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## MigrantLife

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# **The interconnection of homeownership, marriage and childbearing in the life courses of young adults, by country of origin and generation in Sweden**

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## **Background**

The transition to adulthood entitles several interconnected events such as becoming a parent, getting married and acquiring a house or an apartment. The relationships with these events may vary across population sub-groups.

## **Objectives**

We examine the likelihood of having experienced three demographic events by age 30: first-time homeownership, marriage, and becoming a parent, and their one-year co-occurrences conditional on experiencing selected pairs of events, by countries of origin and generations of descendants of immigrants to Sweden.

## **Methods**

Individual-level register data from Sweden in 1997-2016 are analysed. We focus on individuals who immigrated to Sweden before turning 18, and on Swedish-born individuals, distinguishing between those with no, one, and two foreign-born parent(s).

## **Results**

More than four-fifths of the Swedish population experience at least one event of moving into homeownership, marriage, or childbearing by age 30. The fractions of populations with a migration background that had experienced none of these events at that age were considerably higher than for native Swedes. We find significant differences in the rates of marriage, homeownership and becoming a parent between groups. In particular, native Swedes stand out with lower rates of marriage and higher homeownership-childbirth rates than most other groups. Across the generations of descendants of migrants, we see a tendency of somewhat more homeownership entries and less entries into marriage.

## **Contribution**

The study highlights significant differences in the proportions and co-occurrences of homeownership entry, marriage, and childbearing in the early life courses of the descendants of immigrants in a Nordic immigration context. It highlights both the influences of the Swedish context and those of different parental origins.

**Keywords:** housing, marriage, fertility, migration, descendants, immigrants, life course, Sweden.

## 1. Introduction

Sweden is a destination for both labour and refugee migrants (Ahlén & Palme, 2020) with more than a quarter of its population being immigrants or the descendants of one or two foreign-born parents (SCB, 2021). The magnitude of past migration thus helps shape the socio-demographic profile of the country. In the current study we take a closer look at the family formation careers of young people in Sweden with different migration backgrounds: We examine the proportion of individuals who experience a first-time move into homeownership, marriage formation, childbearing, and any combination of these events before age 30. We also assess whether those events co-occur within a one-year interval conditional on having experienced selected pairs of events. For comparability, we focus on Swedish-born individuals and those who immigrated to Sweden before age 18. Among the Swedish-born, we differentiate between those with no, one or two foreign-born parent(s). We differentiate between individuals with a migration background from some fifteen different groups of countries, with widely different social and economic conditions. Previous research on the family formation of immigrants and their descendants in Sweden has revealed a high degree of diversity in different groups' propensities to form a marriage (Andersson et al., 2015). In many cases these differences can be linked to differences in family systems between countries of origin and the extent to which marriage forms a central part of those systems (Andersson, 2021). In contrast, most groups of descendants of immigrants exhibit a delayed and depressed propensity to become a parent in Sweden (Andersson et al., 2017). Swedish research on housing transitions also reveals quite some diversity, and that most groups of descendants of immigrants have a delayed process of entry into homeownership (Abed Al Ahad et al., 2023). Many groups of immigrants display slow transitions to homeownership in the wake of other family-demographic events (Turner & Hedman, 2014).

The current study contributes to the migration literature by investigating the degree of occurrence and co-occurrence of three key family-demographic events in a North European immigration context. We rely on analyses of high-quality individual-level register data from Sweden over a period of twenty years, 1997-2016. The Swedish register data possess several advantages over other data sources such as censuses and sample surveys as they offer longitudinal information on residential moves, changes in housing tenure, marital status, and childbearing events for the whole population of Sweden and sub-groups of that population. They allow us to disentangle the family-demographic events of interest by different migration origins. Our study thus provides insights into the integration of childhood migrants and the

descendants of immigrants by means of analysing how young people establish themselves in the transition to adulthood and experience its key family-demographic markers. Our study also adds to the family-demographic literature from Sweden and other European countries that involves analyses of the interconnection between homeownership and family events such as marriage and childbearing in the life courses of individuals (Borg et al., 2022; Chudnovskaya, 2019; Feijten et al., 2003; Feijten & van Ham, 2010; Holland, 2012; Kulu & Vikat, 2007; Mulder & Wagner, 2001; Smits & Mulder, 2008; Ström, 2010; Vignoli et al., 2013). Our specific contribution is to bring in the perspective of migrants and their descendants when studying relationships of this kind.

