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사회학석사 학위논문

**Differences in gender role attitudes  
between native Swedish and  
immigrants**

스웨덴 네이티브와 이민자의 성역할태도 차이에 대한  
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# **Differences in gender role attitudes between native Swedish and immigrants**

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## **Abstract**

The cultural adaption of immigrants in European countries has been drawing significant attention since it is an important dimension of their integration with the local society. Under the Swedish context, a Scandinavian welfare state that emphasizes egalitarianism, whether immigrants perceive gender roles in the same way the native do is a vital question which captures the extent of immigrants' acculturation. Regarding this, abundant studies brought opinions both theoretically and empirically in recent years. They stressed the familial influence and intergenerational transmission effect whereas less underlying mechanisms or a complete picture had been demonstrated. This study aims to figure out familial influence on the formation of adolescents' gender role

attitudes and its effect on the native-immigrant gap. Parents' socioeconomic status, integration and mothers' labor force participation had been laid emphasis on to understand this question. The parent-child dyad data from the first wave of *the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries* enabled this study to make a deeper analysis on the effect of intergenerational transmission.

The analysis suggests that comparing with adolescents' personal characteristics, the influence they acquired from family contributes more to the native-immigrant gap in gender role attitudes. Immigrant adolescents' own integration and religiosity only have limited impact on their conservative gender ideology. Adolescents' school performance is an influential factor but cannot explain the native-immigrant gap. However, identical with previous studies, parents' gender role attitudes have a high correlation and consistency with the adolescents'. Traditional immigrant parents are more likely to have traditional children. To give a more understandable interpretation, this study considered parents' characteristics and found out that educational background and language proficiency, especially the ability of understanding Swedish play important roles positively on forming immigrants' gender role attitudes and furtherly transmit to the adolescents. Moreover, in a family, parents' role modeling effect also gives an impact. When the mother is working, the more parents spend time and interact with their children, the more likely their children to have egalitarian gender role attitudes.

**Key words:** gender role attitudes; immigrants; intergenerational transmission; acculturation; role modeling

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# Introduction

The most notable feature of migration in recent decades in Europe, or more specifically, in Sweden, not only should be the number of immigrant population, today, 18.5% of Swedish people are immigrants (Statistics Sweden 2018), but the increasing diversity of the composition of immigrants as well. Apart from continuously coming economic immigrants, since the 2000s, a great number of family immigrants and asylum seekers has been becoming new groups making up the Sweden population, especially immigrants from out of European countries (Borevi 2014). This tendency shows the transition of Sweden from a coherent state to a more diverse society in the ethnic composition dimension. This brings a new consideration that in the perspective of culture and values, the cultural distances between local Swedish people and different immigrant groups are turning discrete as well. Regarding this, immigrants' integration and cultural adaption in Sweden are starting to need further and deeper considerations. There have been ample literature and empirical studies targeting economic integration and consequent social inequality while attention paid to the cultural adaption of immigrants is relatively rare, especially empirically and in the context of Sweden.

In terms of cultural integration and values differences between different ethnic groups and the mainstream society, which also refer to the difference between civilizations, at the time they encounter each other by migration in the globalization background, especially when considering the Swedish context, a very high level of egalitarianism and liberalism has been emphasized by both social policies and through the public opinion. To what degree do the new coming people accept gender equality

should be an important issue to be discussed. Since recent decades, along with industrialization, women in Western World started to get their rights of education, started to participate into labor markets while getting rid of private life which used to be their main social role and responsibilities to keep at the same time, also nowadays, the egalitarianism has become to the mainstream norm and value and men and women both are advocated to pursue their life equally and freely (Inglehart & Norris 2003a). Nonetheless, most immigrants are from less economically developed countries, within the new century, lots of them moved from Muslim countries, these new groups populations have been indicated to be more likely to have conservative gender ideology (Diehl, Koenig & Ruckdeschel 2009; Inglehart & Norris 2009). This is a prominent contraction between the host country culture and the new coming immigrants' values and it has been becoming one of the core topics in political debates related to immigration in recent days. The gender equality issue has a deep political meaning because the divergence about it has been deemed to be a civilization clash between the Western and Muslim world and an important indicator of a society's tolerance and egalitarianism (Inglehart & Norris 2003b). Meanwhile, also practically, gender equality is embedded in the general social structure which has a significant effect on women's labour participation, fertility rate and family and marriage structure (McDonald 2000). Therefore, to further definitize the underlying mechanisms of cultural assimilation of immigrants, how do they perceive gender equality, which is a very distinct norm in Nordic countries and a meaningful and crucial start point as well.

To study immigrants' cultural assimilation, the target group in this study is the second generation immigrants in Sweden. To some degree, the process of assimilation to the mainstream society relies on the generation alternation according to Alba (1999, 2005). In individuals' perspective, not like their parents or grandparents, who were born outside the host country which means the socialization for the first generation immigrants are partly

completed in their origin country, the second generation immigrants were raised up and socialized in the host country which means they access to only host country culture in their social life, for instance, their education acquired in school, social media and popular culture related to gender equality, and they are naturally expected to be more likely to accept those liberal thoughts of gender roles. However, when facing the conflict between liberal values in the mainstream social life and the traditional gender division of labor they are facing in their family which is also an important part they are socialized (Bronfenbrenner 1986), which side they tend to accept, and if they are less liberal than the local kids, the question of what factors mostly give an influence on their formation of gender ideology still remains ambiguous.

Regarding this question, the discussion has lasted for a long time and theoretical debates about the direction to which immigrants' cultural integration will go had provided diverse opinions (eg. Portes & Zhou 1993; Verkuyten 2005; Nee & Alba 1999). There are also empirical works started to appear in recent years that focused on the topics not only restrict to gender role attitudes, but also values about sexuality, under the contexts of several Western European countries, for instance, Germany (Idema & Phalet 2007; Kretschmer 2017), the Netherlands (Maliepaard & Alba 2016; Kalmijn & Kraaykamp 2018) and Belgium (Scheible & Fleischmann 2013). All these studies had found that in countries there are ethnic groups of immigrants who are more conservative towards gender and tried to figure out the underlying mechanisms that lead to this ideological gap. According to these researches, adolescents' own integration, their families' impact and religiosity had been the three main factors that are supported to be able to explain immigrants' less egalitarian gender ideology. Particularly, intergenerational transmission effect plays a significant and centric role on the second generation immigrants' gender ideology formation. However, understanding immigrant adolescents' cultural adaption in the

dimension of gender equality solely by fixed and independent factors might over-simplify and hidden the whole picture of mechanisms. When considering parents and ethnic community's influence on children's gender role attitudes, the further thing that should be paying attention to is that parents' gender role attitudes are not pre-existed but formed in a dynamic process by their individual characteristics in various ways. Therefore, there is a necessity to look through that how and why immigrants are less egalitarian and this is by what processes transmitted to their offspring. This means the second generation immigrants' gender role attitude is partly formed in a dynamic family environment in which they are socialized and raised up. This environment is constructed by their parents' socioeconomic status and other contextual conditions. Among this, to study the immigrant-native adolescents' gap of gender role attitudes, inevitable differences between native and immigrant adolescents' socialization contexts become the key to understand the question.

