration background.

4.2. Sample

The analysis of couples' gender division of paid work around parenthood is based on data for 3014 couples who had their first child between 2006 and 2016 and restricted to couple quarters where both partners live in the same household and are not enroled in education. In addition, we only include couples for which we have information on

[4] The Crossroads Bank for Social Security (CBSS) links information from the National Register and 3.000 different institutions that are responsible for the execution of the Belgian social security.

[5] When both parents of second generation individuals have a different first foreign nationality, origin reflects the first nationality of the mother. In our analyses, only 1.7 % of second generation individuals has two parents with a different first foreign nationality.

[6] Individuals who move from Flanders to Wallonia or Brussels are followed-up further.

Table 1
Typology of couples considering the origin group and migrant generation of both partners.

	Woman's origin	Man's origin	N couples in descriptive analyses	N couple quarters in descriptive analyses	N couples in fixed-effects analyses	N couple quarters in fixed-effects analyses
Native couples	Belgium	Belgium	913	11,249	903	11,054
Mixed South-EU origin couples	Belgium	1G/2G South-EU	223	2778	221	2703
	1G/2G South-EU	Belgium	241	2980	241	2910
Mixed non-EU origin couples	Belgium	1G/2G Non-EU	106	1280	104	1243
	1G/2G Non-EU	Belgium	68	885	67	860
Second generation couples	2G South-EU	2G South-EU	149	1929	146	1867
	2G Non-EU	2G Non-EU	447	5326	406	4694
Intergenerational non-EU origin couples	2G Non-EU	1G Non-EU	380	4630	329	3760
	1G Non-EU	2G Non-EU	226	2650	181	1938
First generation non-EU origin couples	1G Non-EU	1G Non-EU	261	3227	218	2495

Notes: 1G refers to first generation, 2G refers to second generation. Regarding non-EU origin partners, we focus only on individuals originating from Turkey or Maghreb.
Source: MIA Panel, 2005–2016.

both partners' work intensity in the fourth quarter before the birth of the child and exclude couple quarters in case of missing work intensity for at least one partner during the observation period.[7] In our dataset, work intensity reflects the percentage of working hours compared to a full-time position in the sector considered. Although working hours differ between employment sectors,[8] work intensities provide an indication of variation in working hours around family formation. Unfortunately, the absolute number of working hours is not available in the data, which prevents sensitivity checks in this respect. The possible values range from 0 % to 100 %, where 0 % reflects unemployment or inactivity and 100 % full-time employment.[9] Part-time jobs are combined to determine the total work intensity. Since our data do not provide the exact number of working hours, the work intensity of individuals that exceeds the standard number of working hours for a full-time position is considered 100 %. The work intensity of women on maternity leave amounts to 0 % and that of women on parental leave reflects their reduction in working hours. Couples are followed from one year before the birth of their first child until i) two quarters before their second child is born,[10] ii) the first child reaches the age of three, iii) the couple is no longer in a co-residential union, iv) reaching the end of the observation period, or v) death or emigration of either partner.

Based on both partners' origin group (native, South-EU, non-EU[11]) and migrant generation (first, second), ten types of couples are distinguished in this study based on prevalence (Table 1). Regarding mixed origin couples in our dataset (i.e. couples where one partner has a native background and one partner either a South-EU or non-EU origin), the vast majority of migrant origin partners is of the second generation and the majority of first generation migrant origin partners is residing in Belgium for at least five years at first childbirth (Table A1 in Appendix). With respect to intergenerational non-EU origin couples in our dataset, the vast majority of first generation partners migrated after the age of 18, which in many cases can reflect marriage migration. In line with the literature (Wolf, 2016), we see that intergenerational non-EU origin couples have their first child shortly after arrival of the first generation partner: 55–60 % has their first child within four years after arrival. Finally, first generation non-EU origin couples are relatively heterogeneous in terms of partners' duration of residence and age at migration. As our dataset only includes couples where at least one partner was legally residing in Flanders on January 1st 2005, only 4 % of first generation non-EU origin couples consist of two partners residing less than 5 years in Belgium at the birth of their first child. Furthermore, while both partners migrated after the age of 18 among 37 % of first generation non-EU origin couples, one partner migrated before the age of 18 among 50 % and both partners migrated before the age of 18 among 7 % of first generation non-EU origin couples.[12]

4.3. Methods

First, we present for all couples in our sample a descriptive account of their gender division of paid work from one year before up to three years after the transition to parenthood, and address how this division differs between native and migrant origin couples. Subsequently, to improve our understanding of couples' reorganisation of paid work following family formation, we examine whether and to what extent the gender division of paid work changes around the transition to parenthood within couples where at least one partner is employed one year before first childbirth by using couple fixed-effects models. Hence, the couple-level fixed-effects analyses exclude couples where both partners are not employed one year before first childbirth (6.6 % of all couples in our sample) as well as couple quarters in which both partners are not employed.[13]

[7] Couples where one or both partners are self-employed are excluded, since we have no information on the work intensity of self-employed individuals. During our observation period, 5 % of all couple quarters were excluded due to missing work intensity for at least one partner.

[8] For instance, while a full-time position implies working 38 h per week in most employment sectors in Belgium, the contractual working hours for a full-time position are in some sectors less than 38 h (e.g. education sector).

[9] For example, 80 % reflects working 30 h per week if a full-time position in the sector considered implies working 38 h per week.

[10] Descriptive results show that women frequently decrease their work intensity or take maternity leave in the quarter preceding the birth of a child.

[11] Regarding non-European origin partners, we focus only on individuals originating from Turkey or Maghreb countries.

[12] One or both partners have an unknown age at migration among 7 % of first generation Non-EU origin couples.

[13] Among 15 % of all couples where at least one partner is employed one year before first childbirth, both partners are not employed during at least one quarter in the observation period.

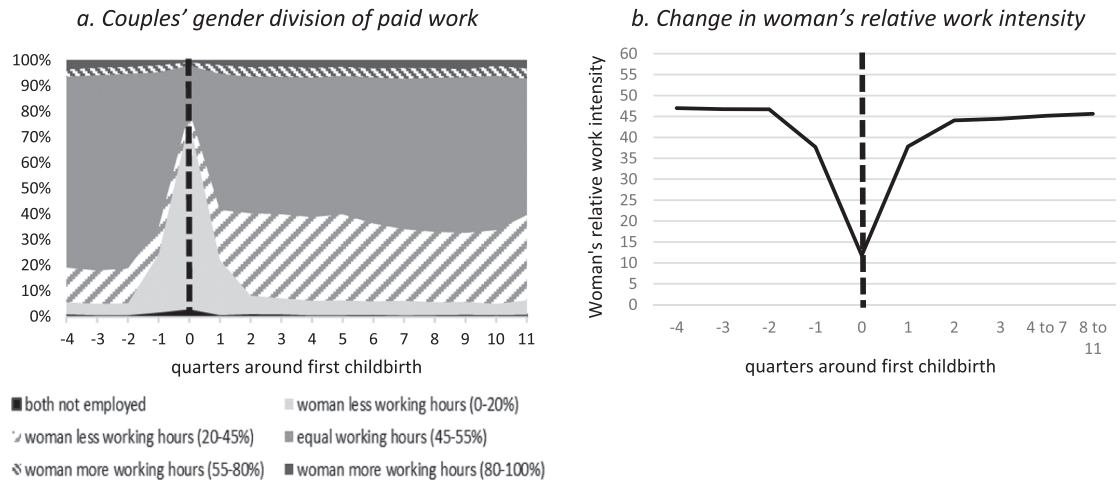

Fig. 1. (a) Couples' gender division of paid work around the transition to parenthood and (b) Change in women's relative work intensity around the transition to parenthood among couples where at least one partner is employed, **native couples**. Sample: Fig. 1a includes all native couples in our sample. Fig. 1b excludes couples where both partners are not employed one year before first childbirth as well as couple quarters in which both partners are not employed (Table 1). Methods: Results of Fig. 1b are based on a couple fixed-effects model for the change in women's relative work intensity around first childbirth including i) time relative to the first birth and ii) the interaction between time relative to the first birth and couples' migration background (Eq. (1)).
Source: MIA Panel, 2005–2016, calculations by authors.

