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Navigating between two cultures: Immigrants' gender attitudes toward working women

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Abstract

BACKGROUND—Gender attitudes toward women's employment are of particular importance because they positively influence gender-equal outcomes in the labor market. Our understanding of the mechanisms that promote egalitarian gender attitudes among immigrants, however, remains limited.

OBJECTIVE—By studying first- and second-generation immigrants from multiple origins and living in different countries, this article seeks to explain under what conditions the prevalent cultural attitudes toward gender roles at the origin and destination influence immigrants' gender attitudes. We address three main research questions. First, does the country-of-origin gender ideology influence immigrants' views toward working women? Second, does the country-of-destination gender ideology influence immigrants' view toward working women? Are these relationships moderated by (1) the immigrant generation; (2) the age at arrival in the country of destination; (3) the length of residence at destination?

METHODS—Using data from the European Social Survey, we model immigrants' gender attitudes toward working women using linear cross-classified models to account for clustering into the country of origin and destination.

RESULTS—The results highlight the importance of the context of early socialization in shaping immigrants' gender attitudes. First-generation immigrants, and more specifically, adult migrants hold gender attitudes that reflect more strongly the country of origin's gender culture. In contrast, the positive association between gender ideology at destination and immigrants' gender attitudes is stronger among second-generation immigrants and child migrants.

CONTRIBUTION—We add to the literature on gender ideology formation by analyzing the influence of gender ideology at the origin- and destination-levels on the gender attitudes of immigrants from 96 countries of origin and residing across 32 countries of destination.

Keywords

Cross-classified models; European Social Survey; European Values Study; gender attitudes toward working women; immigration; World Values Survey

1 Introduction

The overall trend toward more egalitarian gender attitudes is considered a clear marker of the on-going gender revolution (Davis & Greenstein, 2009). Men and women across the world are increasingly adopting egalitarian views toward gender roles, favoring equal access to employment and greater equality within the household (Cha & Thébaud, 2009; Fortin, 2005; Inglehart & Norris, 2003; Treas & Widmer, 2000). Wealthier and post-industrial societies have adopted egalitarian gender ideology at a faster pace than poorer and agrarian ones (Inglehart & Norris, 2003; Seguino, 2007). Nevertheless, even across European countries, which are fairly homogeneous in terms of economic outcomes and women's legal rights, cross-national differences in gender ideology still persist (Guo & Gilbert, 2012; Pampel, 2011).

Gender attitudes are of particular importance because they positively influence gender-equal outcomes and behavior within families and across institutions (Brooks & Bolzendahl, 2004). For example, gender-egalitarian attitudes foster women's participation in the labor market (Fortin, 2005) and encourage men's contribution to housework and child care activities (Batalova & Cohen, 2002; Fuwa, 2004; Hook, 2006; Knudsen & Wærness, 2008). Recent studies also show that fertility decline and marital instability weaken in contexts where egalitarian gender attitudes prevail (Arpino, Esping-Andersen & Pessin, 2015; Pessin, 2017).

While gender attitudes are at the core of the debate on gender equality, our understanding of the mechanisms that promote the adoption of egalitarian gender attitudes remains limited. Within the sociological literature, the debate on whether early socialization or life course experiences influence gender attitudes is still ongoing (Doepke, Tertilt & Voena, 2012). The socialization perspective emphasizes the persistence and stability of gender attitudes, acquired during early childhood, across adulthood (Myers & Booth, 2002). Conversely, the life course approach argues that exposure to different beliefs and specific life events, such as tertiary education or employment, influence attitudinal formation throughout adulthood (Brooks & Bolzendahl, 2004).

By studying first- and second-generation immigrants from multiple origins and living across different countries, this article seeks to explain under what conditions the prevalent cultural attitudes toward gender roles at the origin and destination influence immigrants' gender attitudes. We exploit variation in the migration experience to provide a better understanding of how gender attitudes are formed and whether they persist across contexts that provide different schemes of gender relations. In particular, we focus on the immigrant generation, the age at arrival at destination, and the length of residence in the country of destination to distinguish between values acquired through early socialization versus those promoted by the context of destination.

This study makes several important contributions to the literature on immigrants' gender attitudes. First, unlike previous studies (e.g., Frank & Hou, 2015; Röder & Mühlau, 2014), gender ideology at the origin and destination is constructed using an attitudinal indicator. The common approach in the literature is to measure gender relations using behavioral indicators such as the share of women in parliament or women's relative labor force participation with respect to men. These indicators, however, reflect outcomes of gender equality rather than a cultural understanding of gender relations (McDonald, 2013). Second, because our study includes several countries of destination, we can explore whether both the origin's and the destination's cultural understanding of gender roles influence immigrants' gender attitudes.

Our analysis includes first and second-generation immigrants from the second, fourth and fifth rounds of the European Social Survey. The final sample is composed of immigrants from 96 different countries of origin residing in 32 countries. We focus on one dimension of gender attitudes, namely, whether individuals believe that men and women should have equal access to the labor market. Using linear cross-classified models, we examine whether and under what conditions gender ideology in their country of origin and the country of destination influence immigrants' gender attitudes. This method takes into account the clustering of immigrants within both origin and destination countries and simultaneously assesses the influence of both contexts on immigrants' gender attitudes. To account for compositional differences, the multivariate analysis includes control variables for socio-demographic factors (i.e., gender, education, age, partnership status, and urbanity), which are found to be relevant determinants of gender egalitarian attitudes (see Davis & Greenstein, 2009). We address three main research questions. First, does the country-of-origin gender ideology influence immigrants' views toward working women? Second, does the country-of-destination gender ideology influence immigrants' view toward working women? Are these relationships moderated by (1) the immigrant generation; (2) the age at arrival in the country of destination; (3) the length of residence at destination?

2 Background

2.1 Contrasting Theories on Gender Attitude Formation

The existing literature on gender ideology formation can be divided into two main strands: the socialization explanation and the life course approach (Kim & Cheung, 2015). By emphasizing the role played by the intergenerational transmission of beliefs and values in childhood, the socialization perspective posits that gender attitudes are instilled mainly from parents to children and remain stable throughout adulthood (Myers & Booth, 2002). The parent-to-children transmission of gender attitudes creates continuity from one generation to the next. Conversely, the life course approach argues that exposure to different beliefs in adulthood and life events can cause individuals to change their attitudes (Brooks & Bolzendahl, 2004). Accordingly, living in an environment that promotes gender equality fosters the adoption of egalitarian gender attitudes and weakens the importance of values learned through early socialization (Davis, 2007).

Previous research provides some empirical support for the role played by early socialization in shaping gender attitudes. Parents' gender ideologies are found to directly influence their

children's gender attitudes (Davis & Greenstein, 2009). Bliss (1988), for example, finds that mothers with nontraditional gender ideology have children that display more gender-neutral behaviors in kindergarten. The transmission of gender ideology from mother-to-child is found to be also persistent during adulthood (Davis, 2007; Glass, Bengtson & Dunham, 1986; Moen, Erickson & Dempster-McClain, 1997; Thornton, Alwin & Camburn, 1983; Willits & Crider, 1989). Furthermore, while a majority of studies focus on maternal transmission of gender ideology, Myers & Booth (2002) show that sons are more likely to adopt gender-egalitarian attitudes if both their parents have egalitarian gender ideology. Davis & Wills (2010) also find that paternal ideology influences adolescent attitudinal formation.