In this study, the question is settled in the Swedish society that has the distinctiveness of being a pioneer to practice feminist policies to facilitate gender equality in the country since the 1970s particularly by making more chances for women to participate into the labor market (Bergqvist 1999) and it is known as one of the most gender-egalitarian country on several gender equality related rankings. These characteristics thus make Sweden an interesting case to study immigrants' cultural adaption in the domain of gender ideology. Furthermore, context and ethnic composition of immigrants are also important factors when considering immigrants' acculturation and there have been very few empirical studies focused on immigrants' acculturation in the Swedish context. To do the empirical analysis on this topic, data will be used here is the Sweden part of first wave of panel dataset 'The Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in four European Countries (CILS4EU)', which not only oversampled immigrant adolescents but also in the first wave,

interviews of their parents are included additionally for the study of intergenerational assimilation. The survey on parents enables this study to access a full insight of parents' integration into the mainstream society whereby to understand the transmission effect.

# Theoretical background

## ***Ambiguous cultural assimilation, in the case of gender role attitudes***

With regard to the cultural assimilation of immigrants, since last century, there have been theories about integration and assimilation begin from the USA and till recent decades, for the reason global migration started to be more active and European countries are becoming rising destination for immigrants, the pattern of integration, especially culturally, how do the new-coming population choose when facing ideological conflict between their original culture background and the host country society has been becoming an increasingly complicated and ambiguous question. Theories on immigrants' cultural assimilation mainly indicated two possible directions which newcomers turn their attitudes and perceptions too. Firstly, some classical theories have been of the opinion that cultural assimilation is a gradual process, it is completed by both generations alternating, and within the individual life course (Lieberson 1973; Alba 1999, 2005), and there has been a belief in the decline and disappearance of the ethnic distinction according to Alba and Nee (2009). While other theories also indicated that not all the second generation immigrants will eventually turn into integrating with the mainstream society (Portes & Zhou 1993). Given the US context, the mainstream culture might be attractive to some of the immigrant while to others may not, also when encountering discrimination and prejudice might lead to the assertion of their ethnic identity (Portes & Zhou 1993; Maliepaard & Alba 2016). As for western European countries, the proportion of newly coming immigrants who have a

Muslim background is increasing and which leads to a salient contrast between liberal local cultural and immigrants' conservative religious and ethnic identity, this also make offsprings of immigrant tend to keep and insist on their Islam-based identity (Fleischmann, Phalet & Klein 2011).

Furthermore, how and by what speed the integration happens also rely on characteristics of host societies and differences between ethnic groups (Castles, De Haas & Miller 2013). In term of gender ideology, a core and representative issue of the value and culture, it is not only related to the acculturation of immigrants towards the liberal western society, also should be reflectively considered under the context of the host country as well. In the Sweden context, gender equality is a principle of governmental policies and Sweden has a long history of accelerating gender equality, their achievements have been represented by a various worldwide ranking of gender gap (Bergqvist, Blandy & Sainsbury 2007).

### ***Intergenerational transmission and cultural difference in gender ideology***

Intergenerational transmission refers to parents transfer the trait to their children and it has been considered as a significant process of children and adolescents' attitude formation (Glass, Bengtson & Dunham 1986). Therefore, in terms of attitudes, parents transferring their attitudes or values to their offspring achieve the intergenerational transmission effect of attitudes. Regarding the consideration of our study, gender role attitudes, it has been supported that even various kinds of attitude might not be transmitted from parents to their kids in the same extent, in the domain of gender ideology, it is successfully transmitted between generations, not only within natives (Moen, Erickson &

Dempster-McClain 1997; Bucx, Raaijmakers & van Wel 2010), but also immigrants (Spierings 2015).

Hence, given this correlation between parents and their children's gender role attitudes, adolescents with the immigrant background will be likely to have less liberal gender ideology comparing with the local kids because their parents are socialized in economically less developed countries. This causality is derived from the difference of family values between western and non-western cultures. According to Kağıtçıbaşı (1996), modernizing societies endorse egalitarian forms of interdependence among family cultures and in contrast, families in many non-western societies emphasize more traditional and hierarchical family values. Moreover, religiosity is also a factor that related to one's gender role attitudes. Most religions have regulations or instructions on gender roles and people who are more religious are more likely to be less egalitarian on gender ideology (eg. Brinkerhoff & MacKie 1985). Religiosity is expected to be relatively high among immigrants from the Middle East and Eastern Europe while in most North-West of Europe societies are highly secularized and committed to egalitarian gender role attitudes.

In addition to using religiosity per se explaining immigrant' less egalitarian attitudes on gender, Soehl (2017) indicated that the way that religiosity keeps immigrants away from exposing themselves to the local society and mainstream culture that deeply stop them adopting egalitarian thoughts

### ***Parents' socioeconomic status and integration***

Apart from the first generation immigrants' socialization in their original countries which had generated their more conservative values and attitudes towards gender and a higher level of religiosity, some other socioeconomic factors might also be contributing.

This could be one of the core considerations in this study regarding mechanisms resulting in immigrant adolescents' less egalitarian gender role attitudes. This thought comes from the post-colonial feminists' criticism of the over-simplified perception of immigrant women (Mulinari 2009) and which reminds us in immigrant studies immigrants is considered as not only a group population with basic characteristic that they immigrated to a new country but also a look in detail about their other categories and features that could give them much more influence. Mirroring in this study, even it has been supported in some studies (Glass, Bengtson & Dunham 1986) that parental transmission of gender role attitudes plays the centric role of the native-immigrant gap on gender ideology, the notable thing is the diverse socioeconomic and cultural characteristics within immigrants of various ethnic groups.

Firstly, one's socioeconomic status normally indicates the degree of how egalitarian attitudes one could have. Generally, a lower socioeconomic position leads to more conservative values. For immigrants, many of them obtained a limited education which mostly was completed in the original country and hence have lower status and paid jobs (Van Tubergen 2005). Therefore, according to the intergenerational transmission effect, socioeconomic status in another side explains immigrants' more traditional gender ideology to some degree and it has been transmitted to their offspring. Most previous studies had found the positive relationship of both mothers' (eg. Marks et al. 2009; Davis & Pearce 2007) and fathers' educational level (eg. Marks et al. 2009; Kulik 2002) with children's gender role attitudes, parents with a higher level of education have more egalitarian offspring.

Next, the relation of socioeconomic status and the degree of immigrants' integration is very dynamic and highly correlated (Soehl 2017). On the one hand, highly educated immigrants are more competitive in the labor markets and so that to get well-paid jobs.

These conditions give them a more opened and receptive life and work environment in which they get less discrimination or prejudice and accordingly to have a lower level of hostility and antipathy towards the host society (Wimmer and Soehl 2014). This reduction of conflicts between minority ethnic groups and the natives give immigrants better access and much more will to integrate into the mainstream society (Idema & Phalet 2007). In practice, this advantaged socioeconomic status not only leads to parents' more egalitarian gender role attitudes which could have been transmitted to their offspring directly but also provides the children of immigrants more opportunities to integrate better and therefore have more interactions with the local society. For instance, according to their parents' socioeconomic status, by living in neighborhoods and studying in schools that have more native people immigrant adolescents get more access to interact with natives (Alba, Logan & Crowder 1997). On the other hand, language proficiency is another important indicator of the degree that immigrant integrates into the local society (Birman & Trickett 2001). Well-educated immigrants are more likely to have better language skills which enable them to expose to more host culture or mass media and obtain more related information to live a more convenient life in the country (Ten Teije, Coenders, and Verkuyten 2012). Also according to previous studies, somehow mixed, but there are many works had supported the positive impact of language proficiency on one's gender role attitudes (e.g. Diehl, Koenig, and Ruckdeschel 2009; Idema and Phalet 2007). In the case of this study, rather than using language proficiency which includes various aspects, for example, reading or writing ability of local language, considering this study concentrates on immigrant adolescents' gender role attitudes, as long as they are able to understand and therefore can access to host society's cultural values and attitudes, so only parents' ability of understanding Swedish is used as the variable represents overall language proficiency.

