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Eva Bernhardt, Frances Goldscheider & Calvin Goldscheider

## **Integrating the second generation: Gender and family attitudes in early adulthood in Sweden**

Die zweite Generation integrieren: Geschlechtsrollen- und  
Familienvorstellungen im frühen Erwachsenenalter in Schweden

### **Abstract**

This paper focuses on attitudes towards three family challenges of early adulthood among native-born Swedes of differing origins. We examine attitudes towards forming new partnerships through cohabitation versus marriage, partnering within or outside one's national group, and preferring a more traditional versus a more egalitarian balance of work and family when children are young. Attitudes about these dimensions reveal the extent to which the adult children of Polish and Turkish origins living in Sweden have accepted Swedish family forms or expect to retain some forms of family distinctiveness. We base our analysis on a 1999 survey of young adults in Sweden (*Family and Working Life in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*). The survey consisted of 2,326 respondents who were ages 22 and 26, of whom 500 had at least one parent who was born either in Turkey or Poland.

We focus on the factors increasing acceptance of Swedish family forms. We consider the effects of two measures of exposure to Swedish values in the community (education, neighborhood ethnic segregation), a measure indicating the extent of exposure to Swedish values in the childhood family (parental intermarriage), and a factor suggesting the weakening of familial support for the culture of origin (disrupted childhood family structure).

We find that there are systematic differences in family attitudes among the second

### **Zusammenfassung**

Dieser Artikel nimmt die Einstellungen zu drei im jungen Erwachsenenalter auftretenden familialen Herausforderungen bei im Lande geborenen Schweden unterschiedlicher Herkunft in den Blick. Wir untersuchten ihre Einstellungen hinsichtlich des Eingehens einer neuen Partnerschaft durch Zusammenwohnen versus Ehe und des Eingehens einer Partnerschaft innerhalb oder außerhalb der eigenen ethnischen Gruppe sowie hinsichtlich der Bevorzugung einer eher traditionellen oder eher egalitären Balance zwischen Arbeit und Familie, wenn die Kinder noch klein sind. Die Einstellungen auf diesen Dimensionen zeigen das Ausmaß auf, in dem die erwachsenen, in Schweden lebenden Kinder polnischer oder türkischer Abstammung entweder die schwedischen Familienform akzeptiert haben oder aber von sich selbst erwarten, dass sie einige familiäre Besonderheiten beibehalten werden. Unsere Analyse basiert auf einem 1999 durchgeführten Survey junger Erwachsener in Schweden (*Family and Working Life in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*). Dieses Survey bestand aus 2.326 Teilnehmern im Alter von 22 bis 26 Jahren, von denen 500 mindestens einen Elternteil hatten, der entweder in der Türkei oder in Polen geboren war.

Wir konzentrierten uns auf die Faktoren, die die Akzeptanz schwedischer Familienformen erhöhen: Wir betrachteten die Effekte zwei Messinstrumente zur Einwirkung schwe-

generation that reflect their ethnic origins, with sharp differences between young adults of Turkish and Swedish origins. Swedes of Polish origin much more closely resemble those of Swedish origins. Nevertheless, the attitudes of young women and men of both Polish and Turkish origins appear to be approaching those of Swedish-origin young adults, relative to the family patterns in their parents' home communities. This, however, depends on the community and family contexts in which they grew up in Sweden.

discher Wertvorstellungen durch die Wohnumgebung (Bildungswesen, ethnische Segregation in der Nachbarschaft, eines Messinstrumentes zum Grad der Einwirkung schwedischer Wertvorstellungen während der Kindheit in der eigenen Familie (bikulturelle Ehe der eigenen Eltern) sowie einen Faktor, der von einer Abschwächung der Unterstützung für die familialen Herkunftskultur (Bruch mit der Familienstruktur der Elternfamilie) ausgeht.

Wir fanden heraus, dass systematische Unterschiede in den Einstellungen zur Familie in der zweiten Generation aufgrund der jeweiligen ethnischen Herkunft bestehen. Es gibt große Unterschiede zwischen jungen Erwachsenen türkischer und schwedischer Herkunft, wohingegen Schweden polnischer Abstammung den Schweden sehr viel ähnlicher sind. Nicht desto trotz scheinen sich die Einstellungen junger Frauen und Männer sowohl polnischer als auch türkischer Herkunft denen ihrer Altersgenossen schwedischer Herkunft anzunähern, jedenfalls im Vergleich zu den in den ethnischen Gemeinschaften ihrer Eltern. Dies hängt jedoch vom Wohnumfeld und den Familienzusammenhängen, in denen sie in Schweden aufwuchsen, ab.