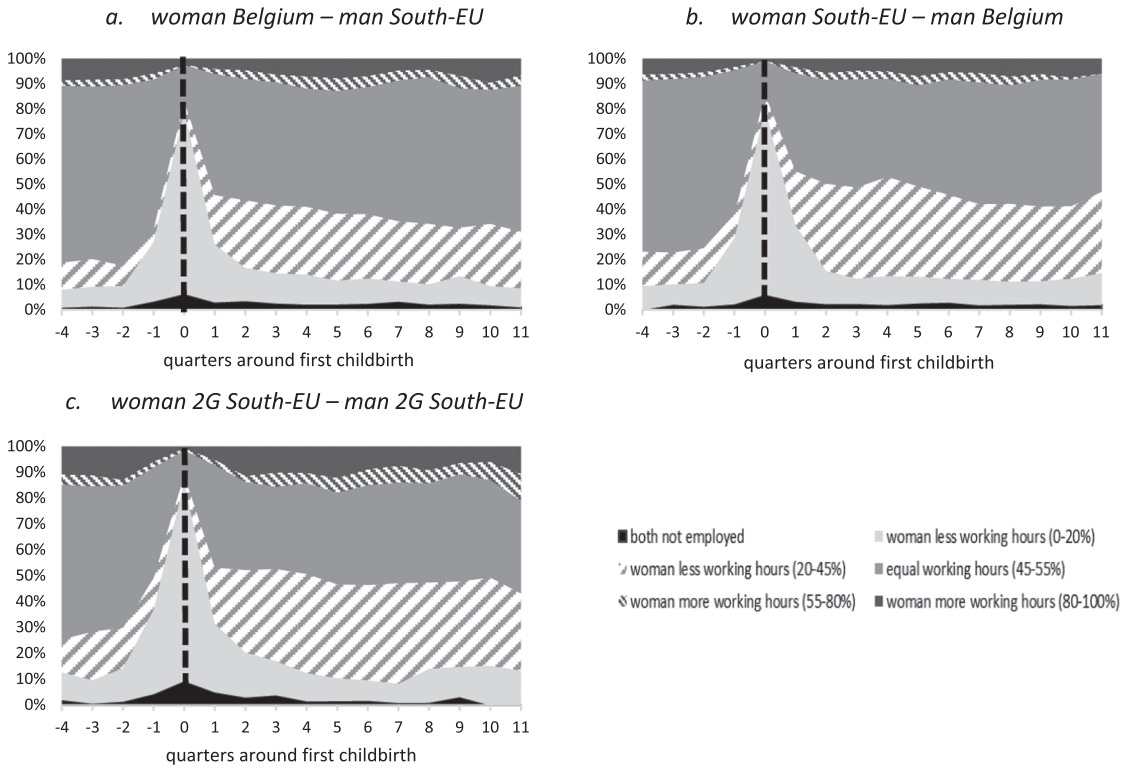

Fig. 2. Couples' gender division of paid work around the transition to parenthood, **South-EU origin couples**. Sample: Fig. 2 includes all South-EU origin couples in our sample (Table 1).
Source: MIA Panel, 2005–2016, calculations by authors.

$$Y_{it} = \sum \beta_t X_{it} + \sum \beta_t Z_i X_{it} + \alpha_i + u_{it} \quad (1)$$

Eq. (1) shows the equation of the fixed-effects model where Y_{it} denotes the dependent variable for couple i at time t. The dependent variable reflects women's relative work intensity, calculated as the ratio of the female partner's work intensity to the sum of the male and female partner's work intensity. The possible values range from 0 % to 100 %, where 0 % refers to a situation in which only the male partner is employed, 50 % reflects equal work intensity among both partners and 100 % implies that only the female partner is employed. Further, X_{it} denotes time relative to the first birth (distinguishing quarters − 4, − 3, − 2, − 1, 0, 1, 2, 3, 4–7, 8–11) and β_t the parameter estimates for these time varying independent variables. The fourth quarter before the birth of the child is used as reference category, implying that women's relative

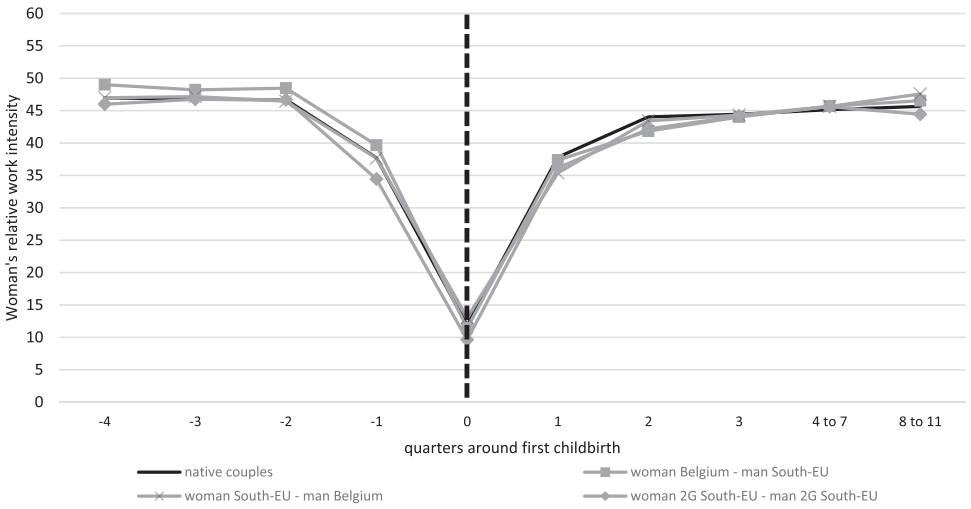

Fig. 3. Change in woman's relative work intensity around the transition to parenthood among couples where at least one partner is employed, **native and South-EU origin couples**. Sample: Fig. 3 excludes couples where both partners are not employed one year before first childbirth as well as couple quarters in which both partners are not employed (Table 1). Methods: Results based on a couple fixed-effects model for the change in women's relative work intensity around first childbirth including i) time relative to the first birth and ii) the interaction between time relative to the first birth and couples' migration background (Eq. (1)).
Source: MIA Panel, 2005–2016, calculations by authors.

Table 2
Differential change in women's relative work intensity after first childbirth compared to native couples (in percentage points), couples where at least one partner is employed.

Origin woman – Origin man Native couples	Quarter 1 Ref.	Sig.	Quarter 2 Ref.	Sig.	Quarter 3 Ref.	Sig.	Quarters 4–7 Ref.	Sig.	Quarters 8–11 Ref.	Sig.
Belgium – South-EU	-2.44		-4.21	*	-2.43		-1.47		-1.12	
(t-4: 49 %)	*(– 6.17; 1.30)*		*(– 7.95; – 0.46)*		*(– 6.19; 1.34)*		*(– 4.46; 1.52)*		*(– 4.34; 2.11)*	
South-EU – Belgium	-2.43		-0.63		-0.11		0.50		1.93	
(t-4: 47 %)	*(– 6.06; 1.20)*		*(– 4.24; 2.99)*		*(– 3.75; 3.52)*		*(– 2.39; 3.39)*		*(– 1.18; 5.05)*	
2G South-EU – 2G South-EU	-0.65		-0.85		0.71		1.46		-0.21	
(t-4: 46 %)	*(– 5.05; 3.74)*		*(– 5.28; 3.58)*		*(– 3.75; 5.18)*		*(– 2.04; 4.96)*		*(– 3.94; 3.51)*	
Belgium – Non-EU	-3.57		-5.54	*	-1.02		-4.40	*	-2.93	
(t-4: 57 %)	*(– 8.77; 1.63)*		*(– 10.75; – 0.32)*		*(– 6.27; 4.24)*		*(– 8.58; – 0.22)*		*(– 7.40; 1.53)*	
Non-EU – Belgium*	4.52		4.06		6.24		5.94	*	6.83	*
(t-4: 40 %)	*(– 1.71; 10.74)*		*(– 2.18; 10.29)*		*(–0.02; 12.51)*		*(0.98; 10.91)*		*(1.56; 12.10)*	
2G Non-EU – 2G non-EU	-8.47	***	-6.55	***	-5.96	***	-4.42	***	-3.16	*
(t-4: 40 %)	*(– 11.44; – 5.49)*		*(– 9.53; – 3.57)*		(– 8.96; – 2.97)		*(– 6.81; – 2.04)*		*(– 5.81; – 0.52)*	
1G Non-EU – 1G non-EU	-6.96	***	-7.73	***	-5.01	*	-4.49	**	-6.14	***
(t-4: 35 %)	*(– 10.82; – 3.11)*		*(– 11.57; – 3.89)*		*(– 8.86; – 1.17)*		*(– 7.54; – 1.43)*		*(– 9.43; – 2.86)*	
2G non-EU - 1G non-EU	-7.85	***	-7.40	***	-6.64	***	-3.61	**	-4.10	**
(t-4: 43 %)	*(– 11.10; – 4.60)*		*(– 10.70; – 4.10)*		*(– 9.95; – 3.33)*		*(– 6.21; – 1.02)*		*(– 6.89; – 1.32)*	
1G non-EU – 2G non-EU	0.87		-2.20		-2.42		-1.48		2.89	
(t-4: 19 %)	*(– 3.29; 5.03)*		*(– 6.36; 1.96)*		*(– 6.61; 1.77)*		*(– 4.82; 1.86)*		*(– 0.84; 6.61)*	

* Less than 100 couples: 67 mixed non-EU origin couples with a migrant origin woman.
Sample: Table 2 excludes couples where both partners are not employed one year before first childbirth as well as couple quarters in which both partners are not employed (Table 1).
Methods: Results based on a couple fixed-effects model for the change in women's relative work intensity around first childbirth including i) time relative to the first birth and ii) the interaction between time relative to the first birth and couples' migration background (Eq. (1)).
Source: MIA Panel, 2005–2016, calculations by authors.

work intensity in each quarter is compared to their relative work intensity one year before the birth of their first child. In addition, the model includes the interaction between time relative to the first birth (X_{it}) and couples' migration background (Z_i) to assess whether the change in women's relative work intensity around the transition to parenthood differs by migration background. Native couples are used as reference category. Finally, α_i denotes the time-invariant couple fixed effects and u_{it} the couple-level residual at time t. Hence, since the couple-level fixed-effects models only consider variation of relative work intensity within couples over time, the analyses account for time-constant (un)observed heterogeneity between couples (Allison, 2009; Stock & Watson, 2015).

