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Cultural Determinants of Gender Roles: Pragmatism is an Important Factor behind Gender Equality Attitudes among Children of Immigrants

Martin Ljunge

CULTURAL DETERMINANTS OF GENDER ROLES: PRAGMATISM IS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR BEHIND GENDER EQUALITY ATTITUDES AMONG CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS

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Abstract

This paper presents evidence of how attitudes toward gender roles in the home and market are shaped by Hofstede's six cultural dimensions. Children of immigrants in a broad set of European countries with ancestry from across the world are studied. Individuals are examined within country of residence using variation in cultural dimensions across countries of ancestry. The approach focuses attention on how gender roles are shaped across generations within families. Both influences on the father's and mother's side are studied. Ancestry from more masculine cultures shape more traditional gender roles on both parents' sides. On the father side more pragmatic cultures foster gender equality on the mother's side power distance promote equality attitudes, although this influence differs markedly between daughters and sons. Pragmatism is in several circumstances the strongest influence on gender norms.

JEL codes: J16, D13, D83, Z13

Keywords: gender roles; intergenerational transmission; Hofstede cultural dimensions; gender

1 Introduction

Gender equality, the equal opportunity of men and women to influence the course of their lives, has increasingly become a goal of social policy. The focus on gender equality may be most apparent in the Nordic countries with high female labor force participation rates and policies that support work and family. The trend toward more gender equality applies broadly, in particular among developed countries.

Underpinning the opportunities of women and men are attitudes toward what roles women and men have both in the labor market and in family life. These gender norms shape what individuals

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value as well as the options available in society. Both the preferences and the opportunity sets affect individual choices and aggregate social outcomes.

At the individual level there is evidence that gender norms affect fertility and labor market outcomes, Fernandez and Fogli (2006, 2009), Levine (1993), Fortin (2005) and Farré and Vella (2013). At the aggregate level there is evidence that gender equality promotes economic development. Female labor force participation has a strong positive correlation with economic development. The fertility rate has negative correlation albeit there is evidence of a U-shaped relationship at very high development levels; see Myrskylä et al (2009).

This analysis in this chapter is based on a comprehensive measure of cultural dimensions and studies how these shape gender norms across generations. Transmission of norms is studied both on the mother's and father's side. It provides an addition to the current literature that has focused on formation of gender norms based on either indirect proxies or survey questions on gender norms. Fernandez and Fogli (2006, 2009) use female labor force participation and fertility rates to measure gender attitudes to measure gender norms. Farré and Vella (2013) correlate the answers to survey questions on gender norms between mothers and children.

Hofstede et al (2010) report six cultural dimensions that vary across cultures. The dimensions are power distance, individualism (vs collectivism), masculinity (vs femininity), uncertainty avoidance, pragmatism (vs normative), and indulgence (vs restraint). Of these dimensions the previous literature has focused on the masculinity dimension as it most directly incorporates gender norms. More masculine cultures embrace more "male" values; they focus on achievement, think that boys fight and don't cry, and embrace a traditional family structure. This could of course be an important dimension shaping gender norms but it may not be the only or the most important. Other dimensions may be vital. Individualism, which focuses on individual opportunities and achievement, may be a force toward greater gender equality as the focus is on the individual over the group. The transition toward more gender equality may also be facilitated by pragmatism, meaning that social norms and behavior is allowed to change rather than that old ways should be maintained. One such old norm could be traditional gender roles.

The perspective applied in the analysis is that the six cultural dimensions characterize the ancestral country. Other aspects of the ancestral country could be seen as products of the underlying cultural dimensions. The analysis will hence avoid using proxies of cultural norms, like female labor force participation, or specific attitudes, like women's role in the labor market.

Another innovation compared to the literature is to look at influences both on the mother's and father's side. The existing literature has focused on influences on the mother's side; see for ex Fernandez and Fogli (2006, 2009), Farré and Vella (2013), and Moen et al (1997). Studying how gender norms are shaped also on the father's side adds to this literature.

Moreover, daughters and sons are studied separately to examine the cultural dimensions both on the father's and mother's side. This provides evidence on gender differences in two dimensions; through the parents and to the children. The evidence points to many similarities but also some differences across the parental and child gender.

To provide a clear direction of causality from the cultural dimensions to gender norms I study children of immigrants. The gender norms of the children are compared within country of birth and related to the six cultural dimensions in the father's or mother's birth country. Since the gender norms of an individual in one country cannot determine the cultural dimensions in another country the influence, if there is any, must run from the cultural dimensions to the gender norms. Moreover, since the comparisons are done within country of birth all common factors affecting gender norms in that country are accounted for. This avoids confounding the influence of the cultural dimensions on gender norms with common unobserved factors in the birth country.

The paper proceeds as follows. The next section presents the data, followed by a discussion of the empirical model. The results are discussed in section 4, and the last section concludes.

2 Data

The main data set is the European Social Survey (ESS). The second, fourth, and fifth rounds are used as the questions that are the main dependent variables are asked in these waves.² The survey asks about the country of birth of the respondent as well as the country of birth of both parents.³ This information allows me to identify children of immigrants and which countries their parents originate from. Studying 30 countries of residence for children of immigrants reduces the concern that the results are driven by conditions in one particular country. The cultural dimensions can be linked to individuals with ancestry from 78 countries. The wide range of countries reduces the concern that the results are particular to a small number of ancestral backgrounds. The summary statistics are presented in Table A2. The children of immigrants are similar to the general population on observables.

² See Table A1 for the participating countries in each round. Round 2 was collected in 2004, round 3 in 2006, round 4 in 2008, and round 5 in 2010.

³ Extensive documentation of the data is available at <http://ess.nsd.uib.no/>.