In contrast with the socialization perspective, the life course approach argues that ideological learning is not restricted to childhood but can also occur later in life (Kim & Cheung, 2015). Experiences and exposure to different values and beliefs cause individuals to change and re-evaluate their attitudes. For example, when exposed to a gender-egalitarian context outside the home, individuals tend to also develop more egalitarian gender attitudes (Brooks & Bolzendahl, 2004; Cha & Thébaud, 2009; Davis & Greenstein, 2009; Yu & Lee, 2013). For example, Baxter, Buchler, Perales & Western (2015) and Guo & Gilbert (2012) find greater approval toward egalitarian gender roles in social democratic countries, which promote gender equality through their welfare regime (Esping-Andersen, 2009).

2.2 The Current Study

We extend the socialization and the life course perspective to immigrants' attitude formation toward gender equality. We focus on how the destination and the origin provide different cultural schemes for gender relations. We contrast each theory's predictions to discuss how each context influences immigrants' gender attitudes. We conceptualize the origin gender ideology, i.e., the prevalence of egalitarian gender attitudes in the country of origin, as a proxy for cultural attitudes toward gender roles at the origin. Instead, the destination gender ideology, i.e., the prevalence of egalitarian gender attitudes among natives in the country of destination, captures the gender norms that immigrants are exposed to in the country of destination.

2.2.1 The Socialization Perspective and Immigrants' Gender Attitudes—

According to the socialization perspective, attitudes are formed during childhood and remain stable throughout adulthood. This implies that immigrants adopt gender attitudes that reflect the cultural attitudes of the context in which they experienced early socialization. The distinction between the first- and second immigrant generation provides a proxy of whether immigrants experienced early socialization in their country of origin or of destination. For first-generation immigrants, we expect the country of origin to have a strong influence on immigrants' gender attitudes. Instead, the destination context should be less influential because first-generation immigrants are predominantly exposed to the cultural attitudes at destination during adulthood. For second-generation immigrants, however, the country-of-origin effect should be weaker because they experience early socialization in the destination country. Second-generation immigrants are exposed to the country-of-origin cultural

attitudes through their parents but they are also influenced by the destination gender relations through school and friends.

Hypothesis 1a: Cultural attitudes toward gender roles in the country of origin are positively associated with first-generation immigrants' gender attitudes. This association is expected to be weaker among second-generation immigrants.

Hypothesis 1b: Cultural attitudes toward gender roles in the country of destination are positively associated with second-generation immigrants' gender attitudes. This association is expected to be weaker among first-generation immigrants.

By distinguishing between the first- and second-generation, we can approximate whether immigrants were raised in the country of origin or in the country of destination. Nevertheless, first-generation immigrants can also migrate as children and therefore be socialized to the context of destination during childhood. In particular, the immigration literature has argued that foreign-born who migrate during early childhood (ages 0–5, “1.75 generation”) and middle childhood (ages 6–12, “1.5 generation”) are closer to the second-generation because they are involved in the context of destination during their formative years (Oropesa & Landale, 1997; Rumbaut & Ima, 1988; Rumbaut, 2004). To account for variation in ages at migration within the first-generation, we refine the first set of hypotheses to distinguish between child immigrants and adult immigrants. Because of data limitations, these hypotheses can only be tested using the a sub-sample of the data (further details are provided in the Data and Variables section).

Hypothesis 2a: Cultural attitudes toward gender roles in the country of origin are positively associated with adult foreign-born immigrants' gender attitudes. This association is expected to be weaker among child immigrants and second-generation immigrants.

Hypothesis 2b: Cultural attitudes toward gender roles in the country of destination are positively associated with child immigrants' and second-generation immigrants' gender attitudes. This association is expected to be weaker among adult foreign-born immigrants.

Existing findings on immigrants' gender attitudes and behavior provide mixed evidence for the socialization perspective. On the one hand, some studies find a persistent effect of the country of origin on immigrants' gender attitudes and behavior at destination. For example, Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver (2009) find no generational differences in gender attitudes among Turks, Moroccans, Surinamers and Antilleans immigrants in the Netherlands. Ersanilli (2012) also finds no generation gap in Turkish immigrants' gender attitudes across three different destination countries: Germany, France and the Netherlands. On the other hand, other studies show that the origin effect is much weaker among second-generation immigrants (Dasgupta, 1998; Diehl, Koenig & Ruckdeschel, 2009; Frank & Hou, 2015; Merz, Özeke-Kocabas, Oort & Schuengel, 2009; Röder & Mühlau, 2014) and that immigrants adapt their behavior to cultural norms and behavior in the country of destination (Antecol, 2000; Blau, Kahn & Papps, 2011; Hwang, 2016).

2.2.2 The Life Course Perspective and Immigrants' Gender Attitudes—

Extending the life course perspective to immigrants, the cultural context of the destination

country is expected to influence both first- and second-generation immigrants' attitudes. Living in a country where gender norms are either more traditional or more egalitarian with respect to their country of origin may force immigrants to re-evaluate and change their gender attitudes. Therefore, we expect that the length of stay at destination will moderate the influence of cultural attitudes from the origin and the destination on immigrants' gender attitudes. Recently arrived immigrants should have gender attitudes that reflect primarily their context of origin. In contrast, second-generation immigrants and long-time residing immigrants are expected to have adopted the cultural norms of the country of destination.

Hypothesis 3a: Cultural attitudes toward gender roles in the country of origin are positively associated with recently arrived immigrants' gender attitudes. The longer the length of stay at destination, the weaker the origin-effect should be.

Hypothesis 3b: Cultural attitudes toward gender roles in the country of destination are positively associated with second-generation immigrants' and long-time residing immigrants' gender attitudes. The longer the length of stay at destination, the stronger the destination-effect should be.

Existing findings on immigrants' gender attitudes and behavior suggest that the influence of the country of origin weakens as the length of residence at destination increases (Frank & Hou, 2015; Vargas, 2016). No previous study has explicitly tested whether the destination context is more relevant among second-generation and long-time residing immigrants. Nevertheless, Huscsek, de Valk & Liefbroer (2011) find that the gender role behavior of second-generation Turks varies by country of destination. For example, second-generation Turks living in Sweden display more gender-equal behaviors with respect to Turks living in more conservative destination countries. This finding suggests that the context of destination also shapes immigrants' gender attitudes and behavior.

3 Data and Variables

3.1 Data

We use data from the European Social Survey (ESS). The ESS consists of repeated cross-sectional individual-level surveys, which are conducted every two years. Each round of surveys includes a core module as well as rotating sections on specific themes. The sample of countries has changed over the years and also includes guest countries from outside of Europe. We focus on the second, the fourth and fifth rounds of the ESS because the gender attitudes measure used in this study was not asked in any other available rounds. The interviews were carried out, respectively, between 2004–2006, 2008–2011 and 2010–2012. We select first- and second-generation immigrants, and we obtain a final sample of 17,108 respondents in 32 destination countries and from 96 countries of origin. The sample size of immigrants in each country of destination and ESS round is described in Table A1 in the Supplementary Material (Section A4). The percentage of missing values for all the variables used in the analysis is summarized in Table A2 in the Supplementary Material (Section A4).

