Integrating the Second Generation: Gender and Family Attitudes in Early Adulthood in Sweden

Eva Bernhardt, Stockholm University, Sweden
Frances Goldscheider, Brown University, USA
Calvin Goldscheider, Brown University, USA

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 21st 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 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. However, the family attitudes of both groups of young women and men of non-Swedish origins appear to be approaching Swedish-origin young adults, particularly relative to the family patterns in their parents' home communities. The extent to which this is true, however, depends differentially on the community and family contexts in which they grew up.

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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 because 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 by new expectations encountered at work, in school and at home. Several major research reviews have highlighted the importance of studying family relationships and the critical role of the gender relationships that characterize immigrants, 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 differ 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 also 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 (Rumbaut and Portes 2001). 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 gender and ethnic 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, via increased education or residential integration? Do differences in family structure affect 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 21st century because Sweden has experienced rapid increases in immigration over the last decades of the 20th century, as have many other European countries. As a result, a new generation of

Swedish-born children of recent immigrants is beginning the transition into adulthood in the 21st 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 percent of the population to nearly 12 percent between 1970 and 1999, so that almost one in nine persons living in Sweden at the end of the 20th century was foreign born.

(Insert Table 1 about here)

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, nearly 40 percent of the foreign born were from non-European countries, almost 380,000 persons. Among the foreign born in 1999 from the non-Nordic European 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 such "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. Most importantly, we expect increased tensions between the generations as the immigrants' native-born children struggle to shape their own family lives in the transition to adulthood.

What happens to the family patterns 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 increase 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 Poland and Turkey) and gender relationships (commitments between men and women);

- Attitudes towards out-partnering is a 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 21st 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 percent. The second-generation of Polish or Turkish origins was a sample of about 500 respondents. The response rate for those of Polish background was 59.5 percent; for those with Turkish background the response rate was 48.9 percent. 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 and various socioeconomic characteristics. Therefore, a

fairly large number of attitudinal questions were included in the survey. As outcome variables, we analyze three: 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. For the analysis of the determinants of holding restrictive attitudes towards cohabitation, we combined categories 2-4.

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 determinants 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. For the analysis of determinants of holding restrictive attitudes towards out-partnering, we combined the answers to these questions to distinguish those who reported approval by their parents and lack of concern for themselves from those who foresaw difficulties from either source.

Predictor variables. The principal concern of this paper is to assess the impact of indicators of exposure to both Swedish and the origin cultures on these attitudes. We consider two indicators of exposure in the community, educational level and community ethnic concentration. We also consider three family-level measures that might weaken commitment to the values of the origin community: employed mothers, disrupted childhood family structures, and out-married parents. Descriptive statistics on these measures, together with the control variables, are presented in Table 2 for the total population in each group, as well as the population with no coresident partner among the second generation, who were the only ones asked about their attitudes towards out-partnering.

(Insert Table 2 about here)

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 studying or reported more than eight years of study after age 16.

The other measure of exposure is ethnic residential concentration. The respondents with 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 concentration and "mainly Swedish" indicating a low level of concentration.

Information on maternal employment, parental out-marriage, and childhood family structure were measured with direct questions on these dimensions. Mother's employment while they were growing up was divided into those who worked full time, part time, and did not work; childhood

family structure was indicated by whether they grew up with their two biological parents or not. Parental out-marriage was only measured for those of Polish and Turkish origins; all those of Swedish origins 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 on one of Sweden's metropolitan areas (Stockholm, Gothenberg, or Malmo).

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[1]

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 than men among those of Swedish origin and less approving than men 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 (89% vs. 82%).

[1] For further analyses of this question, see Bernhardt and F. Goldscheider (2006a).

(Insert Table 3 about here)

The stark contrast is among those of Turkish origins. Only about half accept the idea of cohabitation even if there were children compared to the 85% who approve among of those of Polish and Swedish origins, and nearly one-fifth of those of Turkish origin totally reject cohabitation under any circumstances. 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 origin are clearly becoming more like the other young adults in Sweden who hold positive attitudes toward cohabitation.

Attitudes towards work-family balance[2]

One of the most dramatic changes in family patterns is the increase in mothers' work outside the home. Early parenthood 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, in which 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 and hence are another dimension of the social integration of immigrants and their children in Swedish society.

Very few of the young adults of any origin express fully traditional attitudes about work family balance, in which fathers work and mothers stay home—less than 10 percent in most of these

gender/origin groups. Further, substantial majorities endorse the fully egalitarian option, in which both work full time and share responsibilities in the household—70 percent or more in most cases. Although young men in each group are more likely to reply that a traditional or semi-traditional work-family balance is ideal, the gender differences are relatively small among those of Polish origin: young men and young women differ little in their work-family balance attitudes (Table 4). 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 is almost as characteristic for those of Swedish origin. However, differences between young men and young women are enormous 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, while fully one fourth of the young men of Turkish origin report they think this pattern is ideal for mothers.

(Insert Table 4 about here)

Viewed from a larger perspective, it is 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 and 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 norms conflict with their parents' family-work experiences and norms.

Attitudes towards out-partnering[3]

[2] For more detailed analyses, see Bernhardt and F. Goldscheider (2006b).
[3] See also C. Goldscheider (2006)

Disapproval of out-partnering is a powerful force maintaining ethnic distinctiveness. The attitudinal question was not asked of the Swedish-origin 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, who are somewhat ethnically less engaged than those who are already married.