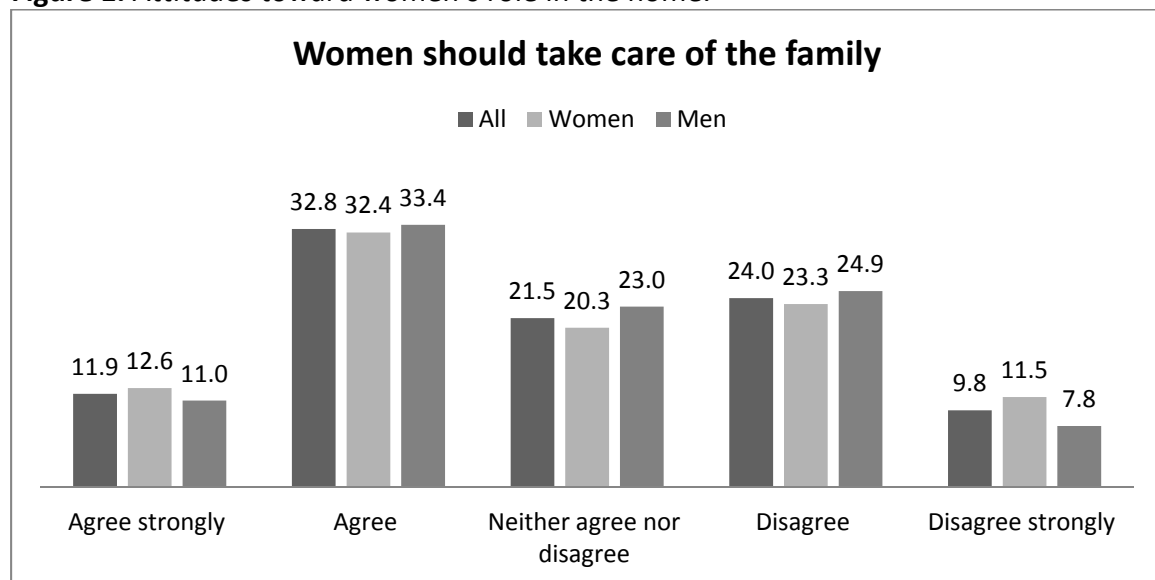
The sample is children of immigrants where those with an immigrant mother and those with an immigrant father are studied separately. In the immigrant mother sample the individual is born in the same country as he or she resides, while the mother is born in a different country. The father may be an immigrant or a native of the individual's country. The immigrant father sample is defined correspondingly.

2.1 Gender role attitudes

There are two questions in the ESS that assess gender attitudes. The respondent is read two statements to which he or she can agree or disagree. The first statement is "A woman should be prepared to cut down on her paid work for the sake of her family". The second statement is "When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women".

For both statements the respondent can pick a category from the same scale. The options are "Agree strongly", "Agree", "Neither agree nor disagree", "Disagree", and "Disagree strongly". The answers are coded from 1 through 5 such that a higher number represents stronger disagreement. The variables hence have increasing values for more gender equal attitudes. The distributions for the full population and by the individual's gender are reported in Figure 1 and 2. The distributions are very similar in the immigrant mother and immigrant father samples so the distributions in the figures include both samples.

Figure 1. Attitudes toward women's role in the home.

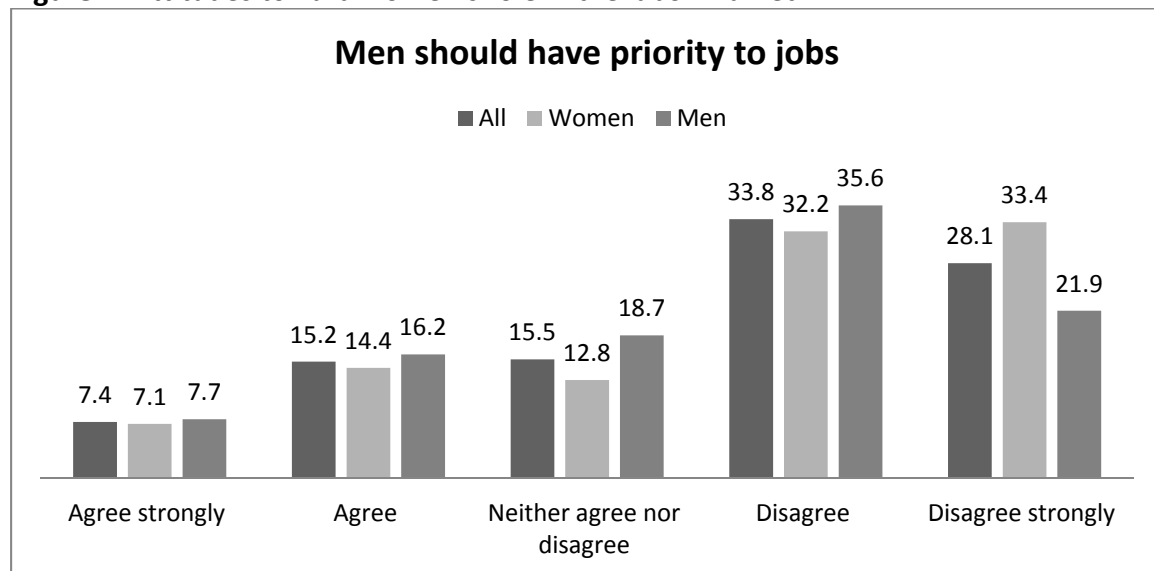


Note: The complete statement is "A woman should be prepared to cut down on her paid work for the sake of her family". Bars depict percentages. Individual data from the European Social Survey, rounds 2, 4 och 5. The figure includes both those with an immigrant father and those with an immigrant mother.

For the first question, which I refer to "Women should take care of the family", the median response is to neither agree nor disagree. The most common response is to agree with the statement. Women

have somewhat less traditional attitudes but the difference is muted. The second question, which I refer to as “Men should have priority to jobs”, the median response is to disagree both in total as well as for women and men. There are clear differences at the upper end of the scale between women and men in this respect with women having stronger gender equality attitudes. One third of the women strongly disagree with the statement while only one in five men has the same attitude.

Figure 2. Attitudes toward women’s role in the labor market.



Note: The complete statement is "When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women". Bars depict percentages. Individual data from the European Social Survey, rounds 2, 4 och 5. The figure includes both those with an immigrant father and those with an immigrant mother.

The gender role attitudes of children of immigrants are very similar to the general population on average as seen in Table A2. This indicates a large degree of assimilation. Yet, this similarity in means masks systematic differences across ancestries among children of immigrants as explored in the analysis below.

2.2 Hofstede’s cultural dimensions

The cultural dimensions studied in this paper are based on the work of Geert Hofstede and collaborators. The work was initiated by studying how culture affected workplace organization in IBM offices across the world. The initial studies were conducted between 1967 and 1973. Subsequent work has extended the analysis to more countries and wider populations.

The source for the cultural dimensions used in this paper is Hofstede et al (2010). They report scores on six cultural dimensions for 78 countries. The original scores are between 0 and 100 but I have scaled them between 0 and 1 in the analysis in order to get fewer decimal points in the reported point estimates. Table A2 displays similar scores on the cultural dimensions across the immigrant

father and immigrant mother samples. The country scores on the cultural dimensions are presented in Table A3.

Below follows descriptions of the six cultural dimensions based on Hofstede et al (2010). Table A4 presents correlations of the dimensions across the 78 countries in the sample. Note that the strongest correlation is -0.7 (between power distance and individualism) while other correlations are fairly modest. It indicates that the dimensions are not collinear and one should be able to include all in a regression analysis.

2.2.1 Power distance

This dimension expresses the degree to which the less powerful members of a society accept and expect that power is distributed unequally. The fundamental issue here is how a society handles inequalities among people. People in societies exhibiting a large degree of power distance accept a hierarchical order in which everybody has a place and which needs no further justification. In societies with low power distance, people strive to equalize the distribution of power and demand justification for inequalities of power.