3.2 Outcome

In this study, we focus on one dimension of gender attitudes, namely whether individuals believe that men and women should have equal access to the labor market. To measure this

concept, we use the following survey question: “When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women.” Theoretically, it is one of the few available gender items that mentions both men and women and compares how adequate their respective gender roles are (See Arpino et al. (2015) for an extensive discussion on the theoretical and measurement quality of existing gender items in the cross-national attitude and value surveys). Another advantage of this survey question is that it has been extensively used to measure gender attitudes toward working women (Arpino et al., 2015; Arpino & Tavares, 2013; Fortin, 2005; Seguino, 2007). Finally, from a practical perspective, this survey measure is present both in the European Social Survey and the World Values Survey and European Values Study, which allows us to measure the same dimension of gender attitudes at the origin and the destination for a large cross-national sample. Other dimensions of gender attitudes are surveyed in the World Values Survey and the European Values Study but there are no equivalent to these survey questions in the European Social Surveys.

The dependent variable of interest measures individual-level gender attitudes toward working women and is based on the following survey question: “When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women.” The respondents are asked how much they agree or disagree with the statement and choose their answer from a 5-point Likert scale going from 1 ‘strongly agree’ to 5 is ‘strongly disagree’¹. Higher values are interpreted as gender egalitarian views while lower values are considered to be traditional views toward working women. The distribution of the outcome variable is illustrated in Figure A1 in the Supplementary Material.

3.3 Explanatory variables

Immigrant generation—Respondents’ immigrant generation is determined by their country of birth as well as their parents’ country of birth. Second-generation immigrants are respondents that are born in the country of destination but that have at least foreign-born parent. In our final sample, only 384 second-generation immigrants have parents who were born in two different foreign countries (the final sample size of second-generation immigrants with both parents born abroad is 2,299). For second-generation immigrants with only one parent born abroad, the country of origin is the country of birth of the one foreign parent. First-generation immigrants are respondents that are not born in the country of destination, and thus their country of origin is defined as their country of birth (detailed explanations are provided on how the immigrant status is determined in the Supplementary Material). The immigrant generation variable takes a value of 1 for second-generation immigrants (reference category) and a value of 2 for first-generation immigrants.

Age at arrival—The age at arrival is calculated by taking the difference between the year of arrival and the respondent’s birth year. The exact year of arrival was only asked in the fifth round of the ESS. Thus, the analysis using age at arrival is restricted to the fifth round ESS sample. The age at arrival variable takes 4 categories: 2nd generation (reference category), 0–12 years, 13–24 years old, 25 years+. The thresholds are based on Rumbaut &

¹ ‘Don’t know’ and ‘refusal’ are coded as missing. In the original ESS sample, 2.3% of responses on this question (mnrgrtjb) are missing including ‘Don’t know’ and ‘refusal’.

Ima's definition (1988) of the 1.5 generation, which corresponds to immigrant children who arrived at destination by the age of 12. The 1.5 generation should be the closest to second-generation immigrants and natives because they have experienced middle and potentially also early childhood in the country of destination Rumbaut (2004). The 13–24 years old category is exposed to the country of origin during childhood and transitions to adulthood in the country of destination. Nevertheless, according to the socialization theory, this should correspond to a life-stage where attitudes have already stabilized. The 25 years old+ category clearly captures the case of adult immigrants who arrive at destination once their transition to adulthood is complete.

Length of stay—The length of stay in the country of destination, which we use to distinguish between newly arrived immigrants and those that have lived in the country of destination for a long period of time. This variable takes the following 5 categories: 2nd generation (reference category), more than 20 years, 11–20 years, 6–10 years, and 1–5 years. In the second and fourth round of the ESS, the length of stay variable is categorical, whereas in the fifth round of the ESS, the actual year of arrival was asked².

Origin gender ideology—The variable is matched to each respondent on the basis of their country of origin and on the survey year. The level of egalitarian gender norms in the country of origin is measured as the share of respondents in the country of origin who disagree with the statement “When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women.” The variable is calculated for the entire sample, including immigrants of any generation as well as natives. The origin gender ideology variable is represented in Figure 1. The data for the country of origin rely on two sources of data: the ESS and the harmonized World Values Survey and the European Values Study (WVS/EVS). In the WVS/EVS, the same survey question has been asked but the respondents are offered a slightly different scale: (i) ‘agree’, (ii) ‘disagree’, and (iii) ‘neither’. As with the ESS, we use the share of people in country of origin who disagree with the statement. To assess the consistency between both measures, we calculate the correlation between the ESS and the WVS/EVS indicators when both are available on the same country/year and we find a correlation of 0.85. Table A3 in the Supplementary Material reports the values of origin gender ideology for each country of origin and ESS round (further details on how the origin gender ideology variable was constructed are provided in the Supplementary Material).

Destination gender ideology—The variable is matched to each respondent on the basis of their country of residence and on the survey year. The level of egalitarian gender norms in the country of destination is measured as the share of natives in the country of destination who disagree with the statement “When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women.” The destination gender ideology variable is represented in Figure 2. Natives are defined as respondents who are born in their country of residence and whose parents are also born in the same country of residence. Therefore, for European countries, the origin and destination gender ideology differ because the origin gender ideology includes immigrants and natives, whereas the destination gender ideology includes natives only. The variable is

²Further detailed information is provided in the Supplementary Material to explain how the variable was harmonized across ESS rounds

constructed using the ESS data. Table A4 in the Supplementary Material reports the values of the destination gender ideology by country of destination and ESS round.

Accordingly, we include the following control variables: gender, level of education, partnership status, age and urbanity. For the gender variable, women are the reference category. The level of education is coded as 4 categories: less than secondary (reference), lower-secondary, upper secondary, and tertiary. Partnership status takes 2 different values: partnered (reference), without a partner. The age variable is categorized into 4 intervals: 15–29 (reference), 30–44, 45–59, and 60+. The urbanity measure has three categories: urban (reference), town or small city, rural. Finally, we also include an indicator variable for the three different survey rounds used for the analysis: 2nd round (reference), 4th round and 5th round.

At the origin- and destination- levels, we control for the level of economic development. We include the Human-Development Indicator (HDI), which is a composite measure of three dimensions of human development, i.e., life expectancy, education and economic development. As shown by Inglehart & Norris (2003), economic development is an important marker for the adoption of egalitarian gender attitudes.