### ***Role model effect of mothers' labor force participation***

If parents' socioeconomic status and integration level are considered to be indirect impact on adolescents' gender ideology formation, since parents' characteristics first facilitate or weaken their own gender egalitarianism then transfer to their children by the intergenerational transmission effect, then parents' behaviors or the way they 'do gender' can be regarded as a direct impact on their children's perception on gender roles.

Intergenerational transmission from parents to children is indicated to work through two ways, role modelling and teaching (Bandura 1977; Glass, Bengtson & Dunham 1986). Role modelling refers to parents affect their kids' attitudes unconsciously by their own behaviours so that the kids cognize their parents' patterns of behaving and turn them into attitudes (Bandura 1977). Direct instructions refer to parents regulate their kids by instructions to make them fit the traditional gender norms (Bandura 1977), sometimes there would also along with sanctions on behaviours that are out of regulations of the kid (Ampofo 2001). As mentioned above that there are abundant studies had shown that there is a strong correlation between parents' and children's gender role attitudes. Normally it has been assumed that parents intend to transmit their attitudes to their offspring because they believe their values and attitudes are beneficial for the children too (Bisin and Verdier, 2001; Escriche, 2007), while there is also emphasis about parents also serve as role models to their children (Moen et al., 1997). In this study, I concern family members' role modelling effect additionally as an important factor that is influential in the children's formation of gender ideology except parents' gender role attitude itself.

Gender has been conceptualized as an ongoing performance, people are considered to 'do gender' through social interactions whereby to meet societies' implicit gendered

instructions (West & Zimmerman 1987). Household work allocation is indicated to be one context to learn gender displays (Berk 1985). Couples allocate housework follow social gender norms. Therefore, within this context, how do the parents interact and assign household work gives their children examples to learn the way they should 'do gender' (West & Zimmerman 1987). And specifically, it has an independent socialization influence on children's gender role attitudes formation since by this they get hints to associate genders and the performance of particular kinds of work (Cunningham 2001). In a family, when the role of housekeeper and breadwinner are distinguished specifically as mother and father's responsibility, children get signals and the exposure in this pattern makes them learning the distinctive social distribution of domestic work between gender roles and leads to their formation of gender role attitudes.

Through parents' unintentional and behavioural influence on children's gender socialization, it is reasonable to concern that parents' behaviour is independent with oral transmission of attitudes and except parents' gender role attitude itself, also consider the importance of parents' gendered practice. Studies showed that parents' gendered housework division can predict their children's traditional behaviour later in their own marriage (Cunningham 2001; Blair 1992). There also have been evidence supported that the modelling of mothers' labor market participation leads to more egalitarian gender role attitudes of their children (Hoffman 1974; Thornton Alwin & Camburn 1983). Related studies had found out that even though on average, women still do more housework than men when they are both employed in a family, both man and women believe that housework and child care should be shared equally (Davis & Greenstain 2009). When mothers use more time on paid work, this certainly will reduce their time spending on domestic work. Therefore, the mother's labor market participation can be an indicator of how egalitarian the gender role pattern it is in a family.

The native-immigrant gap in gender role attitudes could be also interpreted by this mechanism. Since immigrant women mostly are from economically less developed countries they get fewer opportunities to pursue education and it is disadvantaged for them to obtain jobs in the host country. Additionally, a lower educational level is also related to their more traditional gender role attitudes and this makes them ideally may not tend to work (Bolzendahl & Myers 2004; Ingelhart & Norris 2003a). These mentioned reasons result in the lower rate of labor market participation among immigrant women and which accordingly lead to a traditional familial gender role pattern. While in the Swedish context, benefits from their serious of feminist social policies, dual-earner family has become a norm and women have a distinctive high rate of labor market participation (Pfau-Effinger 2012). Thus, it might be questionable that whether that small part of families in which women are not working still has the explanatory power of parents' behavioural influence on their children's gender role attitudes. Regarding this, firstly, immigrant women might have a lower rate of participation in paid work and these families still have a traditional pattern on domestic work division; secondly, only when parents are able to have interactions with their children, which means adolescents need enough time staying with their parents to expose to their behaviors by which forming their own gender role attitudes. When their mother is working which constructs an egalitarian familial environment of gender, the more interactions between parents and children may lead to more egalitarian children. Therefore, I use this factor to try to make parents' role modelling effect more explicit by interacting adolescents' time spending with parents and mothers' labor force participation.

### ***Discussions on the strength of intergenerational transmission effect***

As mentioned above, not all attitudes are effectively transmitted from parents to

children, but gender role attitudes are indicated by studies that receive the influence of intergenerational transmission effect. Therefore, not only should what kinds of parental attitudes can be transmitted has to pay attention on, in the domain of gender role attitudes, the strength of transmission effect among different groups is also notable since some features that affect the strength of intergenerational transmission effect might be different among ethnic groups.

Firstly, most related to explaining native-immigrant gap to some extent, intergenerational relations within families has been suggested to be influential on the strength of gender role attitudes, for example, Kağıtçıbaşı (1996) indicated that authoritarian parenting styles transfer hierarchical values more successfully in the traditional family model. Furthermore, since consistency makes the communication of parental values to children more effectively, value congruent parenting styles give their children an accurate perception of values and this enhances the transmission effect (Idema & Phalet 2007). According to Phalet and Schönplug (2001), traditional family values are transmitted more effectively by parents stressing conformity and obedience. Regarding the native-immigrant gender role attitudes gap, there have been studies suggested that the more authoritarian parenting style in both Arab societies (e.g. Dwairy et al. 2006) and East European countries (e.g. Zhurzhenko 2004).

Another question that may also be ambiguous regarding the transmission effect of parents to adolescents is that whether transmission contributes to the native and immigrant gap in gender role attitudes evenly among different ethnic groups. Some previous studies also had mentioned that the experience of migration might complicate adolescents' gender socialization because of the clashing cultural messages they are receiving (Guveli et al. 2016; Spierings 2015; Way et al. 2014). On the contrary, culture and values come from minority groups might be emphasized within family to keep their

ethnic identity or religious ties (Röder & Mühlau 2014; Diehl, Koenig & Ruckdeschel 2009; Bankston & Zhou 1997) and family ties in countries of immigrants' origin are normally stronger than it in Sweden which might facilitate the effect of intergenerational transmission of values and attitudes (Steinbach 2013).

Additionally, some studies came to a conclusion that mothers are more influential on kids' gender role attitudes (eg. Carlson & Knoester 2011) while Davis and Wills (2010) argued that egalitarian fathers will have more effect on their kids' gender role attitudes and mothers will be no longer influential. Regarding this, the same-sex hypothesis also suggested a greater congruence between same-sex parents and kids because of same-sex modelling while some other studies do not support this or found mixed results (Halimi et al. 2016). Therefore, to control whether fathers and mothers' gender ideology are identically influential, the effect of parents' gender role attitudes is analyzed by interacting with parent-child's sex composition.

### ***Interactions with host society and integration***

The role of school, knowing as a secondary social agent, on shaping adolescents' gender role attitudes has been ignored to some extent in previous studies (Halimi et al. 2016). However, for the adolescent age from 15 to 16 years old in the case of this study, schooling is their main and an important social activity and it's also a significant way of them to be socialized as well. According to related studies (Bohlmark & Myers 2004; Davis 2007; Galambos 2009; Vespa 2009), the role of schooling in shaping adolescents are getting more important as they grow older. For the immigrant kids, school is a significant place and environment where they can exposure to liberal thoughts and values which represent local society's gender ideology. Furthermore, schooling has also been believed

to widen the breadth of one's perspective (Hyman & Wright 1979; Kalmijn & Kraaykamp 2007). Thus, there is a need to look through the specific factors related to schooling that actually are affecting immigrant kids' gender role attitudes.