Societies with a low score on Power distance are characterized by: being independent, hierarchy for convenience only, equal rights, superiors accessible, coaching leader, management facilitates and empowers. Power is decentralized and managers count on the experience of their team members. Employees expect to be consulted. Control is disliked and attitude towards managers are informal and on first name basis. Communication is direct and participative.

Societies with a high score believe hierarchy should be respected and inequalities amongst people are acceptable. The different distribution of power justifies the fact that power holders have more benefits than the less powerful in society. In such societies it is important to show respect to the elderly (and children take care for their elderly parents). In companies there is one boss who takes complete responsibility. Status symbols of power are very important in order to indicate social position and “communicate” the respect that could be shown. The largest power distance scores in the sample are Slovakia and Malaysia, while the lowest power distance is in Austria and Denmark.

2.2.2 Individualism vs collectivism

The high side of this dimension, called individualism, can be defined as a preference for a loosely-knit social framework in which individuals are expected to take care of only themselves and their immediate families. In individualistic societies offence causes guilt and a loss of self-esteem, the employer/employee relationship is a contract based on mutual advantage, hiring and promotion decisions are supposed to be based on merit only, management is the management of individuals.

Its opposite, collectivism, represents a preference for a tightly-knit framework in society in which individuals can expect their relatives or members of a particular in-group to look after them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty. A society's position on this dimension is reflected in whether people's self-image is defined in terms of "I" or "we." In collectivist societies people from birth and onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive groups (especially represented by the extended family; including uncles, aunts, grandparents and cousins) which continues protecting its members in exchange for loyalty. This is an important aspect in the working environment too, where for instance an older and powerful member of a family is expected to "help" a younger nephew to be hired for a job in his own company. In business it is important to build up trustworthy and long lasting relationships: a meeting usually starts with general conversations in order to get to know each other before doing business. The preferred communication style is context-rich, so people will often speak profusely and write in an elaborate fashion. The most collectivist countries are Venezuela and Colombia. The most individualist societies are the United States and Australia.

2.2.3 Masculinity vs femininity

The masculinity side of this dimension represents a preference in society for achievement, heroism, assertiveness and material rewards for success. Society at large is more competitive. Its opposite, femininity, stands for a preference for cooperation, modesty, caring for the weak and quality of life. Society at large is more consensus-oriented. In the business context Masculinity versus Femininity is sometimes also related to as "tough versus gender" cultures.

In feminine countries it is important to keep the life/work balance and you make sure that all are included. An effective manager is supportive to his/her people, and decision making is achieved through involvement. Managers strive for consensus and people value equality, solidarity and quality in their working lives. Conflicts are resolved by compromise. Incentives such as free time and flexible work hours and place are favored. In masculine countries people "live in order to work", managers are expected to be decisive and assertive, the emphasis is on equity, competition and performance and conflicts are resolved by fighting them out. The most masculine societies are Slovakia and Japan, while the most feminine are Sweden and Norway.

2.2.4 Uncertainty avoidance

The uncertainty avoidance dimension expresses the degree to which the members of a society feel uncomfortable with uncertainty and ambiguity. The fundamental issue here is how a society deals with the fact that the future can never be known: should we try to control the future or just let it happen? Countries exhibiting strong uncertainty avoidance maintain rigid codes of belief and behavior and are intolerant of unorthodox behavior and ideas. In these cultures there is an

emotional need for rules (even if the rules never seem to work), time is money, people have an inner urge to be busy and work hard, precision and punctuality are the norm, innovation may be resisted, security is an important element in individual motivation.

Weak uncertainty avoidance societies maintain a more relaxed attitude in which practice counts more than principles and deviance from the norm is more easily tolerated. In societies exhibiting low uncertainty avoidance, people believe there should be no more rules than are necessary and if they are ambiguous or do not work they should be abandoned or changed. Schedules are flexible, hard work is undertaken when necessary but not for its own sake, precision and punctuality do not come naturally, innovation is not seen as threatening. The most relaxed countries with respect to uncertainty are Singapore and Denmark. The most averse to uncertainty are Greece, Portugal, and Uruguay.

2.2.5 Pragmatism (or short-term normative) vs Normative

Every society has to maintain some links with its own past while dealing with the challenges of the present and the future. Societies prioritize these two existential goals differently. Societies who score low on this dimension, for example, prefer to maintain time-honored traditions and norms while viewing societal change with suspicion. Those with a culture which scores high, on the other hand, take a more pragmatic approach: they encourage thrift and efforts in modern education as a way to prepare for the future.

In the business context and in Hofstede et al's (2010) country comparison tool this dimension is related to as "(short term) normative versus (long term) pragmatic". People in normative societies have a strong concern with establishing the absolute Truth; they are normative in their thinking. They exhibit great respect for traditions, a relatively small propensity to save for the future, and a focus on achieving quick results. In societies with a pragmatic orientation, people believe that truth depends very much on situation, context and time. They show an ability to adapt traditions easily to changed conditions, a strong propensity to save and invest, thriftiness, and perseverance in achieving results. The most normative countries in the sample are Ghana and Egypt. The most pragmatic are Korea and Taiwan.

2.2.6 Indulgence vs restraint

Indulgence stands for a society that allows relatively free gratification of basic and natural human drives related to enjoying life and having fun. They possess a positive attitude and have a tendency towards optimism. In addition, they place a higher degree of importance on leisure time, act as they please and spend money as they wish.

Restraint stands for a society that suppresses gratification of needs and regulates it by means of strict social norms. Societies with a low score on indulgence have a tendency to cynicism and pessimism. Also, in contrast to indulgent societies, restrained societies do not put much emphasis on leisure time and control the gratification of their desires. People with this orientation have the perception that their actions are restrained by social norms and feel that indulging themselves is somewhat wrong. The two societies most prone to indulgence are Venezuela and Mexico, while the most restrained are Egypt and Latvia.

2.3 Ancestral country development

The log of the ancestral country's gross domestic product per capita is used to measure the effect of ancestry from a higher income nation.⁴ This measure is taken from the World Development Indicators (WDI) provided by the World Bank. Although the main focus is on the transmission of the six cultural dimensions there are also results conditioning on the level of development to rule out that the cultural influences are collinear with development.

2.4 Individual Control Variables

The ESS includes a rich set of individual controls. Age, gender, marital status, education, income, and religious affiliation are observed. Marital status is captured by two dummies for married and never married, with widowed and divorced being the excluded category. Education is captured by one dummy for tertiary (university) degree and above, and one dummy for upper secondary as the highest attained degree. Lower education is the excluded category. Income is measured by income decile, based on the country specific income distribution. I create one dummy for the bottom three deciles, Low Income, and one dummy for the middle four deciles, Middle Income. Religion dummies for being a Catholic or a Protestant are included while other religious denominations are in the excluded category.

