Article

The acculturation in Sweden of adolescents of Iranian and Yugoslavian origin

Martin Hällsten
Department of Sociology, Stockholm University, Sweden

Christofer Edling
Department of Sociology, Lund University, Sweden

Jens Rydgren
Department of Sociology, Stockholm University, Sweden

Abstract

Ethnic acculturation in a sample of 19-year-old individuals of Yugoslavian and Iranian origin in contemporary Sweden was studied, with a focus on how acculturation is contingent on social structure and social context. Acculturation was measured as orientation to the majority and the parental culture of origin. The results suggest, first, that the two dimensions are weakly but positively correlated, meaning that acculturation identity does *not* involve any trade-offs, as new strands of oppositional culture theory suggest. Second, it was found that ethnic closure in friendship networks is positively associated with orientations to parents' culture and negatively with orientations to Swedish culture. Individuals with a rich occupational social contact network tended to be orientated towards both the majority and the parental culture. There was a marked social difference between the most disadvantaged social class and all other classes, with the former being less oriented to both cultures compared to more advantaged classes.

Introduction

Many countries throughout the industrialized world are experiencing significant immigration, and increasingly so Europe. For the immigrants, migration involves a period of economic and social adaptation and possible reorientation of their ethnic and cultural identities. The term 'acculturation identity'

Corresponding Author:
Martin Hällsten, Department of Sociology, Stockholm University, 10691 Stockholm, Sweden.
Email: martin.hallsten@sociology.su.se

refers to the attained cultural identity post-migration, after exposure to a new majority culture, which means that the previously held cultural identity becomes challenged. Acculturation identity arises in the interplay between immigrants and the surrounding society. The ethnic majority may impose identity on a minority (Barth, 2010), and even if individual immigrants perceive themselves as sharing the same ethnicity as the majority population, this may be perceived differently, or even be contested, by the majority population (Manning and Roy, 2010).

Early twentieth-century perspectives on immigrant assimilation understood it as an irreversible process of gradual adaptation to the majority culture (Gordon, 1964), where resistance to assimilation would lead to social and economic exclusion. This suggests an inherent acculturation trade-off: one either orients oneself to the new society or maintains one's culture of origin – but not both at the same time. Such biculturalism was considered to be plagued by conflict, stress, isolation and identity confusion (e.g., Park, 1928).

More recent literature has stressed that assimilation is a nonlinear, discontinuous and even reversible process that is contextually dependent (Alba and Nee, 1997). While some immigrant groups let go of their culture of origin after one or two generations, ethnic persistence may be observed in others (Ting-Toomey, 1981). Specifically, the recent literature reports that biculturalism is strongly associated with both positive psychological and social adjustment (Berry, 1997; Nguyen and Benet-Martínez, 2013). Nonetheless, theories of oppositional cultures maintain the conflict perspective on acculturation; that is, that origin and majority orientation are incompatible (Battu, et al., 2007; Huntington, 1993). Whether or not such a trade-off is involved is less clear from previous research. In addition, acculturation identity does not arise in a vacuum but, rather, is contingent on opportunity structures that allow for interplay with the majority – that is, on social segregation in housing markets, schools, workplaces, organizations and similar foci for contact opportunities. However, little research has focused on the fact that assimilation and acculturation may depend on inter-ethnic networks and contacts, parents' social positions, and social segregation. In this paper we revisit these questions and study (1) whether acculturation is associated with trade-offs – that is, to what extent orientations correlate and the direction of that correlation; and (2) how acculturation identity is socially structured – that is, how socio-economic resources of parents (including their social class in the country of origin), social capital available in friendship and acquaintance networks, and primary network composition such as immigrant background, language use, and religiosity among friends and parents, are associated with the two cultural orientations. In contrast to previous research from Sweden (e.g., Virta and Westin, 1999), we provide here a very complete account of social context and social structure, including measures of social class from the country of origin, as well as social capital, network composition among friends and neighborhood characteristics; and measures of personality disposition (as suggested by Berry, 1997).

The subjects of our study were Swedish 19-year-olds whose parents came from either Yugoslavia or Iran. These are two of the largest immigrant groups in Sweden; but they have different heritages and different living conditions in Sweden. The 19-year-olds were either born in Sweden or had been resident in Sweden for quite some time, and the acculturation experience we studied was based on their childhood and adolescent experiences. Much of their social structural situation was determined by their parents; but, at the same time, their younger ages make them more susceptible to changes in identity (Erikson, 1968). Individuals with similar migration backgrounds will form a substantial part of European populations in the future and it is therefore highly relevant to learn about their acculturation experiences (as in, for example, the International comparative study of ethno-cultural youth (ICSEY) study, see Berry, et al., 2006: our sample individuals were slightly older, however).

Acculturation and cultural trade-offs

The configuration of acculturation orientation can be captured by four ideal–typical combinations (Berry, 1997):

- *Marginalization* (low maintenance of culture of origin, little contact and participation in the majority culture);
- *Separation* (high maintenance, little contact or participation):
- *Assimilation* (low maintenance, high contact and participation); and
- *Integration* (high maintenance, high contact and participation).

Marginalization is thought of as the least favorable acculturation outcome, while *integration* requires that the receiving country accepts multiculturalism. The rank of the other states is context dependent. For example, according to segmented assimilation theory (Portes and Zhou, 1993), *separation* might be preferred if the local majority to which immigrants would acculturate is socio-economically deprived, while *assimilation* would be preferred under other circumstances, such as strong discrimination.