4 Method

Our data structure calls for the application of multilevel cross-classified models. We observe immigrants clustered in countries of origin and countries of destination. The origin and destination levels of classification are not nested as in a standard multilevel model. Instead, they are cross-classified, as immigrants from the same country of origin can be present in different destination countries. Multilevel modeling, in general, allows us to take into account the non-independence of units in the same cluster (for example, the country of origin) and to include in the same model variables defined at different levels (Snijders & Bosker, 2012). Multilevel cross-classified models allow one to partition the relative importance of the four sources of heterogeneity that we want to study (the individual-level, the country of origin, the country of destination and their interaction, i.e., the community), and testing the role of macro-level variables measured both in the country of origin and destination as well as the community. Cross-classified multilevel analysis allows one to estimate the variability in the outcome due to the effect of countries of destination after the heterogeneity of immigrants' origin has been controlled for and vice versa (see Kalmijn & Van Tubergen, 2010; Van Tubergen, Maas & Flap, 2004; Vitali & Arpino, 2015). A multilevel linear cross-classified model can be represented as:

$$Y_{i(o,d)} = X_{i(o,d)}\beta + Z_o\gamma + W_d\delta + C_{o,d}\theta + e_{i(o,d)} + u_o + v_d + z_{o,d} \quad (1)$$

where the subscript $i(o,d)$ indicates an immigrant belonging to a generic unit of the cross-classified structure, where $i = 1, 2, \dots, n(o, d)$; $o = 1, 2, \dots, 95$ indicates the country of origin and $d = 1, 2, \dots, 32$ indicates the country of destination. Y indicates the outcome. Individual, origin, destination, and community variables are identified with X , Z , W , and C , respectively. The individual error term (e), the origin (u), the destination (v), and the

community (z) error terms are assumed to be normally distributed with zero mean and variance to be estimated (Snijders & Bosker, 2012). These variances are of interest in this study because they measure the importance of the different sources of heterogeneity under analysis. All the upper-level variables are centered on their respective grand mean.

5 Descriptive Results

Table 1 summarizes the variables described in the Data and Variables section. First- and second-generation immigrants in our sample come from more than ninety countries. Therefore, we grouped respondents into larger geographical regions³ in order to present the descriptive statistics in a unique table.

Origin gender ideology varies widely across the different regions in the sample. Countries in Asia, the Middle East and Northern Africa have amongst the least egalitarian gender ideology, whereas Northern Europe and North America have some of the most egalitarian gender ideology. Descriptively, the ranking of origin gender ideology and the individual-level gender attitudes of immigrants appear to follow a similar pattern. At the individual level, on average, Middle Eastern and North African immigrants have also more traditional gender attitudes, and as expected, the opposite is true of Northern European and American immigrants. There are, however, also some exceptions. For example, Asian immigrants come from fairly traditional countries but their gender attitudes at destination are not amongst the least egalitarian.

Across countries of destination, gender ideology is on average higher with respect to the origin and also less dispersed. This is to be expected because the countries of destination are fewer and are concentrated in Europe, and thus, represent a less diverse sample with respect to the countries of origin. When comparing the human-development indicator (HDI) at the origin and destination, we also find a similar pattern: the destination HDI (mean = 0.86) ranges between -0.15 to 0.08 and the origin HDI (mean = 0.80) takes values that range between -0.47 and 0.14. Also, thanks to the cross-classified nature of the data, we can also assess the relative importance of the contextual levels in explaining immigrants' gender attitudes. The upper-level variance is divided between the origin (2.6%), the destination (9.4%), the community (1.7%).

At the individual-level, immigrants' characteristics represent an important source of variation across regions. About half of immigrants from European, Post-Soviet, and Middle Eastern countries are second-generation immigrants. Whereas Asia, Latin America, and Sub-Saharan Africa appear to reflect more recent waves of immigration. A similar pattern extends to the age distribution, where respondents from newer regions of origin are younger with respect to other immigrants in our sample. For example, immigrants from Latin America, Northern Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa are much younger with respect to other regions of origin. The regional differences are not only important in the experience of immigration, i.e., the length of stay in the country, but also in individual-level characteristics. For example, Sub-Saharan immigrants have the largest share of tertiary-

³Each region is defined in Table A5 of the Supplementary Material.

educated respondents ranging around 48.30%, against only 15.70% of Middle Eastern immigrants. Furthermore, immigrants from Latin America and Post-Soviet countries are predominantly women.

As can be seen from the descriptive statistics, the variation in the composition of the sample can represent another potential source of explanation for finding different levels of gender attitudes among immigrant groups. Age and education are, for instance, characteristics that are closely related to adhering to more or less egalitarian gender attitudes. We now turn to the multivariate results to disentangle these different sources of variation.

6 Multivariate Results

In Table 2, we present the results of three cross-classified linear regression models, which correspond to the three different sets of hypotheses discussed in the background section. Model 1 to 3 include interactions between the origin and the destination gender ideology and, respectively, the immigrant generation, the age at arrival, and the length of stay at destination. Note that the contextual variables are centered on their grand mean so that the baseline coefficients of the interaction variables can be referred to as the case of an immigrant living in a destination country with average gender ideology (average destination gender ideology = 59%, which is similar to Austria) and coming from a country of origin with average gender ideology (average origin gender ideology = 51%, which is similar to Portugal).

For sake of parsimony, the results in Table 2 summarize the estimated coefficients for the explanatory variables only. The control variables described in Table 2 are included in all models (results not shown but available upon request). While not shown, the associations between the control variables and immigrants' gender attitudes are in line with the literature. Higher educational attainment, being single and coming from a country with higher levels of development positively predict gender egalitarian attitudes. Instead, men, older immigrants, and residents of rural areas hold more traditional gender attitudes.

6.1 Socialization Hypotheses

Model 1 includes the origin and destination gender ideology and their respective interactions with the immigrant generation variable. To provide further support for the socialization hypotheses, in Model 2, we use immigrants' age at arrival instead of the immigrant generation to capture more accurately the context of early socialization. As discussed earlier, Model 2 can only be estimated for the 5th wave of the ESS. Table 2 summarizes the cross-classified multilevel linear estimation results for Model 1 and 2.

Model 1 provides empirical support for Hypothesis 1a and 1b. First, the negative coefficient for being a first-generation immigrant suggests that, on average, first-generation immigrants hold more gender-traditional attitudes toward working women. Second, we find the interaction between being a first-generation immigrant and the origin gender ideology to be positive and statistically significant, which suggests that cultural attitudes at the origin have a stronger influence on immigrants who are born in their country of origin (*Hypothesis 1a*).

Second, we find a negative and statistically significant interaction between first-generation immigrants and the destination gender ideology. In line with Hypothesis 1b, first-generation immigrants' gender attitudes are less influenced by the context of destination with respect to second-generation immigrants. Model 1 provides initial evidence that the geographic context of early socialization positively influences immigrants' gender attitudes.

Nevertheless, the immigrant generation only provides an approximate measure of where immigrants have spent their childhood. To provide further evidence for the socialization argument, we replicate Model 1 using immigrants' age at arrival instead of the immigrant generation. Model 2 appears to confirm the findings presented in Model 1. The origin gender ideology coefficient strengthens as immigrants' age at arrival increases (*Hypothesis 2a*). Instead, the destination gender ideology co-efficient weakens as immigrants' age at arrival decreases (*Hypothesis 2b*).