3 Empirical specification

To separate the influence of cultural transmission in the family from influences in the society where the individual lives I use the 'epidemiological approach' as the method is labeled in Fernandez (2010) handbook chapter. The main type of analysis is ordinary least squares regressions of the following form:

$$\text{GenderRole}_{\text{icat}} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 \text{PDI}_a + \alpha_2 \text{IDV}_a + \alpha_3 \text{MAS}_a + \alpha_4 \text{PRA}_a + \alpha_5 \text{UAI}_a + \alpha_6 \text{IND}_a + \alpha_7 X_{\text{icat}} + \gamma_{\text{ct}} + \epsilon_{\text{icat}} \quad (1)$$

⁴ Current measures of gross domestic product are used since data for more countries are available in recent years. As the rank of income across countries is fairly stable the current measure captures differences in development. Moreover, the results are robust to using national income measures from 1960, 1970, 1980, or averages across those periods.

GenderRole_{ict} measures the gender role attitude by individual i , born and residing in country c with a parent born in country a , and $a \neq c$, in period t . This regression is run on a sample of second generation immigrants. The six cultural dimensions in the ancestral country are captured by the variables PDI_a , IDV_a , MAS_a , PRA_a , UAI_a , and IND_a . They measure the scores on power distance, individualism, masculinity, pragmatism, uncertainty avoidance, and indulgence, respectively. These variables are common to all individuals with a parent born in country a . X_{icat} captures individual demographic and economic controls that may affect gender attitudes. The country of residence-by-year fixed effect is denoted by γ_{ct} , and ϵ_{icat} is the error term. All standard errors are clustered by the parent's birth country to allow for arbitrary correlations of the error terms among individuals with the same ancestral country.

Reverse causality is not a concern in (1) since the attitudes of a person born and residing in country c cannot affect the cultural dimensions in the parent's birth country a . The inclusion of the country-by-year fixed effect γ_{ct} means that the institutional structure and all other unobserved differences which apply to all residents in country c in period t are accounted for. It also means that the variation used to identify the estimates on the cultural dimensions is to compare the attitudes of second generation immigrants within each country of residence and year relative to the values in their countries of ancestry. Since the country fixed effects are included for each year they account for non-linear trends in gender norms that may differ across countries. The method and the related literature are discussed in more detail in Fernandez (2010).⁵

The main specification in the analysis relates the cultural dimension in the ancestral country to the relative gender attitudes of children of immigrants within country of residence. The cultural dimensions capture broad features of the ancestral country that could be transmitted across generations and shape gender attitudes. The transmission channel from parent to child is labeled direct vertical transmission in Bisin and Verdier's (2001, 2010) model. Gender attitudes may also be shaped by the society the child grows up in, labeled oblique horizontal transmission in their model. These social influences may change, for example due to changes in the political system or anti-discrimination laws, and introduce a time-varying component of gender attitudes. As children of immigrants are studied within country and year, all individuals face similar social influences in their residence countries over time. Including the country by year fixed effects hence focuses attention on the deviations of gender attitudes around the time trends.

⁵ The method has been applied to the cultural transmission of trust on the mother's and father's side; see Ljunge (2014a, b).

4 Results

This section presents the estimation results on how cultural dimensions shape attitudes towards gender roles in the home and the market sector. The focus is on Hofstede's six cultural dimensions. The idea is that these dimensions characterize the ancestral country, and the analysis tells us which dimensions shape the gender attitudes. The analysis is done separately on the father's and mother's side. The literature has thus far focused on transmission of norms on the mother's side and my analysis can shed light on differences in how gender attitudes are shaped on the maternal and paternal side. Moreover, the analysis is done separately for daughters and sons on both the paternal and maternal side to assess gender differences both among the children and the parents.

4.1 Father's side

The first question examined is if women should care for the family rather than work.⁶ A higher value captures stronger disagreement with the statement and more gender equal attitudes. The first column in Table 1 includes controls for the six cultural dimensions, age and its square, gender, as well as country of birth by year fixed effects. Two cultural dimensions have significant estimates; Masculinity with a negative sign and Pragmatism with a positive sign.

The negative estimate on Masculinity is as one would expect based on the previous literature. Cultures emphasizing more Masculinity shape more traditional gender attitudes. Masculinity would encapsulate previously used measures based on female labor force participation rate and specific gender attitudes. More surprising may be the second significant estimate; Pragmatism. The positive estimate indicates that more pragmatic cultures shape more gender equal attitudes. As the trend in the European countries studied is toward more gender equality it makes sense that pragmatic cultures embrace this shift faster than more normatively orthodox cultures. Interestingly, there is no significant difference between men and women in this question once the cultural dimensions are accounted for.⁷

The main perspective in the analysis is that the six cultural dimensions characterize the ancestral country. Yet, it may be interesting to assess the influence of the cultural dimensions separate from the level of development. Column 2 of Table 1 adds the logarithm of the GDP per capita in the ancestral country to the specification, which broadly accounts for development.

The estimates on the cultural dimensions are very similar in column 2 compared to the first column in Table 1. Masculinity and Pragmatism remain strongly significant with the same signs as in the

⁶ The full question is as follows "A woman should be prepared to cut down on her paid work for the sake of her family".

⁷ Women express somewhat stronger gender equal attitudes if the cultural dimensions are not included in the model.

baseline model. The development measure, GDP per capita, is insignificant indicating a strong influence of the cultural dimensions also over and above the level of development.

The third specification in Table 1 adds a set of individual controls frequently used in the literature. One issue with adding these controls is that they shut down any influence of the cultural dimensions on gender attitudes that works through the included controls. For example, one could imagine that the cultural dimensions affect education and that education in turn shapes gender attitudes. Controlling for education effectively shuts down this influence of culture on gender attitudes.

In the extensive model in column 3 of Table 1 the two cultural dimensions Masculinity and Pragmatism remain strongly significant as before. The point estimate on Pragmatism is somewhat lower. Individual characteristic associated with more gender equal attitudes are high education and high income. Married individuals and those with an expressed religion (Catholic or Protestant) express more traditional views.

The second half of Table 1 studies the question if men should have priority to work when jobs are scarce. The estimates follow the same pattern as the previous question. Masculinity is negative and significant while Pragmatism is positive and significant. The level of development is insignificant. The life cycle pattern is inversely U-shaped; in particular old individuals express more traditional gender attitudes.

In contrast to the previous question women now express substantially stronger gender equality attitudes. Attitudes toward women in the labor market appear more divisive across gender lines than women's role in the home. In column 6 of Table 1 with the extensive individual controls the estimate on Masculinity loses some significance but remains significant at conventional levels. There is also a weakly significant estimate on Individualism.

The estimates on the individual characteristics in columns 3 and 6 of Table 1 reveal larger point estimates (in magnitude) on education and income in column 6. Individual characteristics hence appear more important in explaining gender roles in the market sector than in the home. The weaker estimate on Masculinity in column 6 of Table 1 indicates that some of the previously estimated influence may have affected individual characteristics like education. In both the market sector and at home low education and low income is associated with more traditional gender roles.