First of all, for the adolescents with the immigrant background, they get chances to come into contact with local kids at school which makes up their social network and makes them integrate into the local society better to some degree. Peers have been supported to be highly influential on affecting one's gender ideology (Kågesten et al. 2016); there are greater similarities within generations than between them in terms of gender role attitudes which emphasizes peers' influence (Burt and Scott 2002; Kulik 2000). Also, according to the exposure theory (Kroska and Elman 2009), when an immigrant kid has more Swedish friends in their network they are more accessible to the liberal views on gender role and thus becoming liberal themselves. In Europe context, Maliepaard and Alba (2016) had tested this relationship empirically.

In addition to the social integration of immigrant kids, structural integration, in this case of study refers to their degree of integrating into the school system, indicates how much they are embedded into the society structurally and adopt mainstream culture as well (Maliepaard & Lubbers 2013). For adolescents who have the immigrant background, schooling means they inevitably learn values and are educated to perceive the world in a local and liberal way. Therefore, how well they perform and are happy to accept what they learn at school might also represent their attitudes on gender role. Especially in Sweden, schools aim to promote gender equality which is regulated by law (Shutts et al. 2017) and there has been an explicit emphasis on similarities and equal opportunities among two genders from preschool education (Edström 2009). Thus, it is reasonable to assume that schooling might play a more important role in shaping and furthermore liberalizing immigrant kids' gender role attitudes.

Some studies indeed had supported that one's scholastic outcomes could be predicted by its gender role attitudes. Conservative gender ideology indicates lower academic participation (Vella 1994) and achievements which had been explained by the effect of students' sense of school belongings (Huyge, Van Maele & Van Houtte 2015). According to related previous studies, it had been indicated that school belonging has a positive effect on students' academic motivation and their attitudes towards schooling, consequently their school achievements as well (Demagnet & Van Houtte 2012; Wang, Willett & Eccles 2011). Immigrant kids have a lower degree of integration into schools which will directly result in their lower sense of belongings to the school. As a result, when immigrants feel less belong to school it would be harder for them to accept the liberal gender role attitudes they learn during classes or implicitly spread within their peers.

# Data and measurements

## *Data*

This study will use 'The Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in four European Countries (CILS4EU)' data (Kalter et al. 2016) which consists of surveys on children of four northwestern European countries, Germany, England, the Netherlands and Sweden respectively. This survey was designed for the comparative studies on immigrants' offspring in Europe and specifically on the topic of their integration into European society. Out of this research target, CILS4EU data used school-based sampling approach and oversampled schools have a high proportion of immigrant children (CILS4EU 2016). To test the above-mentioned research questions of this paper, here we will use the first wave of Sweden data in CILS4EU. This survey was taken place in the academic year 2010-2011 and the Swedish respondents are 8th-grade students with an average age of 14 years old (CILS4EU 2016). Within the first wave survey of this project, not only had the sampled students finished the questionnaire but they are asked to have one of their parents to do this survey and answer the similarly designed questions as well, although whether it should be done by one's father or mother was not specified (CILS4EU 2016). This feature enables the study to collect the data of both adolescents' own and their parents' gender role attitudes by identical questions and by which to find out the effects of intergenerational transmission which is indicated as an important factor in one's gender ideology construction process. Therefore, only children-parents dyad observations are kept for

further operation. In addition to this, according to Sweden's immigrant history during last decade, in late 1950s and until the year of 1972, most people migrated to Sweden were labor immigrants and were from other Scandinavian countries, especially Finland, and also Eastern European countries, while since 1990s Sweden has received a big number of refugees from the Balkans and entering into 2010s, immigrants flowing into Sweden principally are asylum seekers and also family immigrants (Borevi 2014). Out of the consideration of these ethnic groups have diverse cultural characteristics and also to keep the numbers of observations statistically sufficient, in this research, only local kids and immigrants originally from other Scandinavian, Eastern European and the Middle East countries are kept for further examination, content related to the construction of countries of origin will be illustrated in more detail in the following measurements part of this paper.

## ***Measurements***

### *1. Gender role attitudes*

The dependent variable in this study is the second generation immigrants' gender role attitudes. To measure this, four questions as follows have been selected in the data set and both the adolescents and their parents had been asked identically, 'In a family, who should do the following? Take care of the children, cook, earn money and clean the house.' Three answers to these questions given to be chosen are all same as 'mostly the man', 'mostly the woman', 'both about the same'. To distinguish conservative and modern gender ideology clearly, answers of 'mostly man' and 'both about the same' had been coded as 1, which means modern gender ideology, while on the contrary, answers 'mostly the woman' had been coded as 0 and means conservative gender ideology. Actually, people answered 'mostly man' to these questions should not be considered as having

modern gender ideology in a proper sense but according to previous research's opinion (Kretschmer 2007), at least it is opposite to the traditional value that women should be housekeepers, therefore, rather than excluding this limit number of observations from the research, these answers were added into modern gender ideology group. The final step was to construct a new variable that measures one's gender role attitudes and I did this by summing up all the modern value answers to those four questions given by every respondent. So this variable's values range from 0 to 4. Both adolescents' and their parents' gender role attitudes have been measured in the same way and the internal consistency is acceptable with a Cronbach's  $\alpha$  of 0.77 and 0.74 respectively.

## *2. Country of origin and ethnic groups division*

As the topic and main mission of this study is to discuss the determinants that cause gender role attitudes gap between immigrants and local adolescents in Sweden, and to be more specific, also tries to find out whether there are gaps existing among different ethnic groups as well and its formulation mechanism. Thus, a primary task to do is to make the definition of having an immigrant background clear. Regarding this, according to CILS4EU's classification approach (Dollmann, Jacob and Kalter 2014), respondents who have any of his or her grandparent born out of the survey country, Sweden, are considered as having the so-called immigrant background. Refer to CILS4EU's technical report as well, the further construction of adolescents' country of origin variable from which I divided children who have an immigrant background into different ethnic groups depended firstly on the born countries of their grandparents and if the information is unavailable, then the parents' country of origin information would be taken into consideration. Then, due to above-mentioned Sweden's immigrant history since last century 50s and according to their cultural backgrounds, adolescents who have the immigrant background are coded into 3

groups according to their country of origin, Scandinavia, Eastern Europe and the Middle East, with Swedish adolescents are their counterpart. Concretely, Scandinavia includes children from other Scandinavian countries, Norway, Denmark and Finland which is the second biggest immigrant ethnic group in Sweden; Former Yugoslavian immigrants constitute the biggest immigrant group of Sweden in this dataset and it has been coded as Eastern Europe in this study by considering the composition of the Eastern Europe category in the original generated variable country of origin because of their sharing cultural background. At last, the final group that had been constructed covers Middle East countries and it includes immigrants originally from Iraq, Turkey, Somalia, Syria and Iran.

### *3. Ethnic composition of adolescents' social network*

The social network of youngsters who have the immigrant background is considered to be the first thing to measure when comes to the degree they integrate with the mainstream society. For example, how many friends do they have are Swedish and how often do they spend time with Swedish kids. The term measured their social networks in this data set CILS4EU is the question asked 'How many of your friends have a Swedish background?' and with a five-point scale captured from 'none of very few 1' to 'almost all or all 5'. Thus, the larger the number refers to the more friends in their social networks are the local kids and they get better integration. The proportion of Swedish friends their parents have is also operationalized in the same fashion.