To better interpret the interactions, we plot the predicted values of immigrants' attitudes in Figure 3 by age at arrival, on the left-quadrant for the origin gender ideology and on the right-quadrant for the destination gender ideology variable. Furthermore, to assess whether the estimated associations are not only statistically significant but also substantially meaningful, we complement the predicted values displayed in Figure 3 with the calculation of average marginal effects (AME), i.e., the average change in gender attitudes, for a one-standard deviation change in the continuous explanatory variables, i.e., origin gender ideology and destination gender ideology⁴. To appreciate the strength of the variations measured by the marginal effects, it should be kept into account that the outcome variable can range between 1 and 5.

Focusing first on the context of origin, Figure 3 reveals that, for second-generation immigrants and child migrants, there is barely any relationship between their gender attitudes and the cultural values prevalent in their country of origin (AME = 0.02 and <0.01, respectively). The origin gender culture appears to be important only for first-generation immigrants. The relationship becomes increasingly important (as demonstrated by the steeper lines) as the age at arrival at destination increases (AME = 0.17 and 0.25 for those arrived between ages 13–24 and 25+, respectively).

We turn to the right-quadrant of Figure 3 for the destination context. Here, as predicted by the socialization theory, the context of destination has a stronger effect among immigrants who have experienced early socialization in the country of destination (AME = 0.41 and 0.34 for second-generation immigrants and child migrants, respectively). Nevertheless, Figure 3 also reveals that the destination gender ideology positively influences adult migrants' gender attitudes (AME = 0.24 and 0.27 for those arrived between ages 13–24 and 25+, respectively). The relationship is weaker (as demonstrated by the less steep lines) than for second-generation immigrants and child migrants but still positive and statistically significant.

⁴A one-standard deviation change in the origin gender ideology is of about 0.17, which corresponds approximately to the difference between coming from Australia (72%) and Denmark (90%) (see Table A3 in the Supplementary Material). A one-standard deviation change in the destination gender ideology is of about 0.17, which corresponds approximately to the difference between living in Ireland (69%) and Sweden (86%) (see Table A3 in the Supplementary Material)

6.2 Life Course Hypotheses

We turn to Model 3 in Table 2 to test the life course hypotheses (*Hypothesis 3a and 3b*). With respect to Model 1 and 2, Model 3 includes interactions between the origin and the destination gender ideology variables and the length of stay. First-generation immigrants are separated in 4 groups according to their length of stay in the country of destination and compared to second generation immigrants (the reference category). As with Model 1 and 2, first-generation immigrants have more “negative” gender attitudes, i.e., they hold more traditional attitudes, than second-generation immigrants. The estimates also show evidence of assimilation: as length of stay increases, first-generation immigrants’ attitudes become more similar to those of second-generation immigrants.

The coefficients of the interaction terms between a length of stay shorter or equal to 20 years and the origin gender ideology are positive and significant, indicating that the effect of the cultural background is stronger for those who spent less time in the destination country. Conversely, the coefficients of the interaction term between the length of stay categories and the destination gender ideology are negative, suggesting that cultural attitudes at destination play a weaker role in explaining the gender attitudes of more recently arrived immigrants. Nevertheless, the interaction coefficients do not suggest any clear trends with regard to exposure and are not statistically significant for a length of stay shorter than 10 years.

To illustrate these findings, we plot the predicted values of immigrants’ attitudes using Model 3 in Table 2 in Figure 4 for the origin gender ideology variable on the left-quadrant and the destination gender ideology variable on the right-quadrant. Echoing the age at arrival findings, Figure 4 shows that, for second generation immigrants and long-time residents (20 yrs+), there is barely any relationship between their gender attitudes and the cultural values prevalent in their country of origin (AME = 0.01 and 0.08, respectively). In line with Hypothesis 3a, the origin cultural background appears to be primarily important for recently arrived first-generation immigrants. The relationship becomes increasingly important (as demonstrated by the steeper lines) as the length of stay at destination decreases (AME = 0.14, 0.15 and 0.23 for those who arrived 11–20 years ago, 6–10 years ago, and less than 5 years ago, respectively).

Turning to the destination context, the predicted values plotted in the right-quadrant of Figure 4 suggest that the association between the destination gender ideology and immigrants’ gender attitudes is stronger among second-generation immigrants (Hypothesis 3b, AME = 0.37). The association is also positive and not very different in magnitude (AMEs ranging between 0.28 and 0.35), albeit weaker, for first-generation immigrants. The findings, however, do not support the hypothesis that the strength of the association between the destination and immigrants’ gender attitudes increases with the length of exposure to the destination context. As illustrated by the predicted values in Figure 4, first-generation immigrants have, on average, more traditional gender attitudes with respect to second-generation immigrants but no clear pattern emerges for different lengths of stay.

6.3 Summarizing and Reconciling Findings

Overall, Model 1 and Model 2 present robust evidence for the socialization hypotheses. The results suggest that gender attitudes toward working women among first-generation immigrants primarily reflect gender norms in their country of origin (*Hypothesis 1a*). More specifically, this finding holds true for immigrants that migrated as adults (*Hypothesis 1b*). Furthermore, Model 1 and 2 show that the context of destination has a stronger effect on second-generation immigrants (*Hypothesis 1b*) and child migrants (*Hypothesis 2b*). As illustrated in Figure 3, we observe distinctive patterns of association between the origin and the destination contexts and immigrants' gender attitudes according to where they lived during childhood. Nevertheless, our findings as illustrated by Model 3 also provide partial support for the life course hypothesis: the longer the length of stay at destination, the weaker the origin's influence on immigrants' gender attitudes.

Our findings support both the hypotheses that early age at arrival and increased length of stay at destination moderate the relationship between the origin gender ideology and immigrants' gender attitudes. Empirically, however, there is an overlap between age at migration and the length of stay at destination. For example, about 45% of long-residing immigrants (20+ years) migrated as children (0–12 years old) and 60% of recently arrived migrants (1–5 years) migrated as adults (25+ years old).

Because our data are cross-sectional, we cannot fully disentangle the effects of age, age at arrival, and the length of stay at destination. While imperfect, we provide one additional test to attempt distinguishing between the socialization and life course perspective. We replicate the models presented in Table 2 restricting the sample to first-generation immigrants in the ESS' fifth round. We include in the model the interactions between the origin and the destination gender ideology and both age at arrival and the length of stay⁵. As illustrated by Table 3, when including both interactions, only the moderating effect of age at arrival remains statistically significant. These findings give further support to the early socialization hypothesis rather than the life course perspective.

6.4 Robustness Checks

To address potential concerns about the robustness of the findings, the models presented in Table 2 are re-estimated under different model specifications. First, we replicate the analysis treating the dependent variable as an ordinal categorical variable rather than a continuous one. We use an ordered logistic regression model with clustered standard errors at the community-level. The cross-classified structure is not maintained because the estimation is too complex to converge combined with a non-linear outcome variable. Second, we re-estimate the main models using the father's country of birth instead of the mother's country of birth. Third, we include additional control variables at the individual-level, i.e., religious denomination and mother's employment, and at the destination-level, i.e., the share of women in parliament and the women-to-men labor force participation ratio. Fourth, we exclude first-generation immigrants who have both parents born in the country of destination

⁵The respondent's age is excluded from the model because it would be multicollinear with age at arrival and the length of stay at destination.

because their socialization and assimilation experience might be different than for other first-generation immigrants. Finally, we assess whether our findings are sensitive to influential cases by replicating the models dropping first, a country of origin at a time, and then, a country of destination at a time. The main findings of the article remained consistent across the different model specifications. The results of the robustness checks are summarized in the Supplementary Material.

