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Shaping the Life Course: The interaction between partnerships, family building and employment among migrants and their descendants

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Shaping the Life Course: The interaction between partnerships, family building and employment among migrants and their descendants

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1. Abstract

This study investigates the way in which migrants' and their descendants' life course are shaped in the UK, focusing on the three interconnected domains of fertility, partnerships and employment. Despite several studies which have investigated a single domain, or interactions between two of these domains, to date there is little understanding of how the three domains interact. Using data from the UK Household Longitudinal Study, we employ competing risks multilevel models to examine life course transitions by migrant background, generation and gender. Our results show, first, that for both men and women, there is almost a universal transition from education to employment, with low rates of partnership and childbearing. Second, we find some variation across migrant groups and generations for subsequent life transitions. Women from Pakistani/Bangladeshi backgrounds are more likely to leave employment, while Caribbean groups are at higher risk of union dissolution and unpartnered births compared to other groups. Third, overall, the patterns among the second generation more closely resemble those of the native population, suggesting a gradual assimilation. Additionally, the finding that employment exits remain common among partnered women belonging to some 1.5G and 2G groups suggest that socialisation factors, including conservative gender norms, also play a role in shaping the life course of migrants and their descendants. Finally, we find some evidence of differences by gender which may suggest that the life course transitions for men vary less by migrant background compared to women, further highlighting the influence of cultural gender norms in shaping life course trajectories.

Keywords: Migrants, Descendants Life course, Employment, Fertility, Partnership, Family Building, United Kingdom

2. Introduction

There is a growing literature investigating life course dynamics of immigrants and their descendants in Europe. Previous research has examined partnership formation and dissolution (Pailhé, 2015, 2015; Andersson, et al., 2015), childbearing patterns (Höhn, et al., 2024; García-Gomez, et al., 2023; Rojas, et al., 2018) and labour market changes (Connor & Koening, 2015; Milewski, 2013) among immigrants and their descendants. While these studies have improved our understanding of the role of various determinants in the life course transitions of migrant populations (e.g. the effect of educational level on fertility), they have provided little information on what is simultaneously happening in other life domains and how these domains are related to each other. Clearly, there is a need for a holistic approach to understand how different life domains evolve and are interwoven in the lives of migrants and their descendants.

Despite evidence of increasing life course complexity and de-standardisation, this has not occurred evenly across populations. This study investigates how life course transitions across the domains of fertility, partnership and employment vary between migrants, their descendants and the native population in the UK. The study is novel in the following aspects. First, we analyse partnership, fertility and employment changes simultaneously. While there have been a number of studies which have explored the life course trajectories for migrants and their descendants, few have brought together the three domains of partnership, fertility and employment transitions in a single study. We study simultaneously changes in the three life domains allowing multiple transitions in each of them. Second, we apply multistate models to investigate changes in the three life domains. While previous research has used multichannel sequence analysis to provide a more holistic account of the evolution of life trajectories (Pollock, 2007), we apply multistate models which allow adjusting for compositional differences between the groups and thus move beyond the description of patterns and trajectories. Finally, we distinguish between migrants who arrived as children (1.5G) and the descendants of migrants (2G). Although there has been an increased interest in the descendants of immigrants (Holland and de Valk 2017; Pailhé 2017), very few (if any) studies have distinguished between 1.5G and 2G; the former group is normally either among immigrants (1G) or analysed together with the descendants (2G). Distinguishing between the two groups will improve our understanding of behavioural changes across generations and factors shaping migrants' and their descendants' lives.

We explore the transitions between a range of partnership and employment states, not only examining three separate life course domains (partnership, employment and fertility) but also five potential outcomes (partnership entries, partnership dissolutions, employment entries, employment exits, and first and higher order birth events). We model the possible transitions from the following states: 1) Single (including separated) and Employed, 2) Single and Unemployed, 3) Partnered and Employed, and 4) Partnered and Unemployed for natives as well as migrants and their descendants. We also explore transitions separately for men and women in order to explore gender differences between migrant groups and generations compared to UK natives. As discussed, we distinguish between migrants who arrived as children and the descendants of migrants. The UK has a long history of migration and a diverse

mix of migrant populations from across Europe, South Asia, Africa and the Caribbean. This makes the UK an interesting context for exploring the life course trajectories of different migrant groups and their descendants.

Competing approaches: assimilation versus socialisation

There are many theories in the existing literature which are used to explain differences in the behaviour of migrants from different cultural backgrounds and migrant generations. These theories generally fall into two groups, with differences between migrant groups either attributed to the influences and social norms of the country of origin, or the adoption of behaviours prevalent amongst the native population of the host country (Kulu, 2005). Much of the research on migrant family and fertility is thus driven by two competing approaches: assimilation versus socialisation.

Assimilation (or adaptation) theory suggests that over time, migrant groups will become more similar to natives (Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 2018; Alba, 1999). Previous studies have identified two potential pathways to assimilation that 2G migrants may follow. The first is that the children of migrants will follow the classical assimilation route, where over time and generations migrants will become increasingly similar to the mainstream culture of the host nation and lose the culture of their country of origin. Alternatively, the children of migrants may experience worse levels of wellbeing and downward social mobility while others may experience upward social mobility, while continuing to retain the culture and identity of their parents' country of origin, referred to as 'biculturalism' (Chimienti, et al., 2019; Ciment & Radzilowski, 2015). A majority of the studies which explore segmented assimilation focus on the US and compare migrant cohorts by date of arrival but this theory may also help us to understand why life course trajectories among the descendants of migrants may vary by country of origin.

In contrast, socialisation theory focuses on the importance of exposure to attitudes and behaviours related to life course events (such as fertility, employment and partnerships) during childhood and how these will influence behaviours and choices in adulthood (Milewski & Adserà, 2023; Afulani & Asunka, 2015). This results in the behaviours of migrants more closely resembling the behaviour of 'stayers' in their country of origin compared to natives (Kulu, 2005). It may be expected that this would predominantly influence 1G and 1.5G migrants, however, Pailhé (2017) suggests that socialisation may also effect 2G migrants through the transmission of norms and attitudes from their migrant parents.

While we may expect that over generations, migrants would become increasingly similar to natives as a result of assimilation; the minority subculture hypothesis highlights the importance of recognising that children of migrants are raised by and around families and communities which may have strong cultural links to their parents' country of origin (Kulu, et al., 2019). This exposure to the social norms and practices of the parents' country of origin through social interactions within their communities may mean that child migrants and descendants may closely follow the life course trajectories of their parents which in turn closely mirror the trends prominent in the migrants' country of origin. However, it should be noted that there is some

evidence that the effect of belonging to a minority subculture influences some migrant groups to a greater extent than others (Kulu & Hanneman, 2016).

Drawing upon socialisation theory, we would expect that the behaviours of migrants will differ not only from natives but between migrants from different countries of origin. When considering fertility differentials, country of origin may play an important role depending upon whether migrants originate from high or low fertility contexts. In the UK, there have been observed differences in fertility between migrants of different backgrounds, with migrants from Pakistan and Bangladesh exhibiting higher fertility rates and larger completed family sizes compared to natives and other migrant groups (Harrison, et al., 2023; Robards & Berrington, 2016). Similarly in Sweden, migrants from high fertility countries of origin were found to have higher third birth rates compared to the native population. This trend was found for migrants arriving in Sweden both as adults and during childhood (Höhn, et al., 2024).

Attitudes towards gender roles and female participation in the labour market may also result in differences between migrant groups. Female labour force participation (FLFP) rates in the country of origin have been linked with rates of employment in the host country, with female migrants from countries with low FLFP having lower rates of labour market participation in the host country, while for women from high FLFP countries the opposite was true (Neuman, 2018). However, there is some disagreement regarding the importance of cultural attitudes to women's employment on labour market participation, with He & Gerber (2019) arguing that migrant selectivity may mean that women who chose to migrate will hold attitudes closer to that of the host country and therefore are more likely to engage with the labour market than the women remaining in the country of origin. This in turn could influence the attitudes of their children, through social transmission.

It would also be expected that barriers and opportunities related to the labour market will also vary by country of origin. Language barriers are one such challenge which may affect some migrant groups more than others. An analysis of migrants in Australia found that those from countries with an English speaking background had more success in the labour market compared to those from a non-English speaking background (Foroutan, 2008). Discrimination can also play a role in restricting migrants' access to the labour market and secure employment. Experiences of migrants in the UK labour market have been shaped by what Consterdine (2023) describes as 'immigration hierarchy' whereby black African and Caribbean migrants are the most disadvantaged groups and Non-EU migrants are disproportionatley discriminated against and make up an oversized share of low paid workers. Even for white European immigrants, there has been found to be a hierarchy, with migrants from countries which have joined the EU more recently, particularly those from Eastern European countries, facing greater discrimination, exploitation and lower paid employment compared to Europeans from nations who are longstanding members of the EU (Consterdine, 2023).

Previous research on partnerships, fertility and employment

When exploring how partnership dynamics vary between migrant generations, findings from the UK suggest that both the union formation and separation patterns of descendants fall

between those of migrants and natives (Mikolai & Kulu, 2022). However, research by Hannemann, et al. (2020) found that any variation between migrant generations may be more complex with the similarities between generations appearing to vary based on the context of both the country of origin and the host country. For migrants from culturally similar countries to the host country, similar partnership patterns were found between migrants and their descendants. However, for migrants from countries which were culturally dissimilar from the destination country, migrants showed similar union formation patterns across generations, but separation patterns for descendants were higher than their first-generation counterparts and lower than natives.

The assimilation theory may help us to understand how the fertility patterns of migrants may differ between first generation migrants and their descendants. This theory posits that the fertility differentials between migrants and natives will decrease over successive migrant generations, with descendants of migrants eventually exhibiting fertility levels which are indistinguishable from natives (Wilson, 2019). There has been some evidence of generational assimilation occurring in the UK, particularly for women of Pakistani and Bangladeshi descent, with lower fertility at younger ages compared to migrants from the same cultural background. This has been attributed to increased educational participation among the daughters of Pakistani and Bangladeshi migrants which decreases the likelihood of having children (Dubuc, 2012). In Norway, Grytten, et al. (2024) found that across all migrant groups, there was a decline in fertility between 1G and 2G migrants. However, results from this analysis also demonstrated that differences in completed fertility continued to vary between migrant groups based upon country of origin and that these differences persisted for the descendents of migrants. This suggests that while the children of migrants may have lower fertility than their parents, differences in the levels of fertility between migrant groups persists, supporting the theory that fertility behaviour is transmitted between generations. As with partnership trends, based upon previous research, we may expect that while fertility levels of descendants may begin to diverge from migrants and become more similar to natives, the exent to which this divergence occurs may vary based upon country of origin (Adserà, et al., 2012). Recently, however, a comparative study on migrants in the UK, Germany and France by Kulu et al. (2024) showed that changes across migrant generations have been faster for fertility than for partnership patterns.

As previously discussed, migrants may face a series of challenges accessing the labour market. Although we may expect these barriers would have the greatest effect on migrants, the children of migrants may also face challenges entering employment. A number of studies have found that labour market disadvantage experienced by migrants extends to their children, with 2G migrants exhibiting higher levels of unemployment compared to natives (Aradhya, et al., 2023; Silberman & Fournier, 2008; Zuccotti, et al., 2023). Gabrielli & Impicciatore (2022) explain that while some of the challenges which the first generation face (e.g. barriers related to language proficiency or educational qualifications) will not be present for the second generation who are wholly educated in the UK, labour market disadvantage may persist resulting in lower employment and higher unemployment compared to UK natives. This is understood to be a

result of ethnic penalties whereby the children of migrants experience poor labour market outcomes as a result of ethnic or racial discrimination rather than measurable socio-economic or educational factors (Gracia, et al., 2016; Zwysen, et al., 2020). Findings from the OECD (2010) suggest that in Europe, the employment gap between 2G migrants and natives widens for the children of migrants from low income countries. Discrimination appeared to be the primary barrier to entering into the labour market for individuals percieved to be of 'foreign origin' or belonging to a minority group. Additionally, conservative gender roles may explain the low women's employment among some migrant groups (Khoudja and Fleischmann 2015).

3. UK Context

The UK provides an effective context in which to study the life course trajectories of both migrants and their descendants. In the UK there has been a long history of migration, with several waves which brought migrants from a wide range of countries.

One key determinant of migration has been the colonial links which the UK has to many countries around the world. Following the Second World War, many of the colonial powers in Europe (UK, France and the Netherlands) were left with labour shortages. While these countries first sought migrants from Eastern Europe to boost the workforce, the Cold War restricted migration to Western Europe and resulted in the reliance on colonial migrants (Hansen, 2003). In the late 1940s and 1950s, the UK invited migrants from the Caribbean and South Asia to join the UK workforce (Goulart Sereno, 2021). The drivers of migration from Africa to the UK, while also largely rooted in colonial links, have been more varied. Although there was some labour following WW2, the reason for migration differs across countries and regions, with some African migrants entering as refugees escaping conflict and political oppression and others moving for education or family unification (Barou, et al., 2012).