## **2. Data and methods**

In our study, we analyse individual-level register data that are organized and maintained at Statistics Sweden. The data include all individuals legally residing in Sweden at some time during 1997-2016 (Statistics Sweden, 2023). The Swedish register data provide accurate and complete information on the legally resident population of Sweden, dating back to 1968 when the digitization of records was initiated, and are of high quality as corroborated by previous research (Antelius & Björklund, 2000; Gedin et al., 2020; Gerdtham & Johannesson, 2005; Lindgren et al., 2016; Wilson, 2024).

We relied on monthly and annual information on individuals' marital status, childbearing events, international migrations (i.e., immigration and emigration events), internal migrations (i.e., residential mobility), residential property identification, and the housing tenure of dwellings to construct a relevant longitudinal dataset. The study population includes all individuals born in Sweden (generations 2+) and immigrants arriving before age 18 (1.5G generation) who turned 18 between January 1997 and December 2004 and who continuously stayed in Sweden until their age 30. People who died or emigrated before age 30 were removed from the study population. Women and men are analysed together. Information on residential property and housing tenure of dwellings are collected from the property register and available to us on an annual rather than monthly basis. However, by combining these data with the monthly data on residential moves, we were able to identify the exact month and year of each first-time move into a homeownership property. If residential mobility data were incomplete with regard to the exact month of any move, we assumed that the move into homeownership happened at the beginning of the respective year.

Next, we determined for each individual whether they experienced a first-time homeownership event (i.e., a move into single-family housing or apartment tenant-owner cooperative property), first-time marriage to an opposite-sex partner, and becoming a parent (i.e., having a biological child) at ages 18 to 30, and determined the month and year of each of these events. Among the Swedish-born, we distinguished between those with two foreign-born parents (2G descendants of immigrants) and those with only one foreign-born parent (2.5G descendants of an immigrant and a non-migrant) as well as native Swedes with two Swedish-born parents. Given our interest in comparing the proportion of people who enter first-time homeownership, marriage, and parenthood during the early life course, we only included people who were living in Sweden when turning 18, so that everyone in our study has a common starting age. Finally, we categorised individuals with an immigration background based on their country of birth or their parents' country of birth as follows: other Nordic country, Western Europe, Central and Eastern Europe incl. all post-Soviet states, Southern Europe, Poland, Ex-Yugoslavia, Turkey, Iran, Middle East and North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, South and Central America, East Asia, South East Asia, India, and Afghanistan/Pakistan/Bangladesh (Table 1). For individuals with two foreign-born parents from different countries, the individual was assigned the birth country of the mother. As most children spend more time with their mother than their father, especially at pre-school ages, they may be influenced more strongly in their behaviour by their mother (Kunz, 1968; McKinney & Renk, 2007; Schoppe-Sullivan et al., 2013).

For statistical analysis, we performed descriptive tabulations of the percentages of people who had experienced one, two, or three of the life-course events we study by age 30. Among those who experienced several events, we calculated the percentage that had experienced two or three events simultaneously within a time span of twelve months.

### **3. Results**

#### **3.1.Event occurrences and co-occurrences in young adulthood**

Our study includes a total of 752,290 individuals with 229,300 (30%) experiencing only first-time homeownership entry before age 30, 11,677 (2%) experiencing only marriage formation before that age, 35,957 (5%) experiencing becoming a parent only, 35,488 (5%) experiencing both homeownership and marriage, 154,456 (21%) experiencing homeownership and childbearing, 22,655 (3%) experiencing marriage and childbearing, 117,706 (16%) experiencing all three events, and 145,051 (19%) experiencing none of these events by age 30 (Table 2). Evidently, the move into a homeownership property is the most common event of

these transitions and often works as a precursor of the other two. The native-Swedish population drives the aggregate statistics, which motivates us to have a closer look at the more fine-grained statistics.