*Key words:* Integration, second generation, family attitudes, early adulthood, Sweden, Turkey, Poland

*Schlagworte:* Integration, zweite Generation, Einstellungen zur Familie, frühes Erwachsenenalter, Schweden, Türkei, Polen

Family relationships play an important role in the social and economic integration of immigrants. Families are not only a resource for immigrants in their adaptation to their place of destination, helping with initial settlement and economic adjustment based on social and economic networks, but are also a source of values, reinforcing the retention or redefinition of the culture and values of their origins (Brubaker 2001; Portes 1995; Zhou 2001). Hence, families have a complex impact on those of foreign-born origins as they provide many of the resources needed for success in the new society yet also serve as a 'brake' on assimilation to the family patterns of the new society. The relative balance of these processes has powerful consequences for the integration and inclusion of immigrants and their children.

A focus on the family necessarily raises the question of gender relationships. The roles of women and men in families are challenged by the immigration process if the new society constructs gender roles differently from those in the society of origin. Relationships between husbands and wives and between parents and their sons and daughters are often strained as changes occur at work, in school and at home. Sev-

eral major research reviews have highlighted the importance of studying family relationships and the critical role of immigrants' gender relationships, and have called attention to these lacunae in the research literature (for reviews see Hugo 2000; Bjerén 1997; Pedraza, 1991).

Each of the two central axes of family life, between parents and their children and between men and women, is under conspicuous challenge among immigrants and their children in Sweden. Sweden has an egalitarian family system, structured and reinforced by social policies emphasizing gender and generational equality (Bernhardt 1992). Family relationships are more weakly institutionalized, encouraging widespread cohabitation; union partners are freely chosen, encouraging out-partnering; and egalitarian gender roles encourage a more equal sharing of support and care roles by the parents of children (Bernhardt 2005).

It is likely, however, that the Swedish-born children of immigrants will vary greatly in the extent to which they assimilate these new ideas about families in their transition to adulthood. The patterns in the countries of origin will clearly have a strong impact, but it is likely that circumstances in Sweden will also shape their responses. Living with others of similar national origins often provides networks of information and opportunities, given that the language barriers are low and the claims of kin and *landsmen* are still strong (Murdie and Borgegard 1996). But too close a connection with other immigrants, whether residentially or occupationally, can limit social integration into the larger Swedish society and access to its opportunities. Immigrant and ethnic clustering may also intensify prejudice and discrimination against those who are living and working separately from longer-term residents (Pred 2000).

In this paper we focus on ethnic and gender differences in family attitudes among the adult children of immigrants in Sweden. We also ask: which factors facilitate or retard these young adults' adopting more "Swedish" attitudes towards cohabitation, out-partnering, and egalitarian work-family balance? What are the effects of greater exposure to Swedish society, e.g., via increased education or residential integration? Does a weakened family structure reduce the odds of clinging to traditional family forms?

## Sweden's recent history of immigration and family policy

The study of immigrant family patterns in Swedish society has taken on particular importance early in the 21<sup>st</sup> century because Sweden has experienced rapid increases in immigration over the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as have many other European countries. As a result, a new generation of Swedish-born children of recent immigrants is beginning the transition to adulthood in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The number of foreign-born persons in Sweden increased from 538,000 in 1970 to almost one million in 1999 (Table 1). While the total Swedish-born population increased by less than five percent over the nearly 30-year period, the foreign-born population increased by 82 percent. As a result, the proportion born outside Sweden increased

from about 7.1 percent of the population to 12.5 percent between 1970 and 1999, so that one in eight persons living in Sweden at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was foreign born.