In more recent years, membership of the EU and the free movement of people has also brought many migrants to the UK, particularly following EU expansion in 2004 and 2007 which extended free movement to citizens of countries in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union (Blanchflower & Lawton, 2009). Despite the UK's withdrawal from the EU and the subsequent cessation of free movement, the UK continues to attract migrants. While immigration from EU countries has declined, migration from non-EU countries has increased (Migration Observatory, 2023), potentially signalling a new chapter in the UK's immigration history.

This long and diverse history of migration allows not only for a longitudinal analysis of immigrants, but also enables us to follow the descendants of migrants across their life course. This offers an opportunity to conduct a comprehensive analysis of migrants and their descendants from a range of cultural backgrounds throughout their life course.

In this study we aim to address a gap within the current literature surrounding migrant life course trajectories in the UK. We will bring together employment, unemployment, union formation, separation and birth events in a single study to explore how life course transitions vary across migrant groups and generations. We compare 1.5G and 2G migrants from a range of backgrounds, both to one another and UK natives. We also explore these differences by

gender, modelling men and women separately. This analysis will allow us to gain a greater understanding of how individuals shape their life course and to what extent transition patterns vary between migrants from different cultural backgrounds and generations.

Based upon the existing literature we would, first, expect that there would be some variation in life course trajectories between migrant and descendant groups, with migrants from countries which are more culturally similar to the UK more closely resembling the transition patterns of natives compared to migrants from countries which are more culturally dissimilar. Second, we anticipate that there would be some difference between migrant generations, with the transition patterns of 2G falling somewhere between 1.5G and natives, however, this may vary by country of origin. Finally, when considering how trajectories may vary by gender, we predict that gender differences will vary by migrant group, particularly regarding employment transitions, with larger gender differences among migrants from countries with low female labour market participation.

4. Data

This study uses data from the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS) waves 1-9, spanning from 2009-2019. This is a large and nationally representative dataset which collects data from around 30,000 households including two boost samples (in wave 1 and wave 6) which increase the number of sample members from ethnic minority groups, providing valuable data on migrants and their descendants (University of Essex, 2023).

The survey also collects data on family building, partnership formation and employment, including retrospective data from age 16, as well as recording events which occur between waves. This detailed data provides precise dates of key life course events including the birth of a child, cohabitation, marriage, separation, divorce and employment changes.

Our sample consists of individuals aged 16-49 who were born between 1940 and 2003. We follow them from time first leaving full-time education until age 50 or date of final interview if occurring before age 50. We also censor individuals at time of widowhood or a twin birth as these sample members' subsequent transitions could be considered different from those who are separated or who have a singleton birth. When measuring the timing of partnership events, there were multiple occurrences of entries and exits from employment and unions happening within the same month. To counter this, in the 688 cases where unions and separations occurred within the same month, half a month was added to the event time to either the separation event, or subsequent re-partnering event, whichever was later. For this analysis we identify three groups for comparison. Firstly, natives who are defined as individuals born in the UK to two UK born parents, 1.5G migrants who were born outside of the UK and who migrated to the UK before age 16, and finally 2G who were born in the UK to at least one foreign born parent. We also identify five main migrant populations within the UK which we will focus on in this analysis: individuals from Europe and the West, India, Pakistan & Bangladesh, the Caribbean,

and Africa. We exclude 178 sample members who experience two events within the same month as we are unable to establish which event occurred first. We also dropped individuals with inconsistent partnership histories including 392 cases where separation dates occurred after a subsequent re-partnering and a further 513 cases where individuals recorded multiple union formations but provided no separation information. We also exclude 1080 sample members who experienced any of these events prior to leaving full-time education, a majority of these (846) were union events. Overall, our analytical sample consists of a total of 11,870 men and 14,915 women.

5. Methods

We split our analysis into two sections, the first exploring the first transition after leaving full-time education and the second modelling a series of transitions from all possible employment, parity and partnership states.

Figure 1: Model Structure, First Transition
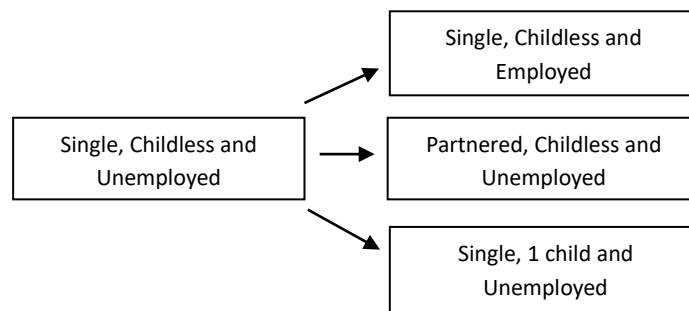
Figure 1 shows the model structure for the first part of our analysis. Using competing risks multilevel models, we examine how our sample of individuals who are single, childless and unemployed upon first time leaving full-time education move to either employment, a partnership or have a first birth by migrant origin and generation. While we also explore gender differences, we model transitions for men and women separately. In this model, our baseline is time since leaving full-time education while also controlling for age at leaving full-time education and birth cohort.

Figure 2: Model Structure, Transitions between states
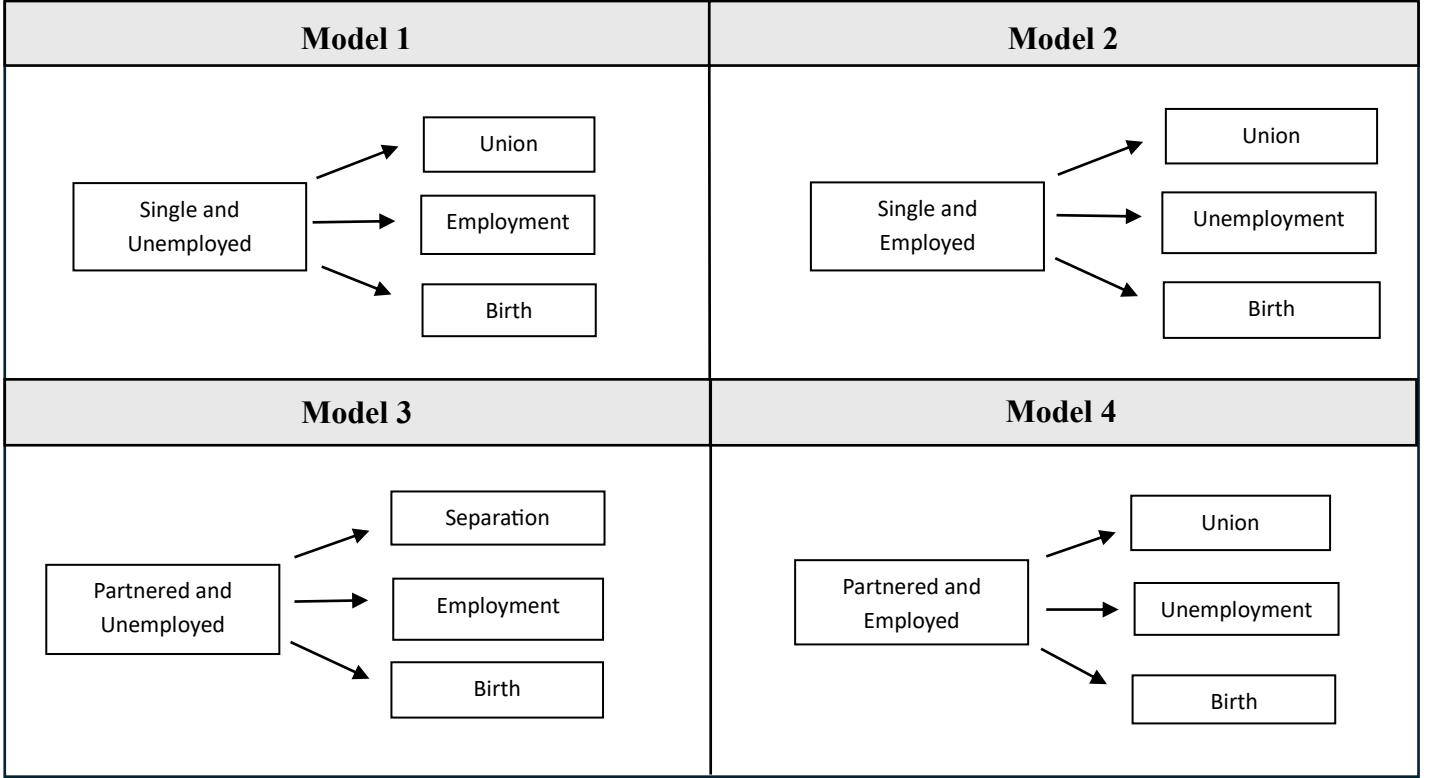
Figure 2 illustrates the methodological approach for the second part of our analysis. In this section, we conduct a series of competing risks multilevel, multistate models to examine transitions from each partnership and employment state. We carry out four models, in the first we select spells where individuals are single (including separated) and unemployed, the second, spells where individuals are partnered and unemployed, our third model focuses on spells where individuals are single (including separated) and employed, and finally we model spells where individuals are partnered and employed. In each model, we include sample members who are both childless and those with at least one child while controlling for parity. As we model transitions which include higher order partnership and employment events, we also control for order of these events.

We model the transitions in Figure 1 and 2 using competing-risks models. The models can be specified as follows:

$$\ln \mu_{ij}^k(t) = \ln \mu_0(t) + \sum_l \alpha_l x_{ijl} + \sum_m \beta_m w_{ijm}(t) + \gamma_k z_{ij} + \varepsilon_i \qquad (1)$$

where μ_{ij}^k is the risk of experiencing j transition of type k for individual i. There is only one transition of type k for the first event (Figure 1), but there can be several transitions thereafter (Figure 2). $\ln \mu_0(t)$ is the baseline log-hazard, which is specified as piecewise constant. x_{ijl} represents time-constant and w_{ijm} time-varying variables. We model competing outcomes simultaneously using an extended dataset. Each individual has k records, corresponding to the

number of competing transitions in each set of competing risks models (Cleves et al., 2016). z_{ij} denotes an interaction term between the type of transition and migrant origin and γ_k is the parameter to measure its impact; ε_i is the individual-level error term to adjust for the nested structure of the data (transitions within individuals). Our model specification assumes a common baseline for all three transitions, but the risk of each transition can vary by migrant origin. The advantage of this model is that we can directly compare the risk of each competing outcome and assess their relative importance (Putter et al. 2007).

Variables

We focus on three life course domains: partnerships, employment and fertility. For both partnerships and employment, we examine both exit and entry transitions. For employment events, we define transitions as changes from an employed state to an unemployed state. The UKHLS records a range of possible employment statuses. In our analysis, the states of full-time, part-time, self-employed and on parental leave are all considered employment states, while those recorded as looking for work, looking after family or long-term sick or disabled are all considered to be out of employment. Individuals who return to education are also classed as out of employment; however, there are very few sample members who re-enter education after they enter the observation period. We do not consider movement between employment states (e.g. part time to full time work) as transitions. For partnership events, we define entering both cohabitation and marriages as partnership events with whichever comes first regarded as the beginning of the partnered spell. As previous research has shown that direct marriage primarily occurs amongst specific groups, such as individuals from Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds, and is very low among other groups (Hannemann & Kulu, 2015; Harrison, et al., 2023), the decision was taken to combine these partnership states in order to ensure that transitions were comparible between groups. In all cases, we record union dissolution as when the partnership spell ends at time of separation. While we also have time of divorce for individuals who are married, this often occurs several months or years after the recorded separation. For this reason, we use the time of separation as defined by the respondant when asked at what time the partnership ended.

Our baseline in this analysis is time since leaving full-time education, which is measured as a categorical variable with four time bands (0-1 year, 1-3 years, 3-5 years and 5+ years). As individuals leave full-time education at different ages, we also adjust our models for age at leaving full-time education which is also measured as a categorical variable (<15, 15-19, 20+). We also adjust for educational level (High, Medium and Low) which is a time-varying variable for those who return to education at a later date.

For the second part of this analysis where we examine transitions between different states, as we include higher order events, we also include an order variable for each possible outcome of a transition (birth, partnership, separation, employment spell, unemployment spell) which are also time-varing variables. In all cases, these are categorical variabes (0, 1, 2+).

Finally, we define each migrant group and generation. We focus on 1.5G and 2G as well as UK natives. 1.5G immigrants are those who were born overseas and moved to the UK as children, before age 16. This ensures that they left education while in the UK. 2G are those who were born in the UK to at least one foreign born parent. We assign migrant groups and generations based upon country of birth and age of arrival in the UK derived from the date they moved to the UK if applicable.