The psychological outcomes of acculturation have been extensively studied, and the results are unanimous: immigrants benefit from a strong attachment to their culture of origin, and this increases psychological well-being and self-esteem, and is also conducive to adaptation to the majority culture itself (Berry and Sam, 1997: Berry et al., 2006: Phinney, 1990). Individuals oriented to both cultures – the bicultural *integration* type in Berry's terminology – often have the highest rate of adjustment (Berry, 1997; Nguyen and Benet-Martínez, 2013). As a consequence, the worst outcomes are observed in the marginalized groups lacking strong attachment to any culture. In a comparative study, Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. (2011) showed that the effect of acculturation on both psychological and socio-economic adaptation is both context- and time-specific, suggesting that different social and economic needs become salient at different times after migration and vary across culturally diverse and homogeneous contexts. Nonetheless, because orientation to both majority and minority culture is associated with the greatest level of adaptation, this suggests that they can often be combined into a new synthetic identity.

However, multiculturalism has also been criticized, especially in recent political discourse. The evidence of the effects of multicultural policies on the adaptation of immigrants is mixed, with examples of zero or even negative effects for the socio-cultural adaptation (Koopmans, 2013). Classical assimilation theory placed an emphasis on conflict (e.g., Park, 1928) and suggested that acculturation orientation involves a trade-off between the origin and majority cultures. This line of reasoning also appeared in recent scholarship (Huntington, 1993). More recently, Battu et al. (2007) feared that orientation to the culture of origin would cause social exclusion. This argument draws on the oppositional culture hypothesis (e.g., Farkas et al., 2002; Fordham and Ogbu, 1986; Ogbu, 1978), which aimed at explaining black–white differences in educational attainment by the long history of discrimination against blacks in US society – causing major social cleavages and stereotypes of white and black identity. The oppositional culture hypothesis suggests that black and white identities are mutually exclusive, and hence that there is a trade-off between the two. Battu et al. (2007) have argued that the oppositional culture mechanism is valid for immigrants and the children of immigrants as well.[1] An explicit assumption in Battu et al.'s (2007) model is that orientation to the origin culture would reduce orientation to the majority culture; that is, a (perfect) negative correlation between majority and parental cultural orientations (Battu et al., 2007: 644–645).

In addition, other theories suggest a trade-off of cultural orientations, but with the causation being reversed; that is, that costs associated with adaptation force the minority away from the majority, towards cultural maintenance. In Alba's (2005) theory of assimilation under bright boundaries, assimilation is limited by boundaries that the ethnic majority imposes on the minority. These boundaries are constructed around contrasts to the majority in language, custom, religion and physical appearance. Alba makes a distinction between 'blurred' and 'bright' boundaries, where the former offer some opportunities for the minority to pass as majority, and where in the latter the distinction is unambiguous. Alba discusses examples where boundary crossing is associated with losing contact with one's minority in-group, an outcome that anyone contemplating pursuing such a strategy must weigh against the potential

gain (e.g., in labor market outcomes). This perspective suggests that assimilation will involve a trade-off between minority and majority identity – that is, in line with classical assimilation theory. The rejection identification model (Branscombe et al., 1999), where members of disadvantaged groups cope with the pain of prejudice by increasing identification with their disadvantaged in-group, also makes a similar link between exclusion and maintenance of the culture of origin.

To what extent acculturation involves a trade-off or has positive reinforcing effects has not been a main focus of research until recently. In the Berry (1997) typology, a negative correlation would exist if most cases belong to the oppositional positions; that is, the assimilated or the separated category, with fewer cases in the integrated and marginalized category, and a positive correlation if marginalization and integration dominates. Studies that measure acculturation with separate scales for origin and host culture orientation produce a straightforward correlation, but results vary across the populations studied. Examples of both negative (for example, Ryder et al., 2000: study 1, 3) and positive (Schwartz et al., 2007) correlations exist, as does orthogonality (for example, Berry and Sabatier, 2010; Ryder et al., 2000: study 2). A new line of research has explicitly focused on the acculturation trade-off: Nandi and Platt (2015) studied national and minority identities in the UK and found that strong British national and minority identities often coincided among minorities and were not on an opposing axis. Similarly, Lauglo (2015) studied immigrant youth in Oslo, Norway, and found that identification with parental ethnicity was positively associated with socio-cultural openness to ethnic others.

The social structure of acculturation

Acculturation is also contingent on the socio-economic resources and status of the minority, even though typically this is less accounted for in the literature (Negy and Woods, 1992). Resourceful groups should generally be able to adapt easier and counter impositions made by the majority (Negy and Woods, 1992). In addition, Berry (1997) identified socio-economic resources such as education as pivotal for acculturation, but stressed that the actual acculturation orientation would be contingent on many other factors, especially the attitudes and opportunities in the majority society, and that socio-economic status would interact with these factors. For example, according to segmented assimilation theory (Portes and Zhou, 1993), separation strategy might be preferred if the majority is socio-economically deprived, while assimilation or integration would be preferred under other circumstances.

The more resourceful groups will also have more to gain from extensive contacts with the majority because these groups dominate labor market organizations and thus create an incentive for orientation towards the majority. One could object that enclave economies may form an alternative that allow majority orientation to be minimized without losing opportunities, but research has shown that enclave economies do not offer the same opportunities as the mainstream labor market (Xie and Gough, 2011).

Acculturation is also contingent on actual contact. A precondition for acculturation to the majority culture is contact, either via mass media or via personal networks. Having friends from the Swedish majority should therefore be associated with an orientation to Swedish culture, and ethnically homogeneous personal networks may instead create orientation away from the majority culture. There are several arguments to support this claim. When a social category overlaps with personal networks (White, 1965/2008), such as when one's entire network is ethnic, intergroup boundaries are likely to be perceived as more salient and important. This yields an impetus for group formation and creates a sense of shared belonging. Network closure provides effective sanctions to monitor and guide behavior (e.g., Coleman, 1988). For example, Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) discussed how ethnic solidarity arises out of a strong delineation of the group, and how prejudice and exclusion enforce group integration. An outcome of this is a co-ethnic preference and, in turn, ethnically homogeneous networks and orientation away from the majority. This is also in line with the rejection–identification model (Branscombe et al., 1999).