*Table 1. Changing Swedish society: More foreign-born, more non-European*

	1970	1999	% Change
Swedish total population	8,077	8,861	9,7
Swedish born population (thousands)	7,539	7,880	4,5
Foreign-born population (thousands)	538	982	82,5
% of population foreign-born	7,1	12,5	
Of foreign-born:			
% from Nordic countries	59,7	28,5	
% from other Europe	32,7	32,9	
% from non-Europe	7,6	38,6	

Source: Statistics Sweden

The impact of immigration on Swedish society has been shaped even more by its changing composition. Not only was the proportion foreign born much less in 1970 than in the late 1990s, but three out of five who were foreign born in 1970 were from other Nordic countries (59.7%), primarily from Finland. Most of the rest (one-third) were from other European countries (32.7%) and only 7.6 percent of the foreign-born population in 1970 was from countries outside of Europe. By 1999, however, 38.6 percent of the foreign born were from non-European countries, that is, 379,000 persons. Among the foreign born in 1999 from the non-Nordic countries, those from Poland (40,000) and from Turkey (31,000) are among the largest groups. Hence, our analysis of the children of the foreign-born, which focuses on those of Polish and Turkish origins, targets two of Sweden's major immigrant groups. These communities represent culturally and socially diverse populations and illustrate a range of adjustments among the new populations living in Sweden.

The growth in the numbers of Swedes from non-Western countries is a particular challenge, because Sweden's extensive social and family policy programs were established while Sweden was a culturally homogeneous country. These policies were designed to reinforce the values of that culture: individual choice and gender equality both at home and in the work place. These values often contrast with the gender relationships and the marriage and work patterns that are common among immigrant families in Sweden. Many immigrant communities reinforce familism over individualism by supporting early marriage and discouraging "second demographic transition" behavior as non-family living, cohabitation, out-of-wedlock parenthood, and female employment (Lesthaeghe 1995). Hence, they emphasize gender separation by expecting only men to be employed and women to focus on caring for their families. They normally strongly encourage male dominance and control. Sweden is thus an extreme example of the potential for clashes between immigrants and the native-born population on family-related issues.

What happens to the family attitudes of immigrants' children as they are exposed to new contexts of family, gender, and child-based policies supported by the state and other non-family institutions? The financial incentives provided by the state in-

crease the motivation of immigrants and their Swedish born children to become “Swedish.” But are these incentives enough? What happens to the adult children of immigrants socialized in Sweden when their background, with its culture of gender segregation and familism, is at odds with the broader culture into which they are becoming adults? More specifically, we ask: What are the family attitudes among the adult children of immigrants, compared to those of Swedish origins? We focus on attitudes because many of the young adults have not yet had the opportunity to form families of their own. Moreover, we expect that data on attitudes, reflecting family norms, may be important indicators of subsequent family behavior.

We selected a series of family attitudes that are key to understanding the transition to adulthood of the children of immigrants.

- Attitudes towards cohabitation tell us both about intergenerational relationships (given that cohabitation was rare in both home countries) and gender relationships (commitments between men and women);
- Attitudes towards out-partnering are profound indicator of the weakening of intergenerational ties and the assimilation of ethnic groups;
- Attitudes towards the balance between work-and family are a key dimension of ‘new’ Swedish family patterns, with a focus on gender equality.

## Data, Measures, and Methods

### Data

Our analysis is based on a survey of young adults in Sweden (Family and Working Life in the 21<sup>st</sup> century), funded by the Swedish Social Science Research Council. It was a mail questionnaire survey with about 2,800 respondents, both males and females. The fieldwork was carried out in the spring of 1999, with the help of the survey unit of Statistics Sweden. In addition to the main sample of young adults born in Sweden with two Swedish-born parents, there was also a special, smaller sample of young adults born in Sweden, but with one or both parents born in Poland or in Turkey.

The Swedish sample of about 2,300 respondents consisted of individuals who were 22, 26 or 30 years old at the time of the survey. Their response rate was 67%. The second-generation of Polish or Turkish origins was a sample of about 500 respondents. It consisted of individuals who were 22 or 26 years old, since there were so few 30-year olds in this group. The questionnaire contained questions about their plans, expectations and attitudes regarding family and working life, as well as factual information about their current situation and background characteristics. We analyze the 22- and 26-year olds of all three groups.

## Measures

The main goal of the research project “Family and Working Life in the 21st century” was to analyze the relationship between attitudes, various socioeconomic characteristics and demographic behavior. Therefore, a fairly large number of attitudinal questions were included in the survey. As outcome variables, we analyze those in three areas: attitudes towards cohabitation, about the appropriate balance of work and family for couples with young children and, for the children of the foreign born, attitudes about out-partnering.