In cases where both parents are foreign born but are from different countries of origin, migrant group is defined based upon mother's country of birth. In cases where the respondents own country of birth was missing, origin group is imputed based upon self-repored ethnicity. Overall, we have 11 generation and migrant background groups consisting of native population, and 1.5G and 2G groups for each migrant country of origin (Europe and Western, India, Pakistan & Bangladesh (PAK/BDG), Caribbean, and African.

6. Results

First transition after leaving full-time education

Figure 3 shows the results of the competing risks model which examines the first transition after leaving full-time education by migrant group and generation for both men and women. In this model, all sample members begin in the state of single, childless and unemployed, with the potential outcomes of entering a union, employment or parenthood. For men, we can see that across all migrant groups and generations, the most likely first transition is into employment, with very low risks of entering into parenthood or a union. However, between migrant groups, we can see that there are lower risks of employment for all migrant groups and generations compared to natives. The only exception was for the 2G European and Western men who were equally likely to enter employment as natives.

For women we find that for a majority of groups, employment was again the most likely first transition. However, for the 1.5G and 2G Pakistani/Bangladeshi group, there was an equal likelihood of entering a partnership as becoming employed. While for men we found no significant difference between migrant generations for any group, for women we find a significant difference for the Pakistani/Bangladeshi group for both partnerships and employment. For partnerships, the 1.5G were more likely to experience entry into a union compared to their 2G counterparts, while for employment the opposite was true, with 2G Pakistani/Bangladeshi migrants more likely to transition into employment compared to the 1.5G. We also see that 1.5G Caribbean women were more likely to experience a birth upon leaving full-time education compared to any other group. When exploring differences between migrants from different countries of origin, as with the men, we find that all migrant groups were less likely to enter employment compared to natives with the exception of 2G European and Western migrants. We also find that for women, while not signicant, we see a trend of 2G migrants becoming closer to natives than their 1.5G counterparts.

Figure 3: First transition from full-time education
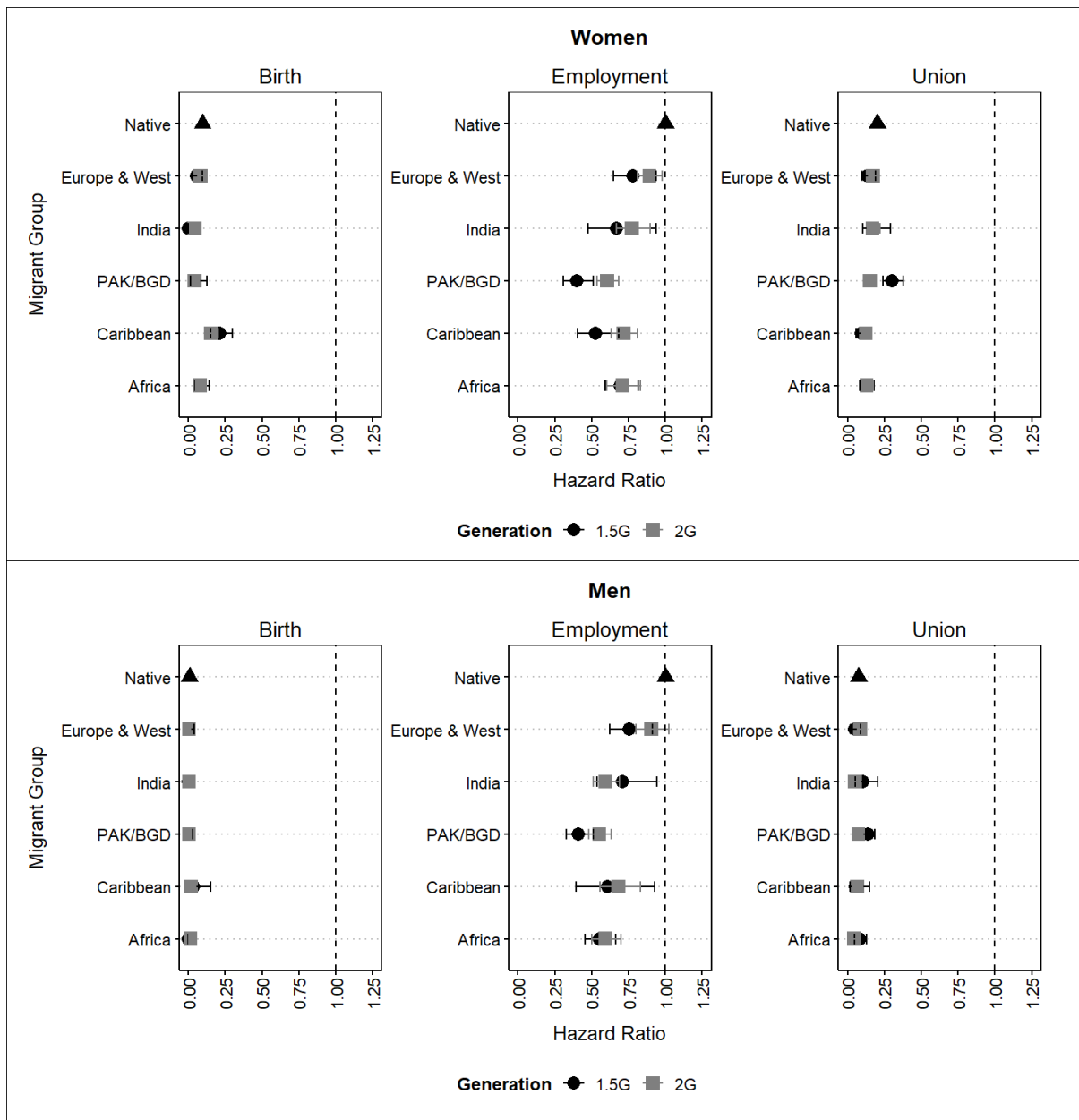
Adjusted for birth cohort, time since leaving full-time education, age left full-time education and education level
Reference Category: Native, Employment
Source: UKHLS, authors analysis

Transitions between states

The next section of our analysis examines transitions between different partnership and employment states.

Figure 4 shows the first of these models, exploring the transitions from spells in which individuals are single (including separated) and employed. We can see that for both men and women the results from this model are markedly similar to those presented in Figure 3 which

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examined the first transitions after leaving full-time education. This is likely because first transitions dominate the states where individuals are both single and unemployed. Again, we can see that for both men and women entry into employment is the most likely next transition with the exception of Pakistani/Bangladeshi women who were equally likely to enter into a partnership as employment. We also continue to see that there is no significant difference between 1.5G and 2G male migrants, whereas for women we see a trend of 2G women becoming more similar to natives in terms of employment entries. One difference we do observe between this model, which includes all spells where individuals are single and unemployed, and our previous model which focused only on first transitions is for Indian men. While in Figure 1 we see that after leaving full-time education 1.5G Indian men were less likely to enter into employment compared to natives, in this model we see that there is no difference in the likelihood of entering employment for 1.5G Indian and native men. For other migrant groups (with the exception of 2G European and Western migrants) there is a lower risk of entering into employment compared to natives.

Figure 4: Transition 1: Single and Unemployed
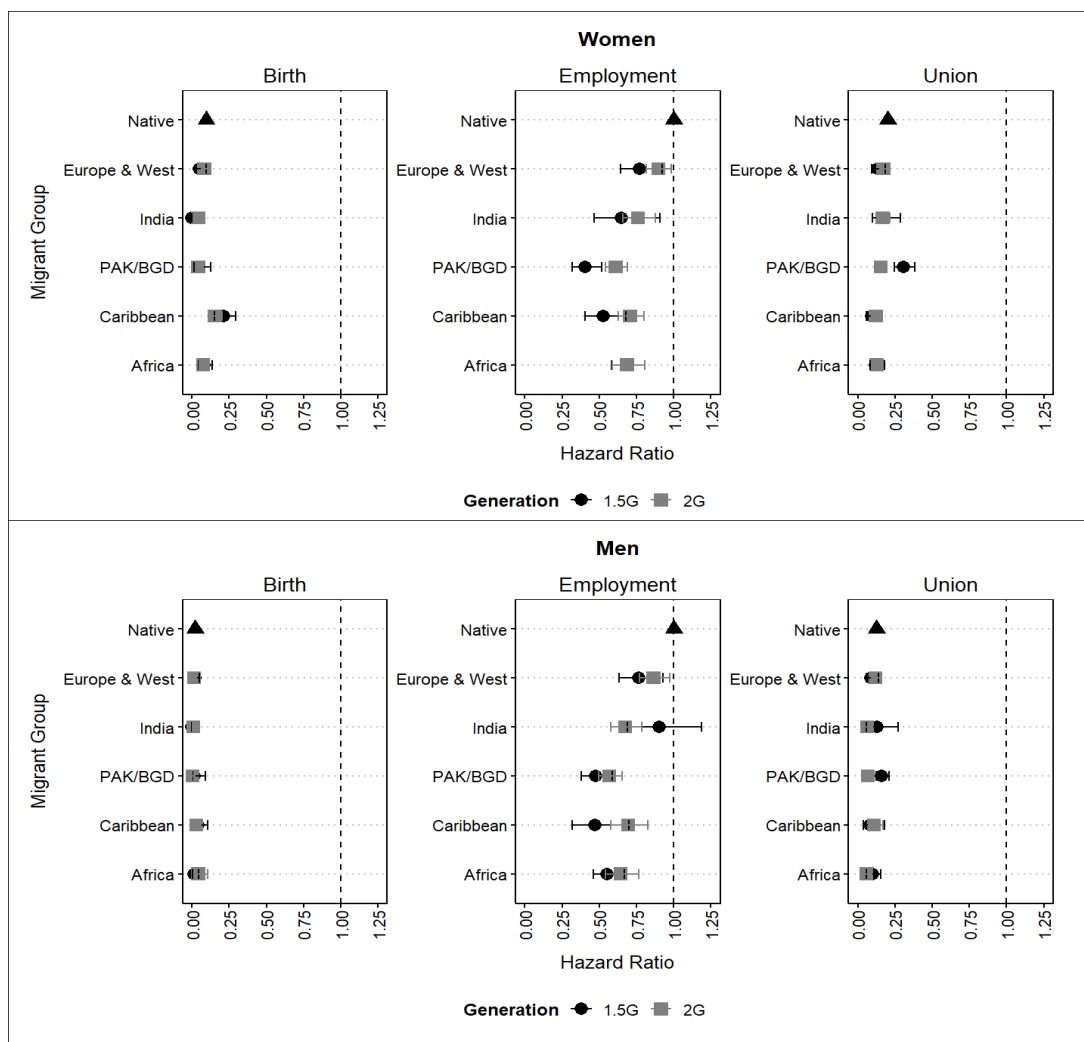
The results of our next model presented in Figure 5, show the most likely transitions from the state of single and employed by migrant group and generation. In this model, the three possible outcomes are entering into a union, exit from employment or the birth of a child. We can see that there are few differences between the models for men and women. Overall, for women, we find that for natives and most 1.5G migrants, the most likely event from a state of single and employed is a union formation. However, for the Pakistani/Bangladeshi group, 1.5G migrants were equally likely to exit employment as enter a partnership. We also find that both 1.5G and 2G Pakistani/Bangladeshi and African women were more likely to exit employment compared to natives. When examining partnership formation, we also find that entry into a union was significantly less likely for 2G Pakistani/Bangladeshi women compared to their 1.5G counterparts as well as Native, European and Western and Indian women.

For men, we see that again entry into a union was the most likely transition from the state of single and employed, with very low risk of an unpartnered birth. While 1.5G men across all migrant groups show similar unemployment risks compared to natives, we see a higher risk of leaving employment among 2G Pakistani/Bangladeshi, African and Caribbean men compared to natives. We also find that for Pakistani/Bangladeshi and Caribbean men, 2G men were more likely to transition to unemployment compared to their 1.5G counterparts. For both men and women, we find that 1.5G Caribbean migrants were equally likely to have a birth as exit employment.

Figure 5: Transition 2 – Single and Employed

Adjusted for birth cohort, time since leaving full-time education, age at leaving full-time education, education level, number of previous employment spells, number of previous separation spells
Reference Category: Native, Employment
Source: UKHLS, authors analysis

Next, we examined the transition from partnered and unemployed by migrant group and generation (Figure 6). For women, it appears that for most migrant groups, there is an equal risk of experiencing a birth as becoming employed. We find little difference between natives and 1.5G or 2G for the risk of entering employment except for the Pakistani/Bangladeshi group, where both 1.5G and 2G women were less likely to enter employment. Results also suggest that the risk of a birth was higher for 1.5G Pakistani/Bangladeshi women compared to natives, however, we did not find this for the 2G migrants. While the risk of separation was low for all groups, this model suggests that 2G Caribbean women are at higher risk of exiting a partnership compared to any other group.