The literature on acculturation and network relations is sparse, and no study has been conducted in Sweden other than as part of the 2006 ICSEY study, in which Vedder et al. (2006) showed that ethnic

contacts were central for national and ethnic orientations. Hsu et al. (1993) found that the acculturation of alters and selves was positively associated in a sample of foreign students in the USA, indicating either a network effect on acculturation or selective tie formation. Mok et al. (2007) analyzed first-generation Chinese in the USA and found integrated identity structures to be associated with larger and more richly interconnected circles of non-Chinese. Titzmann et al. (2007) showed that acculturation orientation, language use and, to some extent, length of period of residence were associated with ethnic homophily in friendship networks among ethnic Germans migrating from Russia to Germany and Russian Jews in Israel. Titzmann and Silbereisen (2009) found that language use predicted change in homophily in friendship networks over time for Germans migrating from Russia to Germany. Silber-eisen and Titzmann (2007) found that ethnic friendship homophily among adolescents was dependent on length of study and concentration of immigrants in the school.

Ethnic inequality in Sweden

In order to place our study in context, we provide a brief description of ethnic inequality in Sweden. As in many countries, there is a large social inequality in the labor and housing markets between individuals with immigrant backgrounds and individuals of native Swedish origin. By comparison with most of Europe, socio-economic integration takes longer in Sweden, and the barriers to employment for newly-arrived immigrants are high (le Grand et al., 2012). There is also evidence that individuals with foreign-sounding names face discrimination in employment (Bursell, 2014). Immigrants and natives are strongly segregated by neighborhood; however, ethnic enclaves are extremely uncommon in Sweden, and virtually all neighborhoods with a large immigrant population are ethnically heterogeneous (Goldschmidt, et al., 2017). Nonetheless, this means that contact opportunities between individuals of immigrant background and native Swedes are sometimes limited.

In ICSEY (Berry et al., 2006), Sweden had about the same ethnic diversity as France, which was greater in extent than in Germany and less than the UK (Berry et al., 2006: 18). However, Sweden also scored lowest on immigrants' self-perceived discrimination (Phinney et al., 2006: 97) and attitudes toward immigration were the most positive in Europe (Bohman et al., 2013). There is also significant political polarization in Sweden, with an outspokenly anti-immigration party having been represented in the Swedish Parliament since 2010.

Acculturation studies in Sweden

Most of the earlier acculturation studies of Sweden (Virta et al., 2004: Virta and Westin, 1999) did not address the determinants of acculturation type, although Swedish data were included in the 2006 ICSEY study (Berry et al., 2006), where length of period of residence, female gender, and living in an ethnically balanced neighborhood were correlated positively with the integration acculturation type (Phinney et al., 2006). Parental occupation had only modest correlations with acculturation types, and higher statuses tended to be associated with the assimilation type. In the ICSEY, Sweden also had 31% of immigrants in the integration type (Phinney et al., 2006: 109), and this contrasts with former settler or colonial powers where the proportion of integration was highest, at around 50%.

Two recent studies analyzed, to a limited extent, the structure of acculturation in Sweden specifically. Nekby and Rödin (2010) found that a marginalized acculturation identity was less common among females than males. Nekby et al. (2009) found that an assimilated identity was less common in neighborhoods with higher percentages of foreign-born individuals. Educational attainment was also negatively associated with a marginalized identity. Importantly, the frequency of acculturation types differed across immigration groups, and so we can expect ethnic groups to have unique patterns of acculturation.

There are also some previous studies on the effect of acculturation effects. Virta and Westin (1999) studied five groups of immigrant adolescents in Sweden, and the outcomes of different acculturation

orientations on psychological and school adaptation. Even though their studies came to the same con-clusions as those in earlier literature, in that the integration type (in Berry's terminology) lead to the greatest level of adaptation, there was large variation in the effects of acculturation across groups. Kurds, who are of special relevance for us (see *Data and methods*, below), displayed very small differences in adaptation across acculturation types. Virta et al. (2004) studied adolescents with a Turkish background in Sweden and Norway and concluded that Turkish identity and the integration type was associated with the highest level of adaptation. Studying all examples of Swedish immigrants, Nekby et al. (2009) and Nekby and Rödin (2010) found that orientation to the majority culture was associated with greater educational attainment and employment, respectively, whereas an orientation to one's ethnic culture had no influence on employment and had a positive influence on educational attainment only if com-bined with orientation to the majority culture. This suggests that an orientation to the culture of one's parents may be a protective factor in Sweden.

Data and methods

The data arise from the Swedish survey *Social Capital and Labor Market Integration: A Cohort Study,* in which a gross sample of 5695 adolescents was selected by Statistics Sweden from population registers for interview by telephone between October and December 2009 (Edling and Rydgren, 2010). The aim of the study was to analyze contextual factors to explain inequality in young adults' life chances – that is, choices and behavior with consequences for education, labor market situation, health and criminality. Apart from the survey itself, the data include matched register data on residency and school records, among other things. The net sample included 2942 interviews, a response rate of 51.6%. The largest share of 'no-response', of 37.6%, was in the category 'not-at-home'. Only 8.1% refused to participate. Response rates in Sweden have dropped in recent years mainly due to cash-card cellphones, which make the initial contact more difficult since in most cases the number is not stored in a telephone directory. The sample has the expected non-response bias, i.e. lower response rates among individuals from lower socio-economic status and with lower school grades. We include these factors as controls in our regression models, which will adjust for this observed non-response bias (Winship and Radbill, 1994).