*Outcome variables.* Our measure of restrictive attitudes to cohabitation focused on the circumstances in which cohabitation was considered appropriate. Respondents were given four options: 1) under any circumstances, 2) not at all, or restricted to situations of 3) commitment to marriage or 4) when there are no children.

The question about the ideal family situation for a family with pre-school children had three response alternatives: 1) Only the man works and the woman takes the main responsibility for home and children, 2) Both work, but the woman works part-time and takes the main responsibility for home and children, and 3) Both parents work roughly the same hours and share the responsibility for home and children equally. For the analysis of attitudes to work-family balance, the first two were combined and labeled “traditional”, while the third category was labeled “egalitarian.”

The questions about out-partnering were not asked of the Swedish-origin population and were only obtained for the non-partnered. We can compare the attitudes of young adults of Polish and Turkish origins on two questions: First, a question was asked of the young adults: How important is it to you to marry someone of your ethnic background? The answer options were: very important, rather important, or not at all important. A second question was included to gauge their perception of their parents’ attitude: Would your parents approve if you married a Swede? The answers here were: not at all, doubtful, and yes. This latter question was not designed to measure the parental attitude directly but to obtain some indication of generational change in attitudes as perceived by young adults about their parents.

*Predictor variables.* The principal concern of this paper is to assess the impact of indicators of exposure to both the Swedish and origin cultures on these attitudes. We consider two indicators of exposure in the community, educational level, which exposes young people directly to the Swedish school system, and community ethnic concentration, which affects the entire family. We also consider three family-level measures of exposure, employed mothers, which provides exposure indirectly through the mother’s experiences, disrupted childhood family structure, which reduces the impact of a cultural role model (usually the father), and out-married parents, which weakens the origin influence and often introduces a strong Swedish influence if the other parent is Swedish. Descriptive statistics on these measures, together with the control variables, are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Means for Swedish, Polish and Turkish origin

Independent variables	Swedish origin	Polish origin		Turkish origin	
	All	All	No coresidential partner	All	No coresidential partner
<i>Education (1-10)</i>	5,42	5,61	5,86	4,50	5,01
<i>Non-intact family background (0, 1)</i>	0,22	0,35	0,37	0,19	0,21
<i>Age (22, 26)</i>	23,98	23,77	23,53	23,24	22,79
<i>Metro (while R growing up) (0, 1)</i>	0,22	0,53	0,54	0,67	0,64
<i>Gender (1=male, 2=female)</i>	1,54	1,53	1,49	1,58	1,57
<i>Actual union type</i>					
no coresidential partner (reference)	51,1	56,9	na	57,9	na
a cohabiting partner	43,7	37,7	na	15,8	na
a marital partner	5,2	5,4	na	26,3	na
<i>Economic condition (0-2)</i>	1,10	1,04	1,06	1,02	0,93
<i>Mother worked while R growing up (1-3)</i>	2,07	2,26	2,21	2,12	2,12
<i>Mother worked while R growing up</i>					
did not work	21,1	14,8	16,6	24,9	25,6
part-time	50,9	44,3	45,8	38,3	37,2
full time	28,0	40,9	37,6	36,8	37,2
<i>Neighborhood ethnicity (0-2)</i>	na	0,17	0,19	0,55	0,53
<i>Parental intermarriage (0-1)</i>	na	0,81	0,80	0,37	0,37
Number of respondents	1536	318	181	209	121

The variable ‘mother worked while R growing up’ is based on a survey question about maternal employment while the respondent was growing up (before starting school). It has three categories, namely ‘at home’, ‘part-time work’ and ‘full-time work’. Respondents who did not remember or did not answer this question were coded as ‘part-time work’ (the mean value).

Information about the respondents’ attained educational level was taken from registers at Statistics Sweden. Combining this with survey information about whether the respondents were currently studying, and the number of years after age 16 that the respondent reported being a student, a ten-category educational variable was constructed. The category with the lowest level included those who had not pursued any education beyond the compulsory nine school years, while in the highest category the respondents had long post-gymnasium (post-secondary) education and were either currently studying or had reported more than eight years of study after age 16.