We also find some gender differences. While women were equally likely to experience a birth as enter employment, we see that during periods where men are partnered and unemployed, the most likely next transition was to employment for natives and all 2G migrant groups. Despite finding that migrants were at lower risk of employment in previous models when single and unemployed, findings from this model suggest that partnered men were as likely to enter employment as natives. Compared to women, men who are partnered and unemployed appear to be less likely to have a birth, with the exception of 1.5G Pakistani/Bangladeshi and African migrants.

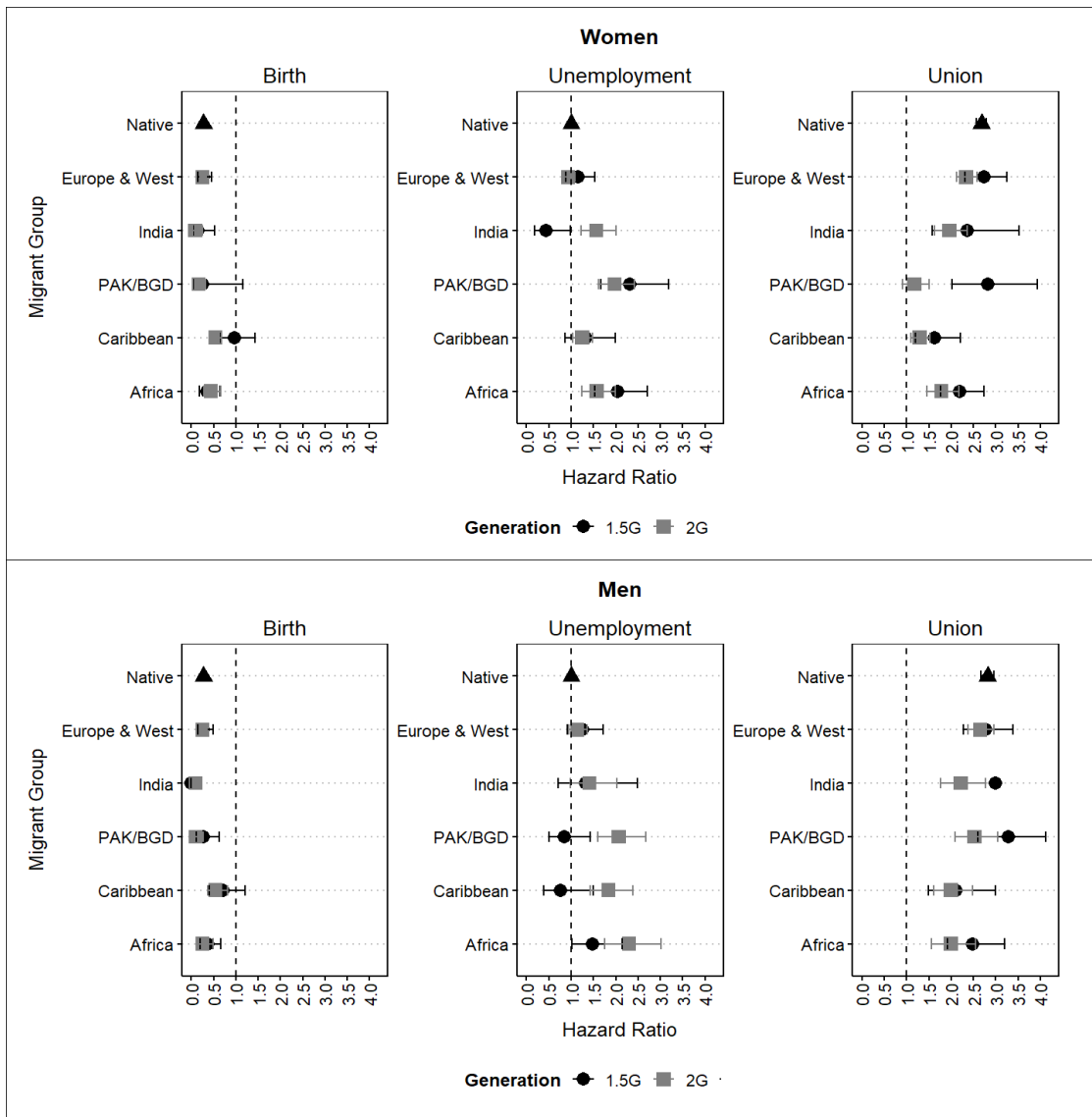**Figure 6: Transition 3 – Partnered and Unemployed**
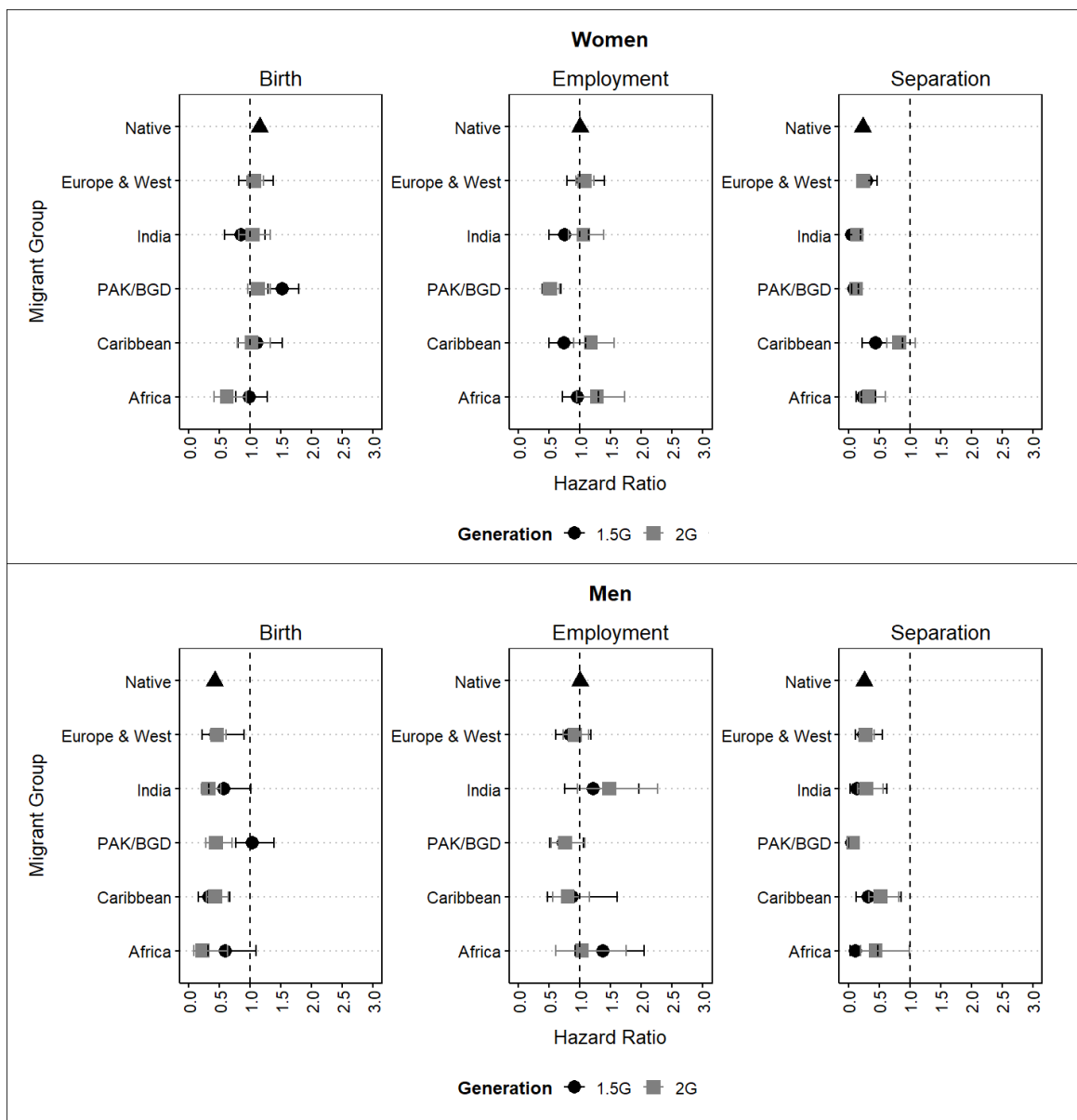
Adjusted for birth cohort, time since leaving full-time education, age at leaving full-time education, education level, number of previous unemployment spells, number of previous separation spells
Reference Category: Native, Employment
Source: UKHLS, authors analysis

Our final model examines the transitions from partnered and employed to either an employment exit, a separation or a birth. Results presented in Figure 7 show some striking gender differences. Overall, we see that women appear to be at higher risk of exiting employment compared to men. For all migrant groups and generations, we can see that the difference between the risk of a birth and risk of exiting employment is greater in the men's model compared to the women's. For women, we find that 1.5G migrants from all backgrounds have an equal likelihood of leaving employment as having a birth. This pattern was not found across all 2G groups, where European and Western, Caribbean, and African groups more closely resembled natives who were less likely to leave employment than have a birth.

For men, we see that there is a low risk of transition to unemployment across all migrant groups and generations, with little variation by migrant background or generation. Overall, we find that across all groups, employed and partnered men were most likely to experience a birth, however, we do see some variation between migrant groups, with a higher likelihood of a birth for both 1.5G and 2G Pakistani/Bangladeshi, and 1.5G Indian men. For both men and women, we see higher separation risks for Caribbeans compared to natives and other migrant groups.

Figure 7: Transition 4 – Partnered and Employed
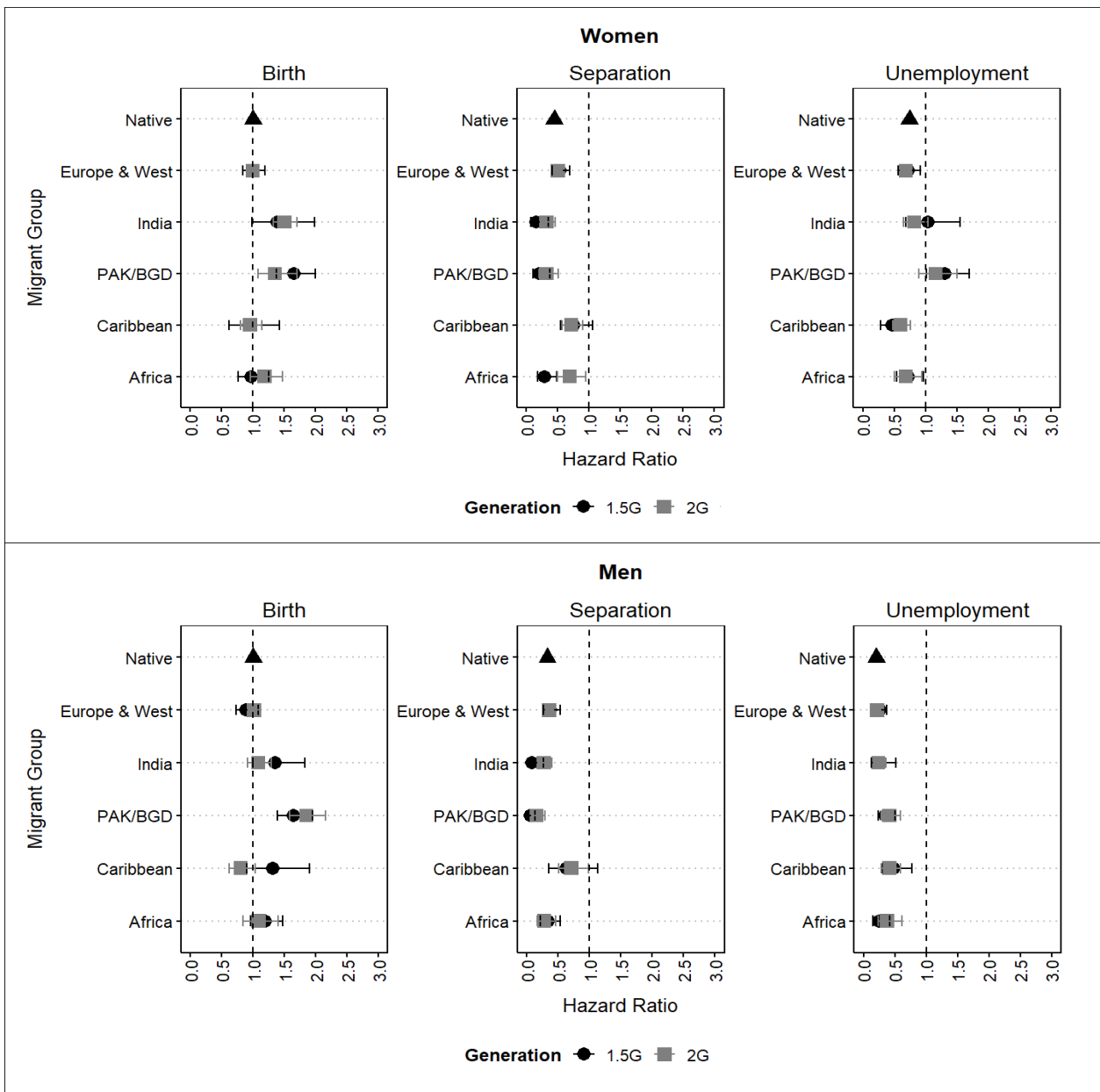
Adjusted for birth cohort, time since leaving full-time education, age at leaving full-time education, education level, number of previous employment spells, number of previous separation spells
Reference Category: Native, Birth
Source: UKHLS, authors analysis

7. Discussion and Conclusions

In this study, we explored the way in which migrants' and their descendants' life courses are shaped by exploring the transitions between different life course states. We used a competing risks approach to investigate transitions related to the domains of partnerships, employment and childbearing, taking into account both entries and exits from employment and partnerships.