The sample is based on three different groups of Swedes born in 1990:

(a) All individuals with at least one parent born in Iran;
(b) 50% of all individuals with at least one parent born in former Yugoslavia; and
(c) A simple random sample of 2500 individuals with two Swedish-born parents.

For this study, we focused on the Iranian and Yugoslav subsamples ($n = 1560$). We omitted those within these groups who had one Swedish parent ($n = 300$), and those with missing GPA (Grade Point Average) information from 9th grade school registers ($n = 62$), and with internal non-response in any variable ($n = 129$). The effective sample size was thus 1069. Virtually all Swedish youth have completed upper secondary school (*Gymnasium*), where most individuals graduate at age 19. In our sample of immigrants, 20% were still enrolled in upper secondary school at the time of the survey (thus graduating at age 20). However, only 6% had dropped out, which is similar to the Swedish population in general.

The Yugoslavian and Iranian groups were, in 2009, the second (Yugoslavia) and fifth (Iran) largest immigrant groups in Swedish society, and were selected because in their difference they represent the diversity of immigrant groups in Sweden. Yugoslavs started coming to Sweden as semi-skilled labor immigrants in the 1950s and 1960s and became permanent residents; however, the largest wave included refugees from the Balkan wars of the 1990s. The Iranians started coming to Sweden after the Iranian revolution in 1979 and during the Iran–Iraq war, the majority arriving as political refugees: many of them were highly educated; and some belonged to the Kurdish minority. Both national Iranians and Kurds are

embedded in highly developed organizational structures, and Sweden is one of the cultural centers of the Kurdish population in the world. In our sample, 33% of the respondents with parents born in Yugoslavia were born in Sweden, whereas 73% of the respondents with Iranian-born parents were born in Sweden.

The Yugoslavian group had a comparatively low level of education, whereas Iranians were on a par with the Swedish majority (Hällsten et al., 2017). However, more Iranians and Yugoslavs tended to be employed in manual lower-class jobs in Sweden compared to the Swedish majority, with some advantage for the Iranians over Yugoslavs. In terms of class in the country of origin, the Iranians left somewhat privileged occupations behind: this was not the case for the Yugoslavs. In sum, Iranians in many cases experienced downward mobility after moving to Sweden, as reflected in their comparatively high levels of education, but lower occupational standing and incomes. Yugoslavian parents, in contrast, had both basic levels of education and were largely restricted to employment as manual laborers. In terms of social network relations, both Iranians and Yugoslavian youth tended on average to have ethnically mixed friendship networks and a better occupational network than the Swedish majority.

According to Alba's (2005) framework, we believe that most individuals of both Iranian origins and Yugoslavian will face a 'blurred' boundary with respect to the Swedish majority. Iranian migrants were often middle class in Iran and thus strongly resemble the majority in term of skills. For individuals of Yugoslavian origin, the group has been represented in Sweden for a long period due to extensive labor migration. However, some individuals within these groups will face 'brighter' boundaries, because of greater differences in physical appearance and differences in religion.

Measuring acculturation identity

We created two independent scales of acculturation based on a number of underlying items, what Nguyen and Benet-Martínez (2013) called 'bilinear measures' (see also Donà and Berry, 1994). The respondent is asked about their attitudes on a five-point scale ('strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree', with a neutral middle category) about the following propositions, where [*] represents the phrases *Swedish/Swedish people's* or *my parents' homelands'* that were inserted in successive rounds of questions:[2]

a) I think it is important to learn about [*] culture, tradition, and values.
b) I try to follow [*] customs and traditions.
c) I want my kids to be raised according to [*] traditions.
d) I feel pride when [*] are successful (for example in sports or music).

A fifth item queried respondents' affinity with the different cultures, using a five-point scale (from 'no affinity' to 'strong affinity', with a neutral middle category):

e) To what extent do you feel an affinity with [*] culture and traditions?

The responses were combined into scales for Swedish orientation ($\alpha = 0.75$) and orientation to the culture of foreign-born parents ($\alpha = 0.86$). The use of multiple items should reduce measurement error in the constructs and increase the precision of estimates.

Social structural variables

To capture socio-economic status, we included measures for parents' highest level of education (coded as six categories), parents' household disposable income, and dummy variables for whether the father and mother were employed: all were collected from administrative registers. Importantly, the survey asked about the occupations of parents both in Sweden and in their country of origin. This allowed us to construct measures of social class that also captured social positions in the country of origin, in order to eliminate the effects of selective immigration, an important consideration when comparing Iranians and

Yugoslavs. We constructed a survey measure of social class, where we applied the dominance principle (Erikson, 1984) both to the mother's and father's class, and to their respective class in Sweden and abroad. This captures the most dominant (i.e., 'highest') class position observed across these four data points. The coding uses the EGP scheme and distinguishes between manual and service classes, entrepreneurs and farmers, and between skill levels within the two first categories (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992: 36–39). We also coded relations to parents using register-based information on whether the respondent lived alone at the time of the sampling, and whether the parents had separated or lived together. Additional important controls were personality traits, which would capture individual behavioral heterogeneity. Our measures included external locus of control (Rotter, 1966), suggested by Berry (1997) to predict acculturation, and measures of orientation to the future, self-control and career aspirations, and these were based on multiple items in the survey. In addition we had information from school registers on elementary school graduation GPA, which we included as a control to capture whether orientations depended on experiences of success or failure.