7 Discussion

The main contribution of this paper is to explain under what conditions the prevalent cultural attitudes toward gender roles at the origin and destination influence immigrants' gender attitudes. To do so, we contrast two main theories to guide our analysis: the early socialization perspective and the life course approach. Our results provide support for the early socialization hypothesis that the cultural context of early childhood is positively associated to immigrants' gender attitudes. For example, we find that the context of origin is strongly associated with first-generation, and in particular, adult immigrants' gender attitudes. Instead the relationship with the origin becomes weak and statistically insignificant for second-generation immigrants and child migrants. The reverse applies when we turn the context of destination: our results show that cultural attitudes toward gender roles in the country of destination have are strongly associated with second-generation immigrants' and child migrants' gender attitudes and a weaker one among first-generation immigrant and adult immigrants.

Finally, we return to a somewhat unexpected finding: while the destination effect is much weaker among adult migrants and second-generation immigrants, we still find a positive and statistically significant association between living in more gender-equal contexts and holding gender-egalitarian attitudes for all immigrants. This relationship is not moderated by the length of stay at destination, which would suggest that adaption occurs with increasing exposure to different cultural attitudes. While speculative, we interpret this finding in two different ways. On the one hand, the positive, albeit weaker, association between the destination gender ideology and adult immigrants' gender attitudes suggest that immigrants adapt their values and attitudes to the destination cultural schema, regardless of the length of exposure. On the other hand, this positive association could also suggest that adult migrants choose countries of destination that are closer to their own gender beliefs. Addressing this issue is beyond the scope of this paper, nevertheless what we can draw from our findings is that the context of destination provides a non-negligible point of reference for adult migrants' attitudes.

Our empirical analysis has some limitations. Given the cross-sectional nature of the data, we cannot differentiate age at arrival or length-of-stay effects from differences in gender attitudes between immigrants that migrated at different points in time. Only panel data would allow us to accurately disentangle the adaptation hypothesis from the selection one. However, there exists no panel data that cover as many different countries of origin and destination as the European Social Survey. Another limitation of this study is that it is restricted to only one dimension of gender-egalitarian attitudes, namely attitudes toward women's employment. We recognize the multi-dimensionality of gender ideology and,

therefore, cannot generalize our findings to other dimensions of gender ideology (Brinton & Lee, 2016; Knight & Brinton, 2017). Nevertheless, the advantage of focusing on this unique dimension of gender ideology is that it can be measured with the same survey instrument both at the destination- and origin-levels. Moreover, gender equality in the labor market is a significant dimension of gender ideology that is worth studying separately from other dimensions (Fortin, 2005).

Supplementary Material

Refer to Web version on PubMed Central for supplementary material.

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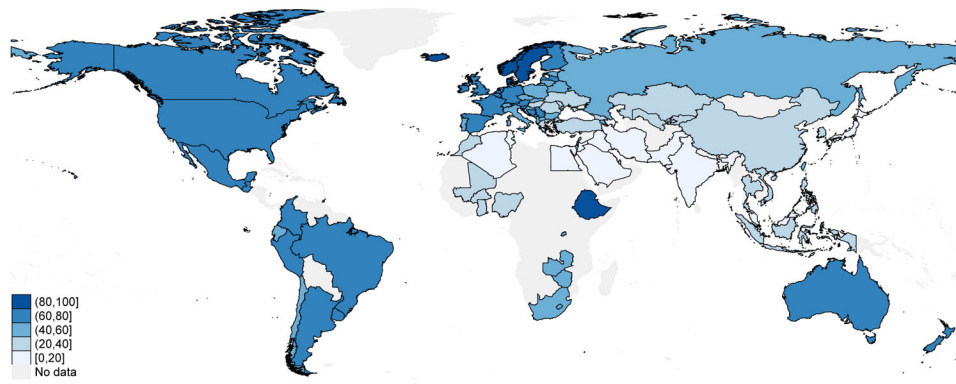


Figure 1.

Origin gender ideology

Notes: Origin gender ideology = % of respondents who disagree that men should have more right to a job than women when jobs are scarce within each country of origin. The origin gender ideology is calculated for the entire sample, including immigrants of any generation as well as natives. The values used for the map are summarized in Table A3. Sources: ESS and WVS-EVS.

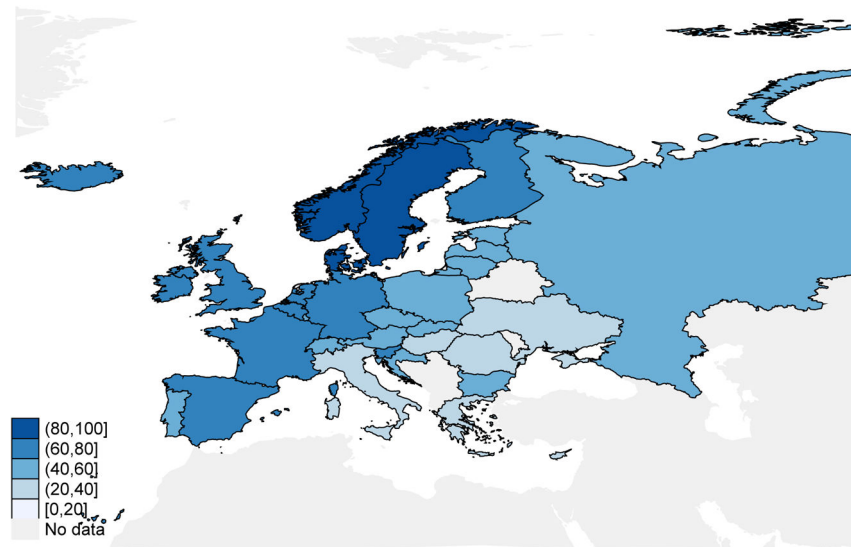


Figure 2.

Destination gender ideology

Notes: Destination gender ideology = % of natives (3rd generation+) who disagree that men should have more right to a job than women when jobs are scarce within each country of destination and across waves. The values used for the map are summarized in Table A4.

Sources: ESS.