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In the first step of this analysis, we examined the first transition from leaving full-time education by migrant background and generation. We found that for men, there appears to be a near universal transition from education to employment, with low risks of entry into a union or transition to parenthood. Similar results were found for women apart from the 1.5G Pakistani/Bangladeshi women who were equally likely to enter a union or enter employment. For both genders we find that both 1.5G and 2G were less likely to enter into employment compared to natives; however, there were also differences found by migrant background. European and Western migrants were most similar to natives compared to other groups. This may show evidence to support the ethnic penalty hypothesis, whereby migrants from ethnic minority or non-white groups face greater labour market disadvantage compared to white migrants (Avola & Piccitto, 2020). This analysis further supports findings by Fleischmann, et al. (2013) that this ethnic penalty does not only affect adult immigrants, but also extends to those who migrate as children and descendants of migrants.

The only group for which we found significant differences between generations, was for Pakistani/Bangladeshi women. While both 1.5G and 2G women showed similar trajectory patterns after leaving full-time education, we did find that 2G Pakistani/Bangladeshi women were significantly more likely to enter employment and less likely to enter into a union compared to their 1.5G counterparts. While we do not find significant differences between migrant generations from other backgrounds, we do see a general trend, with 2G women appearing to be more likely to enter employment compared to the 1.5G with patterns more closely resembling natives. This provides some tentative evidence of assimilation and is in line with previous research which found that while Pakistani/ Bangladeshi migrant women had lower labour market participation compared to white British women, this was less pronounced for the 2G, driven by less traditional gender attitudes (Wang, 2018).

In the next stage of our analysis, we studied the transitions from each employment and partnership combination (single and unemployed, single and employed, partnered and unemployed, and partnered and employed). Results from these models demonstrate that there are several life course patterns which are common across migrant groups and generations. We see, particularly from the models which explore states involving unemployment, that there is little variation between migrant groups and generations. These findings suggest that while migrants from different origin countries and destinations may be exposed to different influences and norms, there appears to be patterns of transitions which are common across all groups. Perhaps unsurprisingly, we find little evidence of fertility transitions occurring outwith coresident partnerships, while entry or re-entry into employment is the most common transition during states of unemployment, particularly for men.

Findings from this analysis also suggest that social norms experienced during childhood go on to influence labour market transitions, with migrants from countries with more conservative gender roles having weaker labour market attachments compared to other groups. Our results find that for single women, all migrant groups were less likely to enter an employment spell compared to natives, while for partnered women, we see that Pakistani/Bangladeshi women were the only group less likely to enter employment compared to natives. This builds upon

previous findings by Nandi & Platt (2023) who found that being in a partnership lowered labour market participation for South Asian women. Lower employment rates among partnered Pakistani/Bangladeshi women may also be driven by greater adherence to traditional gender roles and approaches to childcare, with the gender-based division of household labour and childcare more evident for these women compared to white Western or Indian women (Dale & Ahmed, 2011).

Finally, our results show some evidence of gender difference in life course transitions for natives, migrants and their descendants. For states where individuals are partnered and employed, we find that women were at higher risk of exiting employment compared to men. Additional sensitivity analysis (Appendix E) indicates that these differences cannot be explained by women leaving employment during pregnancy, with differences persisting when modelling the risk of conception rather than a birth. It may be possible that this pattern is driven by women exiting employment upon finishing maternity leave. It follows that this division of labour and women's attachment to the labour market will vary between migrants from different cultural backgrounds, with attitudes towards gender roles and adherence to the male breadwinner model acquired at an early age through socialisation (Liu & Kulu, 2023; Pessin & Arpino, 2018).

Reflecting on how these findings contribute to our understanding of the role of socialisation and assimilation, results of our analysis find some evidence to support both theories, but this varied between migrant groups and genders, as well as between life course domains. Firstly, we see some evidence of assimilation in the models where we find differences in transition patterns between the 1.5G and 2G. These are most apparent for women where we find that single and unemployed Pakistani/Bangladeshi 2G women, and most 2G women who were married and employed more closely exhibited the transition patterns of natives than their 1.5G counterparts. We do not find generational differences for men across any of our models, however this is not to say that there is no assimilation but may suggest that the life course pathways of men are more homogeneous and consistent across migrant groups. While we found that when single and unemployed migrant men were less likely to enter employment compared to natives, in our other models we found little difference between migrant and native men. This may suggest that male life course trajectories are more similar to one another, regardless of migrant background and therefore there is little room for assimilation related to the specific life course transitions included in this study.

Secondly, when considering the role of socialisation in shaping the life course trajectories of migrants and their descendants in the UK, our findings may indicate that some behaviours of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women may be transmitted through generations. While for all other migrant groups the risk of an employment entry for partnered individuals increased between the 1.5G and 2G, it remained relatively low for Pakistani and Bangladeshi women. This may suggest that for these women, behaviours and attitudes related to the labour market and family do not only influence those who have been directly exposed to the norms of their country of origin (1.5G) but also their children who experience these norms through familial or community socialisation. This lends some support for the minority subculture hypothesis.

There are some limitations of this analysis. One such limitation is our lack of ability to fully understand the mechanisms which are driving partnered and employed women leaving employment. While we have been able to eliminate transitions out of employment during pregnancy as a possible cause, we are unable to ascertain whether these transitions are occurring shortly after the birth of a child or later. While it would be possible to model an additional interaction between employment and partnership state, migrant group and time since previous birth; using our current sample, this would result in small sample sizes and yield inconclusive results. Furthermore, it would be preferable to explore the migrant groups in this analysis in greater detail, for example differentiating between 2G migrants with two foreign born parents and the 2.5G who have one foreign born and one UK born parent. Again, this level of disaggregation was prohibited by sample size issues. Finally, in order to examine the role of socialisation and assimilation in greater detail, any future studies may benefit from including a variable which indicated age of entry for 1.5G migrants. It may be the case, as Wilson (2021) has found in Sweden, that the socialisation and adaptation experiences of 1.5G migrants may differ depending on whether they entered the UK as babies, young children or teenagers as these groups have differences in their exposure to the culture and norms of their country of origin. It is also important to acknowledge some caution regarding fertility transitions for men, particularly those who are single, as birth events to men have been found to be under-reported in past studies (Rendall, et al., 1999).

Our simultaneous analysis of partnerships, fertility and employment changes supported some findings on trajectories and patterns that we already know from previous research investigating a single life domain. However, the analysis also revealed findings that can only be identified when several life domains are studied simultaneously. For example, separation rates are very low compared to all other transition rates among all groups and therefore do not merit as much attention as perhaps some previous studies suggest. Second, simultaneous analysis highlights transitions where groups are more similar, such as employment rates among men, and where there are more group differences, such as employment and fertility rates among women. The study also demonstrated that multistate models offer an excellent framework to study the evolution of life trajectories and to better understand how these are shaped by individuals' decisions and their social environment.

Overall, this study has demonstrated that transitions between life course states does vary across migrant groups and generation, as well as gender. We find some limited evidence of assimilation of 2G women in the domain of employment; however, we also observe labour market disadvantage for non-western migrants which persists into the second generation. Results also suggest that the adoption of conservative gender roles are less pronounced for most 2G migrant women, with the transitions of partnered and unemployed 2G women more similar to natives compared to their 1.5G counterparts. The Pakistani and Bangladeshi group were the only exception to this, with lower rates of entry into employment and higher rates of exits compared to natives for both 1.5G and 2G migrants. Lastly, we also find some interesting differences in the likelihood of entering employment for partnered and unpartnered migrant men. It is unclear whether these differences are driven by partnership status, with partnered

men more motivated to participate in the labour market to provide for their family or contribute to the household income; or whether these men have already overcome any labour market disadvantage experienced when first entering employment and subsequently face fewer barriers when re-entering the labour market. This is an aspect of this research which could benefit from future study.

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Appendix A- First Event Descriptives

Table 1A: First Event Descriptives

		Women					
		Union		Employment		Birth	
	Person Months	*Events*	*Rate*	*Events*	*Rate*	*Events*	*Rate*
Native	175888.83	964	0.005	9788	0.056	227	0.001
1.5G Europe & Western	4803.17	20	0.004	166	0.035	<5	0.001
1.5G India	1524.50	10	0.007	35	0.023	<5	0.000
1.5G PAK/BGD	5078.17	52	0.010	72	0.014	<5	0.001
1.5G Caribbean	1898.50	<5	0.002	51	0.027	12	0.006
1.5G Africa	5450.00	21	0.004	122	0.022	6	0.001
2G Europe & Western	13197.50	60	0.005	599	0.045	12	0.001
2G India	6487.33	31	0.005	187	0.029	<5	0.000
2G PAK/BGD	13665.17	56	0.004	271	0.020	7	0.001
2G Caribbean	7468.67	21	0.003	245	0.033	22	0.003
2G Africa	6973.17	20	0.003	168	0.024	10	0.001
		Men					
		Union		Employment		Birth	
	Person Months	*Events*	*Rate*	*Events*	*Rate*	*Events*	*Rate*
Native	164675.83	580	0.004	7914	0.048	65	0.000
1.5G Europe & Western	5299.67	9	0.002	139	0.026	<5	0.000
1.5G India	1482.00	7	0.005	47	0.032	<5	0.000
1.5G PAK/BGD	5341.67	31	0.006	91	0.017	<5	0.000
1.5G Caribbean	1580.83	<5	0.002	34	0.022	<5	0.001
1.5G Africa	4736.50	13	0.003	89	0.019	<5	0.000
2G Europe & Western	11905.83	44	0.004	472	0.040	<5	0.000
2G India	7108.67	13	0.002	158	0.022	<5	0.000
2G PAK/BGD	12588.17	27	0.002	207	0.016	<5	0.000
2G Caribbean	5255.17	13	0.002	138	0.026	<5	0.001
2G Africa	6879.00	10	0.001	131	0.019	<5	0.000

Appendix B: Transition Between States Descriptives

Table B2: Descriptives – Transitions Between States

Women		Single and Unemployed					
		Union		Employment		Birth	
	Person Months	*Events*	*Rate*	*Events*	*Rate*	*Events*	*Rate*
Native	352858.50	2505	0.007	12398	0.035	1179	0.003
1.5G Europe & Western	8340.00	36	0.004	210	0.025	14	0.002
1.5G India	1736.50	11	0.006	42	0.024	0	0.000
1.5G PAK/BGD	6561.50	68	0.010	90	0.014	10	0.002
1.5G Caribbean	6484.33	16	0.002	89	0.014	36	0.006
1.5G Africa	7632.50	31	0.004	177	0.023	20	0.003
2G Europe & Western	24704.67	146	0.006	761	0.031	70	0.003
2G India	9508.00	56	0.006	255	0.027	14	0.001
2G PAK/BGD	17211.50	85	0.005	337	0.020	23	0.001
2G Caribbean	20927.67	71	0.003	414	0.020	89	0.004
2G Africa	10073.67	42	0.004	230	0.023	25	0.002
Men		Single and Unemployed					
		Union		Employment		Birth	
	Person Months	*Events*	*Rate*	*Events*	*Rate*	*Events*	*Rate*
Native	259540.00	1240	0.005	9951	0.038	197	0.001
1.5G Europe & Western	6872.67	21	0.003	183	0.027	5	0.001
1.5G India	1517.00	8	0.005	57	0.038	<5	0.000
1.5G PAK/BGD	6515.50	37	0.006	109	0.017	<5	0.000
1.5G Caribbean	3509.00	8	0.002	46	0.013	<5	0.001
1.5G Africa	5676.50	19	0.003	109	0.019	<5	0.001
2G Europe & Western	20431.50	88	0.004	636	0.031	11	0.001
2G India	8242.00	20	0.002	211	0.026	<5	0.000
2G PAK/BGD	14152.50	31	0.002	260	0.018	<5	0.000
2G Caribbean	9261.33	33	0.004	209	0.023	9	0.001
2G Africa	9318.00	18	0.002	204	0.022	13	0.001