5. Results

For couples who had their first child between 2006 and 2016, Figs. 1a, 2 and 4 show the gender division of paid work from one year before up to three years after the transition to parenthood by couples' migration background. Four broad employment strategies are distinguished: i) both partners not employed, ii) a male-oriented employment strategy (female partner works 0–20 % or 20–45 % of the total household work intensity), iii) an equal division of paid work (female partner works 45–55 % of the total household work intensity), and iv) a female-oriented employment strategy (female partner works 55–80 % or 80–100 % of the total household work intensity). In 98.5 % of all

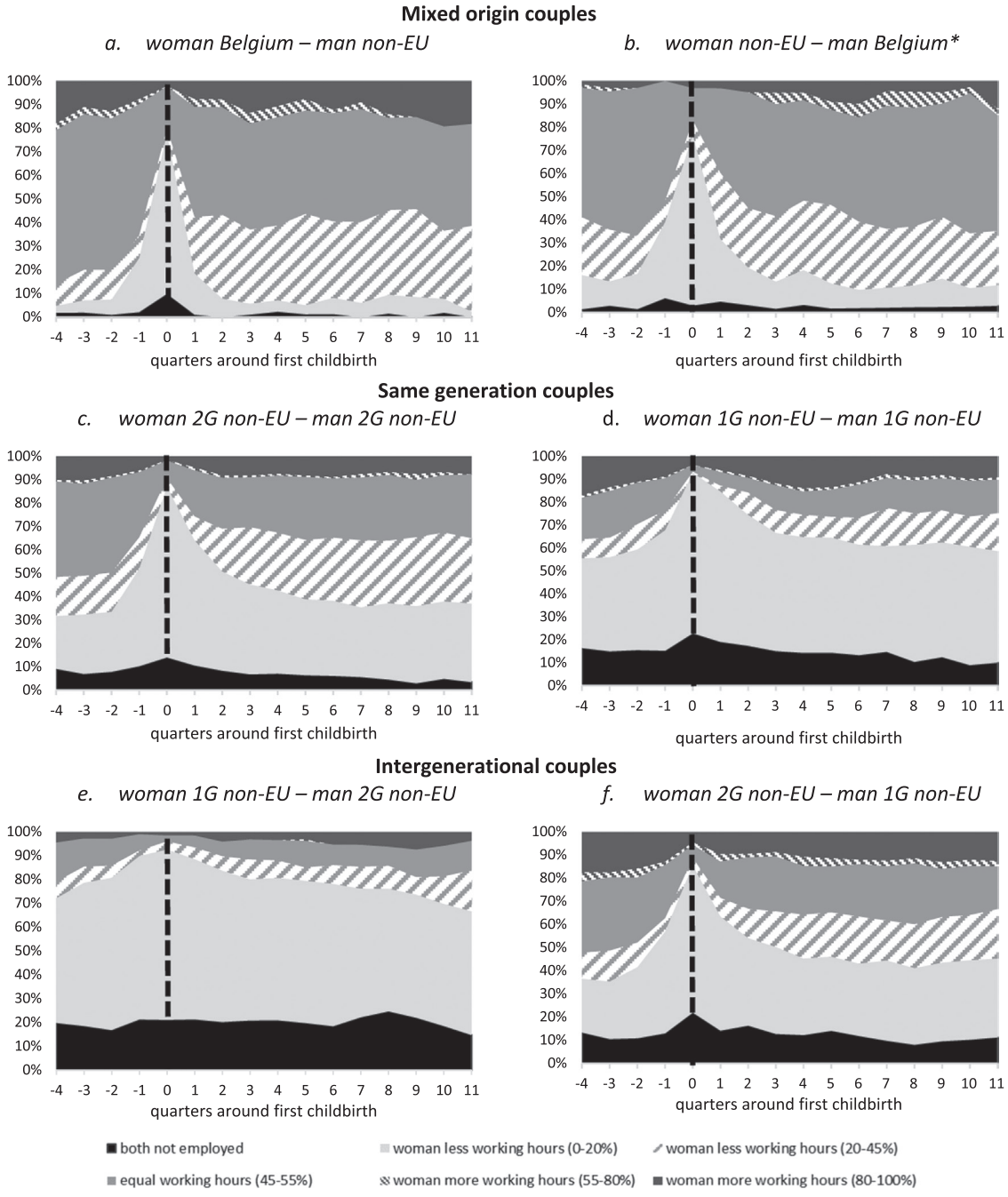

Fig. 4. Couples' gender division of paid work around the transition to parenthood, **non-EU origin couples**. * Less than 100 couples: 67 mixed non-EU origin couples with a migrant origin woman. Notes: 1G refers to first generation, 2G refers to second generation. Regarding non-EU origin partners, we focus only on individuals originating from Turkey or Maghreb. Sample: Fig. 2 includes all non-EU origin couples in our sample (Table 1).
Source: MIA Panel, 2005–2016, calculations by authors.

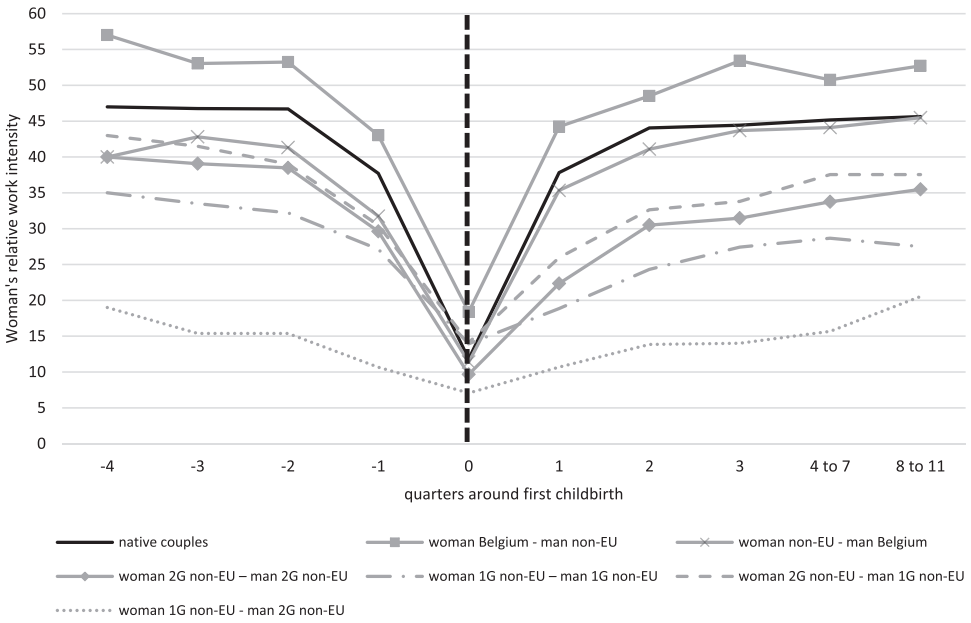

Fig. 5. Change in woman's relative work intensity around the transition to parenthood among couples where at least one partner is employed, **native and non-EU origin couples**. Notes: 1G refers to first generation, 2G refers to second generation. Regarding non-EU origin partners, we focus only on individuals originating from Turkey or Maghreb. Sample: Fig. 5 excludes couples where both partners are not employed one year before first childbirth as well as couple quarters in which both partners are not employed (Table 1). Methods: Results based on a couple fixed-effects model for the change in women's relative work intensity around first childbirth including i) time relative to the first birth and ii) the interaction between time relative to the first birth and couples' migration background (Eq. (1)).
Source: MIA Panel, 2005–2016, calculations by authors.

situations where women work 0–20 % of the total household work intensity, women are not employed. Similarly, when women work 80–100 % of the total household work intensity, their partner is not employed in 97.8 % of the couples.

In addition to this descriptive account of couples' division of paid work before and after the transition to parenthood, Figs. 1b, 3 and 5 display the results of the couple-level fixed-effects analyses and show women's average relative work intensity one year before first childbirth and the average change in women's relative work intensity around the transition to parenthood within couples where at least one partner is employed. Table 2 shows for each migrant origin couple the differential change in women's relative work intensity after first childbirth compared to native couples. As changes in the division of paid work may occur due to changes in both male and female partners' work intensity, Fig. A3 in Appendix displays the changes in work intensity compared to one year before first childbirth for men and women separately to show the underlying gender dynamics.

Since couples' gender division of paid work one year before first childbirth differs significantly by migration background (Cramer's $V = 0.22^{***}$) and the likelihood ratio test indicates that changes in couples' division of paid work over around the transition to parenthood differ significantly by migration background ($\Delta - 2LL = 656$; $\Delta df = 81$; $p < 0.001$), we can confirm our first hypothesis. The following sections discuss the gender dynamics around the transition to parenthood for each type of couple and whether these patterns differ between native and migrant origin couples.

5.1. Native couples

Fig. 1a shows that the vast majority of native couples (74 %) adopt an equal division of paid work before the birth of their first child. A male-oriented employment strategy is adopted among 18 % of the couples and there is only a small proportion of native couples where women work more hours than their male partner (6 %). During the quarter of first childbirth (but also slightly during the quarter before and after childbirth) there is a large proportion of couples where only the male partner is employed, since most women are on maternity leave (see Fig. A1 in Appendix). After the transition to parenthood,[14] the majority of native couples still display an equal division of paid work, but this proportion is substantially lower than before first childbirth (amounting to 54 % at t + 4), while the proportion of couples adopting a male-oriented employment strategy is higher (38 % at t + 4). The latter is particularly due to the fact that women are working less hours than their male partner, rather than being not employed (see also Fig. A1 in Appendix).