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 5), likely because a large majority (80%) are from families where their parents have already out-partnered (60% with someone of Swedish origin and 20% with 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.

(Insert Table 5 about here)

WHAT SHAPES FAMILY ATTITUDES IN YOUNG ADULTHOOD?

Up to this point we have considered attitudes towards cohabitation, work-family balance, and out-partnering among young Swedish-born adults differentiated by ethnic origin (Swedish, Polish, and Turkish) and separately for men and women. We now turn to other sources of differentiation: 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 higher levels of ethnic concentration have different family patterns in the transition to adulthood? If so, are some factors more potent than others? We use multivariate regression techniques (logistic regression) to address these issues (Table 6).

(Insert Table 6 about here)

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 results are not always significant, however, although they are generally in the expected directions, likely reflecting the very small samples. 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. However, it strongly reduces traditional attitudes towards the work-family balance in all three.

Neighborhood ethnic concentration, in contrast, while it increases traditionalism on all measures, 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. 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, non-intact childhood family structures, 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 all three groups, 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, however, on attitudes towards out-partnering among those of Polish or Swedish 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 appropriate 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 of approval of out-partnering. Having inter-ethnically partnered parents also encourages non-traditional views of the other two attitudes among those of Turkish origins.

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 more residentially more concentrated communities. Similarly, having an employed mother, a non-intact childhood family structure, or inter-partnered parents increase the odds young adults will express less traditional attitudes.

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. The transition from immigrant group to an ethnic distinctive population is not complete for either the native-born Swedes of Polish or of Turkish origin. But 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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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	

Table 2. Means for Swedish, Polish and Turkish origin

	Swedish Origin	Polish Origin		Turkish Origin	
Independent variables	All	All	No coresidential partner	All	No coresidential partner
Education *(1-10)*	5,42	5,61	5,86	4,50	5,01
Non-intact family background *(0, 1)*	0,22	0,35	0,37	0,19	0,21
Age *(22, 26)*	23,98	23,77	23,53	23,24	22,79
Metro (while R growing up) *(0, 1)*	0,22	0,53	0,54	0,67	0,64
Gender *(1=male, 2=female)*	1,54	1,53	1,49	1,58	1,57
Actual union type					
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
Economic condition *(0-2)*	1,10	1,04	1,06	1,02	0,93
Mother worked while R growing up *(1-3)*	2,07	2,26	2,21	2,12	2,12
Mother worked while R growing up					
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
Neighborhood ethnicity *(0-2)*	na	0,17	0,19	0,55	0,53
Parental intermarriage *(0-1)*	na	0,81	0,80	0,37	0,37
Number of respondents	1536	318	181	209	121

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

	Swedish		Polish		Turkish	
Restrictions	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
It's never OK	8,5	5,3	4,1	7,6	17,8	19,0
OK for a short time before marriage	1,5	2,1	2,0	3,5	14,3	15,5
OK if there are no children	4,8	3,3	8,1	6,4	16,7	19,8
OK even if there are children	85,2	89,3	85,8	82,5	51,2	45,7
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 4. Ideal Work Division among Couples with Small Children by Sex and Origin

	Swedish		Polish		Turkish	
Work division	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

Table 5. Attitudes toward Endogamy among Young Adults by Origin and Sex

	Young adults[1]		Parents[2]	
Out-partnering attitudes	Polish	Turkish	Polish	Turkish
Men				
Very important/Not at all	2,0	22,8	0,0	5,0
Rather important/doubtful	6,0	17,5	1,9	36,7
Not at all important/Yes	92,0	59,7	98,1	58,3
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
N	100	57	106	60
Women				
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?

Table 6. Determinants of Family Attitudes for Young Adults of Swedish, Polish, and Turkish Origins (odds ratios)

	Restrictive attitudes towards cohabitation						Traditional work-family balance						Restrictive attitudes towards out-partnereering	
	Swedish		Polish		Turkish		Swedish		Polish		Turkish		Polish	
Factors affecting family attitudes	Relative risk	P	Relative risk	P	Relative risk	P	Relative risk	P	Relative risk	P	Relative risk	P	Relative risk	P
Education *(10 category variable)*	1.059		1,089		0,987		0.907	**	0.812	*	0.916		1,043	
Neighborhood ethnicity	na		1,997	*	1,332		na		1,329		1.026		1,295	^
Mother worked while R growing up														
Part-time	0.652	*	0,467	^	0,595		0.523	**	0.638		0.258	**	0,870	
Full time	0.835		0,787		1,372		0.385	**	0.327	*	0.476	^	1,554	
Non-intact family background	0.986		0,499	**^**	0,584		0.840		1.540		0.615		0,562	
Parental intermarriage	na		0,804		0,345	**	na		0.710		0.460	^	na	
Age 26	0.704	*	1,656		0,761		1.075		1.385		0.914		0,630	
Metro (while R growing up)	1.263		1,088		1,102		0.957		1.290		0.879		6,016	
Female	0.657	**	1,452		1,115		0.602	**	0.675		0.324	**	1,088	
Actual union type														
Cohabiting partner	0.849		1,110		0,610		1.159		1.110		1.729		na	
Marital partner	3.186	**	0,766		2,535	*	2.788	**	1.563		2.350	^	na	
Economic condition	1.105		1,042		0,564		0.979		1.733	*	0.936		1,312	**^**

Number of respondents: 1409

** .01 > p

* .05 > p > .01

^ .10>p>.05