Table B2 cont

Women	Single and Employed						
		Union		Unemployment		Birth	
	Person Months	*Events*	*Rate*	*Events*	*Rate*	*Events*	*Rate*
Native	878925.33	9947	0.011	3713	0.004	1026	0.001
1.5G Europe & Western	13043.00	156	0.012	66	0.005	15	0.001
1.5G India	3434.50	33	0.010	6	0.002	<5	0.001
1.5G PAK/BGD	3319.00	44	0.013	36	0.011	<5	0.001
1.5G Caribbean	8580.50	52	0.006	42	0.005	31	0.004
1.5G Africa	7590.17	82	0.011	76	0.010	13	0.002
2G Europe & Western	61089.67	599	0.010	239	0.004	65	0.001
2G India	13668.00	127	0.009	101	0.007	6	0.000
2G PAK/BGD	11048.00	78	0.007	131	0.012	11	0.001
2G Caribbean	35591.17	200	0.006	192	0.005	84	0.002
2G Africa	12318.50	109	0.009	96	0.008	27	0.002

Men	Single and Employed						
		Union		Unemployment		Birth	
	Person Months	*Events*	*Rate*	*Events*	*Rate*	*Events*	*Rate*
Native	881226.83	8057	0.009	2862	0.003	790	0.001
1.5G Europe & Western	12724.50	124	0.010	56	0.004	12	0.001
1.5G India	3613.50	34	0.009	15	0.004	0	0.000
1.5G PAK/BGD	6622.50	73	0.011	19	0.003	6	0.001
1.5G Caribbean	5901.50	39	0.007	14	0.002	13	0.002
1.5G Africa	7792.67	67	0.009	40	0.005	10	0.001
2G Europe & Western	58108.00	502	0.009	215	0.004	47	0.001
2G India	12876.00	110	0.009	70	0.005	5	0.000
2G PAK/BGD	8792.17	99	0.011	81	0.009	4	0.000
2G Caribbean	14469.67	114	0.008	105	0.007	31	0.002
2G Africa	8839.33	72	0.008	83	0.009	9	0.001

Table B2 cont

		Partnered and Unemployed					
Women		Separation		Employment		Birth	
	Person Months	*Events*	*Rate*	*Events*	*Rate*	*Events*	*Rate*
Native	591118.50	1473	0.002	6320	0.011	7281	0.012
1.5G Europe & Western	6225.50	24	0.004	84	0.013	85	0.014
1.5G India	4246.83	<5	0.000	31	0.007	35	0.008
1.5G PAK/BGD	15536.17	14	0.001	80	0.005	236	0.015
1.5G Caribbean	2662.17	12	0.005	20	0.008	30	0.011
1.5G Africa	5361.83	16	0.003	64	0.012	66	0.012
2G Europe & Western	29618.00	82	0.003	362	0.012	362	0.012
2G India	9210.00	16	0.002	123	0.013	121	0.013
2G PAK/BGD	12936.00	21	0.002	87	0.007	192	0.015
2G Caribbean	6434.83	69	0.011	98	0.015	85	0.013
2G Africa	3707.83	19	0.005	72	0.019	35	0.009
		Partnered and Unemployed					
Men		Separation		Employment		Birth	
	Person Months	*Events*	*Rate*	*Events*	*Rate*	*Events*	*Rate*
Native	133446.00	571	0.004	2237	0.017	944	0.007
1.5G Europe & Western	2950.00	12	0.004	40	0.014	21	0.007
1.5G India	711.67	<5	0.003	17	0.024	8	0.011
1.5G PAK/BGD	5306.33	<5	0.001	53	0.010	75	0.014
1.5G Caribbean	948.00	6	0.006	16	0.017	6	0.006
1.5G Africa	1318.50	<5	0.002	37	0.028	16	0.012
2G Europe & Western	9679.50	44	0.005	146	0.015	73	0.008
2G India	1264.67	9	0.007	46	0.036	10	0.008
2G PAK/BGD	3046.00	6	0.002	60	0.020	35	0.011
2G Caribbean	2448.17	27	0.011	41	0.017	22	0.009
2G Africa	1003.00	12	0.012	28	0.028	6	0.006

Table B2 cont

Women		Partnered and Employed						
		Separation		Unemployment		Birth	
	Person Months	Events	Rate	Events	Rate	Events	Rate
Native	1505001.50	3822	0.003	6469	0.004	8660	0.006
1.5G Europe & Western	21000.17	67	0.003	91	0.004	126	0.006
1.5G India	6207.17	5	0.001	35	0.006	47	0.008
1.5G PAK/BGD	8205.83	11	0.001	72	0.009	91	0.011
1.5G Caribbean	6765.50	29	0.004	18	0.003	36	0.005
1.5G Africa	13587.33	24	0.002	60	0.004	81	0.006
2G Europe & Western	87875.17	263	0.003	361	0.004	524	0.006
2G India	21905.67	41	0.002	106	0.005	194	0.009
2G PAK/BGD	9211.33	23	0.002	84	0.009	98	0.011
2G Caribbean	23052.67	118	0.005	99	0.004	158	0.007
2G Africa	11890.50	58	0.005	58	0.005	100	0.008

Men		Partnered and Employed						
		Separation		Unemployment		Birth	
	Person Months	Events	Rate	Events	Rate	Events	Rate
Native	1305120.70	3087	0.002	1938	0.001	9558	0.007
1.5G Europe & Western	17775.00	51	0.003	35	0.002	122	0.007
1.5G India	8269.67	<5	0.000	13	0.002	69	0.008
1.5G PAK/BGD	17513.00	7	0.000	43	0.002	202	0.012
1.5G Caribbean	5177.17	21	0.004	16	0.003	44	0.008
1.5G Africa	13211.00	29	0.002	22	0.002	104	0.008
2G Europe & Western	80767.50	209	0.003	129	0.002	598	0.007
2G India	18407.67	38	0.002	34	0.002	154	0.008
2G PAK/BGD	11781.50	15	0.001	40	0.003	179	0.015
2G Caribbean	10682.00	67	0.006	39	0.004	76	0.007
2G Africa	7931.67	19	0.002	26	0.003	75	0.009

Appendix C – Model Results: First Transitions

	Women			Men		
	HR	95% CI	Sig	HR	95% CI	Sig
Time since Leaving Full Time Education						
0-1 year	2.63	[2.43, 2.85]	***	3.74	[3.40, 4.10]	***
1-3 years (ref)	1			1		
3-5 years	1.79	[1.65, 1.94]	***	2.38	[2.16, 2.62]	***
5+ years	0.49	[0.42, 0.56]	***	0.63	[0.54, 0.72]	***
Age Left Full Time Education						
<15 (ref)	1					
15-19	1.78	[1.65, 1.93]	***	1.67	[1.52, 1.83]	***
20+	1.23	[0.75, 2.03]		1.55	[1.16, 2.09]	***
Education						
Low (ref)	1					
Medium	0.70	[0.67, 0.74]	***	0.70	[0.66, 0.74]	***
High	0.56	[0.53, 0.60]	***	0.54	[0.50, 0.59]	***
Cohort						
1940-49 (ref)	1			1		
1950-1959	0.90	[0.83, 0.98]	**	0.93	[0.85, 1.01]	*
1960-1969	0.79	[0.73, 0.85]	***	0.80	[0.74, 0.87]	***
1970-1979	0.76	[0.70, 0.81]	***	0.74	[0.68, 0.81]	***
1980-1989	0.69	[0.64, 0.74]	***	0.73	[0.67, 0.80]	***
1990+	0.30	[0.28, 0.32]	***	0.30	[0.27, 0.33]	***
Event Type#Migrant Group						
Native#Partner	0.10	[0.09, 0.11]	***	0.07	[0.07, 0.08]	***
1.5G Europe & Western#Partner	0.10	[0.07, 0.15]	***	0.05	[0.03, 0.09]	***
1.5G India#Partner	0.16	[0.1, 0.26]	***	0.11	[0.05, 0.21]	***
1.5G Pakistan/Bangladesh#Partner	0.23	[0.18, 0.29]	***	0.14	[0.11, 0.18]	***
1.5G Caribbean#Partner	0.04	[0.01, 0.1]	***	0.05	[0.02, 0.15]	***
1.5G Africa#Partner	0.09	[0.06, 0.14]	***	0.08	[0.05, 0.13]	***
2G Europe & Western#Partner	0.09	[0.07, 0.11]	***	0.08	[0.07, 0.11]	***
2G India#Partner	0.11	[0.08, 0.15]	***	0.05	[0.03, 0.08]	***
2G Pakistan/Bangladesh#Partner	0.11	[0.09, 0.14]	***	0.07	[0.05, 0.10]	***
2G Caribbean#Partner	0.06	[0.04, 0.09]	***	0.06	[0.04, 0.11]	***
2G Africa#Partner	0.07	[0.05, 0.11]	***	0.05	[0.02, 0.08]	***
Native#Employment (ref)	1			1		

1.5G Europe & Western#Employment	0.85	[0.71, 1.01]	*	0.75	[0.62, 0.91]	***
1.5G India# Employment	0.55	[0.38, 0.81]	***	0.71	[0.53, 0.94]	**
1.5G Pakistan/Bangladesh# Employment	0.32	[0.24, 0.42]	***	0.41	[0.33, 0.51]	***
1.5G Caribbean# Employment	0.47	[0.35, 0.63]	***	0.61	[0.39, 0.93]	**
1.5G Africa# Employment	0.53	[0.45, 0.63]	***	0.55	[0.46, 0.66]	***
2G Europe & Western# Employment	0.88	[0.79, 0.98]	**	0.91	[0.80, 1.02]	
2G India# Employment	0.66	[0.57, 0.77]	***	0.59	[0.51, 0.69]	***
2G Pakistan/Bangladesh# Employment	0.54	[0.48, 0.62]	***	0.55	[0.48, 0.63]	***
2G Caribbean# Employment	0.71	[0.61, 0.83]	***	0.68	[0.56, 0.83]	***
2G Africa# Employment	0.62	[0.52, 0.73]	***	0.59	[0.50, 0.70]	***
Native#Birth	0.02	[0.02, 0.03]	***	0.01	[0.01, 0.01]	***
1.5G Europe & Western#Birth	0.02	[0.01, 0.05]	***	0.01	[0.00, 0.04]	***
1.5G India#Birth	0.00	[0.00, 0.00]	***	0.00	[0.00, 0.00]	***
1.5G Pakistan/Bangladesh# Birth	0.02	[0.01, 0.04]	***	0.00	[0.00, 0.03]	***
1.5G Caribbean#Birth	0.11	[0.07, 0.18]	***	0.04	[0.01, 0.15]	***
1.5G Africa# Birth	0.03	[0.01, 0.06]	***	0.00	[0.00, 0.00]	***
2G Europe & Western#Birth	0.02	[0.01, 0.03]	***	0.00	[0.00, 0.02]	***
2G India# Birth	0.01	[0.00, 0.03]	***	0.00	[0.00, 0.03]	***
2G Pakistan/Bangladesh#Birth	0.01	[0.01, 0.03]	***	0.00	[0.00, 0.02]	***
2G Caribbean# Birth	0.06	[0.04, 0.10]	***	0.02	[0.01, 0.05]	***
2G Africa# Birth	0.04	[0.02, 0.07]	***	0.01	[0.00, 0.04]	***

*** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$

Appendix D – Model Results – Transition Between States

Model 1: Transitions for Single and Unemployed

	Women			Men		
	HR	95% CI	Sig	HR	95% CI	Sig
Time since Leaving Full Time Education						
0-1 year	1.58	[1.51, 1.65]	***	1.68	[1.6, 1.76]	***
1-3 years (ref)	1			1		
3-5 years	0.64	[0.61, 0.68]	***	0.56	[0.52, 0.60]	***
5+ years	0.39	[0.36 ,0.42]	***	0.32	[0.29, 0.35]	***
Age Left Full Time Education						
<15 (ref)	1			1		
15-19	1.08	[1.01, 1.16]	**	1.12	[1.03, 1.21]	***
20+	1.39	[1.29, 1.51]	***	1.33	[1.21, 1.45]	***
Cohort						
1940-49 (ref)	1			1		
1950-1959	0.85	[0.79, 0.92]	***	0.86	[0.79, 0.93]	***
1960-1969	0.80	[0.74, 0.85]	***	0.84	[0.78, 0.91]	***
1970-1979	0.79	[0.74, 0.85]	***	0.82	[0.76, 0.88]	***
1980-1989	0.78	[0.73, 0.84]	***	0.85	[0.78, 0.92]	***
1990+	0.41	[0.38, 0.44]	***	0.41	[0.38, 0.45]	***
Unemployment Spell						
0 (ref)	1			1		
1	1.65	[1.55, 1.74]	***	1.64	[1.53, 1.75]	***
2+	2.04	[1.86, 2.25]	***	2.07	[1.81, 2.36]	***
Separation Spell						
0 (ref)	1			1		
1	1.07	[0.99, 1.16]	*	0.99	[0.87, 1.11]	
2+	0.98	[0.86, 1.11]		1.22	[1.02, 1.45]	**
Parity						
0 (ref)	1					
1	0.70	[0.65, 0.76]	***	0.90	[0.76, 1.06]	
2+	0.49	[0.45, 0.54]	***	0.80	[0.66, 0.97]	**
Event Type#Migrant Group						
Native#Partner	0.20	[0.19, 0.21]	***	0.12	[0.12, 0.13]	***