The other measure of community exposure is ethnic residential concentration. The respondents of Polish or Turkish background were asked whether the neighborhood in which they grew up was composed mainly of Swedes, mostly immigrants or mixed. We constructed a three-level scale, with “mostly immigrant” indicating a high level of immigrant concentration and “mainly Swedish” indicating a low level of concentration.

Information on paternal out-marriage and childhood family structure were measured with direct questions on these dimensions. Childhood family structure was indicated by whether they grew up with their two biological parents or not. Pa-



rental out-marriage was only measured for those of Polish and Turkish origin; all those of Swedish origin had two Swedish-born parents.

Additional control variables include age (whether the respondent was age 22 or age 26), the economic condition of the family while they were growing up (coded continuously), and whether they grew up in one of Sweden's metropolitan areas (Stockholm, Göteborg or Malmö).

*Analytic methods:* We analyze these questions using descriptive tabulations, showing the detailed variations of attitudes towards cohabitation, out-partnering, and work-family balance. We then turn to a multivariate analysis of the impact of exposure to Swedish society in the schools, community, and home, using logistic regression, dichotomizing each of the attitudes into their more and less "Swedish" forms.

## Descriptive analysis

### Attitudes towards cohabitation<sup>1</sup>

The decisions that young adults make as they begin their own family life in the transition to adulthood are major indicators of intergenerational continuity or change for native-born Swedes. We begin with attitudes towards cohabitation.

Among those of Polish and Swedish origins, and for both men and women, levels of approval are very high. About 85% feel that cohabitation is OK under all circumstances, even if there are children (Table 3). Women are somewhat more approving among those of Swedish origin and less approving among those of Polish origin. But these differences are small. While there is almost no difference between men of Polish and Swedish origin (86% approve without restriction), there is a small gap between women of Polish and Swedish origins (82% vs. 89%).

Table 3. Attitudes toward cohabitation among men and women by ancestry

	Second generation					
	Swedish		Polish		Turkish	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
It's never OK	8,4	5,3	4,1	7,7	16,9	19,0
OK for a short time before marriage	1,4	2,1	2,0	3,6	14,4	15,5
OK if there are no children	4,8	3,3	8,1	6,6	16,9	19,8
OK even if there are children	85,4	89,3	85,8	82,1	51,8	45,7
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Number of respondents	706	808	148	168	83	116

The stark contrast is the distinctive attitudes of those of Turkish origins. Only about half of those of Turkish origin accept the idea of cohabitation even if there were children compared to about 85% of those of Polish and of Swedish origins. One-fifth of those of Turkish origins totally reject cohabitation under any circumstances.

1 For further analyses of this question, see Bernhardt and F. Goldscheider (2007).

Nevertheless, over 80 percent of young Turkish-origin men and women accept cohabitation under some circumstances. While distinctive relative to Polish- and Swedish-origin young adults, those of Turkish origins are clearly becoming more like other young adults in Sweden, who share positive attitudes toward cohabitation, than like the Polish and Turkish communities their parents left in the 1960s and 1970s.

### Attitudes towards inter-partnering<sup>2</sup>

Disapproval of out-partnering is a powerful force maintaining ethnic distinctiveness. The attitudinal question was not asked of the Swedish-origin population. Therefore we cannot compare those of Polish and Turkish origins with the majority population, but we can contrast the attitudes of young adults of Polish and Turkish origins. This attitudinal question was addressed only to those who were not partnered, and they are somewhat less connected to their ethnic communities than those who are already married (Bernhardt et al 2005).

For those of Polish origin, the issue seems almost totally irrelevant. Well over 90 percent of the Polish-origin young adults report that inter-ethnic partnering is not at all important to them (Table 4). This is not surprising, given that a large majority (80%) of those are from families where their parents have already inter-partnered with someone of non-Polish origins (60% were married to someone of Swedish origin and 20% to someone of some other non-Polish origin). The issue is more relevant for those of Turkish origin, particularly for women. About 40% of the young adults of Turkish origins report that partnering with someone of Turkish origins is very or rather important to them. About half report that their parents would not approve fully if they married a Swedish person. However, more than one-half of the women of Turkish origin and 60% of the men of Turkish origin think it is fine to marry someone with other than Turkish origins, and that their parents would approve.