The native Swedes stand out in comparison to most other groups with their very low percentages for marriage-related events before age 30, e.g., with just 1% for marriage only, 2% for marriage and childbearing but no homeownership, and 5% for homeownership and marriage but no childbearing. They also stand out with higher fractions of moving into homeownership without (yet) getting married or becoming a parent (32%) and of moving into homeownership and becoming a parent without being married (22%). Taken together, they have a lower fraction than most other groups that had experienced none of the three demographic outcomes at age 30 (18%). Most groups of childhood migrants (1.5G) and all 2G groups have considerably higher fractions of people who had not experienced any of the family-formation events we study at age 30.

Among 1.5G immigrants, those from other Nordic countries showed rather similar outcomes as for native Swedes. Childhood immigrants from other parts of Europe had considerably lower fractions of experiencing homeownership and childbearing without getting married (10-13%) and, except for those from Ex-Yugoslavia higher fractions of experiencing none of the three events (25-28%) by age 30. A relatively high proportion of Ex-Yugoslavians experienced all three events (25%) by age 30. Turkish and MENA childhood immigrants, as well as those from Sub-Saharan Africa, more often than others experienced marriage and childbirth without homeownership entry (19%). East Asians had a high rate of homeownership only (40%).

A distinct finding for the different populations of the second generation is that practically all groups have considerably higher fractions of people who had experienced none of the three events we study – as compared to the corresponding groups of 1.5G people, and as compared to native Swedes. The fraction of 2G people with no event occurrences varies between a fourth and a third of individuals; for those with a parental migration background in Sub-Saharan Africa this level was even higher (43%). The elevated levels of no-event observations are mainly driven by lower fractions in the 2G than the corresponding 1.5G groups that had entered marriage. In contrast, the fractions that had moved into homeownership without getting married / having children was generally higher in the 2G groups of descendants of immigrants than for the corresponding 1.5G groups, and higher still for the 2.5G groups of people with a Swedish-born parent. Many 2G groups of descendants of immigrants from Europe and South and East

Asia had homeownership rates similar to those observed for native Swedes. Second generation people with a parental background in Southern Europe, the Middle East, Africa and Asia had very low fractions that experienced homeownership and childbirth without getting married.

Not surprisingly, the different 2.5G groups of young adults with one Swedish-born and one immigrant parent showed patterns in outcomes that were more similar to those for native Swedes than what holds for the corresponding 1.5G or 2G groups of people. However, there are still differences in outcomes as compared to the patterns for native Swedes. Higher fractions of 2.5G people had experienced none of the events we study, and lower fractions had experienced all three events by age 30. The outcomes that involve marriage were similar to those observed for native Swedes and much less frequent than for the corresponding groups of 1.5G and 2G people; the percentages that had experienced both homeownership and childbirth without being married were higher than for the corresponding 1.5G and 2G groups of people but still lower than for native Swedes.

### **3.2. Co-occurrence of events conditional on experiencing selected pairs of events**

Among native Swedes 16% of those who had experienced both homeownership entry and marriage formation, but had not had a child by age 30, experienced the two events within a one-year observation window (Figure 1). This conditional co-occurrence of events was more common for people with a migration background. Second generation young adults with a parental origin in Southern Europe, Ex-Yugoslavia, Turkey, Middle East and North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, and the Indian sub-continent had about double that rate of conditional co-occurrence.

The percentage of native Swedes experiencing homeownership and childbirth simultaneously within one year of observation among those who had experienced those two events at age 30 without getting married was 21% (Figure 2). The corresponding levels for young adults with a migration background did not deviate much from that level, with the exception of second-generation people with a parental background in Iran, who had a very low level of this specific event co-occurrence.