Table 1. Gender norms and Hofstede's cultural dimensions; father's side.

Dependent variable:	Women should care for the family			Men should have priority to jobs		
Sample: Father immigrant						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Power Distance, father's birth country	0.105 (0.115)	0.007 (0.130)	-0.015 (0.148)	-0.157 (0.119)	-0.122 (0.129)	-0.151 (0.107)
Individualism, father's birth country	0.066 (0.200)	0.169 (0.200)	0.107 (0.196)	-0.128 (0.174)	-0.199 (0.204)	-0.303 (0.181)*
Masculinity, father's birth country	-0.253 (0.109)**	-0.261 (0.118)**	-0.240 (0.112)**	-0.288 (0.118)**	-0.268 (0.133)**	-0.231 (0.116)*
Uncertainty avoidance, father's birth country	-0.123 (0.193)	-0.080 (0.209)	-0.123 (0.193)	-0.025 (0.168)	-0.104 (0.176)	-0.174 (0.152)
Pragmatism, father's birth country	0.377 (0.128)***	0.414 (0.125)***	0.313 (0.127)**	0.500 (0.137)***	0.439 (0.152)***	0.289 (0.132)**
Indulgence, father's birth country	0.138 (0.178)	0.177 (0.191)	0.087 (0.185)	0.089 (0.210)	0.035 (0.237)	-0.094 (0.198)
log of GDP per capita, father's birth country		-0.059 (0.051)	-0.039 (0.052)		0.049 (0.064)	0.083 (0.058)
Age	0.022 (0.005)***	0.021 (0.005)***	0.026 (0.005)***	0.026 (0.004)***	0.025 (0.004)***	0.016 (0.005)***
Age squared/100	-0.029 (0.006)***	-0.029 (0.006)***	-0.030 (0.005)***	-0.038 (0.005)***	-0.037 (0.005)***	-0.025 (0.005)***
Female	0.037 (0.028)	0.037 (0.028)	0.043 (0.032)	0.238 (0.030)***	0.239 (0.032)***	0.236 (0.029)***
Married			-0.104 (0.047)**			-0.117 (0.045)**
Never married			0.120 (0.070)*			0.036 (0.060)
Upper secondary			0.150 (0.043)***			0.274 (0.048)***
College or university			0.368 (0.059)***			0.598 (0.059)***
Low income			-0.136 (0.061)**			-0.223 (0.076)***
Middle income			-0.126 (0.043)***			-0.193 (0.037)***
Catholic			-0.151 (0.035)***			-0.138 (0.049)***
Protestant			-0.113 (0.062)*			-0.136 (0.058)**
Country-by-year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared	0.113	0.119	0.141	0.182	0.187	0.225
Observations	5819	5442	5224	5863	5478	5267

Notes: The dependent variable in columns 1-3 is attitudes toward that women should care for the family. In columns 4-6 the dependent variable is attitudes toward that men should have priority to jobs. In all cases the answers range from "Agree strongly", coded as 1, to "Disagree strongly", coded as 5. The sample is children of immigrants with an immigrant father. The first six explanatory variables are scores on the cultural dimensions in Hofstede et al (2010). Country of residence by year fixed effects included in all specifications. Individual data is from the second, fourth, and fifth waves of the European Social Survey. Standard errors are in parenthesis. Standard errors allow for clustering on the mother's birth country. Significance stars, * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

4.2 Mother's side

This section performs analysis of the same questions as in the previous section but with the distinct difference that the gender attitudes are related to the six cultural dimensions on the *mother's* side. The specifications include the same set of controls as in the previous analysis.

First are the specifications analyzing attitudes towards women prioritizing home work ("Women should care for the family"). The first column of Table 2 presents the results with only the most exogenous individual controls. The estimate on Masculinity is negative and significant, and the estimate on Pragmatism is positive and significant at the 10% level, both similar to the estimates on the father's side. Different though is the positive and significant estimate on the Power Distance, and a weakly significant estimate on Indulgence. The robustness of the last estimate is not clear as Indulgence loses significance in the second column of Table 2 where the level of development is accounted for. Also Pragmatism loses its significance at conventional levels in this specification. Power Distance and Masculinity remains significant. In the third column of Table 2, where extensive individual controls are included, Power Distance remains strongly significant and Masculinity is significant at the 10% level.

The positive sign on the Power Distance estimate means that those with ancestry from more hierarchical countries express more gender equal attitudes. This may seem surprising at first if one expects that less hierarchical cultures would be more prone to embrace gender equality. Yet, the estimates indicate a "counter culture" where the children of mothers from more hierarchical cultures have a stronger embrace of gender equality in the home than those with ancestry from countries with less power distance.

Next, consider the estimates on what shapes attitudes to women in the labor market ("Men should have priority to jobs"). The estimate on Masculinity remains negative and significant as in previous regressions. The estimate on Pragmatism is positive and significant in columns 4 and 5 of Table 2. Pragmatism loses significance in column 6 of Table 2 because the point estimate drops somewhat, so it does not appear as a significant change across specifications. New in column 6 of Table 2 is a negative and significant estimate on Uncertainty Avoidance.

Table 2. Gender norms and Hofstede's cultural dimensions; mother's side.

Dependent variable:	Women should care for the family			Men should have priority to jobs		
Sample: Mother immigrant	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Power Distance, mother's birth country	0.393 (0.110)***	0.432 (0.123)***	0.481 (0.121)***	0.058 (0.102)	0.173 (0.119)	0.163 (0.113)
Individualism, mother's birth country	0.235 (0.198)	0.198 (0.215)	0.117 (0.209)	0.218 (0.178)	0.092 (0.184)	-0.041 (0.149)
Masculinity, mother's birth country	-0.418 (0.138)***	-0.380 (0.149)**	-0.311 (0.162)*	-0.384 (0.103)***	-0.345 (0.105)***	-0.246 (0.109)**
Uncertainty avoidance, mother's birth country	-0.106 (0.201)	-0.196 (0.207)	-0.249 (0.191)	-0.143 (0.164)	-0.289 (0.189)	-0.324 (0.156)**
Pragmatism, mother's birth country	0.240 (0.144)*	0.166 (0.131)	0.104 (0.128)	0.335 (0.119)***	0.255 (0.122)**	0.147 (0.097)
Indulgence, mother's birth country	0.300 (0.176)*	0.225 (0.169)	0.171 (0.167)	0.093 (0.222)	-0.007 (0.242)	-0.085 (0.193)
log of GDP per capita, mother's birth country		0.049 (0.045)	0.073 (0.044)*		0.089 (0.047)*	0.117 (0.040)***
Age	0.018 (0.004)***	0.016 (0.004)***	0.019 (0.005)***	0.025 (0.004)***	0.023 (0.004)***	0.012 (0.005)**
Age squared/100	-0.025 (0.005)***	-0.024 (0.005)***	-0.024 (0.005)***	-0.036 (0.005)***	-0.034 (0.005)***	-0.020 (0.006)***
Female	0.071 (0.030)**	0.070 (0.031)**	0.072 (0.035)**	0.249 (0.044)***	0.250 (0.046)***	0.245 (0.043)***
Married			-0.181 (0.050)***			-0.118 (0.046)**
Never married			0.030 (0.070)			0.003 (0.070)
Upper secondary			0.111 (0.032)***			0.323 (0.050)***
College or university			0.323 (0.067)***			0.609 (0.063)***
Low income			-0.160 (0.044)***			-0.166 (0.061)***
Middle income			-0.045 (0.032)			-0.092 (0.038)**
Catholic			-0.122 (0.050)**			-0.136 (0.047)***
Protestant			-0.143 (0.049)***			-0.145 (0.063)**
Country-by-year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared	0.130	0.135	0.154	0.179	0.184	0.220
Observations	5701	5403	5202	5722	5420	5228