While Fig. 1a shows the prevalence of native couples' employment strategies before and after the transition to parenthood, Fig. 1b displays the average development of women's relative work intensity within a couple where at least one partner is employed and indicates how native couples' gender division of paid work changes around family formation. Compared to the relative work intensity one year before the birth of the first child (on average 47 %), women's relative work intensity is on average reduced by 9 percentage points in the first quarter after parenthood, while there is only a small but significant decrease from the second quarter onwards (ranging from 3 to 1 percentage points). Fig. A3 in Appendix indicates that this decrease in women's relative work intensity after the transition to parenthood is primarily due to a decrease in women's work intensity rather than an increase in men's work intensity. We find that women's work intensity slightly decreases in the quarter preceding birth, drops sharply during the quarter of birth and increases as the child grows older, yet does not recover to the work intensity one year before the birth of their first child. In contrast, men's work intensity remains stable around the transition to parenthood.

5.2. South-EU origin couples

Similar to native couples, Figs. 2a and 2b indicate that around 70 % of ***mixed South-EU origin couples*** adopt an equal division of paid work before the birth of their first child and around 20 % a male-oriented employment strategy. Also after family formation, mixed South-EU origin couples display a gender division of paid work that is similar to native couples, with less couples dividing paid work equally than before

[14] It should be noted that our samples become increasingly selective at higher ages of the first child, due to potentially selective higher-order childbearing patterns, but also due to selective separation risks, emigration and mortality.

the entry into parenthood. Fig. 2c shows that there is a smaller proportion of ***second generation South-EU origin couples*** with an equal division of paid work compared to native and mixed South-EU origin couples (60 % at t-4 and 35 % at t + 4), which implies a somewhat larger proportion of couples with either a male- or female-oriented employment strategy.

When we focus for ***South-EU origin couples*** where at least one partner is employed on the changes in women's relative work intensity around family formation (Fig. 3), we find virtually no differences with native couples' gender dynamics. Table 2 shows that the differences compared to native couples in the decrease in women's relative work intensity after family formation range from 0 to 4 percentage points for South-EU origin couples and are overall not statistically significant (full model results available in Table A2 in Appendix). In sum, the pre-birth gender division of paid work as well as the changes in this gender division around first childbirth of South-EU origin couples are very similar to those of native couples.

5.3. Non-EU origin couples

In contrast to mixed South-EU origin couples, the division of paid work among ***mixed non-EU origin couples*** depends on whether the female or male partner is of migrant origin. The descriptive figures show that mixed non-EU origin couples with a native woman divide paid work largely similar to native couples, both before and after family formation, with a larger proportion of couples where only the female partner is employed (18 % at t-4 and 11 % at t + 4) (Fig. 4a). In contrast, mixed non-EU origin couples with a migrant origin woman less often display an equal division of paid work than native couples and more often exhibit a male-oriented employment strategy (40 % at t-4 and 45 % at t + 4) (Fig. 4b), but the difference with native couples' division of paid work is less pronounced after the birth of the first child.

Compared to all aforementioned couple types, our results show that ***first and second generation non-EU origin couples*** as well as ***intergenerational non-EU origin couples*** are more frequently jobless (ranging from 10 % among second generation non-EU origin couples up to 20 % among non-EU origin couples with a first generation woman and second generation man). Additional descriptive figures in Appendix (Fig. A2) indicate that jobless couples also vary in terms of partners' employment positions (i.e. being inactive or unemployed). Whereas the (overwhelming) majority of women are inactive before first childbirth among jobless first generation non-EU couples as well as jobless non-EU origin couples with a first generation woman and second generation man, which could be interpreted as a voluntary decision, most women are unemployed among jobless second generation non-EU couples as well as jobless non-EU origin couples with a second generation woman and first generation man, which could be interpreted as an involuntary labour market situation. After family formation, the majority of women are however inactive among all jobless non-EU origin couples. In addition to the fact that these couple types are more often jobless, they also exhibit a higher degree of gender inequality in paid work compared to native couples, both before and after the transition to parenthood. In line with the literature (Huschek et al., 2011; Timmerman, 2006), we find that when ***second generation non-EU men have a first generation partner***, this results in the endorsement of a traditional gender division of paid work. Fig. 4e shows that these couples exhibit, both before and after the transition to parenthood, the most gender unequal division of paid work of all couple types considered in this study as the male partner is the only employed partner among the majority of couples (52 % at t-4, 60 % at t + 4). ***First generation non-EU origin couples*** exhibit the second most gender unequal division of paid work, with very few couples dividing paid work equally (18 % at t-4, 10 % at t + 4). Only the male partner is employed among most first generation non-EU origin couples (39% at t-4, 50 % at t + 4), but there is also a substantial share of couples where only the female partner is employed, which may reflect the heterogeneity of first generation non-EU origin couples in terms of partners' age at migration. Fig. A1 in Appendix indicates that the overwhelming majority of women are inactive rather than unemployed in case only the male partner is employed among these two couple types.

Further, Figs. 4c and 4f indicate that the gender division of paid work is relatively similar among ***second generation non-EU origin couples*** and ***intergenerational non-EU origin couples with a second generation woman and first generation man***, but the proportion of couples where only the female partner is employed is twice as large among the latter. Both couple types less often divide paid work equally before the transition to parenthood compared to native couples (40 % and 30 % respectively) and it more often occurs that only the male partner is employed, amounting to 23 % among both couple types. After the birth of the first child, particularly the difference with native couples in the proportion of couples where only the male partner is employed is more pronounced than before, which is mainly the result of a larger share of inactive women following family formation (Fig. A1 in Appendix).

Next we consider the changes in the gender division of paid work around the transition to parenthood among non-EU origin couples where at least one partner is employed. Fig. 5 shows that although women's relative work intensity is relatively high among ***mixed non-EU origin couples with a native woman*** before first childbirth (on average 57 %) and also remains higher than among native couples afterwards, it decreases to a significantly stronger extent following the transition to parenthood compared to native couples. This differential decrease ranges from 1 to 5.5 percentage points (Table 2). In contrast, while women's relative work intensity is lower among ***mixed non-EU origin couples with a migrant origin woman*** and particularly ***intergenerational non-EU origin couples with a first generation woman and second generation man*** compared to native couples before the transition to parenthood (on average 40 % and 19 % respectively), the changes in their division of paid work after family formation do not significantly differ from native couples' gender dynamics (Table 2).[15]

Finally, first and second generation non-EU origin couples as well as intergenerational non-EU origin couples with a second generation woman and first generation man not only display a higher degree of gender inequality before family formation than native couples, but also a stronger increase in gender inequality after the transition to parenthood. Regarding ***first generation non-EU origin couples***, Fig. 5 shows that women's pre-birth relative work intensity (on average 35 %) decreases by 16 to 6 percentage points after the transition to parenthood, which is a significantly stronger decrease compared to native couples (difference ranging from 4 to 8 percentage points, Table 2). With respect to ***second generation non-EU origin couples*** and ***non-EU origin couples with a second generation woman and first generation man***, the decrease in women's relative work intensity (on average 40 % and 43 % at t-4 respectively) amounts to 18 and 10 percentage points in the first two quarters after family formation and ranges from 9 to 4 percentage points from the third quarter onwards. This is a significantly stronger decrease compared to native couples (difference ranging from 3 to 8 percentage points, Table 2). Moreover, Fig. A3 in Appendix indicates that the increasing gender inequality in paid work following family formation among first generation non-EU origin couples and non-EU origin couples with a second generation woman and first generation man is not only the result of a significant decrease in women's work intensity, but also due to a significant increase in men's work intensity.

Hence, we can also confirm our second hypothesis since the differences with native couples' gender dynamics around family formation are more pronounced among non-European origin couples than Southern European origin couples.

[15] The small sample size for mixed non-EU origin couples with a migrant origin woman may have affected the precision of the estimates and as a result the significant levels.

6. Discussion

In tandem with women's rising labour force participation in European countries from the 1960s onwards, couples increasingly divide paid work equally (Grunow & Evertsson, 2016; Kil, Neels, & Vergauwen, 2016; Tsang, Rendall, Rohr, & Hoorens, 2014). However, women still exhibit lower employment levels than men and studies have established that particularly the transition to parenthood introduces gender inequality in couples' division of paid work (Kuhhirt, 2011; Schober, 2013; Wood et al., 2018). While life course scholars have increasingly acknowledged population heterogeneity in various life course dynamics, such as the employment-fertility link (Kreyenfeld & Andersson, 2014; Wood, Neels et al., 2017), the childcare-fertility link (Wood, 2019) and the motherhood-employment link (Kil, Neels, Wood, & de Valk, 2018), research on the effect of parenthood on couples' gender division of paid work has hitherto not addressed subgroup variation in terms of migration background. In contrast to the growing body of literature that addresses changes in couples' gender division of (un)paid work around the transition to parenthood in majority populations, available empirical evidence on variation in couples' division of (un)paid work by migration background has largely focussed on the gender division at a particular moment in time, rather than addressing (potentially) different changes in this division around family formation. This is remarkable since differential gender dynamics around first childbirth can be expected between native and migrant origin couples as a result of differences in partners' (relative) labour market opportunities, as suggested by micro-economic theories (Becker, 1991; Lundberg & Pollak, 1996), and/or due to differences in parenting norms, as suggested by socio-cultural theories (Blumberg, 1984; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Therefore, using administrative panel data for Belgium (Flanders), this paper distinguishes ten types of couples considering the origin group (native, South-EU, non-EU) and migrant generation (first, second) of both partners to assess whether couples' gender division of paid work differs by migration background before the onset of family formation, and to what extent changes in couples' gender division of paid work around family formation vary by migration background.