The co-occurrence of marriage and becoming a parent in the absence of homeownership include situations of what is sometimes labelled “shot-gun marriages”. This type of conditional co-occurrence of events is more common than the other co-occurrences we cover. Almost one third of native Swedes who experienced both marriage and childbirth but no homeownership entry by age 30, experienced them simultaneously within one year (Figure 3). Compared to



them, 1.5G immigrants from Poland and Southern Europe had a higher percentage of event co-occurrences, while childhood immigrants from Turkey, Middle East and North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Afghanistan/Pakistan/Bangladesh had lower co-occurrence levels. In the second generation, young adults with a parental origin in Southern and Western Europe and Iran had elevated levels of event co-occurrence, while those with a migration background in Turkey and Afghanistan/Pakistan/Bangladesh showed lower percentages of one-year co-occurrences. Almost all groups of 2.5G descendants showed similar or higher percentages of event co-occurrences than the native Swedes.

We also assessed the percentage of co-occurrence of all three demographic events within a one-year period conditional on having experienced the three events by age 30. This analysis showed little differences between groups, except for 2G young adults with a parental origin in Southern Europe who exhibited a higher percentage of co-occurrence than others (16%) and as compared to the level for native Swedes (5%) (Results available upon request).

#### **4. Conclusion**

Our study showed that although the majority of young adults in Sweden experienced at least one key demographic event by age 30, around one-fifth of Swedes and immigrants and their descendants experienced neither entry into homeownership, nor marriage or childbirth. A key finding from our study is that this fraction was considerably higher for young women and men with a migration background than for native Swedes. The tendency was stronger for young adults in the second generation than for those who were immigrants themselves and arrived in Sweden during their childhood. The tendency was also evident for young people with one foreign-born and one Swedish-born parent. These findings are remarkable and point to a tendency of delayed entry into parenthood among young adults with different types of migration background in Sweden. It highlights the postponement of family formation among many young adults with a migration background, perhaps with the prioritisation of other life goals such as educational attainment and employment aspiration.

There were also some differences between young people with a migration background depending on their parents' country of origin and depending on whether the focus was on housing transitions, marriage formation or becoming a parent. Young women and men with a migration background in another Nordic country (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway) hardly differed in outcomes from the patterns observed for native Swedes. In contrast, most groups of young adults with a migration background showed lower levels of progress in the Swedish

housing market but a higher tendency of entering marriage. Sweden is known as a context where marriage is optional and often occurs relatively late in the process of family formation (Holland, 2013; Ohlsson-Wijk, 2011; Ohlsson-Wijk et al., 2020). In this regard, it may rather be the native Swedes that stand out as outliers when compared to young adults with influences from other contexts and cultural backgrounds than that of Sweden and the Nordic region. One may speculate that people with a migration background sometimes feel a stronger urge than others to rely on the more secure status that marriage can be perceived to offer when forming a family. The lower levels of entry into owned housing may be linked to the lower levels of socio-economic capital among many groups of young people with a migration background and their weaker connections to the Swedish housing market and its institutions (Abed Al Ahad et al., 2023).

We also note some striking differences in outcomes between people with a similar migration background but different degrees of exposure to the Swedish context. This holds for the different groups in the second generation when compared to the corresponding groups of young people who were not themselves born in Sweden. It also holds for young people with one Swedish-born and one foreign-born parent when compared to those with two foreign-born parents. In general, we found stronger progress in the housing market for those with more life-course exposure to the Swedish context and a less strong role of marriage in the family formation outcomes of those young adults.

Finally, we found that the events of getting married and becoming a parent more often happened as one-year co-occurrences than the other pairs of events that we studied. The co-occurrences of marriage formation and moving into owned housing was more common for young adults with a migration background than for native Swedes, highlighting the less crucial role of marriage formation in the life course dynamics of the latter. The clearest difference for groups with a migration background was perhaps the one we found for young adults with a parental background in Southern Europe. Among those people, it was more common than for others to experience marriage and becoming a parent as co-occurring events, reflecting patterns that are generally also found in Southern Europe (Baizán et al., 2003).