Notes: The dependent variable in columns 1-3 is attitudes toward that women should care for the family. In columns 4-6 the dependent variable is attitudes toward that men should have priority to jobs. In all cases the answers range from "Agree strongly", coded as 1, to "Disagree strongly", coded as 5. The sample is children of immigrants with an immigrant mother. The first six explanatory variables are scores on the cultural dimensions in Hofstede et al (2010). Country of residence by year fixed effects included in all specifications. Individual data is from the second, fourth, and fifth waves of the European Social Survey. Standard errors are in parenthesis. Standard errors allow for clustering on the mother's birth country. Significance stars, * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

The estimates on the individual characteristics in specifications 3 and 6 are broadly similar across the immigrant father and mother samples in tables 4 and 5. Women are significantly more likely to express gender equal attitudes and the magnitude is now significant in the case of women prioritizing the family while the magnitude is larger in the case of men having priority to jobs. Higher education and income are associated with more gender equal attitudes as before. Those married and expressly Protestant or Catholic are more traditional in their gender attitudes.

4.3 Daughters and sons

This section examines heterogeneity across the child's gender. Different cultural dimensions may influence daughters and sons. Moreover, these influences may differ if the parent is a father or mother. The following analysis shed some light on these issues. Transmission of the father's side is studied before we turn to the mother's side. All the results are estimated in the base line model controlling for age, its square, and the country by year effects.

4.3.1 Father's side

Attitudes towards if women should care for the family are examined in the first two specifications of Table 3. Column 1 studies daughters and related their attitude to the six cultural dimensions on the father's birth country.

The estimate on Masculinity is negative and significant, and the estimate on Pragmatism is positive and significant. This is similar to the joint sample in Table 1. When considering sons the estimate on Masculinity is negative but no longer significant. The magnitudes of the estimates are comparable between sons and daughters indicating similar influences, yet the estimate among sons is not significant indicating a weaker influence in this group. The estimate on Pragmatism among the sons in column 2 of Table 3 is positive and significant at the 10% level. Again, the magnitudes are comparable across daughters and sons but the significance is lower among sons indicating a less strong influence.

Table 3. Estimates by daughters and sons; father's side.

Dependent variable:	Women should care for the family		Men should have priority to jobs	
Sample: Father immigrant				
Child's gender:	Daughters	Sons	Daughters	Sons
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Power Distance, father's birth country	0.042 (0.120)	0.130 (0.192)	-0.036 (0.150)	-0.291 (0.155)*
Individualism, father's birth country	0.017 (0.239)	0.140 (0.224)	-0.030 (0.209)	-0.219 (0.196)
Masculinity, father's birth country	-0.282 (0.113)**	-0.258 (0.161)	-0.289 (0.156)*	-0.296 (0.151)*
Uncertainty avoidance, father's birth country	-0.222 (0.208)	-0.004 (0.225)	-0.102 (0.169)	0.033 (0.222)
Pragmatism, father's birth country	0.412 (0.118)***	0.343 (0.197)*	0.640 (0.145)***	0.346 (0.174)*
Indulgence, father's birth country	0.154 (0.208)	0.090 (0.227)	-0.044 (0.264)	0.191 (0.241)
Age and age sq. controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-by-year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared	0.108	0.121	0.184	0.170
Observations	3162	2657	3179	2684

Notes: The dependent variable in columns 1 and 2 is attitudes toward that women should care for the family. In columns 3 and 4 the dependent variable is attitudes toward that men should have priority to jobs. In all cases the answers range from "Agree strongly", coded as 1, to "Disagree strongly", coded as 5. The sample is children of immigrants with an immigrant father. Columns 1 and 3 include women (daughters) and columns 2 and 4 men (sons). The six explanatory variables are scores on the cultural dimensions in Hofstede et al (2010). Individual controls include age and age squared. Country of residence by year fixed effects included in all specifications. Individual data is from the second, fourth, and fifth waves of the European Social Survey. Standard errors are in parenthesis. Standard errors allow for clustering on the mother's birth country. Significance stars, * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

Next is the study of attitudes toward if men should have priority to jobs. For daughters the estimate on Masculinity is negative and significant at the 10% level. The estimate on Pragmatism is large, positive, and strongly significant. The estimates indicate that Pragmatism may be the most important dimension to shape gender attitudes in the work place in the transmission from fathers to daughters.

For the sons in column 4 of Table 3 there are three estimates that are significant at the 10% level. The estimates on Power Distance and Masculinity are negative, and the estimate on Pragmatism is positive.

The estimates on the father to daughter transmission of gender norms, columns 1 and 3 in Table 3, indicate that Pragmatism may be the strongest influence. Influences from the father to the son are on the whole weaker as seen in columns 2 and 4 of Table 3. Still also for sons Pragmatism appears to be the most important influence.

4.3.2 Mother's side

This section examines how daughters' and sons' attitudes are shaped through influences on the mother's side. First is the question if women should care for the family. The estimate on Power Distance is positive and significant both for daughters and sons as seen in the first two specifications of Table 4. The point estimate is a little larger and more significant for daughter than sons.

The point estimate on Masculinity is negative for both groups but not significant for daughters while strongly significant for sons. The magnitude is substantially higher for sons. The estimate on Pragmatism is positive and significant for daughters while the positive estimate is smaller in magnitude and insignificant for sons. For daughters there is a fairly large positive estimate on Indulgence that is significant at the 10% level.

Columns 3 and 4 of Table 4 studies attitudes toward women in the labor market. The estimate on Power Distance is positive and significant for daughters while the point estimate is negative and of similar magnitude for sons. This indicates a difference in the influence across the gender of the child.