Table 4. Attitudes toward endogamy among young adults by origin and sex

	Young adults <sup>1</sup>		Parents <sup>2</sup>	
	Polish	Turkish	Polish	Turkish
<b>Men</b>				
Very important/Not at all	2,0	22,8	0,0	5,0
Rather important/Doubtful	5,9	17,5	1,9	36,7
Not at all important/Yes	92,1	59,7	98,1	58,3
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
N	101	57	107	60
<b>Women</b>				
Very important/Not at all	0,9	24,0	0,0	20,2
Rather important/Doubtful	2,7	22,7	2,7	29,8
Not at all important/Yes	96,5	53,3	97,3	50,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
N	113	75	113	84

1 Question: How important is it to you to marry someone of your ethnic background?

2 Question: Would your parents approve if you married a Swede?

2 See also C. Goldscheider (2007)

### Attitudes towards work-family balance<sup>3</sup>

One of the most dramatic changes in family patterns world wide is the increase in mothers' work outside the home. Motherhood is the period in the life course when the demands of childcare are most intense. Yet it is often the moment when time spent at work has the greatest payoff in long-term career earnings for both young men and young women. This life course pressure of work and family is relatively new for women, even in Swedish society. It is almost unheard of in societies with more traditional family systems, where the mothers of young children either earn income at tasks that can be combined with childcare or earn nothing at all. We now focus on the attitudes young adults hold about the ideal way to balance these pressures—the work-family balance. We explore whether the traditional gender structure defining this balance that many immigrants have brought with them will be reproduced among their adult children. Work-family balance attitudes reveal the norms about the family roles of young adults of different ethnic origins and, in turn, are another dimension of the social integration of immigrants and their children in Swedish society.

Our question is normative: what do young adults in Sweden report that they prefer and are there differences by origin? Do they want or hope to be egalitarian or do they prefer a traditional or semi-traditional work-family balance? And are there large gender differences in these attitudes?

Young men in each group are more likely to reply that a traditional or semi-traditional work-family balance is ideal. Gender differences are relatively small among those of Polish origin: young men and young women do not differ in their work-family balance attitudes (Table 5). More than 80% of young women of Polish origin consider an egalitarian balance between work and family to be ideal, and this is also the case for 77% of young men of Polish origin. Gender similarity also characterizes those of Swedish origin. However, differences between young men and young women are much greater among those of Turkish origin. More than 70% of young women of Turkish origin think an egalitarian work-family balance is ideal, while less than half (48%) of the young men of Turkish origin agree. Furthermore, less than one out of ten young women of Turkish origin indicate that the ideal woman should stay home with her young children. This attitude characterizes fully one fourth of the young men of Turkish origin.

*Table 5.* Ideal work division among couples with small children by sex and origin

Work division	Swedish		Polish		Turkish	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
He works, she doesn't	7,6	5,7	9,2	5,0	25,3	8,0
He full, she part	20,8	15,1	14,1	13,7	26,6	21,2
Equal or she works more	71,7	79,2	76,8	81,4	48,1	70,8
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

<sup>3</sup> For more detailed analyses, see Bernhardt and F. Goldscheider (2006b).

Viewed from a larger perspective, it is perhaps amazing that nearly half of young men of Turkish origin chose the egalitarian option as ideal, hardly the stereotype of Turkish patriarchy. Nevertheless, the gender gap is substantial in these attitudes, suggesting that young women and young men of Turkish origin may have difficulty finding partners who are from their own ethnic background yet who share their vision of family life. Those who are moving toward a more egalitarian view of work and family balance might also be experiencing a significant generational gap, as their attitudes conflict with their parents' family-work experiences and attitudes.

### What shapes family attitudes in young adulthood?

Up to this point we have considered attitudes towards cohabitation, out-partnering and the work-family balance among young Swedish born adults differentiated by ethnic origin (Swedish, Polish, and Turkish origins) and separately for men and women. We now turn to other sources of differentiation within ethnic and gender categories: education, ethnic residential concentration, maternal employment, parental intermarriage, and childhood family structure. We ask: Are these characteristics linked to family processes and are they potential sources of change? More specifically, do young adults of Polish and Turkish origins with higher levels of education, or who come from families who are already inter-ethnically married, or those from areas with lower levels of ethnic concentration have family attitudes that more closely resemble those of Swedish-origin young adults? If so, are some factors more potent than others? We use multivariate regression techniques (logistic regression) to address these issues (Table 6).