	HR	95% CI	Sig	HR	95% CI	Sig
1.5G Europe & Western#Partner	0.13	[0.09, 0.19]	***	0.09	[0.06, 0.14]	***
1.5G India#Partner	0.17	[0.10, 0.29]	***	0.13	[0.06, 0.27]	***
1.5G Pakistan/Bangladesh#Partner	0.31	[0.24, 0.38]	***	0.16	[0.12, 0.21]	***
1.5G Caribbean#Partner	0.09	[0.06, 0.16]	***	0.08	[0.04, 0.18]	***
1.5G Africa#Partner	0.12	[0.08, 0.18]	***	0.10	[0.06, 0.16]	***
2G Europe & Western#Partner	0.17	[0.15 ,0.20]	***	0.12	[0.09, 0.15]	***
2G India#Partner	0.17	[0.13, 0.21]	***	0.06	[0.04, 0.1]	***
2G Pakistan/Bangladesh#Partner	0.15	[0.13, 0.19]	***	0.07	[0.05, 0.09]	***
2G Caribbean#Partner	0.12	[0.09, 0.16]	***	0.11	[0.07, 0.17]	***
2G Africa#Partner	0.13	[0.09, 0.17]	***	0.06	[0.04, 0.09]	***
Native#Employment (ref)	1			1		
1.5G Europe & Western#Employment	0.77	[0.64, 0.92]	***	0.77	[0.63, 0.93]	***
1.5G India# Employment	0.65	[0.46, 0.91]	**	0.90	[0.69, 1.19]	
1.5G Pakistan/Bangladesh# Employment	0.40	[0.32, 0.51]	***	0.47	[0.38, 0.59]	***
1.5G Caribbean# Employment	0.52	[0.40, 0.68]	***	0.47	[0.32, 0.7]	***
1.5G Africa# Employment	0.69	[0.58, 0.80]	***	0.55	[0.46, 0.67]	***
2G Europe & Western# Employment	0.90	[0.82, 0.98]	**	0.86	[0.77, 0.97]	**
2G India# Employment	0.76	[0.66, 0.88]	***	0.67	[0.58, 0.79]	***
2G Pakistan/Bangladesh# Employment	0.61	[0.54, 0.69]	***	0.57	[0.49, 0.65]	***
2G Caribbean# Employment	0.71	[0.63 ,0.80]	***	0.69	[0.58, 0.83]	***
2G Africa# Employment	0.69	[0.59 ,0.80]	***	0.64	[0.54, 0.76]	***
Native#Birth	0.10	[0.09, 0.10]	***	0.02	[0.02, 0.02]	***
1.5G Europe & Western#Birth	0.05	[0.03, 0.09]	***	0.02	[0.01, 0.05]	***
1.5G India#Birth	0.00	[0.00, 0.00]	***	0.00	[0.00, 0.00]	***
1.5G Pakistan/Bangladesh# Birth	0.04	[0.02, 0.13]	***	0.01	[0.00, 0.09]	***
1.5G Caribbean#Birth	0.21	[0.15, 0.30]	***	0.04	[0.02, 0.11]	***
1.5G Africa# Birth	0.08	[0.04, 0.14]	***	0.02	[0.01, 0.04]	***
2G Europe & Western#Birth	0.08	[0.06, 0.11]	***	0.01	[0.01, 0.03]	***
2G India# Birth	0.04	[0.02, 0.08]	***	0.01	[0.00, 0.04]	***
2G Pakistan/Bangladesh#Birth	0.04	[0.02, 0.07]	***	0.00	[0.00, 0.02]	***
2G Caribbean# Birth	0.15	[0.11, 0.20]	***	0.03	[0.01, 0.06]	***
2G Africa# Birth	0.07	[0.05, 0.12]	***	0.04	[0.02, 0.1.0]	***

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Model 2: Transitions from Single and Employed

	Women			Men		
	HR	95% CI	Sig	HR	95% CI	Sig

Time since Leaving Full Time Education						
0-1 year	0.64	[0.59, 0.7]	***	0.89	[0.80, 0.99]	**
1-3 years (ref)	1			1		
3-5 years	1.35	[1.28, 1.42]	***	1.32	[1.23, 1.41]	***
5+ years	1.23	[1.17, 1.29]	***	1.65	[1.55, 1.75]	***
Age Left Full Time Education						
<15 (ref)	1					
15-19	1.04	[0.98, 1.10]		1.03	[0.96, 1.10]	
20+	1.02	[0.95, 1.11]		1.22	[1.12, 1.32]	***
Cohort						
1940-49 (ref)	1					
1950-1959	1.11	[1.04, 1.18]	***	1.08	[1.01, 1.15]	**
1960-1969	1.15	[1.09, 1.22]	***	1.17	[1.10, 1.25]	***
1970-1979	1.39	[1.30, 1.48]	***	1.46	[1.36, 1.56]	***
1980-1989	1.95	[1.82, 2.09]	***	2.02	[1.87, 2.19]	***
1990+	2.15	[1.97, 2.34]	***	2.54	[2.30, 2.81]	***
Employment Spell						
1 (ref)	1					
2+	0.98	[0.93, 1.04]		1.13	[1.06, 1.19]	***
Separation Spell						
0 (ref)	1					
1	1.01	[0.96, 1.07]		1.27	[1.19, 1.35]	***
2+	0.95	[0.88, 1.03]		1.33	[1.22, 1.46]	***
Parity						
0 (ref)	1			1		
1	0.99	[0.92, 1.06]		1.34	[1.23, 1.45]	**
2+	0.70	[0.65, 0.76]	***	1.10	[1.01, 1.19]	***
Event Type#Migrant Group						
Native#Partner	2.68	[2.57, 2.80]	***	2.82	[2.67, 2.97]	***
1.5G Europe & Western#Partner	2.74	[2.30, 3.25]	***	2.77	[2.27, 3.39]	***
1.5G India#Partner	2.36	[1.58, 3.53]	***	3.00	[2.06, 4.37]	***
1.5G Pakistan/Bangladesh#Partner	2.82	[2.03, 3.93]		3.28	[2.61, 4.12]	***
1.5G Caribbean#Partner	1.63	[1.20, 2.21]	***	2.11	[1.49, 2.99]	***
1.5G Africa#Partner	2.20	[1.76, 2.74]	***	2.48	[1.92, 3.20]	***
2G Europe & Western#Partner	2.33	[2.12, 2.58]	***	2.66	[2.38, 2.96]	***
2G India#Partner	1.96	[1.63, 2.36]	***	2.22	[1.77, 2.77]	***

	HR	95% CI	Sig	HR	95% CI	Sig
2G Pakistan/Bangladesh#Partner	1.18	[0.91, 1.51]	***	2.52	[2.09, 3.05]	***
2G Caribbean#Partner	1.29	[1.09, 1.53]	***	1.99	[1.60, 2.48]	***
2G Africa#Partner	1.78	[1.46, 2.17]	***	2.00	[1.56, 2.55]	***
Native#Unemployment (ref)	1					
1.5G Europe & Western# Unemployment	1.16	[0.88, 1.53]		1.25	[0.91, 1.72]	
1.5G India# Unemployment	0.43	[0.19, 0.98]	**	1.32	[0.71, 2.48]	
1.5G Pakistan/Bangladesh# Unemployment	2.31	[1.67, 3.19]	***	0.85	[0.51, 1.43]	
1.5G Caribbean# Unemployment	1.32	[0.87, 1.99]		0.76	[0.39, 1.49]	
1.5G Africa# Unemployment	2.04	[1.53, 2.71]	***	1.48	[1.02, 2.14]	**
2G Europe & Western# Unemployment	0.93	[0.8, 1.08]		1.14	[0.95, 1.36]	
2G India# Unemployment	1.56	[1.22, 2.00]	***	1.41	[0.98, 2.03]	*
2G Pakistan/Bangladesh# Unemployment	1.98	[1.62, 2.42]	***	2.07	[1.60, 2.67]	***
2G Caribbean# Unemployment	1.24	[1.04, 1.49]	**	1.84	[1.42, 2.38]	***
2G Africa# Unemployment	1.57	[1.24, 1.98]	***	2.30	[1.75, 3.02]	***
Native#Birth	0.28	[0.26, 0.30]	***	0.28	[0.25, 0.30]	***
1.5G Europe & Western#Birth	0.26	[0.15, 0.46]	***	0.27	[0.15, 0.48]	***
1.5G India#Birth	0.14	[0.04, 0.52]	***	0.00	[0.00, 0.00]	***
1.5G Pakistan/Bangladesh# Birth	0.26	[0.06, 1.16]	*	0.27	[0.12, 0.63]	***
1.5G Caribbean#Birth	0.97	[0.66, 1.42]		0.70	[0.41, 1.21]	***
1.5G Africa# Birth	0.35	[0.19, 0.65]	***	0.37	[0.21, 0.66]	
2G Europe & Western#Birth	0.25	[0.19, 0.33]	***	0.25	[0.17, 0.35]	***
2G India# Birth	0.09	[0.03, 0.25]	***	0.10	[0.04, 0.23]	***
2G Pakistan/Bangladesh#Birth	0.17	[0.09, 0.31]	***	0.10	[0.04, 0.26]	***
2G Caribbean# Birth	0.54	[0.44, 0.68]	***	0.54	[0.36, 0.81]	***
2G Africa# Birth	0.44	[0.29, 0.66]	***	0.25	[0.13, 0.50]	***

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Model 3: Transitions from Partnered and Unemployed

	Women			Men		
	HR	95% CI	Sig	HR	95% CI	Sig
Time since Leaving Full Time Education						
0-1 year	1.55	[1.37, 1.75]	***	1.21	[1.00, 1.47]	
1-3 years (ref)	1			1		
3-5 years	0.76	[0.70, 0.83]	***	0.62	[0.53, 0.74]	***
5+ years	0.58	[0.54, 0.63]	***	0.45	[0.39, 0.52]	***
Age Left Full Time Education						
<15 (ref)	1			1		
15-19	1.02	[0.95, 1.09]		1.12	[0.98, 1.28]	*
20+	1.12	[1.02, 1.22]	**	1.47	[1.25, 1.74]	***

Cohort						
1940-49 (ref)	1.06	[1, 1.13]	*	1		
1950-1959	1.23	[1.15, 1.31]	***	1.08	[0.94, 1.25]	
1960-1969	1.41	[1.31, 1.51]	***	1.35	[1.17, 1.55]	***
1970-1979	1.64	[1.52, 1.78]	***	1.88	[1.63, 2.16]	***
1980-1989	1.64	[1.52, 1.78]	***	2.50	[2.11, 2.96]	***
1990+	1.50	[1.27, 1.77]	***	1.96	[1.51, 2.55]	***
Unemployment Spell						
0 (ref)	1					
1	1.72	[1.62, 1.83]	***	1.79	[1.63, 1.97]	***
2+	1.86	[1.72, 2.01]	***	2.03	[1.80, 2.3]	***
Partnership Spell						
1 (ref)	1			1		
2+	1.01	[0.95, 1.07]		1.05	[0.95, 1.17]	
Parity						
0 (ref)	1			1		
1	0.59	[0.55, 0.63]	***	0.92	[0.83, 1.03]	
2+	0.31	[0.29, 0.33]	***	0.59	[0.53, 0.66]	***
Event Type#Migrant Group						
Native#Separation	0.23	[0.22, 0.25]	***	0.26	[0.23, 0.29]	***
1.5G Europe & Western# Separation	0.30	[0.19, 0.46]	***	0.25	[0.11, 0.55]	***
1.5G India# Separation	0.05	[0.01, 0.20]	***	0.14	[0.03, 0.62]	***
1.5G Pakistan/Bangladesh# Separation	0.09	[0.05, 0.16]	***	0.05	[0.02, 0.18]	***
1.5G Caribbean# Separation	0.44	[0.22, 0.88]	**	0.33	[0.12, 0.86]	***
1.5G Africa# Separation	0.24	[0.13, 0.45]	***	0.11	[0.03, 0.48]	***
2G Europe & Western# Separation	0.24	[0.19, 0.31]	***	0.28	[0.18, 0.42]	***
2G India# Separation	0.14	[0.08, 0.24]	***	0.29	[0.15, 0.56]	***
2G Pakistan/Bangladesh# Separation	0.12	[0.08, 0.19]	***	0.08	[0.03, 0.17]	***
2G Caribbean# Separation	0.83	[0.63, 1.09]		0.52	[0.33, 0.82]	***
2G Africa# Separation	0.34	[0.19, 0.60]	***	0.44	[0.20, 1.00]	***
Native#Employment (ref)	1					
1.5G Europe & Western#Employment	1.05	[0.78, 1.40]		0.84	[0.60, 1.17]	
1.5G India# Employment	0.75	[0.49, 1.15]		1.22	[0.76, 1.96]	
1.5G Pakistan/Bangladesh# Employment	0.52	[0.39, 0.68]	***	0.73	[0.50, 1.05]	*
1.5G Caribbean# Employment	0.74	[0.50, 1.09]		0.87	[0.47, 1.60]	