To capture segregation, we had access to fairly detailed geographical identifiers of parishes, which we have linked to measures of percentage of immigrants, and a measure of poverty in the parish. In order to capture how proximate networks were associated with acculturation, we gauged average characteristics of friends as reported by the person themself. These questions were measured by a name generator that extracted the name of up to five friends with the qualifying definition: 'People that I spend most time with', and then queried on the characteristics of the 'alters', relations to oneself, and the relations between alters. We removed alters based on kin because we were not interested in traditional origin effects but, instead, on network influences of significant alters external to family. We created two sets of measures based on the name generator: (1) the proportion of friends with a Swedish background, and (2) religiosity, and use of a language other than Swedish, where we believed the latter to be a stronger mediator of acculturation. In the latter we also included parents' religiosity and use of a language other than Swedish with parents.

To capture more distant networks we used a position generator to measure access to social capital in Sweden (Lin and Dumin, 1986). This instrument was developed to address several facets of social capital. Individuals are asked whether they knew someone in a list of 40 strategically chosen occupations (high and low status/class, white/blue-collar, economic versus culturally oriented occupations, among other things). From this instrument, we extracted five measures:

(1) The number of occupations that one can access;
(2) The highest-ranked occupation in terms of Treiman's SIOPS prestige score;
(3) The highest minus lowest ranked occupations in terms of prestige; and
(4)/(5) Average and total accessed prestige (Van der Gaag et al., 2008).

These factors are highly correlated, and we followed the convention of using factor analysis for these measures and used the first factor to construct our composite measure of social capital (Lin et al., 2001). Because our study focused on 19-year-olds, social capital was largely driven by parents' social positions and, to a lesser extent, an outcome of own actions.

Table A1 shows descriptive statistics for the dependent and independent variables.

Methods

The outcome variables we studied are additive scales, and we therefore used linear OLS regressions. We specified models by adding sets of the socio-structural factors in sequences in order to unravel patterns of association. It should be noted that the analysis of structure was not aimed at capturing causal processes; rather, the aim was a descriptive exploration of associational factors. Social relations and practices in particular may be highly endogenous to acculturation, and the aim was not to separate the input and output factors, but rather to show how acculturation may be contingent on social–structural factors.
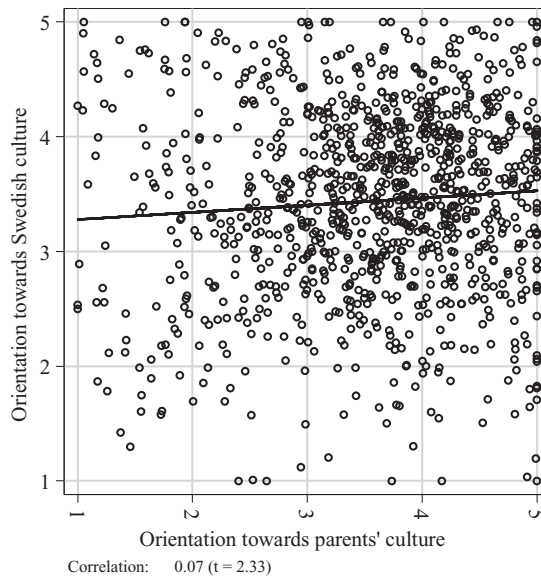
Figure 1. Correlations between dimensions of ethnic orientation.
Note: The dots have been jittered to reveal density patterns.

Results

Correlations in origin and destination orientations

We start with the question of acculturation trade-off and how the orientation to Swedish and parents' cultures are related. As shown in Figure 1, the orientations appear largely independent. The estimated correlation is weakly positive, 0.07, and significant. This means that orientation to the destination culture is largely independent of the ties to one's cultural origin, but that orientation to the parents' culture marginally fosters orientation to the majority (and vice versa). Since the sign of the correlation is positive, this is clear evidence that no trade-off is involved.

We have also regressed orientation to Swedish culture on orientation to the parent's culture with a number of control variables, to determine whether any part of the correlation is spuriously related to underlying factors or even suppressed by such factors (see Table 1). In the baseline, without any controls, the b-coefficient is 0.062.[3] When we control for gender and timing of immigration, the association becomes somewhat more strongly positive. Controlling for social background, and especially personality characteristics in Models 3 and 4, explains some of the effect, because the coefficient drops to below 0.05, while educational achievement and social capital has only a very small influence on the associations (Models 5 and 6). Another important suppressor is alters' characteristics (Model 7), while segregation plays only a small role (Model 8). When we control for language use and religiosity in Model 9, which lies close to the concept of acculturation and may be considered endogenous, the association increases even further, to 0.11. Model 10 shows that the association is the same for Yugoslavians and Iranians.

This is strong evidence that a unidimensional model of acculturation identity, where majority and origin cultures are regarded as opposing ends, is not in line with the empirical evidence. Individuals do not sacrifice one cultural identity for another. Rather, acculturation is strongly multidimensional because the correlation, even if it is positive, is low. Orientations to the majority and one's origins thus operate somewhat independently. We can therefore reject an important assumption in the oppositional culture hypothesis (Battu et al., 2007; Fordham and Ogbu, 1986).

Table 1. Linear regression of orientation towards Swedish culture.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Orientation towards parents' culture	0.062* (2.332)	0.069* (2.484)	0.067* (2.378)	0.047 (1.644)	0.048$^+$ (1.686)	0.045 (1.557)	0.068* (2.359)	0.068* (2.335)	0.116*** (3.870)	0.114** (3.078)
Orientation towards parents' culture × Iranian origin										0.003 (0.060)
Gender, immigration		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Social background			Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Personality				Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Educational achievement					Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Social capital						Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Alter's characteristics							Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Segregation								Yes	Yes	Yes
Language and religiosity in social surrounding									Yes	Yes
N	1048	1048	1048	1048	1048	1048	1048	1048	1048	1048
R-squared	0.004	0.015	0.02	0.028	0.029	0.031	0.054	0.055	0.08	0.079

$^+p<0.10$, $^*p<0.05$, $^{**}p<0.01$, $^{***}p<0.001$, *t*-values in parenthesis.