### *4. School performance*

The school performance of students is another factor that represents how well immigrant children integrated with local kids. Regarding this variable, question that grades adolescents had received last year in the Sweden part of this data set is not available, I

used their self-evaluation on their performance of three main subjects, by question asking *'How well are you doing in the following subjects, Math, English and Swedish?'* to measure and define it as school performance variable. The further operation is to add up the scores they evaluated themselves on three subjects that range from '1 not well at all' to '5 very well' identically. Therefore, values in the variable 'school performance' are from 3 to 15.

### *5. Religiosity*

Factors that have the effect to pull adolescents into the culture of their original country are mostly from the interaction with their family and people from their ethnic groups. The well-noted factor that has been believed to highly contribute to immigrants' relative traditional gender role attitudes is their religiosity. In this study, both adolescent themselves and their parents' religiosity were measured by an identical manner. They had been asked the same question that *'How important is religion to you?'* with the given 4-point scale answers range from '1 not at all important' to '5 very important'. While in this study, adolescents' religiosity is not included into regression models since its' collinearity with their parents' religiosity because of its intergenerational transmission mentioned above.

### *6. Time spend with parents*

To measure parents' behavioral influence on their offspring's gender role attitudes formation more accurate, as mentioned in the theoretical background part, I tend to use an interaction item of mothers' labor force participation and the time adolescents spending with their parents for the reason that in Scandinavian countries, dual workers family has become as a social gender role norm and familial pattern and even immigrant women are less likely to have a job this gap still is insufficient to illustrate parents' role modeling effect.

Therefore, the variable the time adolescent spending with their parents is included in this study. The variable is generated by the questions asked of the respondent 'how often do you usually see your father or mother?'. Both two answers range from 'never 1 to every day 5' and the time spending with parents variable is the summation of two answers and thus range from 2 to 10.

### *7. Parents' characteristics*

In addition to adolescents' personal factors, characteristics of their parents are generated and analyzed as follows. The most direct effect on youngsters' gender role attitudes is how their parents perceive gender. Same with the dependent variable, as above-mentioned numbers of liberal answer on related 4 questions of their kids, parents' gender role attitudes were captured identically.

In other domains, this study has concerned about parents' educational level which represents their socioeconomic status, their language proficiency by the variable that captured their ability of understanding Swedish and at last, their mothers' labor market participation situation at the time of this survey. Their **educational level** was captured by following answers to the question asked their highest educational achievements, '1 having no school leaving certificate', '2 degree below upper secondary school', '3 degree from upper secondary school' and '4 university degree'; regarding **language proficiency**, only the ability of understanding Swedish is concerned in this study for as long as they can understand the local language, even cannot speak or read well, they are able to access the liberal values spread in the society by the mass media or other sources, this variable was generated by a question asked how well do you think you can understand Swedish, the answers are from '1 well' to '4 excellently'; the dataset also provides the variable that shows whether respondents' mother currently have a job which was used as a dummy

representing **mothers' labor force participation** in the study.

To test the strength of intergenerational transmission effect, which might have led to the native-immigrant gap on gender role attitudes to some degree, another factor that has to be considered here and included in the model as an independent variable is whether parents perceive that obeying to what they say is one of their children's desirable qualities, in other words, **the authoritarianism of parents**. By asking parents choosing three desirable qualities of their children and among given options, the variable is generated by whether obeying their parents has been ticked.

#### *8. Control variables*

First of all, both adolescents and their parents' age are controlled. Regarding this, only values that adolescents age 14 and 15 are kept, few outliers had been dropped. Same with parents' age, few other observations that are either 16 to 17 or over 80 years old are considered not appropriate to put into the models. Furthermore, many studies had indicated the more egalitarian gender role attitudes of female respondents (eg. Carlson & Knoester 2011; Davis & Wills 2010; Marks, Bun & McHale 2009) so in all models, the parents and kids' sex are controlled.

## Methods

This study uses Multiple Linear Regression to analyse the intergenerational transmission effect on the native-immigrant gap on gender role attitudes and try to find out influential factors of the formation of adolescents' gender ideology in the Swedish context.

# Results

Firstly, Table 1 shows the result of descriptive statistics. The notable thing is that totally, youngsters in Sweden are very egalitarian on average. Not surprisingly, except adolescents originally from Scandinavia, immigrant groups have lower level of egalitarian gender attitudes, also smaller composition of Swedish kids in their network and are more religious. In the domain of the social network, even kids with another Scandinavian countries' background significantly have fewer local friends. In the case of immigrant parents, as expected, all groups have a lower level of education and except Scandinavian immigrants, some of the other immigrants have a problem perfectly understanding Swedish. Comparing with the high rate of labor force participation of Swedish women and also immigrant women from other Scandinavian countries, over 90%, immigrant women from Eastern Europe and the Middle East are relatively less likely to have a job with a rate of 87.6% and 72.0% respectively. In the domain of parenting style, parents originally from Eastern Europe are slightly more likely to be authoritarian than Swedish and Scandinavian parents while over 40% parents who were from the Middle East think their children should obey them.

For a more visual look of the difference in gender role attitudes of each group, Figure 1 shows both adolescents themselves and their parents' gender role attitudes by ethnic groups. As illustrated in the measurement part, Y axes mean how many egalitarian answers the respondent answered by which representing their gender role attitudes. It is very clear that the second generation of immigrants who originally from Eastern Europe and the Middle East are relatively much more conservative than the local kids and who

from Scandinavia and adolescents from Eastern Europe are a little bit more egalitarian than adolescents from the Middle East. In addition to this, kids from other Scandinavian countries are even more egalitarian on average. Their parents share the same pattern but there is a bigger gap between parents and kids from Eastern Europe compared with other parent-adolescent pairs. What is deviant from previous studies and assimilation theories is that the second generation of immigrants sharing a more conservative gender role attitudes than their parents. Regarding this, we may guess that by growing up and obtaining more years of education, youngsters' gender ideology might be more liberalize since their socialization is not fully completed and gender role attitude is indicated to rely more on individual experiences after growing older (Vespa 2009; Bolzendahl & Myers 2004).

**Table 1. Descriptive statistics: Mean (SD) /Proportion**

Variable	Country of origin						Max	Min
	Total	Swedish	Scandinavia	Eastern Europe	Middle East			
<i>Adolescents Characteristics</i>								
Gender Role Attitudes	3.331 <i>1.137</i>	3.412 <i>1.079</i>	3.486 <i>1.037</i>	2.958*** <i>1.316</i>	2.738*** <i>1.334</i>	4	0	
Local Friends	4.132 <i>0.962</i>	4.357 <i>0.752</i>	4.097*** <i>0.913</i>	3.428*** <i>1.148</i>	2.915*** <i>1.208</i>	5	1	
School performance	12.050 <i>1.883</i>	12.020 <i>1.837</i>	11.960 <i>2.063</i>	12.280 <i>1.731</i>	12.270 <i>2.049</i>	15	3	
Religiosity	1.890 <i>0.968</i>	1.717 <i>0.820</i>	1.699 <i>0.889</i>	2.610*** <i>1.048</i>	3.025*** <i>1.107</i>	4	1	
Time spend with parents	9.326 <i>1.248</i>	9.329 <i>1.244</i>	9.316 <i>1.181</i>	9.177 <i>1.418</i>	9.481 <i>1.197</i>	10	2	
<i>Parents Characteristics</i>								
Gender Role Attitudes	3.747 <i>0.732</i>	3.860 <i>0.553</i>	3.795 <i>0.645</i>	3.520*** <i>0.929</i>	2.915*** <i>1.250</i>	4	0	
Educational Level	3.377 <i>0.614</i>	3.411 <i>0.594</i>	3.340* <i>0.645</i>	3.291** <i>0.562</i>	3.248*** <i>0.743</i>	4	1	
Ability of understanding Swedish	4.828 <i>0.498</i>	4.947 <i>0.260</i>	4.945 <i>0.235</i>	4.466*** <i>0.780</i>	4.000*** <i>0.916</i>	5	1	
Mother's labor market participation	0.915	0.938	0.932	0.876***	0.720***	1	0	