Our results show that although the majority of native couples adopt an equal division of paid work in Belgium, gender inequality in paid work increases after the birth of the first child. In accordance with studies for West-Germany (Kuhhirt, 2011) and the UK (Schober, 2013), which predominantly reflect the patterns of the majority population, we find that women significantly reduce their work intensity after the transition to parenthood, while men's work intensity remains stable. Comparing native couples' gender dynamics around family formation with those of couples where at least one partner is of migrant origin, this study shows that combining an account of couples' division of paid work before the onset of family formation with a perspective focussing on changes in couples' division of paid work during family formation provides a more thorough understanding of variation by migration background. Since fixed-effects models only exploit changes within couples over time and control for time-constant (un)observed heterogeneity between couples, they are a suitable tool to estimate the effect of parenthood on couples' division of (un)paid work. However, this approach has to be combined with the descriptive results to gain insight in variation by migration background in couples' division of paid work prior to the transition to parenthood. In case couples already display a very unequal gender division of paid work before family formation, women's relative work intensity cannot decrease to the same extent after the transition to parenthood compared to couples with a stronger degree of gender equality before first childbirth. Combining both perspectives, we identified four patterns of gender dynamics in the division of paid work around the transition to parenthood. First, migrant origin couples whose pre-birth division of paid work as well as gender dynamics around family formation are similar to native couples. Second, migrant origin couples where women's pre-birth relative work intensity is largely similar to native couples, but where gender inequality in paid work increases to a significantly stronger extent after first childbirth. Third, migrant origin couples who exhibit a stronger degree of gender inequality in paid work before family formation than native couples, but no significant differences with native couples' changes in the division of paid work around the transition to parenthood. Fourth, migrant origin couples who display a higher degree of gender inequality in paid work before first childbirth than native couples and also a significantly stronger increase in gender inequality after family formation. Furthermore, this study advocates the use of different types of couples. Whereas prior studies for Belgium indicate that the gender gap in employment is significantly larger among Turkish and Maghreb origin groups compared to natives, particularly when there are children in the household (FOD WASO & UNIA, 2019), our results corroborate previous findings that patterns of gender dynamics in the division of paid work are also associated with partner choice patterns of non-European origin men and women (Huschek et al., 2011; Wood & Van den Berg, 2017).

Considering the first pattern of gender dynamics in the division of paid work around parenthood, our results show that South-EU origin couples display a gender division of paid work similar to that of native couples and also exhibit similar changes in this division around family formation. This is consistent with previous studies indicating that the gender gap in employment is relatively similar between Southern European origin groups and native Belgians (FOD WASO & UNIA, 2019).

In line with the second pattern of couples' gender division of paid work around family formation, we find that the pre-birth gender division of paid work of mixed non-EU origin couples consisting of a native woman and a non-EU origin man is relatively similar to that of native couples, but that the transition to parenthood results in a stronger increase in gender inequality compared to native couples. More research is required to identify the underlying factors for these varying gender dynamics over family formation.

With respect to the third pattern of gender dynamics around parenthood, our results indicate that mixed non-EU origin couples with a migrant origin female partner less often divide paid work equally than native couples before the onset of family formation and that particularly couples consisting of a first generation non-EU woman and a second generation non-EU man display the most gender unequal division of paid work of all couple types considered in this study. The latter is in line with previous research for Belgium (Lievens, 1999; Timmerman, 2006) indicating that the choice of second generation Turkish and Moroccan men for a partner from their origin country is a way to ensure a traditional male-breadwinner household. Considering the changes in their division of paid work around family formation, we find that the gender dynamics of these two couple types are not significantly different to those of native couples. Prior studies suggest that preconditions for the transition to parenthood vary by migration background (Wood & Van den Berg, 2017; Wood, Neels et al., 2017), but more research is needed to address the mechanisms behind this varying employment-fertility link and how partner's pre-birth labour market positions affect migrant origin couples' gender dynamics over family formation.

Considering the fourth pattern of couples' gender division of paid work around family formation, we find that first generation non-EU origin couples exhibit the second most gender unequal division of paid work and that also second generation non-EU origin couples and intergenerational non-EU origin couples with a second generation female partner less often divide paid work equally compared to mixed non-EU origin and native couples. These couples not only display a higher degree of gender inequality in paid work than native couples before first childbirth, but also a significantly stronger increase in gender inequality after family formation. In addition, among non-EU origin couples with a first generation non-EU male partner, we find not only a decrease in women's work intensity, but also a significant increase in men's work intensity after first childbirth. Hence, while previous research for Belgium suggests that marrying a partner from their origin country is for second generation Turkish and Moroccan origin women a way to bend traditionally gendered power relations (Lievens, 1999; Timmerman,

2006), our results show that the transition to parenthood results - similar to second generation non-EU women with a second generation partner - in a strong increase in gender inequality.

Addressing variation in couples' gender dynamics in the division of paid work over family formation by migration background is relevant for policies at both the macro- and micro-level. With respect to the macro-level, in a context of accelerated population ageing and shrinking working age populations, the successful labour market integration of migrant origin groups is gaining importance in European countries. Knowing couples' gender division of paid work in different stages of the life course and understanding which life course transitions induce migrant-native differences in gender dynamics in households is important for policy makers. In order to develop specific policies that enhance the labour market participation of migrant origin women, a life course perspective is required, as different policies are relevant in different stages in the life course. With respect to the micro-level, increasing gender inequality in couples' division of paid work following the transition to parenthood can jeopardise women's financial independence, future employment opportunities and social security protection given that labour market trajectories are path-dependent and social rights (e.g. pensions) are in Belgium strongly tied to (recent) work experience (Koelet et al., 2015; Neels et al., 2018).

Finally, we identify five avenues for future research. First, although this study recognises heterogeneity in couples' migration background by distinguishing ten types of couples, we did not investigate Turkish and Maghreb origin groups separately due to small sample sizes among some types of couples. Future research could therefore elaborate more on the potentially different gender dynamics in paid work for Turkish and Maghreb origin couples. In addition, it would also be worthwhile to examine gender dynamics among other origin groups, including groups that are expected to be more similar to the native population such as migrants from neighbouring countries. Second, follow-up research could consider the exact working of partners in addition to the relative measurement of work intensity considered in this paper (i.e. the percentage of working hours compared to a full-time position in the sector considered). Since our data do not provide absolute working hours, the work intensity of individuals that exceeds the standard number of working hours for a full-time position is considered 100 %, which may have affected our results. For instance, it may appear that a partner's work intensity does not change and remains 100 %, while working hours were in practice reduced from working overtime to working full-time (e.g. from 110 % to 100 %).

Third, this study indicates that the effect of parenthood on couples' gender division of paid work varies by migration background, but more research is required to disentangle the underlying mechanisms behind these varying gender dynamics. It is however very difficult to distinguish the role of micro-economic and socio-cultural mechanisms as they are strongly interrelated (differential labour market outcomes may occur as a result of differential gender role attitudes or vice versa). Moreover, although register data provides rich information, it does not allow us to consider partners' gender role attitudes. Yet, in order to elaborate our understanding of how gender role attitudes shape couples' division of paid work around the transition to parenthood, a longitudinal measurement of attitudes is required to address whether and to what extent attitudes change after family formation. Also additional mixed-method research could provide valuable insights in this respect. Assuming rational decision making in the work-family combination, a fruitful path would be to examine whether and to what extent variation in couples' gender dynamics around family formation by migration background can be explained by variation in women's pre-birth relative labour market characteristics. More specifically, as research for majority populations has identified that the relative distribution of earnings, job stability, time availability, as well as access to flexible work arrangements in partners' employment sectors (e.g. parental leave) within couples shape couple-level gender dynamics in the employment-fertility link (Marynissen, Neels, Wood, & Van de Velde, 2020) as well as the fertility-employment link (Wood et al., 2018), we argue these factors could be especially informative in this follow-up research as well. In addition, also whether the impact of these relative labour market characteristics on couples' gender dynamics around the transition to parenthood varies between native and migrant origin couples should be addressed. Since Southern European, Turkish and Moroccan origin groups display different settlement patterns compared to the native Belgian population, it would also be interesting to examine whether and to what extent different settlement patterns induce varying gender dynamics by migration background.