The structure of Swedish orientation

Next, we turn to the underlying structural factors of acculturation. Table 2 shows regression models of orientation to Swedish and parents' culture (in separate models). For orientation to Swedish culture, we find in Model 1 that there is no baseline difference between Iranians and Yugoslavians, despite their rather different histories of migration and living conditions in Sweden. This will change, however, with controls for social networks, religiosity and language practices in Models 4 and 5. In Model 2, we add controls for Swedish experience and family characteristics. Age at immigration has a zero association with Swedish orientation. Interestingly, females are more oriented to Swedish culture than males, and this difference is substantial. In Model 2, we also find evidence that having parents with more privileged social positions in terms of social class and income is associated with stronger orientation to Swedish culture. The associations will tend to attenuate somewhat when we control for social relations, language and religiosity. Children of separated parents are somewhat more oriented to Swedish culture, but the coefficients are not significant in all models. Parents' education plays no role given our controls for income and class, which suggests that final labor market position is more important than input resources. However, we also find that parent's employment does not matter on conventional significance levels.

In Model 3 we add controls for personality, and here we find that having higher aspirations is associated with Swedish orientation. However, future orientation, self-control and fatalism play no role. Importantly, educational achievement (GPA) plays only a minor role and this suggests that Swedish orientation is not the result of success or failure in school.

In Model 4, we add controls for social relations. Having Swedish friends is strongly related to a Swedish orientation, which is highly expected. Whether or not this is a cause or an effect of acculturation is unclear, however; it suffices here to note the strong interdependence. We can also note that individuals with a larger number of friends (albeit capped at five in the question) are more Swedish oriented. We find that social capital has no significant association with Swedish orientation (although it becomes significant once we control for language and religiosity). Since social capital here is a composite measure, we also analyze its

Table 2. Regression of acculturation orientations and ethnic identity.

	Orientation towards Swedish culture					Orientation towards parents' culture				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Female	0.185***	0.179***	0.197***	0.202***	0.192***	−0.026	0.01	0.022	0.036	0.048
Iranian origin	−0.025	−0.07	−0.079	−0.127*	−0.174***	−0.409***	−0.330***	−0.341***	−0.293***	−0.199***
Age at immigration		0.000	0.000	0.003	0.004		0.016***	0.016***	0.012***	0.009**
Parents' separated		0.122+	0.136*	0.117+	0.117+		−0.173*	−0.138*	−0.118+	−0.101
Do not live with parents		−0.122	−0.127	−0.108	−0.125		−0.334*	−0.293*	−0.307+	−0.261+
Number of siblings		−0.011	−0.009	−0.001	0.005		−0.007	0.000	−0.005	−0.016
Skilled manual[a]		0.158+	0.159+	0.164*	0.162*		0.052	0.019	0.019	0.010
Routine non-manual[a]		0.162	0.16	0.152	0.158		0.277*	0.243+	0.248+	0.231+
Lower service[a]		0.228**	0.222**	0.194*	0.185*		0.277**	0.237**	0.243**	0.243**
Upper service[a]		0.237*	0.218*	0.182+	0.163+		0.009	−0.046	−0.053	−0.032
Entrepreneurs[a]		0.237*	0.233*	0.184+	0.174*		0.248*	0.232*	0.224*	0.224*
Farmers[a]		−0.138	−0.151	−0.13	−0.096		0.261	0.193	0.170	0.085
Parents' years of education		−0.012	−0.011	−0.015	−0.02		−0.036**	−0.040**	−0.035**	−0.026*
Mother employed 2008		−0.037	−0.034	−0.033	−0.043		0.054	0.036	0.048	0.066
Father employed 2008		−0.064	−0.049	−0.044	−0.044		−0.035	−0.008	−0.02	−0.021
Parents' In income 2008		0.164*	0.160*	0.148*	0.138*		0.072	0.064	0.070	0.096
Orientations to the future (single item)			0.021	0.018	0.016			−0.026	−0.026	−0.02
Aspirations (a = 0.17)			0.090**	0.084**	0.094**			0.162***	0.154***	0.129***
Self-control (a = 0.54)			0.031	0.042	0.043			0.068+	0.061+	0.052
Fatalism (a = 0.30)			−0.067	−0.061	−0.062			−0.168***	−0.149**	−0.149**
GPA 9th grade			−0.037	−0.057+	−0.053+			0.032	0.036	0.030
Social capital (VDG)				0.047	0.061*				0.080**	0.050+
Prop. Swedish friends				0.317***	0.227***				−0.443***	−0.184**
Prop. friends in neighborhood				−0.033	−0.018				0.188+	0.149
Number of friends				0.059*	0.064**				−0.020	−0.025
Percent immigrants in parish				0.388+	0.429+				0.142	−0.002
Percent poor in parish				−0.364	−0.295				−0.413	−0.451
Average religiosity among friends					−0.043					0.233***
Parents' religiosity					−0.080**					0.119***
Speaks other language with parents					−0.151					0.398**
Speaks other language with friends					−0.124*					0.196***
N	1048	1048	1048	1048	1048	1048	1048	1048	1048	1048
R-squared	0.011	0.016	0.027	0.051	0.067	0.043	0.093	0.137	0.164	0.236

+p < 0.10; *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001; t-values omitted to save space but are available from the authors on request. Columns 1–2 and 8 show OLS regression coefficients; columns 3–7 show average marginal effect of P acculturation category from a multinomial regression. Orientations toward Swedish culture and parents' culture is measured on a scale 1–5.