We note that our study highlighted some of the interconnections of three key life-course events in the family formation of young adults in Sweden. Our focus on people with a migration background helped highlight the influences of the Swedish context in patterns of family formation as well as the concurrent influences of different migration-origin contexts and the

situation of being born in Sweden with a parental migration background. With our data at hand, we are not able to disentangle these relationships much further but hope that our descriptive study will stimulate related research based on other sources of data as well as research in other migration contexts with different demographic, institutional and cultural settings than that of Sweden and the Nordic region.

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Table 1. Definition of groups of immigrants and their descendants according to their country of origin

Immigrant groups	Countries of origin
Nordic	Denmark, Finland, Iceland, and Norway
Western Europe	UK, Ireland, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxemburg
Central and Eastern Europe, and the post-Soviet states	Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan
Southern Europe	Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece, Cyprus, Malta
Ex-Yugoslavia	Yugoslavia, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro
Poland	Poland
Central and South America	Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Panama, Belize, Caribbean states, Chile, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Paraguay, Peru, Surinam, Uruguay, Venezuela, Brazil
Turkey	Turkey
Iran	Iran
Middle East and Northern Africa	Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Libya, Tunisia, Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, UAE, Bahrain, Yemen, Jordan, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia
Sub-Saharan Africa	Somalia, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana, Uganda, Zambia, Tanzania, and rest of Africa south of Sahara
East Asia	China, Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, Japan, Korea
South East Asia	Vietnam, Thailand, Philippines, Brunei, Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Pacific Islands
India	India
Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh	Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh

Table 2. First-time homeownership, marriage, and becoming a parent among native Swedes and countries of origin of immigrants and their descendants by age 30 (N=752,290; Chi2 P-value = 0.000)

	No event (%)	All three events (%)	HM (%)	HC (%)	MC (%)	H (%)	M (%)	C (%)	Total (N)
Native Swedes	18.2	15.8	4.6	22.4	2.0	31.7	1.1	4.3	585,336
Nordic 1.5G	17.7	16.1	5.0	22.1	3.2	28.8	1.1	6.1	2,277
Western Europe 1.5G	25.3	14.7	5.5	12.4	3.6	31.8	2.5	4.2	1,619
Central and Eastern Europe 1.5G	27.5	14.1	6.3	10.1	6.3	25.4	4.3	6.0	3,865
Southern Europe 1.5G	28.4	13.5	4.3	11.4	4.1	29.2	3.5	5.7	490
Ex-Yugoslavia 1.5G	18.2	24.7	4.9	10.0	15.3	14.4	3.8	8.8	14,074
Poland 1.5G	28.3	13.2	4.9	13.4	4.7	26.0	2.7	6.9	2,495
South and Central America 1.5G	24.9	11.0	3.8	14.9	5.7	26.1	2.3	11.3	7,787
Turkey 1.5G	19.8	19.5	7.7	6.7	18.6	12.9	6.2	8.7	2,132
Iran 1.5G	26.3	11.2	9.3	6.2	3.5	36.0	4.7	2.8	6,902
Middle East and North Africa 1.5G	19.7	20.0	6.3	6.6	19.2	15.0	6.0	7.3	11,929
Sub-Saharan Africa 1.5G	28.5	7.8	4.4	6.4	18.8	13.7	9.8	10.7	5,011
East Asia 1.5G	24.6	10.2	6.2	11.6	2.1	39.6	2.0	3.7	2,433
South East Asia 1.5G	21.8	14.0	5.7	15.8	5.8	25.0	3.3	8.6	3,247
India 1.5G	23.6	12.8	5.0	17.3	2.5	31.8	2.0	5.1	2,725
Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh 1.5G	18.0	16.1	7.9	8.8	15.5	17.0	7.2	9.5	1,315
Other 1.5G	22.0	13.2	6.1	15.1	3.0	34.0	2.0	4.8	2,775
Nordic 2G	21.6	13.6	4.0	20.2	3.7	28.5	1.6	6.9	11,222
Western Europe 2G	29.3	11.0	5.7	10.9	2.1	33.4	1.9	5.7	700
Central and Eastern Europe 2G	26.6	11.8	5.1	11.8	2.6	33.7	2.5	5.9	991
Southern Europe 2G	36.3	13.3	5.1	6.7	4.8	26.0	2.0	5.8	1,135
Ex-Yugoslavia 2G	26.2	18.7	4.8	11.5	6.1	23.4	3.2	6.1	3,957
Poland 2G	30.2	10.2	6.0	11.8	3.3	31.7	2.2	4.7	2,185
South and Central America 2G	29.9	9.5	4.3	12.2	5.9	22.2	2.8	13.3	1,765
Turkey 2G	25.4	27.1	7.3	6.3	11.6	13.0	4.5	4.8	5,283