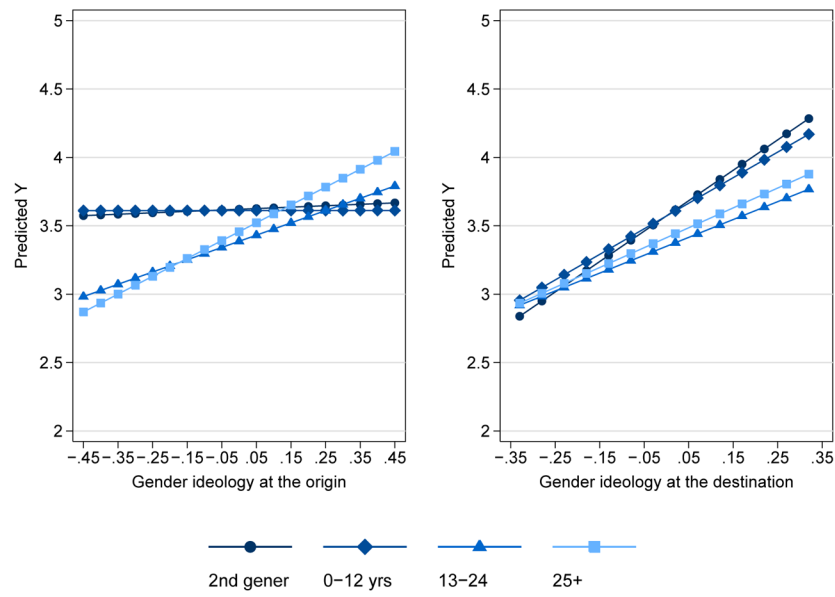


Figure 3. Origin and destination gender ideology and immigrants' gender attitudes by age at arrival
Notes: The predictions are based on Model 2 in Table 2. The random effects are set to zero.

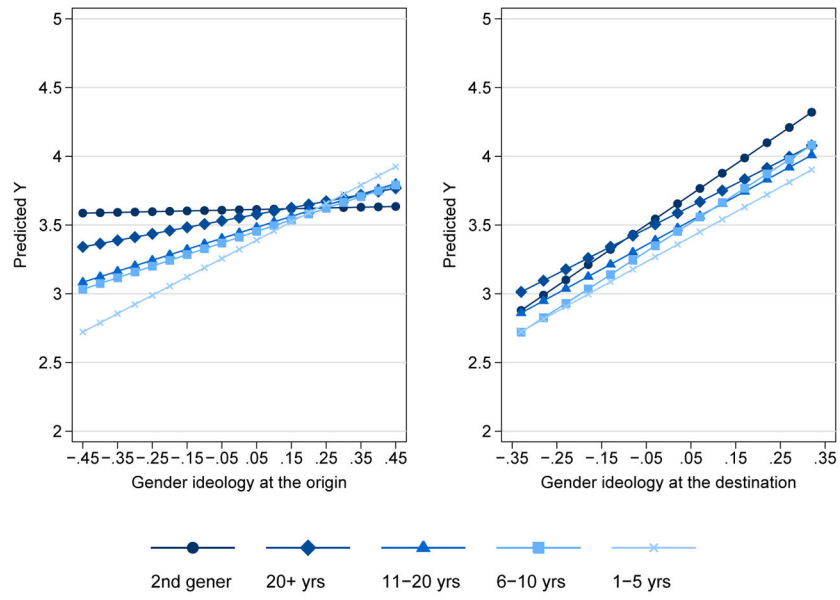


Figure 4. Origin and destination gender ideology and immigrants' gender attitudes by length of stay
Notes: The predictions are based on Model 3 in Table 2. The random effects are set to zero.

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Table 1

Descriptive statistics by region of origin

	Asia	Oceania	Eastern Europe	Latin America	Middle East	Northern Africa	North America	Northern Europe	Post Soviet	Southern Europe	Sub-Sah Africa	Western Europe
Dependent variable												
Gender attitudes	3.66	3.82	3.40	3.93	3.07	3.32	3.99	4.06	3.18	3.56	3.83	3.76
Origin variables												
Gender ideology ^a	-0.21	0.20	-0.06	0.13	-0.31	-0.20	0.19	0.23	-0.09	0.05	-0.12	0.13
HDI (0=0.80)	-0.14	0.11	0.01	-0.06	-0.09	-0.19	0.10	0.09	-0.05	0.01	-0.27	0.08
Destination variables												
Gender ideology ^b	0.09	-0.03	-0.04	0.06	-0.02	0.11	0.06	0.15	-0.10	0.03	0.12	0.03
HDI (0=0.86)	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.04	-0.05	0.02	0.03	0.02
Individual-level variables												
<i>Immigrant generation (2nd gener)</i>	34.69	26.53	51.85	20.86	51.94	38.81	55.73	48.74	46.39	49.01	13.61	52.12
1st generation	65.31	73.47	48.15	79.14	48.06	61.19	44.27	51.26	53.61	50.99	86.39	47.88
<i>Age at arrival (2nd gener)^c</i>	29.63	27.27	43.87	15.00	54.44	36.31	56.57	49.41	47.77	53.53	15.07	51.52
0–12 yrs old	14.81	22.73	11.91	19.00	15.09	21.66	17.17	17.98	15.71	12.91	12.33	16.94
13–24 yrs old	22.22	22.73	22.05	21.00	15.68	23.57	9.09	11.93	19.73	20.11	26.03	14.60
+25 yrs old	33.33	27.27	22.17	45.00	14.79	18.47	17.17	20.67	16.79	13.45	46.58	16.94
<i>Length of stay (2nd gener)</i>	34.69	26.53	51.85	20.86	51.94	38.81	55.73	48.74	46.39	49.01	13.61	52.12
+20 yrs	28.49	36.73	19.70	24.83	21.08	31.16	23.73	30.80	38.11	29.15	18.37	26.15
11–20 yrs	12.98	14.29	8.75	18.54	14.41	8.78	6.93	9.50	8.41	13.62	17.69	8.52
6–10 yrs	10.47	8.16	7.92	15.89	7.42	11.90	4.53	5.53	3.77	3.88	30.61	5.29
1–5 yrs	13.37	14.29	11.78	19.87	5.16	9.35	9.07	5.42	3.31	4.33	19.73	7.92
<i>Gender (Woman)</i>	51.36	55.10	56.49	61.59	48.82	43.63	56.27	54.39	60.71	50.58	53.74	54.04
Man	48.64	44.90	43.51	38.41	51.18	56.37	43.73	45.61	39.29	49.42	46.26	45.96
<i>Partnership status (Not partnered)</i>	51.74	51.02	60.06	52.98	57.96	53.26	60.00	57.41	55.24	59.46	44.90	60.24
Partnered	48.26	48.98	39.94	47.02	42.04	46.74	40.00	42.59	44.76	40.54	55.10	39.76
<i>Education (< than sec.)</i>	10.85	4.08	5.14	10.93	29.35	21.53	9.07	8.50	5.99	16.61	9.52	7.88
Lower-secondary	19.38	16.33	16.72	23.18	23.12	23.80	12.53	15.99	13.79	21.31	18.37	15.23
Upper-secondary	29.26	40.82	53.80	36.42	31.83	34.56	36.00	36.22	42.23	43.08	23.81	41.71