[a]Class origin, origin country and Sweden (reference = unskilled manual)

173

components in Table A2, where it can be seen that it is the total number of contacts and the total prestige of contacts in the network that contributes most to the positive association with Swedish orientation, and in these models the coefficients are significant. However, these effects are not very strong. Because the outcome has close to unit variance (0.8 in fact, as shown in Table A1), and the social capital variable is standardized here, a standard deviation difference in social capital is associated with some 0.06 standard deviation difference in orientation to Swedish background. We find that segregation plays a negligible role for Swedish orientation (where, if anything, living in an immigrant-dense parish would increase the Swedish orientation, but this is not statistically significant at conventional levels).

Finally, in Model 5, we study how language use and religiosity are associated with Swedish orientation. It appears that parent's religiosity and speaking a language other than Swedish with friends is associated with a lower Swedish orientation. We observe similar associations for the corresponding variables for friend's religiosity and language use with parents, but these are not significant. In Model 5, we find that Iranians are now less oriented towards Swedish culture that Yugoslavians. This means that lack of differences in Swedish orientation across the groups was driven by group differences in networks, language and religiosity across the groups. Iranians thus have more network configurations and practices that orient them to the Swedish culture.

The structure of origin culture orientation

Turning to orientations to parents' origin, Model 6 shows that children of Iranian origin are less oriented towards parents' culture than the Yugoslavian group. This gap is partly explained by controls for family structure and status, networks, language and religion in the following models. In Model 7, we introduce controls for Swedish experience and family characteristics. Because age at immigration has a positive association, those migrating later are more oriented to their parents' culture. For the indicators of socio-economic background, the pattern largely resembles that for Swedish orientation – except for education, which indicates a contradiction. Individuals with higher educated parents are less oriented to their parents' culture, while individuals of more privileged-class backgrounds are more oriented to their parents' culture. We can also see that children experiencing separation of parents are less oriented to parents' culture, even though this is not significant in all models (the opposite pattern is found for Swedish orientation).

When we examine personality characteristics in Model 8, we find that high aspirations are associated with cultural maintenance (and, as seen earlier, also Swedish orientation). Fatalistic individuals tend to express less orientation to parents' culture. The fatalism coefficient was also negative for Swedish orientation, but non-significant. Taken together, these results suggest that fatalistic individuals simply lack any cultural attachment, and thus would end up in the marginalized acculturation type in Berry's terminology. Similar to Swedish orientation, educational achievement (GPA) is not associated with orientation to parents' culture.

In Model 9 we find that network and segregation measures play only a small role for orientation to parents' culture apart from friendship composition and, to some extent, social capital. Having many Swedish friends is associated with much lower levels of cultural maintenance. Individuals with higher levels of social capital display a somewhat stronger orientation to parents' culture, but the effect is no longer significant when language and religiosity are included in the model. We have also analyzed composition in the wider context, where we find that the proportion of immigrants and relative poverty in the parish of residence do not play any substantial role in acculturation, and this is similar to Swedish orientation.

Finally, in Model 10, we add the more endogenous variables of language use and religiosity, and these are strongly associated with cultural maintenance. To have religious parents and religious friends, and use a language other than Swedish with parents and friends, is associated with a stronger orientation to the parental culture. However, language and religiosity mediate very few of the other structural factors, apart from friendship composition, where it can be seen that the coefficient is more than halved.

To summarize our results, we find that social class and aspirations, and to some extent social capital, tend to operate in the same direction: they are all associated with higher levels of orientation to both

cultures. Other factors such as language use, religiosity and having immigrant/Swedish friends function as separating factors, channeling orientations to either Swedish or immigrant origin. Finally, the explained variance differs considerably across models. Orientation to parental culture is much more strongly structured by our independent variables than orientation to the majority culture, and this remains the case even if the strong mediators of language use and religiosity are ignored.

Discussion

We have analyzed acculturation among adolescents in two large immigrant groups in Sweden: Iranians and Yugoslavs. Our key finding is that there is no trade-off involved in their acculturation identities; that is, the orientation to parents' culture and Swedish culture are weakly positively correlated, suggesting that, if anything, maintaining the parental culture is associated with a stronger orientation to the majority culture. We can thus rebut an important assumption in the concept of oppositional cultures – that is, that immigrant and native cultural orientations involve a trade-off and are incompatible (Battu et al., 2007), as proposed in classical assimilation theory (Park, 1928), and thus we can add to prior studies in the UK (Nandi and Platt, 2015) and Norway (Lauglo, 2015,). These findings are perhaps not surprising given previous studies on biculturalism (Berry and Sam, 1997; Berry, et al., 2006; Nguyen and Benet-Martínez, 2013), which suggested that individuals oriented to both the parental and the majority culture have the highest level of adaptation, and this speaks to the idea of an acculturation trade-off. Since most is to be gained by a combination of maintenance and orientation to the majority, the rationale for them being mutually exclusive is rejected.

Moreover, we find that children of Iranians and Yugoslavians are equally oriented towards the Swedish culture on a group level, but that this is explained by the Iranians' network configurations which are more Swedish oriented. Iranians are, however, less oriented towards their origin culture, and this, in part, is explained by the same factors.

When we examine the social structuration of acculturation we find that they are structured by two different types of factors: first, a socio-economic and occupational factor (as indicated by social class, aspirations and social capital); and, second, a proximate network and cultural practice-based factor (as indicated for friendship composition, language use and religiosity). The former implies stronger cultural orientation in both dimensions – that is, an integration of culture along Berry's terminology. The latter instead diverts cultural orientations into either of the dimensions, but not both (i.e., the assimilated and separated, in Berry's terminology). However, this may be endogenous to acculturation itself; that is, a cultural orientation towards origin culture may be a strong structuring factor of religiosity and language use.

These findings suggest that socio-economic deprivation may rob immigrant youths of any cultural orientation and, in contrast, the more privileged immigrants enjoy embeddedness in both cultures. Increasing the economic integration of immigrants would thus foster cultural integration, even though these forces may go in both directions.