Fourth, future studies could examine whether similar gender patterns can be found in other European countries. Since countries vary in the extent to which policy designs challenge particular gender norms and imply subgroup differences in the access to these policies (Mussino & Duvander, 2016; Sainsbury, 2019), comparing different countries will also provide more information on the impact of policy designs on subgroup variation in couples' gender dynamics around family formation. In Belgium, precarious pre-birth employment positions of migrant origin women may be reinforced by unequal access to work-family reconciliation policies that primarily support women who are firmly established in the labour market, since access to both formal childcare and parental leave is – in contrast to Nordic countries – conditioned on stable employment positions. These specific labour market and institutional contexts shape how couples with different migration backgrounds organise their work and family life and are likely to be crucial for the interpretation of our results. For instance, studies for Sweden have found similar employment-fertility patterns for natives and migrants (Lundström & Andersson, 2012; Scott & Stanfors, 2011), which has been associated with the universal and inclusive Swedish welfare regime. Yet, it remains unclear whether and to what extent changes in couples' gender division of paid work around family formation vary by migration background in Nordic countries and European countries with more flexible labour markets such as the UK. Finally, it would be worthwhile to investigate variation in couples' gender dynamics by migration background around second- and higher-order births in future research and to address how the interplay between path-dependencies in labour market trajectories and work-family policies further unfolds over subsequent childbearing patterns.

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Appendix

see Appendix Table A1, Table A2.
See Appendix Fig. A1, Fig. A2, Fig. A3.

Table A1
Descriptive statistics by couples' migration background (in %).

	Native	Belgium - South-EU	South-EU - Belgium	Belgium - non-EU	Non-EU - Belgium	2G South-EU	2G non-EU	2G non-EU - 1G non-EU	1G non-EU - 2G non-EU	1G non-EU
Woman's origin										
Belgium	100	100	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
G1 South-EU	0	0	12.03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
G2 South-EU	0	0	87.97	0	0	100	0	0	0	0
G1 Maghreb	0	0	0	0	23.53	0	0	0	51.33	58.24
G2 Maghreb	0	0	0	0	54.41	0	53.91	51.84	0	0
G1 Turkey	0	0	0	0	7.35	0	0	0	48.67	41.76
G2 Turkey	0	0	0	0	14.71	0	46.09	48.16	0	0
Man's origin										
Belgium	100	0	100	0	100	0	0	0	0	0
G1 South-EU	0	13.45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
G2 South-EU	0	86.55	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0
G1 Maghreb	0	0	0	24.53	0	0	0	51.84	0	58.24
G2 Maghreb	0	0	0	50.00	0	0	53.91	0	51.33	0
G1 Turkey	0	0	0	13.21	0	0	0	48.16	0	41.76
G2 Turkey	0	0	0	12.26	0	0	46.09	0	48.67	0
Woman's duration of residence at first childbirth										
1 year	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17.70	8.43
2 years	0	0	0.83	0	0	0	0	0	18.14	16.48
3 years	0	0	0.83	0	1.47	0	0	0	13.27	6.51
4 years	0	0	0.41	0	4.41	0	0	0	10.62	7.28
5–10 years	0	0	3.73	0	7.35	0	0	0	12.83	20.69
10 years or more	0	0	4.98	0	17.65	0	0	0	18.58	35.63
Missing	0	0	1.24	0	0	0	0	0	8.85	4.98
Born in Belgium	100	100	87.97	100	69.12	100	100	100	0	0
Man's duration of residence at first childbirth										
1 year	0	0	0	0	1.47	0	0	8.16	0	6.90
2 years	0	0.45	0	1.89	0	0	0	20.79	0	12.64
3 years	0	0.90	0	1.89	0	0	0	15.79	0	8.81
4 years	0	0.00	0	3.77	0	0	0	10.00	0	3.83
5–10 years	0	4.48	0	16.04	0	0	0	20.79	0	23.75
10 years or more	0	6.73	0	13.21	0	0	0	16.84	0	40.61
Missing	0	0.90	0	0.94	0	0	0	7.63	0	3.45
Born in Belgium	100	86.55	100	62.26	100	100	100	0	100	0
Woman's age at migration										
0–5	0	0	2.90	0	10.29	0	0	0	4.87	13.79
6–11	0	0	0.83	0	4.41	0	0	0	7.96	7.28
12–17	0	0	0	0	1.47	0	0	0	7.08	17.24
18–25	0	0	3.32	0	5.88	0	0	0	63.27	41.76
26–30	0	0	3.32	0	7.35	0	0	0	7.08	9.58
30 +	0	0	0.41	0	1.47	0	0	0	0.88	5.36
Missing	0	0	1.24	0	0	0	0	0	8.85	4.98
Born in Belgium	100	100	88.00	100	69.12	100	100	100	0	0
Man's age at migration										
0–5	0	1.79	0	6.60	0	0	0	6.84	0	12.26
6–11	0	2.24	0	1.89	0	0	0	2.89	0	7.28
12–17	0	1.35	0	1.89	0	0	0	3.68	0	8.05
18–25	0	4.48	0	15.09	0	0	0	42.37	0	32.95
26–30	0	1.79	0	8.49	0	0	0	28.42	0	21.46
30 +	0	0.90	0	2.83	0	0	0	8.16	0	14.56
Missing	0	0.90	0	0.94	0	0	0	7.63	0	3.45
Born in Belgium	100	87.44	100	62.00	100	100	100	0	100	0
Woman's age at first childbirth										
Younger than 22	0.55	1.85	1.66	3.92	0	0.68	3.62	5.80	13.49	7.51
22–24	7.58	7.41	7.47	10.78	8.82	10.27	27.83	29.29	36.28	26.48
25–27	28.35	23.15	17.43	14.71	19.12	30.14	40.72	31.40	30.70	22.92
28–30	36.59	32.41	39.42	34.31	25.00	30.14	19.91	21.64	11.63	17.00
30–35	22.86	30.09	27.80	25.49	39.71	24.66	7.24	9.50	4.65	18.58
36–40	3.52	2.78	4.98	9.80	4.41	3.42	0.68	1.32	2.33	5.93
40 +	0.55	2.31	1.24	0.98	2.94	0.68	0	1.06	0.93	1.58
Man's age at first childbirth										
Younger than 22	0.11	0.90	0	0	0	0	0.67	0.79	1.78	0.39
22–24	2.74	4.04	3.81	4.72	0	3.38	8.97	8.18	11.11	7.34
25–27	15.77	14.35	13.14	9.43	11.94	22.30	30.04	23.75	23.11	16.99
28–30	33.63	26.46	28.81	33.96	14.93	24.32	32.06	27.70	32.89	15.06

(*continued on next page*)

Table A1 (*continued*)

	Native	Belgium - South-EU	South-EU - Belgium	Belgium - non-EU	Non-EU - Belgium	2G South-EU	2G non-EU	2G non-EU - 1G non-EU	1G non-EU - 2G non-EU	1G non-EU
30–35	35.60	38.57	38.56	38.68	32.84	33.78	23.99	30.08	22.22	31.27
36–40	9.97	13.45	10.17	12.26	16.42	14.19	3.81	6.86	6.67	14.67
40 +	2.19	2.24	5.51	0.94	23.88	2.03	0.45	2.64	2.22	14.29
N couples	913	223	241	106	68	149	447	380	226	261

Notes: Mixed origin couples and intergenerational non-EU origin couples are labelled as 'origin woman - origin man'.
Source: MIA Panel, 2005–2016, calculations by authors.

Table A2
Couple fixed-effects model on changes in women's relative work intensity around the transition to parenthood.