Each of the indicators of exposure to Swedish society, in the schools, the community, and the home, has some impact on these attitudes towards modern Swedish family forms. The patterns are not always consistent, however, although they are generally in the expected directions. The effects of some exposure measures depend on the attitude being studied, as well as the group being considered. Further, the level of exposure (community, family) is not a consistent marker.

The two community measures, exposure to schools and neighborhoods, provide a clear example of this inconsistency. Education has no significant effect on restrictive attitudes towards cohabitation in any of these three groups, nor on restrictive attitudes towards out-partnering among those of Polish and Turkish origins, but it strongly reduces traditional attitudes towards the work-family balance in all three. The finding that education is of great importance for attitudes towards the distribution of roles within the family corroborates the results reported by Röhr-Sendlmeier and Yun (2006) for Germany.

Table 6. Multivariate analysis of attitudes toward family forms (odds ratios)

	Restrictive attitudes towards cohabitation			Traditional work-family balance			Restrictive attitudes towards out-partnering	
	Swedish	Polish	Turkish	Swedish	Polish	Turkish	Polish	Turkish
Independent variables	Relative risk	Relative risk	Relative risk	Relative risk	Relative risk	Relative risk	Relative risk	Relative risk
<i>Education</i> (10 category variable)	1.059	1,089	0,987	0.907**	0.812*	0.916	1,043	0,842
<i>Neighborhood ethnicity</i>	na	1,997*	1,332	na	1,329	1.026	1,295	1,976^
<i>Mother worked while R growing up</i>								
Part-time	0.652*	0,467^	0,595	0.523**	0.638	0.258**	0,870	1,755
Full time	0.835	0,787	1,372	0.385**	0.327*	0.476^	1,554	1,918
<i>Non-intact family background</i>	0.986	0,499^	0,584	0.840	1.540	0.615	0,562	0,226*
<i>Parental intermarriage</i>	na	0,804	0,345**	na	0.710	0.460^	na	na
<i>Age 26</i>	0.704*	1,656	0,761	1.075	1.385	0.914	0,630	0,510
<i>Metro (while R growing up)</i>	1.263	1,088	1,102	0.957	1.290	0.879	6,016	2,054
<i>Female</i>	0.657**	1,452	1,115	0.602**	0.675	0.324**	1,088	1,037
<i>Actual union type</i>								
Cohabiting partner	0.849	1,110	0,610	1.159	1.110	1.729	na	na
Marital partner	3.186**	0,766	2,535*	2.788**	1.563	2.350^	na	na
<i>Economic condition</i>	1.105	1,042	0,564	0.979	1.733*	0.936	1,312	0,408^
<i>Pseudo R<sup>2</sup></i>	0.032	0.072	0.174	0.049	0.104	0.154	0.096	0.139
Number of respondents	1512	311	197	1409	303	191	141	96

\*\* .01 > p; \* .05 > p > .01; ^ .10 > p > .05

Neighborhood ethnic concentration, in contrast, has only two significant effects, on cohabitation among those of Polish origins and on out-partnering among those of Turkish origins. Each increase in concentration on the three-level scale nearly doubles the odds that those of Polish origins hold restrictive attitudes towards cohabitation, although the effect is to increase traditionalism on the other two measures, as well. Among those of Turkish origins, each increase in concentration similarly about doubles the odds of holding restrictive attitudes towards out-partnering.

The three family-level measures of exposure (employed mothers, absent fathers, and out-married parents) also have inconsistent effects, although again most are in the expected directions. Having a mother employed full-time while the young adults were growing up strongly and significantly reduces support for the traditional work-family balance for each group, and even a mother who worked part-time has a strong effect, although it is only significant for those of Swedish and Turkish origins. Having a mother who worked also reduces the odds that young adults of Swedish and Polish origins hold restrictive attitudes towards cohabitation, although the stronger impact results from a mother who worked part-time rather than full-time, with no consistent effect on those of Turkish origin. Such an experience had no impact on attitudes towards out-partnering among those of Polish origin.

In contrast, growing up in a non-intact family has a weaker impact on these attitudes. It does not matter at all for those of Swedish origins. Among the immigrant-origin groups it reduces restrictive attitudes towards cohabitation among those of Polish origins and reduces restrictive attitudes towards out-partnering among those of Turkish origins.