Somewhat surprisingly, spatial segregation showed no apparent association with acculturation. One caveat is that our study uses a small sample, where power is limited for assessing the role of aggregate factors. We also used a measure of segregation based on parishes, which are more aggregate than neighborhood (such as SAMS in the Swedish context). The implication, if other studies can replicate our findings, is potentially important: the idea that segregation promotes oppositional cultures appears to have little bearing on the lives of Iranian and Yugoslavian youth in Sweden today. What matters instead are the socio-economic conditions.

While spatial segregation could be dismissed as a structuring factor for acculturation, actual networks were more important. An important result is that an indication that distant and intimate networks operate in different ways can be seen: the former are associated with integration of both cultural dimensions, whereas the latter is a foundation for divergence. However, the effects of divergence

should not be exaggerated given that the two dimensions are independent, or slightly positively associated when taken together.

One must keep in mind that these findings draw upon two large immigration groups (Yugoslavs and Iranians) in Sweden. We believe they represent a significant experience of immigrants in Sweden. However, their specific context is important and, in particular, they do not belong to the most disadvantaged immigrant groups in Swedish society. We acknowledge that more socially disadvantaged immigrant groups may function differently.

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Notes

1. It should be noted that identities or cultures are not per se in conflict, but the perspectives of those agents that put a value on culture/identity, for example peers, co-nationals, employers, the majority, etc.
2. The scale we use is adapted from Oyserman and Sakamoto's (1997) study of Asian-Americans.
3. The difference between the b-coefficient and the correlation of 0.07 lies in the fact the two orientations have slightly different scales; rescaling the coefficient to the same scale would recapture the 0.07 correlation.

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Author biographies

Martin Hällsten is Associate Professor of Sociology at Stockholm University. He is working in the fields of intergenerational inequality processes, ethnic inequality and social networks.

Jens Rydgren is Professor of Sociology at Stockholm University. He is working in the fields of political sociology, ethnic relations, and social networks. His latest book is *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right* (ed.), Oxford University Press.

Christofer Edling is Professor of Sociology and Pro Dean of Social Sciences at Lund University. His research is focused on the intersection of sociological theory and methods, and the application of social network analysis to various empirical phenomena.

Appendix

Table A1. Components of Social Capital and Acculturation.

	Mean	(SD)	min	max
Measures of acculturation				
Orientation towards Swedish culture	3.442	(0.816)	1	5
Orientation towards parents' culture	3.578	(0.939)	1	5
Independent variables				
Iranian origin	0.38	(0.486)	0	1
Age at immigration	0.107	(8.853)	−25	17
Female	0.489	(0.500)	0	1
Social background				
Parents' separated	0.287	(0.453)	0	1
Do not live with parents	0.031	(0.172)	0	1
# Siblings	1.934	(1.444)	0	11
Class origin, origin country and Sweden				
Unskilled manual	0.159	(0.133)	0	1
Skilled manual	0.242	(0.428)	0	1
Routine non-manual	0.053	(0.225)	0	1
Lower service	0.264	(0.441)	0	1
Upper service	0.172	(0.377)	0	1
Entrepreneurs	0.099	(0.298)	0	1
Farmers	0.011	(0.104)	0	1
Parents' years of education	12.469	(2.513)	6	19
Mother employed 2008	0.638	(0.481)	0	1
Father employed 2008	0.648	(0.478)	0	1
Parents' ln income 2008	5.969	(0.459)	2.197	8.178
Social capital (VDG)	0.207	(0.944)	−3.676	2.526
Extensity (number of positions accessed)	16.568	(6.421)	1	36
Upper reachability (highest prestige)	70.602	(9.132)	21	78
Range of prestige accessed	50.904	(10.459)	0	61
Average prestige	41.474	(4.421)	21	61.1
Total prestige	692.352	(288.027)	42	1654
Alters' characteristic				
Prop. Swedish friends	0.674	(0.341)	0	2
Prop. friends in neighborhood	0.274	(0.275)	0	1
# friends	3.987	(1.138)	1	5
Segregation				
Percent immigrant in parish	0.242	(0.148)	0.038	0.745
Percent poor in parish	0.159	(0.082)	0.025	0.583
Language and Religion				
Average religiosity among friends	1.745	(0.672)	1	4
Parents' religiosity	2.369	(0.924)	1	4
Speaks other language with parents	0.95	(0.219)	0	1
Speaks other language with friends	0.548	(0.498)	0	1
Personality				
Orientations to the future (single item)	2.462	(1.672)	1	5
Aspirations (a=0.17)	3.933	(0.840)	1	5
Self-control (a=0.54)	3.391	(0.790)	1.25	5
Fatalism (a=0.30)	2.133	(0.584)	1	4.25
Educational achievements				
GPA 9th grade	−0.036	(0.972)	−3.212	1.733

Table A2. Components of Social Capital and Acculturation.

	Orientation towards									
	Swedish culture					Parents' culture				
Extensity (number of positions accessed) (standardized)	0.060* (2.170)					0.037 (1.284)				
Upper reachability (highest prestige) (standardized)		0.041 (1.481)					0.045 (1.565)			
Range of prestige accessed (standardized)			0.041 (1.540)					0.047+ (1.716)		
Average prestige (standardized)				0.039 (1.343)					0.028 (0.923)	
Total prestige (standardized)					0.063* (2.238)					0.04 (1.368)
N	1,048	1,048	1,048	1,048	1,048	1,048	1,048	1,048	1,048	1,048

+ $p<0.10$, * $p<0.05$, ** $p<0.01$, *** $p<0.001$, t-values in parenthesis. The models includes all other controls found in Table 2. The social capital variables are standardized to z-scores to allow for some comparability.