	Coef.	Sig.	95 % Conf. Interval
Time around first childbirth (ref. − 4Q)			
-3Q	-0.25		(− 1.85; 1.36)
-2Q	-0.30		(− 1.91; 1.31)
-1Q	-9.29	***	(− 10.90; − 7.67)
0 Q	-35.18	***	(− 36.81; − 33.55)
1Q	-9.19	***	(− 10.81; − 7.56)
2 Q	-2.96	***	(− 4.59; − 1.32)
3 Q	-2.57	**	(− 4.21; −0.92)
4–7 Q	-1.84	**	(− 3.16; −0.52)
8–11 Q	-1.35		(− 2.82; 0.11)
Time * couples' migration background (ref. native couples)			
-3Q * Belgium-non-EU	-3.72		(− 8.79; 1.35)
-3Q * non-EU-Belgium	3.06		(− 3.02; 9.13)
-3Q * 2G non-EU-2G non-EU	-0.70		(− 3.59; 2.19)
-3Q * 2G non-EU-1G non-EU	-1.27		(− 4.39; 1.86)
-3Q * 1G non-EU-2G non-EU	-3.37		(− 7.34; 0.61)
-3Q * 1G non-EU-1G non-EU	-1.26		(− 4.95; 2.44)
-3Q * Belgium-South-EU	-0.54		(− 4.16; 3.09)
-3Q * South-EU-Belgium	0.41		(− 3.09; 3.91)
-3Q * 2G South-EU-2G South-EU	1.00		(− 3.29; 5.29)
-2Q * Belgium-non-EU	-3.46		(− 8.59; 1.67)
-2Q * non-EU-Belgium	1.62		(− 4.46; 7.70)
-2Q * 2G non-EU-2G non-EU	-1.21		(− 4.13; 1.70)
-2Q * 2G non-EU-1G non-EU	-3.69	*	(− 6.87; −0.52)
-2Q * 1G non-EU-2G non-EU	-3.31		(− 7.33; 0.70)
-2Q * 1G non-EU-1G non-EU	-2.49		(− 6.22; 1.24)
-2Q * Belgium-South-EU	-0.23		(− 3.89; 3.43)
-2Q * South-EU-Belgium	-0.25		(− 3.80; 3.30)
-2Q * 2G South-EU-2G South-EU	0.98		(− 3.36; 5.32)
-1Q * Belgium-non-EU	-4.68		(− 9.88; 0.51)
-1Q * non-EU-Belgium	1.03		(− 5.19; 7.25)
-1Q * 2G non-EU-2G non-EU	-1.09		(− 4.03; 1.85)
-1Q * 2G non-EU-1G non-EU	-3.22	*	(− 6.45; 0.00)
-1Q * 1G non-EU-2G non-EU	0.95		(− 3.18; 5.07)
-1Q * 1G non-EU-1G non-EU	1.42		(− 2.33; 5.17)
-1Q * Belgium-South-EU	-0.05		(− 3.75; 3.65)
-1Q * South-EU-Belgium	-0.07		(− 3.65; 3.50)
-1Q * 2G South-EU-2G South-EU	-2.27		(− 6.66; 2.12)
-0Q * Belgium-non-EU	-3.44		(− 8.79; 1.90)
-0Q * non-EU-Belgium	6.55	*	(0.41; 12.69)
-0Q * 2G non-EU-2G non-EU	4.84	***	(1.86; 7.81)
-0Q * 2G non-EU-1G non-EU	6.27	***	(2.97; 9. 58)
-0Q * 1G non-EU-2G non-EU	23.25	***	(19.15; 27.34)
-0Q * 1G non-EU-1G non-EU	14.12	***	(10.26; 17.98)
-0Q * Belgium-South-EU	-2.39		(− 6.13; 1.34)
-0Q * South-EU-Belgium	1.23		(− 2.41; 4.87)
-0Q * 2G South-EU-2G South-EU	-1.22		(− 5.66; 3.23)
1Q * Belgium-non-EU	-3.57		(− 8.77; 1.63)
1Q * non-EU-Belgium	4.52		(− 1.71; 10.74)
1Q * 2G non-EU-2G non-EU	-8.47	***	(− 11.44; − 5.49)
1Q * 2G non-EU-1G non-EU	-7.85	***	(− 11.10;− 4.60)
1Q * 1G non-EU-2G non-EU	0.87		(− 3.29; 5.03)
1Q * 1G non-EU-1G non-EU	-6.96	***	(− 10.82; − 3.11)
1Q * Belgium-South-EU	-2.44		(− 6.17; 1.30)
1Q * South-EU-Belgium	-2.43		(− 6.06; 1.20)
1Q * 2G South-EU-2G South-EU	-0.65		(− 5.05; 3.74)
2Q * Belgium-non-EU	-5.54	*	(− 10.75; −0.32)
2Q * non-EU-Belgium	4.06		(− 2.18; 10.29)

(*continued on next page*)

Table A2 (*continued*)

	Coef.	Sig.	95 % Conf. Interval
2Q * 2G non-EU-2G non-EU	-6.55	***	(− 9.53; − 3.57)
2Q * 2G non-EU-1G non-EU	-7.40	***	(− 10.70; − 4.10)
2Q * 1G non-EU-2G non-EU	-2.20		(− 6.36; 1.96)
2Q * 1G non-EU-1G non-EU	-7.73	***	(− 11.57; − 3.89)
2Q * Belgium-South-EU	-4.21	*	(− 7.95; −0.46)
2Q * South-EU-Belgium	-0.63		(− 4.24; 2.99)
2Q * 2G South-EU-2G South-EU	-0.85		(− 5.28; 3.58)
3Q * Belgium-non-EU	-1.02		(− 6.27; 4.24)
3Q * non-EU-Belgium	6.24		(−0.02; 12.51)
3Q * 2G non-EU-2G non-EU	-5.96	***	(− 8.96; − 2.97)
3Q * 2G non-EU-1G non-EU	-6.64	***	(− 9.95; − 3.33)
3Q * 1G non-EU-2G non-EU	-2.42		(− 6.61; 1.77)
3Q * 1G non-EU-1G non-EU	-5.01	*	(− 8.86; − 1.17)
3Q * Belgium-South-EU	-2.43		(− 6.19; 1.34)
3Q * South-EU-Belgium	-0.11		(− 3.75; 3.52)
3Q * 2G South-EU-2G South-EU	0.71		(− 3.75; 5.18)
4–7Q * Belgium-non-EU	-4.40	*	(− 8.58; −0.22)
4–7Q * non-EU-Belgium	5.94	*	(0.98; 10.91)
4–7Q * 2G non-EU-2G non-EU	-4.42	***	(− 6.81; − 2.04)
4–7Q * 2G non-EU-1G non-EU	-3.61	**	(− 6.21; − 1.02)
4–7Q * 1G non-EU-2G non-EU	-1.48		(− 4.82; 1.86)
4–7Q * 1G non-EU-1G non-EU	-4.49	**	(− 7.54; − 1.43)
4–7Q * Belgium-South-EU	-1.47		(− 4.46; 1.52)
4–7Q * South-EU-Belgium	0.50		(− 2.39; 3.39)
4–7Q * 2G South-EU-2G South-EU	1.46		(− 2.04; 4.96)
8–11Q * Belgium-non-EU	-2.93		(− 7.40; 1.53)
8–11Q * non-EU-Belgium	6.83	*	(1.56; 12.10)
8–11Q * 2G non-EU-2G non-EU	-3.16	*	(− 5.81; − 0.52)
8–11Q * 2G non-EU-1G non-EU	-4.10	**	(− 6.89; − 1.32)
8–11Q * 1G non-EU-2G non-EU	2.89		(− 0.84; 6.61)
8–11Q * 1G non-EU-1G non-EU	-6.14	***	(− 9.43; − 2.86)
8–11Q * Belgium-South-EU	-1.12		(− 4.34; 2.11)
8–11Q * South-EU-Belgium	1.93		(− 1.18; 5.05)
8–11Q * 2G South-EU-2G South-EU	-0.21		(− 3.94; 3.51)
Constant	43.42	***	(42.78; 44.07)
N couples	33.524		
N couple quarters	2.816		

Sample: Table A2 excludes couples where both partners are not employed one year before first childbirth as well as couple quarters in which both partners are not employed (Table 1).
Methods: Results based on couple fixed-effects models for each couple type seperatly on the change in partners' (relative) work intensity around first childbirth including only time relative to the first birth.
Source: MIA Panel, 2005–2016, calculations by authors.

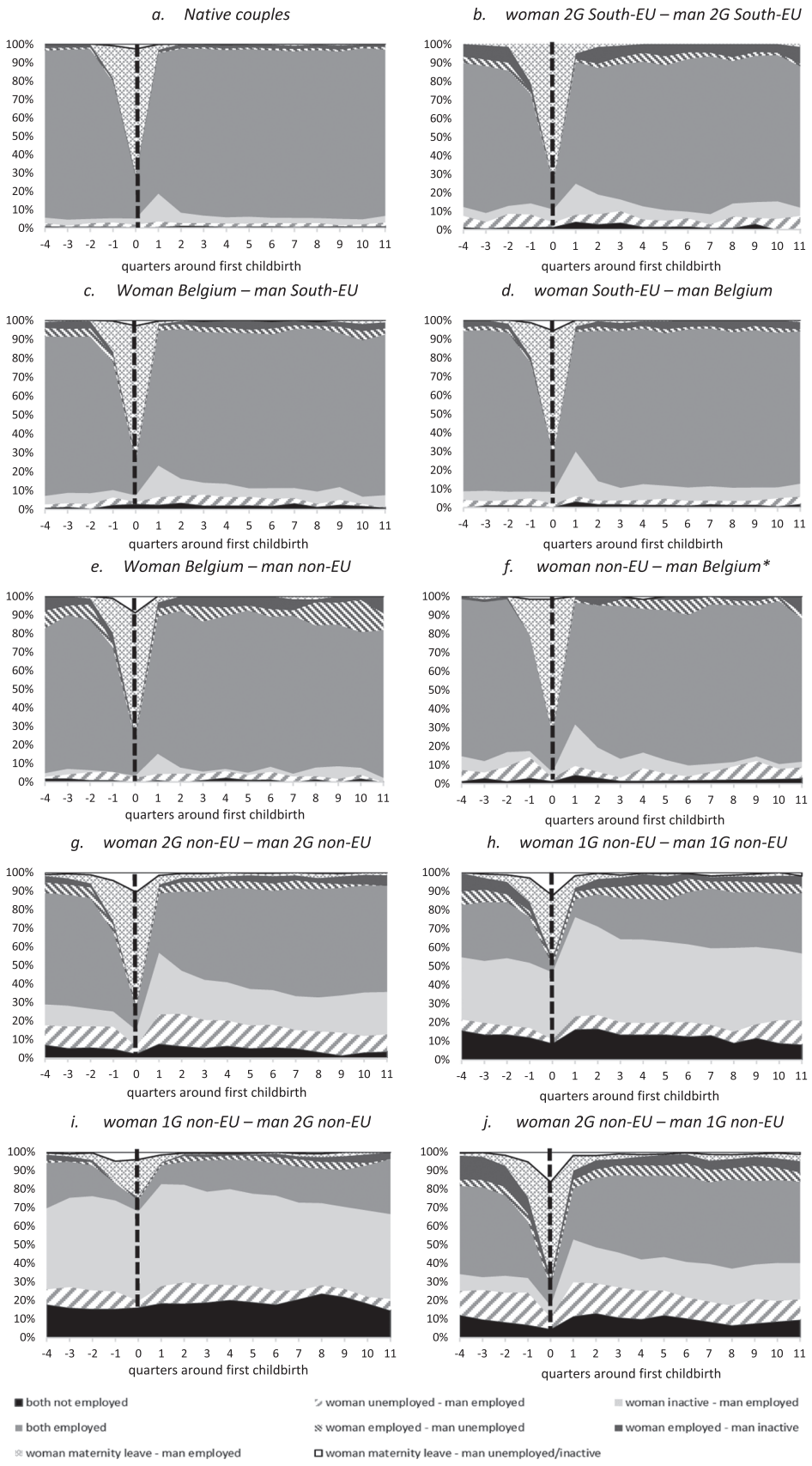

Fig. A1. Partners' employment positions around the transition to parenthood by couples' migration background. * Less than 100 couples: 68 mixed non-EU origin couples with a migrant origin woman. Sample: Fig. A1 includes all couples in our sample (Table 1).
Source: MIA Panel, 2005–2016, calculations by authors.