	Asia	Oceania	Eastern Europe	Latin America	Middle East	Northern Africa	North America	Northern Europe	Post Soviet	Southern Europe	Sub-Sah Africa	Western Europe
Tertiary	40.50	38.78	24.35	29.47	15.70	20.11	42.40	39.30	37.98	19.00	48.30	35.18
<i>Age (15–29)</i>	<i>31.98</i>	<i>28.57</i>	<i>19.78</i>	<i>31.46</i>	<i>26.77</i>	<i>32.01</i>	<i>24.27</i>	<i>21.46</i>	<i>17.19</i>	<i>23.67</i>	<i>29.25</i>	<i>16.88</i>
30–44	32.75	51.02	28.95	34.44	29.03	38.53	24.53	31.58	21.77	31.65	46.26	30.29
45–59	21.71	14.29	27.00	24.17	17.31	19.83	26.13	25.10	29.18	25.68	17.69	23.15
60+	13.57	6.12	24.26	9.93	26.88	9.63	25.07	21.86	31.86	19.00	6.80	29.68
<i>Urbanity (Urban)</i>	<i>49.22</i>	<i>48.98</i>	<i>36.50</i>	<i>46.03</i>	<i>49.57</i>	<i>47.31</i>	<i>38.40</i>	<i>37.56</i>	<i>46.70</i>	<i>33.59</i>	<i>46.94</i>	<i>30.63</i>
Town or small city	31.40	24.49	36.42	29.47	30.65	29.46	29.33	30.74	34.65	34.23	40.82	28.50
Rural	19.38	26.53	27.08	24.50	19.78	23.23	32.27	31.69	18.65	32.18	12.24	40.87
<i>ESS round (2nd round)</i>	<i>34.11</i>	<i>44.90</i>	<i>31.23</i>	<i>39.07</i>	<i>34.62</i>	<i>14.45</i>	<i>36.00</i>	<i>33.20</i>	<i>24.99</i>	<i>28.93</i>	<i>14.29</i>	<i>43.13</i>
4 th round	34.50	10.20	33.60	27.81	29.03	41.08	37.60	33.54	40.88	43.60	36.05	32.41
5 th round	31.40	44.90	35.17	33.11	36.34	44.48	26.40	33.26	34.13	27.47	49.66	24.46
N	516	49	2,411	302	930	353	375	1,789	4,589	2,679	147	2,968

Sources: ESS, WVS/EVS, UN data and National Statistics of the Republic of China (Taiwan). Notes: gener = generation; HDI = Human-Development Indicator; Sub-Sah = Sub-Saharan.

^aThe origin gender ideology variable is centered on its grand mean (0.51).

^bThe destination gender ideology variable is centered on its grand mean (0.59).

^cAge at arrival can only be calculated for the ESS 5th round.

Table 2
Cross-classified linear models: Immigrants' gender attitudes toward working women

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Origin GI	0.052 (0.118)	0.104 (0.211)	0.054 (0.117)
Destination GI	2.273 *** (0.180)	2.223 *** (0.342)	2.218 *** (0.181)
Generation (Ref. 2 nd generation)			
1 st generation	-0.114 *** (0.018)		
Generation x Origin GI			
1 st generation x Origin GI	0.641 *** (0.113)		
Generation x Destination GI			
1 st generation x Destination GI	-0.577 *** (0.118)		
Age at arrival (Ref. 2 nd generation)			
0-12 yrs old		-0.002 (0.045)	
13-24 yrs old		-0.214 *** (0.045)	
+25 yrs old		-0.147 ** (0.048)	
Age at arrival x Origin GI			
0-12 yrs old x Origin GI		-0.103 (0.267)	
13-24 yrs old x Origin GI		0.794 ** (0.254)	
+25 yrs old x Origin GI		1.201 *** (0.246)	
Age at arrival x Destination GI			
0-12 yrs old x Destination GI		-0.355 (0.268)	
13-24 yrs old x Destination GI		-0.919 *** (0.260)	
+25 yrs old x Destination GI		-0.771 ** (0.259)	
Length of stay (Ref. 2 nd generation)			
+20 yrs			-0.057 ** (0.022)
11-20 yrs			-0.168 *** (0.031)
6-10 yrs			-0.199 *** (0.042)
1-5 yrs			-0.288 *** (0.040)
Length of stay x Origin GI			

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
+20 yrs × Origin GI			0.420** (0.132)
11–20 yrs × Origin GI			0.744*** (0.182)
6–10 yrs × Origin GI			0.789*** (0.222)
1–5 yrs × Origin GI			1.282*** (0.217)
Length of stay × Destination GI			
+20 yrs × Destination GI			–0.579*** (0.137)
11–20 yrs × Destination GI			–0.452* (0.185)
6–10 yrs × Destination GI			–0.125 (0.246)
1–5 yrs × Destination GI			–0.408+ (0.238)
Constant	3.403*** (0.052)	3.223*** (0.085)	3.442*** (0.052)
<i>Random effects</i>			
Variance(Destination)	0.011*** (0.004)	0.026*** (0.012)	0.012*** (0.004)
Variance(Origin)	0.008*** (0.004)	0.015*** (0.008)	0.008*** (0.004)
Variance(Community)	0.019*** (0.005)	0.014*** (0.009)	0.018*** (0.005)
Variance(Individual)	1.222*** (0.013)	1.224*** (0.024)	1.219*** (0.013)
	17108	5422	17108

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. GI = Gender ideology. Controlled for gender, education, urbanity, partnership status, age, origin HDI, destination HDI and ESS round (not reported). The sample is restricted to the ESS' 5th round in Model 2.

+ p<0.10

* p<0.05

** p<0.01

*** p<0.001.

Table 3

Cross-classified linear models: Immigrants' gender attitudes toward working women

Model 1		
Origin GI	-0.260	(0.304)
Destination GI	1.752 ***	(0.468)
Age at arrival (Ref. 0–12 yrs old)		
13–24 yrs old	-0.251 ***	(0.057)
+25 yrs old	-0.233 ***	(0.064)
Age at arrival x Origin GI		
13–24 yrs old × Origin GI	0.756 *	(0.326)
+25 yrs old × Origin GI	1.075 **	(0.341)
Age at arrival x Destination GI		
13–24 yrs old × Destination GI	-0.642 +	(0.328)
+25 yrs old × Destination GI	-0.627 +	(0.351)
Length of stay (Ref. +20 yrs)		
11–20 yrs	0.042	(0.064)
6–10 yrs	0.138	(0.088)
1–5 yrs	0.066	(0.089)
Length of stay x Origin GI		
11–20 yrs × Origin GI	0.456	(0.343)
6–10 yrs × Origin GI	0.509	(0.410)
1–5 yrs × Origin GI	0.572	(0.411)
Length of stay x Destination GI		
11–20 yrs × Destination GI	0.174	(0.352)
6–10 yrs × Destination GI	0.654	(0.467)
1–5 yrs × Destination GI	0.137	(0.484)
Constant	3.109 ***	(0.102)
<i>Random effects</i>		
Variance(Destination)	0.039 ***	(0.019)
Variance(Origin)	0.020 ***	(0.013)
Variance(Community)	0.003	(0.012)
Variance(Individual)	1.273 ***	(0.035)
Observations	2863	

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. GI = Gender ideology. Controlled for gender, education, urbanity, partnership status, age, origin HDI, destination HDI and ESS round (not reported). Sample: 1st generation immigrants in the ESS' 5th round.

+ $p < 0.10$,

* $p < 0.05$,

** $p < 0.01$

 $p < 0.001$.

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