The estimate on Masculinity is negative and significant both for daughters and sons. However, the size of the estimate for sons is twice that of daughters indicating a differential impact across genders. Masculinity imparted through the mother seems to have a stronger influence on the sons' than on the daughters' attitudes. This applies to gender attitudes both in the labor market and in the family.

The point estimates on Pragmatism in column 3 and 4 of Table 4 are positive for both sons and daughters. However, the estimate is not significant for daughters while it is for sons. Comparing the estimates on Pragmatism across Table 4 one notices that it is a significant influence for daughters in the case of attitudes in the home while it is significant for sons regarding attitudes in the market. The estimates reveal differential strength in the influences across gender and type of gender norm.

Table 4. Estimates by daughters and sons; mother's side.

Dependent variable:	Women should care for the family		Men should have priority to jobs	
Sample: Mother immigrant				
Child's gender:	Daughters	Sons	Daughters	Sons
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Power Distance, mother's birth country	0.440 (0.162)***	0.348 (0.134)**	0.331 (0.167)*	-0.247 (0.170)
Individualism, mother's birth country	0.061 (0.251)	0.398 (0.202)*	0.249 (0.205)	0.159 (0.241)
Masculinity, mother's birth country	-0.265 (0.165)	-0.565 (0.180)***	-0.277 (0.105)***	-0.532 (0.211)**
Uncertainty avoidance, mother's birth country	-0.131 (0.244)	-0.108 (0.216)	-0.301 (0.202)	0.051 (0.213)
Pragmatism, mother's birth country	0.350 (0.174)**	0.153 (0.130)	0.270 (0.169)	0.445 (0.119)***
Indulgence, mother's birth country	0.440 (0.231)*	0.183 (0.174)	0.173 (0.251)	0.043 (0.291)
Age and age sq. controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-by-year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared	0.132	0.130	0.174	0.180
Observations	3089	2612	3091	2631

Notes: The dependent variable in columns 1 and 2 is attitudes toward that women should care for the family. In columns 3 and 4 the dependent variable is attitudes toward that men should have priority to jobs. In all cases the answers range from "Agree strongly", coded as 1, to "Disagree strongly", coded as 5. The sample is children of immigrants with an immigrant mother. Columns 1 and 3 include women (daughters) and columns 2 and 4 men (sons). The six explanatory variables are scores on the cultural dimensions in Hofstede et al (2010). Individual controls include age and age squared. Country of residence by year fixed effects included in all specifications. Individual data is from the second, fourth, and fifth waves of the European Social Survey. Standard errors are in parenthesis. Standard errors allow for clustering on the mother's birth country. Significance stars, * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

5 Discussion

This paper finds evidence of how gender norms are shaped by a broad set of cultural influences. The analysis goes beyond the study of how the mother's attitudes are transmitted to the daughter by studying transmission both through fathers and mothers, and by studying both daughters and sons. Moreover, the analysis considers a broad range of cultural influences rather than measures aimed at capturing gender attitudes only. For example, Farré and Vella (2013) and Thornton et al (1983) focus on the influence on attitudes toward women and men, while Fernandez and Fogli (2006, 2009) focus on indirect measures like female labor force participation and fertility rates.

I study a wide-ranging set of cultural factors based on Hofstede et al's (2010) work on cultural traits across the world. They identify six important and largely independent cultural dimensions: Power Distance, Individualism, Masculinity, Uncertainty Avoidance, Pragmatism, and Indulgence. Of these

factors Masculinity fits with the focus of the previous literature. Yet, it is not know if this is the most important factor shaping gender norms once other dimensions are accounted for.

The analysis finds that ancestry from a country that scores high on Masculinity has negative and significant influence on gender equality norms, as one might expect. More unexpectedly Pragmatism reveals itself as an important influence behind promoting gender equality norms. In some cases the effect size of Pragmatism is twice that of Masculinity (in magnitude). The results point to the importance of broadening the perspective beyond direct transmission of gender norms.

There is also interesting heterogeneity in the influence of Pragmatism on gender attitudes. It seems like this influence is stronger on the father's side compared to the mother's. Moreover, on the father's side the results indicate that the positive influence of Pragmatism on gender equality is stronger on daughters than sons.

The results show that both mothers and fathers are important in shaping gender norms. It indicates that the previous literature's focus on transmission on the mother's side omit important channels through which gender norms are shaped and in turn potentially affect choices and outcomes. This study points to the importance of including also the fathers in such studies.

The results may have implications for integration policy in countries who want to promote more gender equality. For example, in Sweden gender equality is an important political and social objective. Men and women should have the same possibilities to influence their lives. Underlying the equal possibilities are norms about what men and women should do, which in turn affect both individual choices and the available options in society. Sweden also has significant immigration from countries with more traditional gender roles. There is a conflict between the indigenous Swedish values and migrant groups. Integration from the Swedish perspective seem to require the migrant groups to adopt more gender equal attitudes. The results presented here point to the importance of integration policy to recognize the role of promoting pragmatism among these groups as a means to influence gender attitudes.

Pragmatism could make integration of immigrants faster, beyond the influence on gender norms. It is plausible that Pragmatism, that one adapts the norms to the current context, may make life easier for migrants along many dimensions compared to those more normative who hold on to their ancestral culture's "truth" also when they live in a different country that may embrace other convictions. The potentially wider influence of Pragmatism on attitudes and behavior is a topic for my future research.

Notable is also that the gender norms are quite similar for men and women. In one case there is no significant difference between women and men, which is regarding the statement that women should take care of the family on the father's side. On the mother's side the estimate on being female is significant but modest in magnitude. To the statement that men should have priority to jobs there is a significant difference across gender with women disagreeing with the statement one quarter of a point. However, on a scale from one to five it does not represent a dramatic difference. If one would play with the idea that all men changed gender it would result in more gender equal attitudes by one eighth of a point. It seems that gender equality does not follow if all men become like women, at least not with respect to the two attitudes examined.

Summarizing the findings this study points to the importance of broadening the perspective when studying the formation of gender norms and potentially their influence on individual choices and policy. First, it appears important to consider how gender norms are transmitted both through the mother and the father. Second, the results point to the significance of accounting for a broader set of cultural influences than just gender norms of the mother or her birth country. Although Masculinity is an important influence on gender norms the estimates indicate that Pragmatism is more important in several circumstances.

6 References

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7 Appendix Tables

Table A1. Countries Participating in the ESS by Survey Round.