Iran 2G	25.3	11.7	10.2	6.1	2.0	40.3	2.5	2.0	558
Middle East and North Africa 2G	26.6	20.7	6.9	6.3	11.8	17.7	5.5	4.6	2,800
Sub-Saharan Africa 2G	42.6	6.7	3.9	5.6	5.8	22.1	6.6	6.7	639
East Asia 2G	31.6	14.8	8.4	4.2	3.0	33.5	1.9	2.7	263
South East Asia 2G	29.7	13.4	7.9	6.0	2.4	32.6	4.4	3.5	797
India 2G	32.7	14.4	10.4	3.1	3.7	29.1	5.8	0.9	327
Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh 2G	31.8	16.5	8.8	5.3	13.2	13.9	6.7	3.7	431
Other 2G	35.2	12.5	5.5	10.9	0.8	28.9	1.6	4.7	128
Nordic 2.5G	19.4	14.6	4.3	21.9	2.5	30.7	1.2	5.5	31,586
Western Europe 2.5G	21.2	13.2	4.6	17.8	2.3	35.1	1.6	4.1	7,576
Central and Eastern Europe 2.5G	25.1	12.7	5.6	14.7	2.5	33.0	1.7	4.8	2,473
Southern Europe 2.5G	25.1	12.0	4.4	15.9	2.7	31.9	1.6	6.4	3,691
Ex-Yugoslavia 2.5G	24.6	14.4	4.5	16.9	3.1	28.1	1.9	6.6	2,788
Poland 2.5G	26.0	11.9	4.4	15.3	2.7	33.6	1.6	4.5	3,360
South and Central America 2.5G	28.2	10.5	4.2	14.6	3.2	30.0	1.8	7.5	2,438
Turkey 2.5G	24.1	16.2	4.4	16.3	3.7	25.2	2.6	7.5	730
Iran 2.5G	25.8	10.3	5.6	13.3	2.1	37.3	1.0	4.7	683
Middle East and North Africa 2.5G	27.0	11.3	5.8	12.5	4.2	29.3	3.2	6.7	1,924
Sub-Saharan Africa 2.5G	30.1	10.7	3.9	12.5	3.2	29.5	1.8	8.4	1,138
East Asia 2.5G	25.4	8.2	4.4	14.5	2.2	39.5	1.0	4.8	413
South East Asia 2.5G	25.0	9.9	4.1	18.2	2.9	31.3	1.4	7.3	1,253
India 2.5G	27.9	11.0	4.6	12.7	2.0	33.1	4.9	3.9	308
Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh 2.5G	23.0	12.7	7.0	9.4	7.0	31.9	3.8	5.2	213
Other 2.5G	23.6	12.9	5.8	14.7	2.2	35.0	2.1	3.9	2,123
Total (N)	145,051	117,706	35,488	154,456	22,655	229,300	11,677	35,957	752,290
Total (%)	19.3	15.7	4.7	20.5	3.0	30.5	1.6	4.8	100.0

HM=Homeownership-Marriage and no Childbearing; HC=Homeownership-Childbearing and no Marriage; MC=Marriage-Childbearing and no Homeownership; H=Homeownership only and no Marriage or Childbearing; M=Marriage only and no Homeownership or Childbearing; C=Childbearing only and no Homeownership or Marriage.