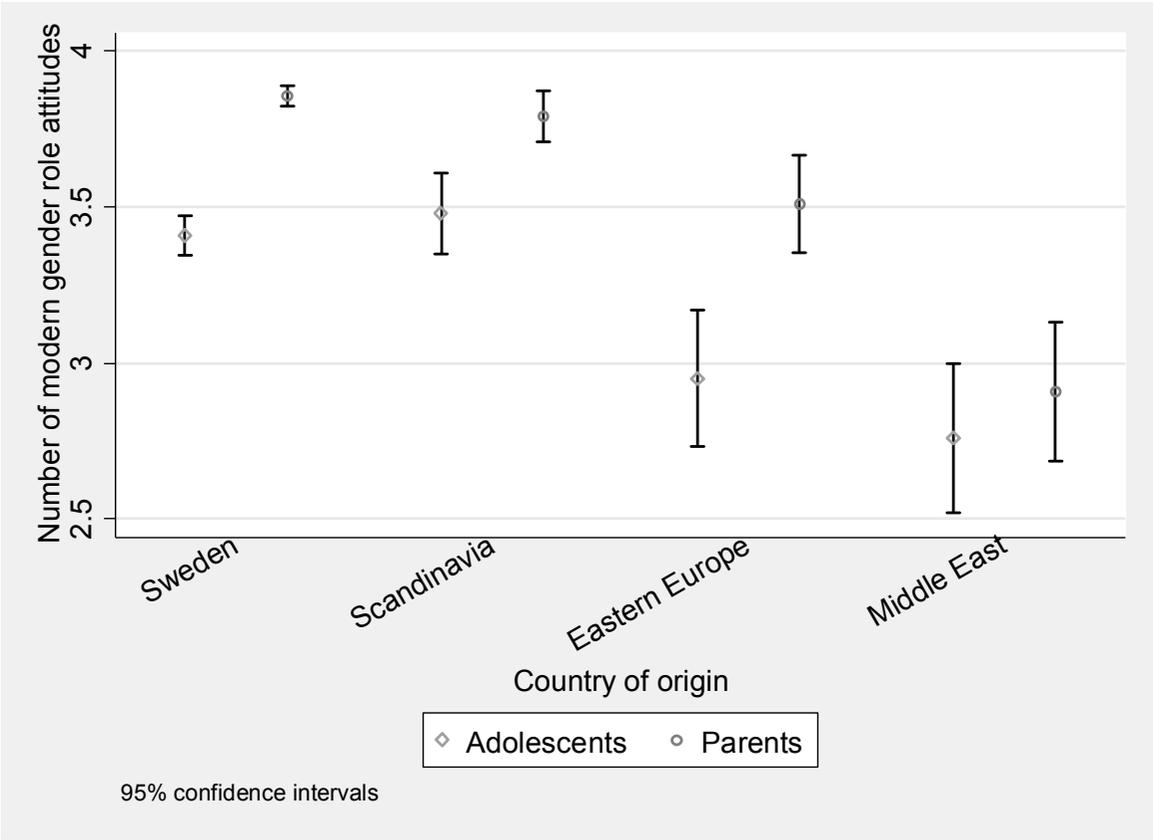
Authoritarian parents	0.128	0.0912	0.101	0.188***	0.416***	1	0
<i>Control Variables</i>							
Age	15.020	15.020	15.010	15.010	15.080***	16	15
	<i>0.145</i>	<i>0.131</i>	<i>0.108</i>	<i>0.115</i>	<i>0.273</i>		
Parents age	46.950	47.070	47.300	45.620***	46.780	69	33
	<i>5.352</i>	<i>5.072</i>	<i>5.355</i>	<i>5.806</i>	<i>6.772</i>		
Boy vs Girl	0.503	0.499	0.525	0.510	0.489	1	0
Mother vs Father	0.801	0.817	0.813	0.760	0.689***	1	0

*Note:* \*, \*\* or \*\*\* indicates significantly difference with the Swedish group at 10%, 5% and 1% respectively.

The regression model displayed in Table 2 shows the progress of finding out factors, especially the underlying mechanisms emphasized in this study, parents' characteristics and behavioural influence, driving this native-immigrant adolescents' gender role attitudes gap. Model 1 in Table 2 shows the same results with descriptive statistics in Table 1, which is about immigrant kids are less egalitarian than natives and kids have a Scandinavia background without considering other potentially influential factors. Kids who have ancestors from other Scandinavian countries even answers more questions with liberal views even this turns out non-significant statistically. Comparing with native youngsters, adolescents originally from Eastern Europe and the Middle East significantly ( $p < 0.01$ ) had 0.46 and 0.67 fewer egalitarian answers respectively, under the premise that holding sex and age variables constant.

For testing whether integration can promote acculturation, in this study this refers to gender role attitudes, in Model 2, variable captures the ethnic composition of immigrant adolescents' network and adolescents' school performance were included. The regression results show that, compared with Model 1, gender role attitude gap between natives and immigrants from Eastern Europe and the Middle East shrink to 0.39 and 0.60 egalitarian answers. In addition, this model supported more native friends in their social network, which means a better social integration, have a positive and significant ( $p < 0.05$ ) effect on their gender role attitudes, even this effect is not very influential that one unit higher level of native friend proportion only earn them 0.07 egalitarian answers. School performance

also turns out to have a positive influence ( $p < 0.01$ ), even it seems weak, that one unit higher of school performance only produces 0.06 more egalitarian answer of questions, when considering the range of this variable, from 3 to 15, it would be a sizable effect on gender role attitudes of adolescents, for instance, someone perceive itself doing ok on all three subjects is 6 unit lower than a student feel he or she doing very well every subject, then there predicted difference on gender role attitudes would be 0.36 egalitarian answer to those questions.



**Figure 1. Gender role attitudes by generation and ethnic group**

As one of the personal characteristics, religiosity was not included in the same model with integration factors for the reason that it is acquired from their culture and influenced by their ethnic group. As a result, model 3 tested the effect of religiosity on one’s gender role attitudes and whether it contributes to the native-immigrant gap. According to the

regression results showed in Table 2, the more adolescents are religious, significantly the more traditional gender role attitudes they would have. With one unit more religious, on average and with other variables constant, adolescents answer 0.08 more traditional answers. Additionally, by including this factor, the native-immigrant gap between native and immigrants from Eastern Europe and the Middle East decreased from 0.39 and 0.60 to 0.32 and 0.49 respectively.

In model 4, it starts to consider family factors. In this model, the first thing related had been included is parents' gender role attitudes. As expected, how do parents' perceive gender roles highly related to their offspring's attitudes on this topic? Parents answer one more questions with egalitarian answer, the adolescents will accordingly have 0.27 more egalitarian answer. What is notable in Model 4 is that the difference with natives on gender role attitudes of adolescents from both Eastern Europe and the Middle East had a relative big decrease which is 0.08 and 0.24 respectively with these two group give 0.24 and 0.25 conservative answers than native adolescents. This means parents' gender role attitudes truly explains the native-immigrant adolescent gap on gender ideology and contributes to the explanation. Moreover, after considering this intergenerational transmission effect, religiosity is less influential on one's gender role attitudes.