Country	Survey Round:				
	1	2	3	4	5
Austria	X	X	X		
Belgium	X	X	X	X	X
Bulgaria			X	X	X
Croatia					X
Cyprus			X	X	X
Czech Republic	X	X		X	X
Denmark	X	X	X	X	X
Estonia		X	X	X	X
Finland	X	X	X	X	X
France	X	X	X	X	X
Germany	X	X	X	X	X
Greece	X	X		X	X
Hungary	X	X	X	X	X
Ireland	X	X	X	X	X
Israel	X			X	X
Italy	X	X			
Luxembourg	X	X			
Netherlands	X	X	X	X	X
Norway	X	X	X	X	X
Poland	X	X	X	X	X
Portugal	X	X	X	X	X
Russian Federation			X	X	X
Slovakia		X	X	X	X
Slovenia	X	X	X	X	X
Spain	X	X	X	X	X
Sweden	X	X	X	X	X
Switzerland	X	X	X	X	X
Turkey		X		X	
Ukraine		X	X	X	X
United Kingdom	X	X	X	X	X

Note: Edition 2.0 of ESS round 5 is used, and the cumulative file for earlier rounds. Rounds 2 through 5 are used in the analysis since they include parental birth country. Survey years as follows: round 1 in 2002; round 2 in 2004; round 3 in 2006; round 4 in 2008; and round 5 in 2010.

Table A2. Summary statistics.

Variable	Immigrant father sample		Immigrant mother sample		Native population sample	
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Women should care for the family	2.85	1.19	2.85	1.20	2.82	1.17
Men should have priority to jobs	3.56	1.25	3.57	1.26	3.46	1.26
Power distance, parent's birth country	0.637	0.223	0.628	0.229		
Individualism, parent's birth country	0.526	0.189	0.530	0.186		
Masculinity, parent's birth country	0.527	0.183	0.521	0.190		
Uncertainty avoidance, parent's birth count	0.750	0.189	0.743	0.188		
Pragmatism, parent's birth country	0.532	0.222	0.542	0.226		
Indulgence, parent's birth country	0.366	0.169	0.373	0.168		
GDP per capita (log), parent's birth country	9.524	0.795	9.561	0.793		
Age	44.5	17.9	44.5	17.9	47.7	18.6
Female	0.543	0.498	0.542	0.498	0.538	0.499
Married	0.504	0.500	0.492	0.500	0.535	0.499
Never married	0.314	0.464	0.322	0.467	0.274	0.446
Upper secondary degree	0.499	0.500	0.503	0.500	0.440	0.496
College/university degree	0.258	0.438	0.263	0.440	0.225	0.417
Middle income	0.223	0.416	0.220	0.414	0.259	0.438
High income	0.321	0.467	0.322	0.467	0.294	0.456
Catholic	0.176	0.381	0.198	0.398	0.307	0.461
Protestant	0.066	0.249	0.070	0.256	0.136	0.342

Notes: Data on individuals are from the European Social Survey, rounds 2, 4, and 5. The immigrant father sample refers to individuals born in the country of residence whose father is born in a different country. The immigrant mother sample refers to individuals born in the country of residence whose mother is born in a different country. The native population sample excludes individuals who are born abroad or have one parent born abroad (compared to the individual's residence country). Data on the cultural dimensions are from Hofstede et al (2010). The parent's birth country is the father's in the immigrant father sample and the mother's in the immigrant mother sample.

Table A3. Scores on Hofstede's cultural dimensions by country.

Country	Cultural dimension						Country	Cultural dimension					
	PDI	IDV	MAS	UAI	PRA	IND		PDI	IDV	MAS	UAI	PRA	IND
AL	90	20	80	70	61	15	JP	54	46	95	92	88	42
AO	83	18	20	60	15	83	KR	60	18	39	85	100	29
AR	49	46	56	86	20	62	LB	75	40	65	50	14	25
AT	11	55	79	70	60	63	LT	42	60	19	65	82	16
AU	36	90	61	51	21	71	LU	40	60	50	70	64	56
BD	80	20	55	60	47	20	LV	44	70	9	63	69	13
BE	65	75	54	94	82	57	LY	80	38	52	68	23	34
BF	70	15	50	55	27	18	MA	70	46	53	68	14	25
BG	70	30	40	85	69	16	MT	56	59	47	96	47	66
BR	69	38	49	76	44	59	MX	81	30	69	82	24	97
CA	39	80	52	48	36	68	MY	100	26	50	36	41	57
CH	34	68	70	58	74	66	MZ	85	15	38	44	11	80
CL	63	23	28	86	31	68	NG	80	30	60	55	13	84
CN	80	20	66	30	87	24	NL	38	80	14	53	67	38
CO	67	13	64	80	13	83	NO	31	69	8	50	35	55
CV	75	20	15	40	12	83	NZ	22	79	58	49	33	75
CZ	57	58	57	74	70	29	PE	64	16	42	87	25	46
DE	35	67	66	65	83	40	PH	94	32	64	44	27	42
DK	18	74	16	23	35	70	PL	68	60	64	93	38	29
DO	65	30	65	45	13	54	PT	63	27	31	99	28	33
EE	40	60	30	60	82	16	RO	90	30	42	90	52	20
EG	70	25	45	80	7	4	RU	93	39	36	95	81	20
ES	57	51	42	86	48	44	SA	95	25	60	80	36	52
FI	33	63	26	59	38	57	SE	31	71	5	29	53	78
FR	68	71	43	86	63	48	SG	74	20	48	8	72	46
GB	35	89	66	35	51	69	SI	71	27	19	88	49	48
GH	80	15	40	65	4	72	SK	100	52	100	51	77	28
GR	60	35	57	100	45	50	SV	66	19	40	94	20	89
HK	68	25	57	29	61	17	TH	64	20	34	64	32	45
HR	73	33	40	80	58	33	TR	66	37	45	85	46	49
HU	46	80	88	82	58	31	TT	47	16	58	55	13	80
ID	78	14	46	48	62	38	TW	58	17	45	69	93	49
IE	28	70	68	35	24	65	TZ	70	25	40	50	34	38
IN	77	48	56	40	51	26	US	40	91	62	46	26	68
IQ	95	30	70	85	25	17	UY	61	36	38	99	26	53
IR	58	41	43	59	14	40	VE	81	12	73	76	16	100
IS	30	60	10	50	28	67	VN	70	20	40	30	57	35
IT	50	76	70	75	61	30	ZA	49	65	63	49	34	63
JO	70	30	45	65	16	43	ZM	60	35	40	50	30	42

Notes: Data by country from Hofstede et al (2010). Country codes follow ISO-3166. Cultural dimensions abbreviations as follow: PDI is the power distance index, IDV is individualism, MAS is masculinity, UAI is the uncertainty avoidance index, PRA is pragmatism, and IND is indulgence.

Table A4. Cross-country correlations of Hofstede's cultural dimension.

(n=78)	Power distance	Individualism	Masculinity	Uncertainty avoidance	Pragmatism	Indulgence
Power distance	1					
Individualism	-0.70	1				
Masculinity	0.19	0.03	1			
Uncertainty avoidance	0.17	-0.12	0.08	1		
Pragmatism	-0.13	0.23	0.07	0.06	1	
Indulgence	-0.24	0.05	-0.04	-0.11	-0.44	1

Notes: Data by country from Hofstede et al (2010).