The most powerful family influence, of course, is having a parent who is not from either Poland or Turkey. This measure is not available for those of Swedish origin, all of whom have two Swedish-born parents, and not surprisingly, had such a strong effect on those of Polish or Turkish origins that we had to drop it from the model. Having inter-ethnically partnered parents also encourages non-traditional views of the other two attitudes among those of Turkish origins.

We also controlled for gender, actual union type and economic conditions during childhood. Young women with two Swedish-born parents are significantly less likely than young men to hold restrictive attitudes towards cohabitation, as well as to favour a traditional work-family balance. No significant gender differences were found for those of Polish origin, but young women of Turkish origin were found to be significantly more in favour of egalitarian gender roles than their male counterpart. Those already married were significantly more likely to hold restrictive attitudes towards cohabitation relative to those unpartnered, as well as to favour more traditional gender roles. This was true for both Swedish and Turkish origin young adults, while no such difference was found for those of Polish origin. Poor economic conditions in childhood increase the likelihood that those of Polish origin will favour a traditional work-family balance, while it decreases the likelihood that those of Turkish origin will hold restrictive attitudes towards out-partnering.

Finally, we pooled the three ethnic groups (only respondents of Polish or Turkish origin for the analysis of restrictive attitudes towards out-partnering) to test whether inter-group differences were significant. The results (see table 7) regarding restrictive attitudes towards cohabitation show that the views of both those of Polish and those of Turkish background are significantly different from the respondents of Swedish background (relative risks were 2.060\*\* and 5.690\*\*, respectively). However, with regard to views on traditional work-life balance, those of Polish background were not significantly different from Swedish origin young adults, while the relative risk for those of Turkish background was 1.922\*\*. Comparing those of Polish and Turkish background with regard to restrictive attitudes towards out-partnering confirmed the huge difference between these two groups: those of Turkish background had an risk of 13.471\*\*!

Table 7. Multivariate analysis of attitudes toward family forms (odds ratios)

Independent variables	Restrictive attitudes towards cohabitati- on Relative risk P	Traditional work- family balance Relative risk P	Restrictive attitudes towards out- partnering Relative risk P
<i>Education (10 category variable)</i>	1.048	0.893 **	0.892
<i>Neighborhood ethnicity</i>	1.529 *	1.156	1.759 ^
<i>Mother worked while R growing up</i>			
Part-time	0.620 **	0.508 **	1.518
Full time	0.870	0.383 **	1.850
<i>Non-intact family background</i>	0.830	0.901	0.277 *
<i>Parental intermarriage</i>	0.830 **	0.611 ^	na
<i>Ethnicity</i>			
Polish	2.060 **	1.442	
Turkish	5.690 **	1.922 **	13.471 **
<i>Age 26</i>	0.803	1.079	0.542
<i>Metro (while R growing up)</i>	1.242	1.011	2.287 *
<i>Female</i>	0.825	0.577 **	1.045
<i>Actual union type</i>			
Cohabiting partner	0.827	1.191	na
Marital partner	2.511 **	2.250 **	na
<i>Economic condition</i>	1.016	1.080	0.577
<i>Pseudo R<sup>2</sup></i>	0.119	0.064	0.346
Number of respondents	2029	1905	237

\*\* .01 > p; \* .05 > p > .01; ^ .10 > p > .05

## Concluding thoughts

The data we have presented on young adults of Polish and Turkish origins in Sweden suggest that there are systematic differences among the native born in family-related attitudes that reflect their ethnic origins, with sharp differences between young adults of Turkish and Swedish origins. Swedes of Polish origins much more closely resemble those of Swedish origins. However, both groups of young women and men of non-Swedish origins appear to be approaching the attitudes of Swedish origin young adults, particularly relative to the family patterns in their parents' home communities. Moreover, young adults of Polish and Turkish origins with higher education and those who live outside communities with high proportions of immigrants more closely share the family attitudes of Swedes of Swedish origins than do those with less education or who live in residentially concentrated communities.

These findings shed light on the multiple dimensions of the relative integration of the second generation of young men and women of Turkish and Polish origins in Sweden. To a larger extent, the family attitudes of those of Polish origin are becoming indistinguishable from those of Swedish origins. And young adults of Turkish origin are moving in the Swedish direction but continue to have distinctive family attitudes.

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