	HR	95% CI	Sig	HR	95% CI	Sig
1.5G Africa# Employment	0.96	[0.71, 1.29]		1.37	[0.92, 2.04]	
2G Europe & Western# Employment	1.07	[0.94, 1.23]		0.91	[0.73, 1.14]	
2G India# Employment	1.06	[0.81, 1.38]		1.48	[0.96, 2.27]	*
2G Pakistan/Bangladesh# Employment	0.51	[0.39, 0.66]	***	0.76	[0.53, 1.08]	
2G Caribbean# Employment	1.18	[0.89, 1.55]		0.80	[0.55, 1.16]	
2G Africa# Employment	1.28	[0.95, 1.72]		1.03	[0.61, 1.75]	
Native#Birth	1.15	[1.12, 1.19]	***	0.42	[0.38, 0.47]	***
1.5G Europe & Western#Birth	1.06	[0.82, 1.37]		0.44	[0.22, 0.90]	**
1.5G India#Birth	0.85	[0.58, 1.24]		0.57	[0.33, 1.01]	*
1.5G Pakistan/Bangladesh# Birth	1.52	[1.29, 1.78]	***	1.03	[0.76, 1.39]	
1.5G Caribbean#Birth	1.11	[0.81, 1.53]		0.33	[0.16, 0.67]	***
1.5G Africa# Birth	0.99	[0.77, 1.28]		0.59	[0.32, 1.09]	*
2G Europe & Western#Birth	1.07	[0.95, 1.21]		0.46	[0.35, 0.60]	***
2G India# Birth	1.04	[0.81, 1.33]		0.32	[0.20, 0.52]	***
2G Pakistan/Bangladesh#Birth	1.13	[0.96, 1.32]		0.44	[0.28, 0.70]	***
2G Caribbean# Birth	1.02	[0.79, 1.32]		0.43	[0.29, 0.64]	***
2G Africa# Birth	0.62	[0.41, 0.94]	**	0.22	[0.08, 0.63]	***

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Model 4: Transition from Partnered and Employed

	Women			Men		
	HR	95% CI	Sig	HR	95% CI	Sig
Time since Leaving Full Time Education						
0-1 year	0.87	[0.69, 1.08]		1.14	[0.83, 1.56]	
1-3 years (ref)	1					
3-5 years	0.97	[0.89, 1.05]		0.97	[0.86, 1.10]	
5+ years	0.72	[0.66, 0.77]	*	0.75	[0.67, 0.84]	***
Age Left Full Time Education						
<15 (ref)	1			1		
15-19	0.93	[0.87, 0.98]	**	0.90	[0.84, 0.95]	***
20+	0.74	[0.69, 0.79]	***	0.78	[0.72, 0.84]	***
Cohort						
1940-49 (ref)	1			1		
1950-1959	1.03	[0.97, 1.09]		1.03	[0.97, 1.10]	***
1960-1969	1.11	[1.05, 1.17]	***	1.18	[1.11, 1.25]	***
1970-1979	1.38	[1.31, 1.47]	***	1.36	[1.28, 1.45]	***
1980-1989	1.70	[1.58, 1.82]	***	1.77	[1.62, 1.93]	***
1990+	1.60	[1.36, 1.88]	***	1.71	[1.37, 2.14]	***

Unemployment Spell						
1 (ref)	1					
2+	0.90	[0.86, 0.94]	***	1.16	[1.10, 1.21]	***
Partnership Spell						
1 (ref)	1					
2+	1.05	[1.01, 1.10]	**	1.16	[1.10, 1.22]	***
Parity						
0 (ref)	1			1		
1	1.12	[1.07, 1.16]	***	0.94	[0.90, 0.98]	***
2+	0.37	[0.36, 0.39]	***	0.34	[0.32, 0.36]	***
Event Type#Migrant Group						
Native#Separation	0.44	[0.42, 0.46]	***	0.32	[0.31, 0.34]	***
1.5G Europe & Western# Separation	0.53	[0.41, 0.69]	***	0.37	[0.26, 0.53]	***
1.5G India# Separation	0.15	[0.06, 0.34]	***	0.08	[0.02, 0.26]	***
1.5G Pakistan/Bangladesh# Separation	0.20	[0.11, 0.37]	***	0.06	[0.02, 0.13]	***
1.5G Caribbean# Separation	0.76	[0.54, 1.05]		0.63	[0.35, 1.12]	
1.5G Africa# Separation	0.29	[0.17, 0.49]	***	0.33	[0.21, 0.53]	***
2G Europe & Western# Separation	0.50	[0.43, 0.57]	***	0.36	[0.30, 0.43]	***
2G India# Separation	0.32	[0.22, 0.46]	***	0.27	[0.18, 0.40]	***
2G Pakistan/Bangladesh# Separation	0.32	[0.20, 0.51]	***	0.15	[0.08, 0.28]	***
2G Caribbean# Separation	0.71	[0.57, 0.89]	***	0.71	[0.51, 0.99]	**
2G Africa# Separation	0.69	[0.50, 0.95]	**	0.28	[0.17, 0.46]	***
Native#Employment	0.75	[0.72, 0.77]	***	0.20	[0.19, 0.21]	***
1.5G Europe & Western#Employment	0.72	[0.56, 0.92]	**	0.26	[0.17, 0.37]	***
1.5G India# Employment	1.04	[0.69, 1.56]		0.25	[0.12, 0.52]	***
1.5G Pakistan/Bangladesh# Employment	1.31	[1.01, 1.70]	**	0.35	[0.24, 0.51]	***
1.5G Caribbean# Employment	0.47	[0.29, 0.76]	***	0.48	[0.29, 0.78]	***
1.5G Africa# Employment	0.72	[0.54, 0.97]	**	0.25	[0.15, 0.42]	***
2G Europe & Western# Employment	0.69	[0.60, 0.78]	***	0.22	[0.18, 0.27]	***
2G India# Employment	0.82	[0.65, 1.04]		0.24	[0.16, 0.35]	***
2G Pakistan/Bangladesh# Employment	1.16	[0.89, 1.51]		0.41	[0.29, 0.60]	***
2G Caribbean# Employment	0.60	[0.47, 0.76]	***	0.41	[0.29, 0.59]	***
2G Africa# Employment	0.69	[0.50, 0.94]	**	0.38	[0.23, 0.62]	***
Native#Birth (ref)	1			1		
1.5G Europe & Western#Birth	1.00	[0.83, 1.19]		0.89	[0.73, 1.08]	
1.5G India#Birth	1.39	[0.98, 1.98]	*	1.35	[1.00, 1.82]	*

1.5G Pakistan/Bangladesh# Birth	1.66	[1.37, 2.00]	***	1.64	[1.38, 1.95]	***
1.5G Caribbean#Birth	0.94	[0.62, 1.42]		1.31	[0.90, 1.90]	
1.5G Africa# Birth	0.98	[0.77, 1.25]		1.19	[0.97, 1.47]	
2G Europe & Western#Birth	0.99	[0.90, 1.10]		1.02	[0.92, 1.12]	
2G India# Birth	1.50	[1.32, 1.71]	***	1.08	[0.91, 1.28]	
2G Pakistan/Bangladesh#Birth	1.35	[1.08, 1.70]	**	1.85	[1.59, 2.15]	**
2G Caribbean# Birth	0.96	[0.80, 1.14]		0.80	[0.62, 1.03]	*
2G Africa# Birth	1.18	[0.96, 1.47]		1.09	[0.84, 1.40]	

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Appendix E – Sensitivity Analysis

Conception Model

Birth Model
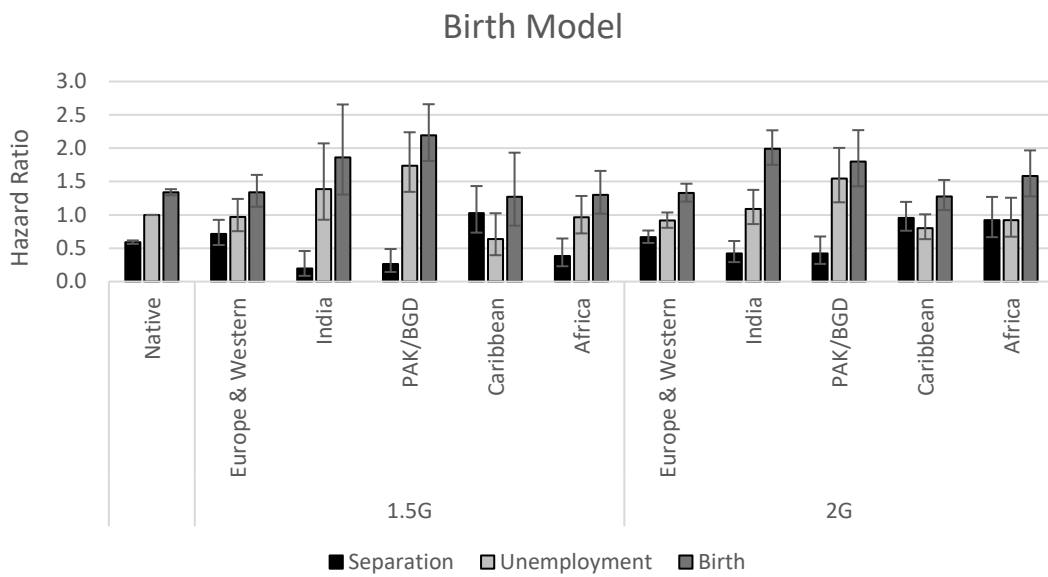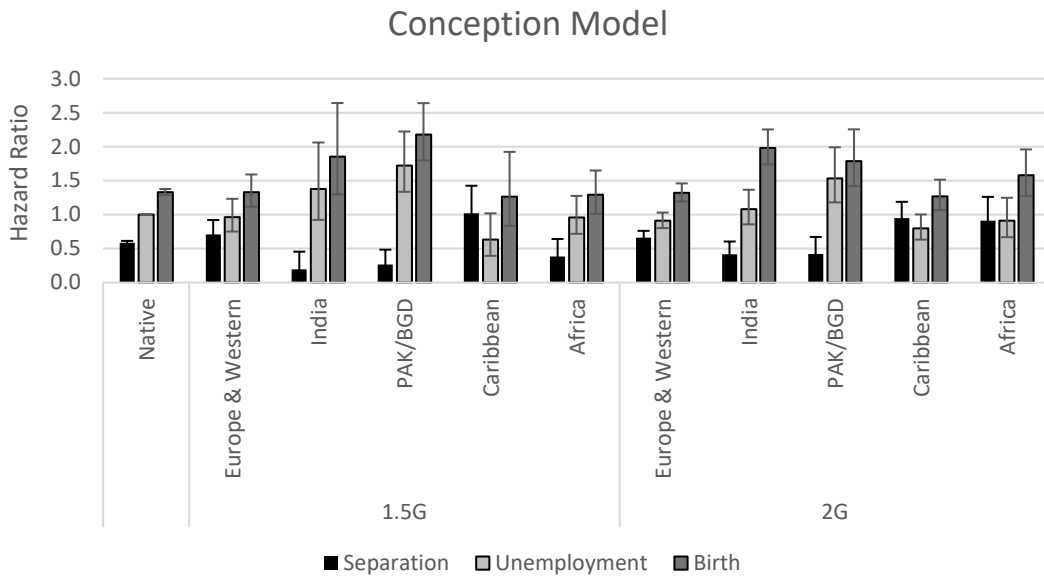
Appendix F: List of origin countries used to create categories of the migrant origin variable

Region of Origin	Origin Countries
Europe & Western countries	France, Germany, Italy, Ireland, Spain, Poland, Cyprus, Turkey, Portugal, Albania, Armenia, Austria, Belarus, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Channel Islands, Australia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, Georgia, Gibraltar, Greece, Hungary, Jersey, Kosovo, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Moldova, Norway, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Ukraine, Yugoslavia, New Zealand, Canada, USA
India	India
Pakistan/ Bangladesh	Pakistan, Bangladesh
Caribbean countries	Jamaica, Anguilla, Antigua, Bahamas, Barbados, Cuba, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Guadeloupe, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Montserrat, Nevis, St Lucia, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago
African Countries	Kenya, Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, Algeria, Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Zaire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Zambia, Zimbabwe