Figure 1. Co-occurrence of homeownership and marriage (HM) within one year, conditional on having experienced the two events by age 30 among native Swedes and countries of origin of immigrants and their descendants

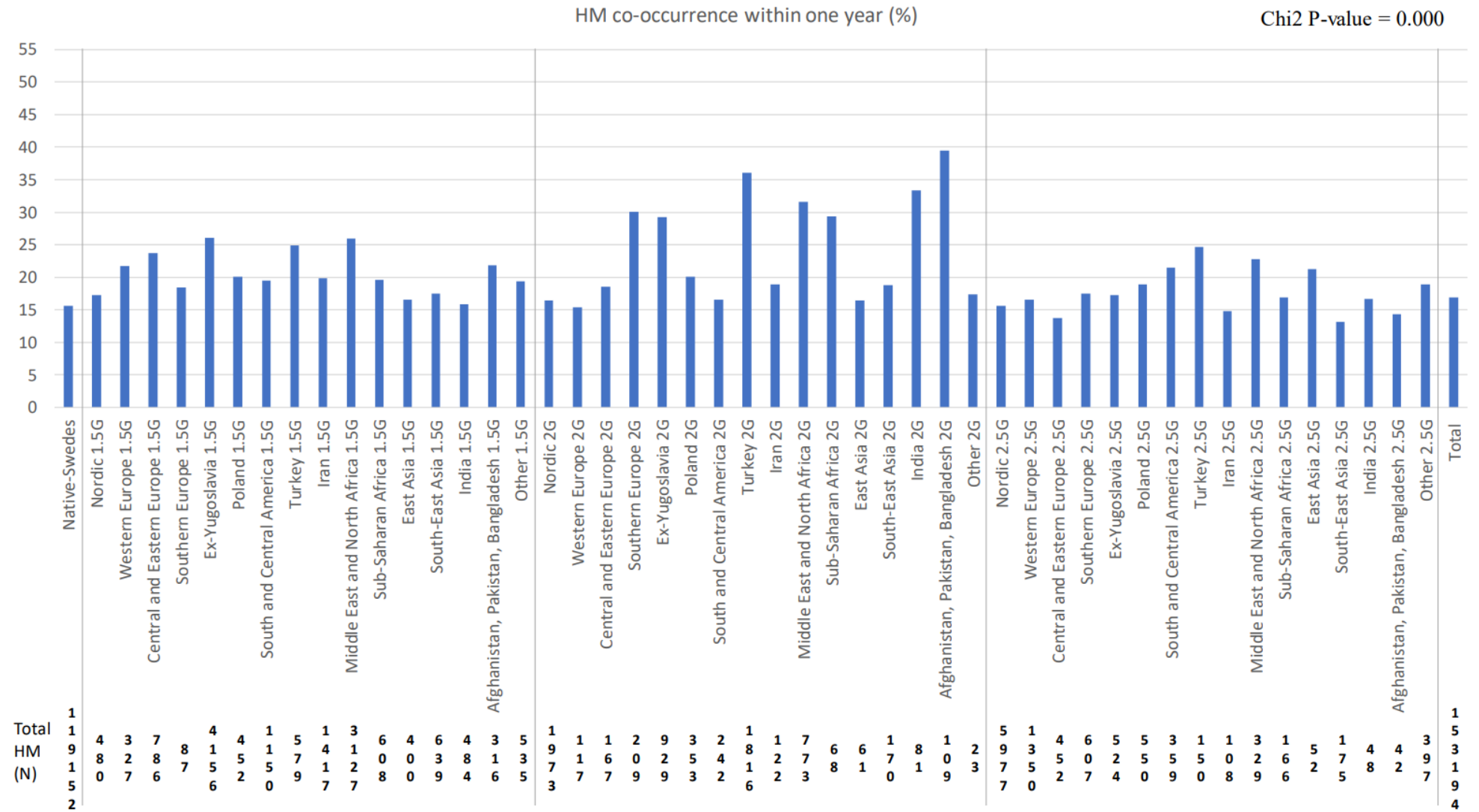


Figure 2. Co-occurrence of homeownership and childbirth (HC) within one year, conditional on having experienced the two events by age 30 among native Swedes and countries of origin of immigrants and their descendants