**Table 2. Regression of gender role attitudes by country of origin**

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
<i>Country of origin (Ref.: Sweden)</i>							
Scandinavia	0.059 <i>0.076</i>	0.085 <i>0.077</i>	0.100 <i>0.078</i>	0.123 <i>0.077</i>	0.121 <i>0.078</i>	0.117 <i>0.078</i>	0.125 <i>-0.078</i>
Eastern Europe	-0.456*** <i>0.096</i>	-0.387*** <i>0.107</i>	-0.320*** <i>0.110</i>	-0.236** <i>0.111</i>	-0.155 <i>0.116</i>	-0.151 <i>0.116</i>	-0.134 <i>-0.116</i>
Middle East	-0.673*** <i>0.103</i>	-0.596*** <i>0.118</i>	-0.491*** <i>0.125</i>	-0.254* <i>0.130</i>	-0.121 <i>0.142</i>	-0.084 <i>0.143</i>	-0.064 <i>-0.144</i>
<i>Adolescent characteristics</i>							
Local friends		0.066** <i>0.032</i>	0.063* <i>0.032</i>	0.063* <i>0.032</i>	0.058* <i>0.032</i>	0.049 <i>0.033</i>	0.048 <i>-0.033</i>

School performance	0.061***	0.061***	0.060***	0.059***	0.052***	0.053***
	<i>0.015</i>	<i>0.015</i>	<i>0.015</i>	<i>0.015</i>	<i>0.015</i>	<i>-0.015</i>
Religiosity		-0.0808**	-0.0603*	-0.050	-0.0537*	-0.0592*
		<i>0.032</i>	<i>0.032</i>	<i>0.032</i>	<i>0.032</i>	<i>-0.032</i>
<i>Parent characteristics</i>						
Gender role attitudes			0.266***	0.238***	0.232***	0.236***
			<i>0.041</i>	<i>0.042</i>	<i>0.042</i>	<i>-0.042</i>
Educational level				0.102**	0.104**	0.105**
				<i>0.048</i>	<i>0.048</i>	<i>-0.048</i>
Ability of understanding Swedish				0.197***	0.178**	0.168**
				<i>0.073</i>	<i>0.074</i>	<i>-0.074</i>
Mother's labor market participation					0.314***	-1.056*
					<i>0.106</i>	<i>0.594</i>
Time spend with parents						
× Mothers' labor market participation						-0.139**
(Ref.: Mother does not have a job)						<i>-0.0611</i>
× Mother works currently						0.156**
						<i>0.0663</i>
<i>Controls</i>						
Girls	0.544***	0.552***	0.566***	0.567***	0.569***	0.568***
	<i>0.054</i>	<i>0.055</i>	<i>0.056</i>	<i>0.056</i>	<i>0.056</i>	<i>0.056</i>
Female				-0.069	-0.068	-0.089
				<i>0.072</i>	<i>0.073</i>	<i>0.073</i>
Age	-0.057	-0.013	-0.055	-0.029	0.034	0.039
	<i>0.195</i>	<i>0.209</i>	<i>0.212</i>	<i>0.210</i>	<i>0.228</i>	<i>0.226</i>
Parents' age				-0.001	-0.003	-0.002
				<i>0.005</i>	<i>0.006</i>	<i>0.006</i>
Constant	3.995	2.291	3.067	1.707	-0.313	-0.503
	<i>2.937</i>	<i>3.168</i>	<i>3.212</i>	<i>3.188</i>	<i>3.494</i>	<i>3.475</i>
Observations	1,629	1,541	1,516	1,499	1,455	1,432
R-squared	0.094	0.104	0.110	0.130	0.142	0.144

Note: Standard errors in parentheses

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

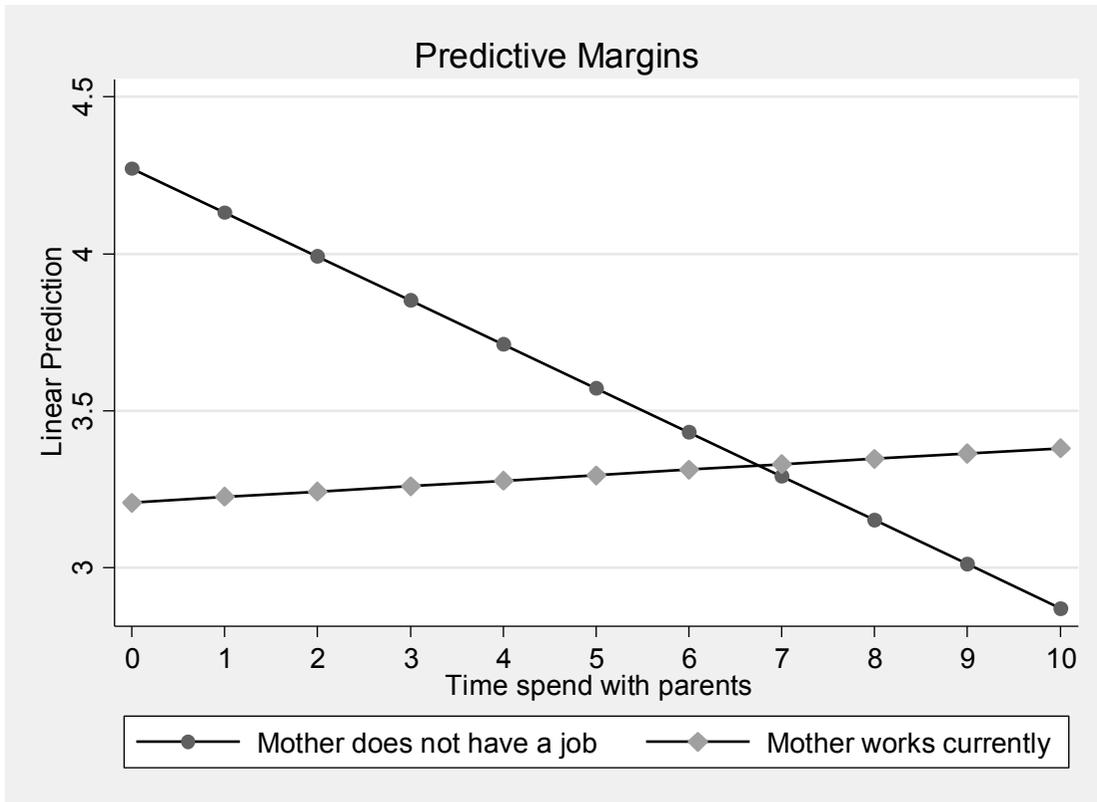
Next, model 5 added in parents' socioeconomic characteristics, education and the degree they integrate into the local society which is measuring by variable the ability of understanding Swedish. Both their education background and the ability of understanding

Swedish contribute to their offspring's gender role attitudes. One unit of education they acquired more significantly leads to 0.10 more egalitarian answers the adolescents would give, for example, comparing parents have university degrees and upper secondary school degrees ( $p < 0.05$ ). In addition, every one unit better ability of understanding Swedish leads to 0.2 more egalitarian answers given by the adolescents with other factors at an average level ( $p < 0.01$ ). This can be considered as a powerful explanation for both parents and children's integration when the parent can hardly understand Swedish the family would be stuck in their ethnic community and have less access to have interaction with the mainstream society or this even result in the less socioeconomic achievements. As a result, their kids not only first may have a hardship with Swedish but also have worse conditions to integrate as well. In this model, after including socioeconomic characteristic variable, the gender role attitude gaps of native with immigrant youngsters from Eastern Europe and the Middle East both had shrunk to different degrees. First, the difference immigrant adolescent from both Eastern Europe and the Middle East have with natives on gender role attitudes are no longer significant in Model 5 and the coefficients also had shrunk to -1.56 and -1.21 respectively. These results mean that after controlling socioeconomic characteristics, these adolescents should have been the same egalitarian with local people. Second, the effect of social integration, ethnic composition, became less significant in Model 6 ( $p < 0.1$ ) and have a relatively very weak influence on one's gender role attitudes. Furthermore, the effect of religiosity on one's gender role attitudes is no longer significant either. By this result, we can assume that even religiosity has been considered as an important factor which is related to more traditional gender ideology, it might to some degree is constructed by one's family environment and socioeconomic status and should be understood under the particular context. But in the domain of school performance, both coefficient and significance have been rather stable which supports its

important effect on shaping adolescents' gender ideology. Parents' gender role attitudes are still influential on their offspring's with a 0.3 decrease coefficient, but same significance as well.