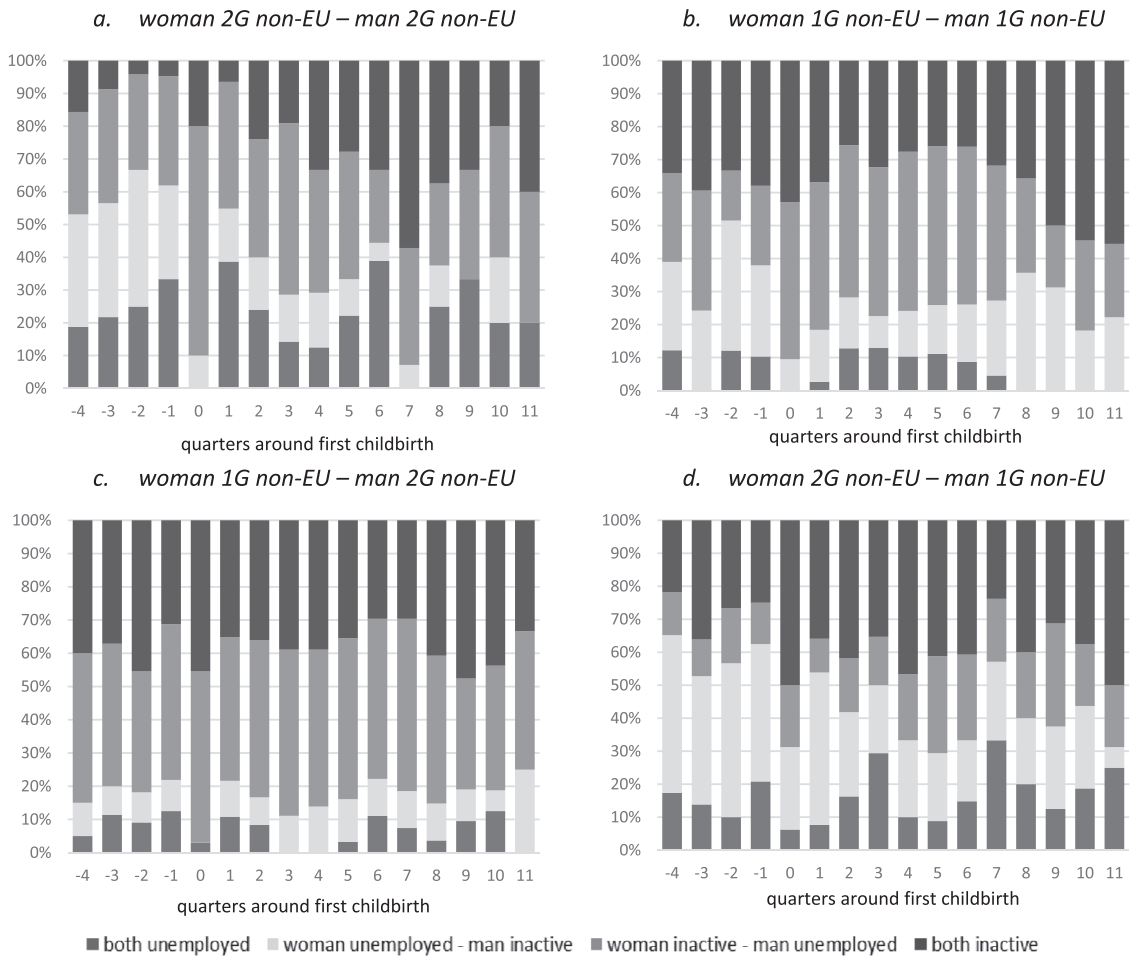

Fig. A2. Partners' employment positions around the transition to parenthood among jobless non-EU origin couples. Sample: Fig. A2 only includes jobless non-EU origin couples.
Source: MIA Panel, 2005–2016, calculations by authors.

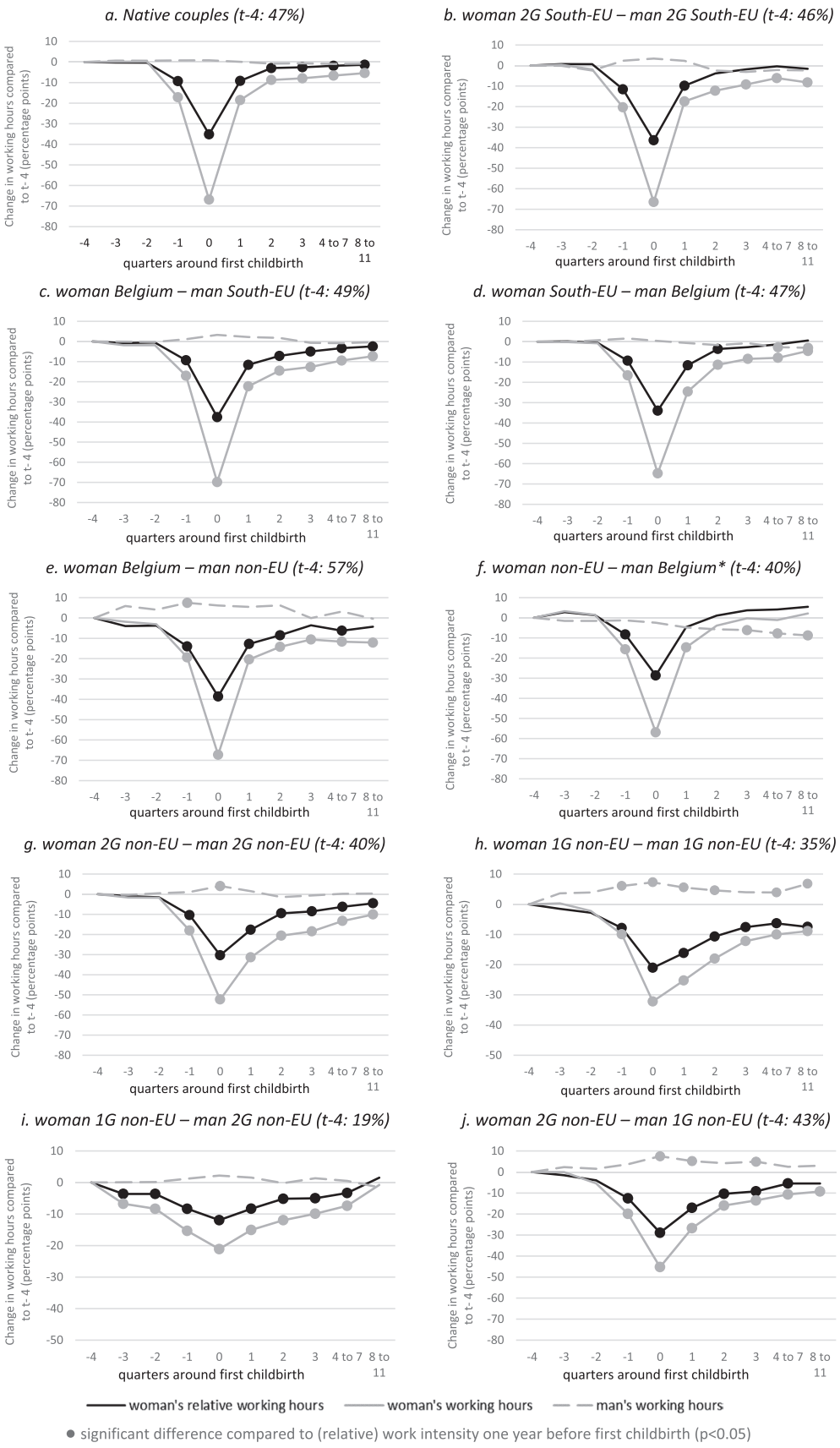

Fig. A3. Change in (relative) work intensity compared to the (relative) work intensity one year before first birth among couples where at least one partner is employed. * Less than 100 couples: 67 mixed non-EU origin couples with a migrant origin woman. Sample: Fig. A3 excludes couples where both partners are not employed one year before first childbirth as well as couple quarters in which both partners are not employed (Table 1). Methods: Results based on couple fixed-effects models for each couple type seperatly on the change in partners' (relative) work intensity around first childbirth including only time relative to the first birth.
Source: MIA Panel, 2005–2016, calculations by authors.

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