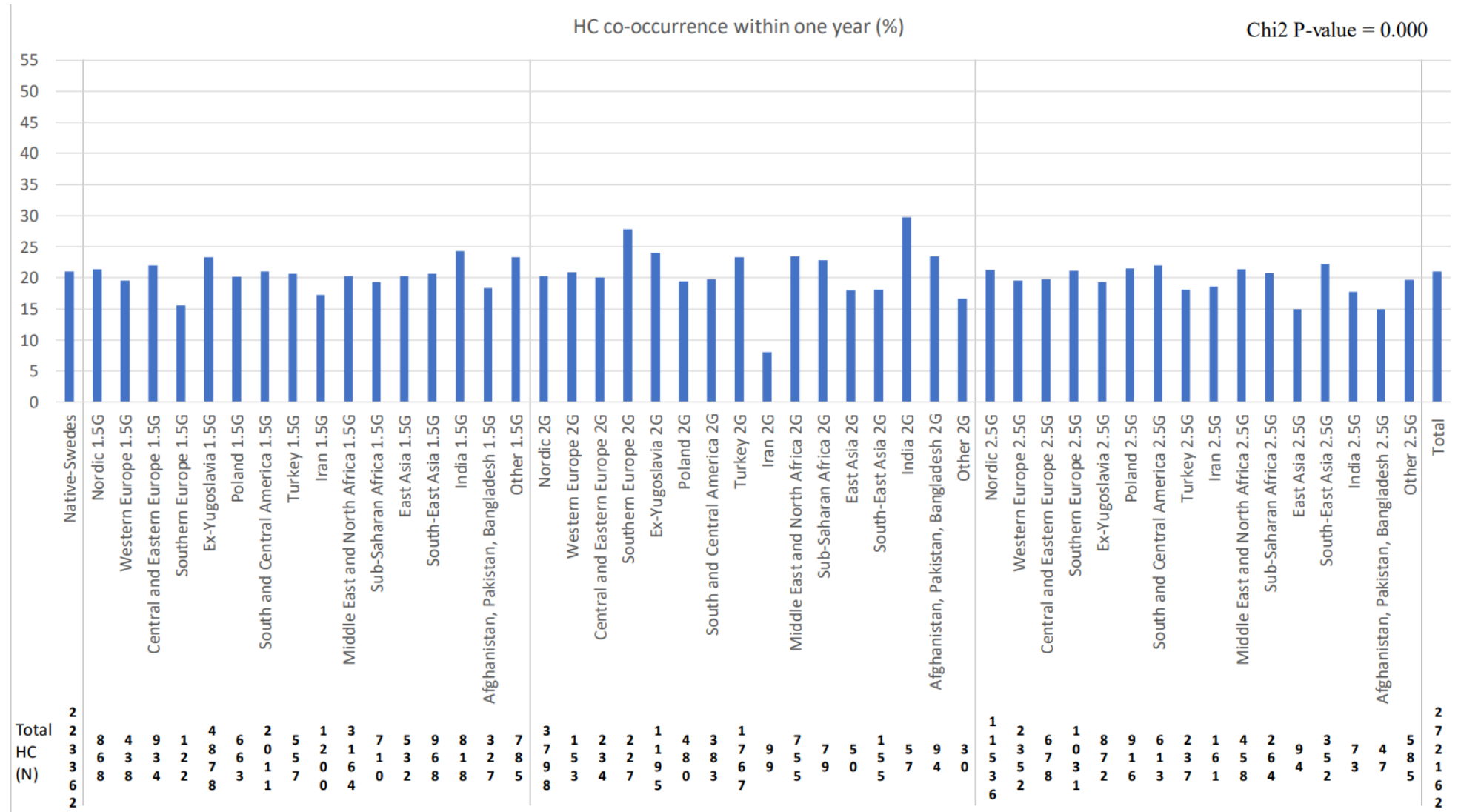


Figure 3. Co-occurrence of marriage and childbirth (MC) within one year, conditional on having experienced the two events by age 30 among native Swedes and countries of origin of immigrants and their descendants