In the next model, Model 6 tested parents' behavioural influential on their offspring's gender role attitudes formation by additionally adding mother's labor force participation variable. Results in this model show that adolescents whose mothers are working currently gave 0.31 egalitarian answers more than adolescents whose mothers are not and this is significant ( $p < 0.01$ ). The native-immigrant gap on gender role attitudes stay insignificant as before but the coefficient of adolescent originally from the Middle East shrink to -0.08 and this could be explained by their low female labor force participation rate.

The last model was used to retesting the results in Model 6. As mentioned in the theoretical background, women's labor force participation rate is rather high and dual workers family pattern has become a social norm. Therefore, whether the mother is working really contribute to more egalitarian kids is questionable. To fix this problem, in Model 7, I added a new variable which captured the time adolescents spending with their parents and interacts it with whether adolescent's mother was working variable. To give a better understanding of parents' behavioural influence, Figure 2 represents the results of Model 7 visually. There exist a big gap and contract tendencies of gender role attitudes between adolescent whose mother was working or did not have a job. When their mothers work, with the increase of the time adolescents spending with their parents, their gender role attitudes becoming egalitarian significantly and on the contrary, when their mothers do not work, they tend to have more traditional attitudes. This reinforces the assumption that parents' behavioural influence on adolescents' formation of gender role attitudes.



**Figure 2. Predicted gender role attitudes change by mothers' labor market participation**

Among control variables, one mentionable thing is that mothers have no difference on gender role attitudes with their counterpart fathers but among adolescents, girls are much more egalitarian than boys with controlling related influential factors. This gap existed between two sexes keep consistent in models and this result is partly in line with previous studies that suggest female respondents are more egalitarian on gender roles (eg. Carlson & Knoester 2011; Davis & Wills 2010; Marks, Bun & McHale 2009).

At last, three factors that according to previous literature might vary the strength of intergenerational transmission effect on gender role attitudes had been tested based on model 1. First, for testing intergenerational transmission effect works identically in each ethnic group, an interaction term of parents' gender role attitude and the country of origin

base had been added into Model 1. The regression result shows there is no significant difference in the strength of intergenerational transmission effect between immigrants from any of the ethnic groups and natives. Even this effect is more influential between parents and adolescents from Eastern Europe and weaker in families from the Middle East but neither of these relations was statistically significant. Secondly, since some studies suggested the authoritarian parenting style may lead to a more effective traditional attitudes transmission from parents to children (Kağıtçıbaşı 1996), I used the interaction item of parents' gender role attitudes and whether parent perceives their children should obey them to test this effect. Based on Model 1, this new model showed neither parents' authoritarianism would enforce the transmission effect nor itself makes adolescents more traditional. Finally, to further investigate whether the intergeneration transmission effect is the same in every parent-child sex pairs, an interaction term of sex-dyad and parents' gender role attitudes has also been included based on Model 1. To be specific, as interpretation mentioned before, the same-sex hypothesis indicated that there is a greater congruence between same-sex parents and children and other studies also mentioned mothers may be more influential on kids' gender role attitudes (e.g. Carlson and Knoester 2011) but results in studies are mixed. According to the regression result, turns out that comparing with the reference group, parents' gender role attitudes interacting with mother-daughter dyad, there is no significant difference found eventually. In conclusion, all the potential factors that may lead to the heterogeneity of intergenerational transmission effect had passed the robust test.

## Conclusion and discussion

This study tries to find out how intergenerational transmission effect of gender role attitudes work between parents and adolescents and its influence on the native-immigrant gap of the second generation of immigrants in the Swedish context. Regarding this topic, among factors related to immigrants' acculturation, intergenerational transmission effect has been suggested as playing the centric role among previous studies. But there is few of them had interpreted the underlying mechanisms or given a contextual explanation of this native-immigrant gap. In this study, I first considered socioeconomic background and integration's effect on parents' gender role attitudes which is transmitted to their children. Then I tried to use parents' behavioural influence to explain the formation of adolescents' gender ideology.

First of all, immigrant adolescents originally from Eastern Europe and the Middle East are as expected less egalitarian than native and Scandinavian counterparts. The degree of adolescent' integration, measured by their ethnic composition of the network in this study, first seems positively influence immigrants gender role attitudes but after controlling their familial characteristics the effect has disappeared. Religiosity shares the same pattern. Its' impact remains at last but is relatively weak. School performance is rather influential on one's gender role attitudes but seemingly is not contributing to the native-immigrant gap.

In addition to these personal characteristics, this study's purpose is to emphasize the importance of the family environment and contextual conditions that adolescents are having. Since parents' gender role attitudes had been stressed to be significant in shaping their children's and this is used for interpreting immigrant adolescents' more traditional

gender role attitudes. How or by what mechanisms parents' less egalitarian gender role attitudes are formed has been asked in this study. This question reconsidered the intergenerational transmission effect in immigrant families by leaving the attitude itself but contexts that parents provided to their children and constructed by their immigrant background. On the one hand, this study suggested that parents' lower socioeconomic status and degree of integration leads to their children's more traditional attitudes. The lower educational level is closely related with their parents' own traditional attitudes and it also interacts with their integration degree, refers to language proficiency in this study, obstructing their economic chances and the interaction with natives. Therefore, the conservative ideology is from two ways. On the other hand, due to immigrants' more traditional gender role attitudes, they not only have less economic chances but women are not as likely as natives to tend to work. The results of this study show immigrants have a lower female labor force participation rate comparing to the natives and this contributes to their children's more conservative gender role attitudes because of parents' gendered role modelling. By this, this study supported parents' behavioural influence on their children's gender role attitudes formation.

There are also some limitations in this study have to be mentioned. First of all, both the Swedish context and other Scandinavian societies have a high level of egalitarian social atmosphere in the domain of gender. Women, therefore, participate in the labor market as almost men do and only a small part of Swedish and Scandinavian immigrant families are not dual workers family. Under this context, most of the immigrant women from Eastern Europe and the Middle East also have a job and which means the comparison between natives and immigrants of their labor market participation on the children's gender role attitudes formation is less effectual. In addition to this, solely distinguish their mothers' working status by having a job or not is not sufficient enough since abundant research has

indicated that women with children are more likely to work part-time to undertake more unpaid work. Moreover, how the household work is allocated is not always related to whether women are working or not. Most women spend more time on unpaid work and housework division is suggested to be highly gendered, for instance, women do more cooking and childrearing. Nonetheless, due to the data limitations, specifications on the working status and housework divisions were not available. The clearer picture of mechanisms and causality of this topic needs further empirical tests by using advanced panel data and precise statistic methods or appropriate qualitative research designs. Combining mixed methods and more detailed contextual information may give a better and more complete insight on this topic.

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