Stockholm Research Reports in Demography | no 2020:26



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Abstract

Objective: This analysis tests the association between parental divorce and maternal employment on adult children's gender role attitudes.

Background: After parental divorce, mothers may increase gainful employment and fathers increase housework. These new roles may influence children's views on gender equality.

Method: Data from two waves of the Swedish Young Adult Panel Study (YAPS), conducted in 1999 and 2003, based on a nationally representative sample of 2,491 respondents aged 22, 26, 30, and 34 years, are used for analyses. Maternal employment and childhood family type, i.e. intact family, single mother, single father, and mother and stepfather, are measured with retrospective questions. Attitudes towards gender equality are examined in the public sphere of work, the private sphere of the family, and a combined-sphere measure.

Results: Maternal full-time employment (versus non- or part-time employment) is associated with more modern private and combined sphere gender role attitudes, whereas family type in childhood is only weakly associated with young adult gender role attitudes. One exception is young adults from single father families (versus intact family), who express more modern private sphere gender role attitudes. Mothers' full-time employment and growing up with a mother and stepfather is more positively associated with women's than men's modern gender role attitudes.

Conclusion: Parental family disruption adds little, maternal full-time employment adds more, to our understanding of what shapes gender role attitudes in adulthood.

Keywords: child/adolescent outcomes, divorce, family roles, maternal employment, single-parent families.

Stockholm Research Reports in Demography 2020:26 ISSN 2002-617X

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Introduction

Children have become more and more likely to have experienced living in non-traditional family constellations, such as single parent families and reconstituted families, often as a result of parental break-up (Gähler & Palmtag, 2015; Härkönen, Bernardi, & Boertien, 2017). The increasing diversity of family structures in modern societies has important implications for individuals' life courses, such as entering a more or a less committed relationship (Högnäs & Carlson, 2012; Thornton, 1991), experiencing a break-up (Amato & Patterson, 2017), and delaying parenthood (Bernardi, 2016). Moreover, after a divorce the workload and labor division of both parents change. Mothers start gainful employment or increase their work hours in order to support their family, whereas divorced fathers engage (more) in housework to maintain their households (Acock & Demo, 1994). Thus, a divorce may imply a less traditional gender division of labor. Children are affected too. In the late 1970s, Weiss (1979) noted that children of divorce 'had to grow up a little faster' (p. 98), e.g., by taking larger responsibility for the family and household in general. Later studies accord with this finding and show that boys and girls in divorced families in fact do more household labor than their peers in intact families (Gager, Cooney, & Call, 1999; Goldscheider & Waite, 1991).

Over the past decades, growing family diversity has been paralleled by changing gender roles as women's labor force participation has increased substantially in advanced societies, and they have become less and less likely to withdraw from the labor market even upon motherhood (OECD, 2011; Oláh, Kotowska, & Richter, 2018). Thus, economic provision has become an intrinsic aspect of the female gender role, accompanied by elevated aspirations for women outside the family realm. Changes in the male gender role seem to be a much slower and less pronounced process, although engaged, active fatherhood is about to become a generic feature of contemporary family life (see, e.g., Oláh, Hobson, & Carlson, 2017 and references therein). Women's and men's new roles may thereby have influenced children's views on gender equality as such.

In this paper we address the question: how is parental divorce and maternal employment associated with offspring gender role attitudes in young adulthood? Does a non-traditional family setting during childhood lead to more modern views on gender roles? We also ask how duration of living in a disrupted family, the post-divorce family structure, and child's and parent's gender

are associated with the young adult's gender role attitudes. There are only few previous studies in this field internationally (Halimi, Consuegra, Struyven, & Engels, 2016), and, to the best of our knowledge, there are no previous studies conducted in Sweden, the country in focus here. Sweden is an interesting case given that a relatively large proportion, one fourth of all children aged 0-17, do not live with both their biological parents, mainly because of family disruption (Statistics Sweden, 2013), and that Swedes, in general, express a relatively strong preference for gender equality (Brandt, 2011; Grunow, Begall, & Buchler, 2018). Our analyses are based on data from the Young Adult Panel Study from 1999 and 2003, including a nationally representative sample of 2,491 respondents aged 22, 26, 30, and 34 years. These surveys contain retrospective questions on, e.g., childhood family type (up to age 16), i.e., intact family, single mother, single father, and mother and stepfather following parental divorce, maternal employment and adult gender role attitudes.

Background

One might question the study of attitudes instead of actual behavior. Attitudes are, however, associated with behavior, as studies in social psychology have since long demonstrated (Ajzen, 2001; Ajzen & Fishbein, 2000). Individuals' attitudes shape their behavior and vice versa. But attitudes also indicate a potential preparedness for specific future behavior (see Axinn & Barber, 1997; Axinn & Thornton, 1996; Barber & Axinn, 1998). This is particularly important when focusing on young individuals, as is the case here. Furthermore, attitudes indicate the potential for changed behavior. Under the theory of cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957), an individual who behaves in a gender traditional way but holds non-traditional attitudes (and vice versa), is more likely to change behavior than an individual whose attitudes and behavior are in accordance.

Maternal Employment and Children's Gender Role Attitudes

Over time, women in many Western societies have increased their engagement in paid work and men have increased their contribution to the household work (Gershuny, 2000). Still, however, women perform the major part of domestic chores, also in Sweden, and this was certainly the case when the young adults analyzed here were children in the 1980s and 1990s (Bygren, Gähler, & Nermo, 2004; Sayer, 2005). The gender division of labor may affect children's gender role

attitudes and behavior. Children may acquire sex-typed behavior by imitating role models (Stevenson & Black, 1996). Thus, when children grow up and form couples they "tend to replicate the families that they experienced as children" (Goldscheider & Waite, 1991:114). In two-parent families with a traditional gender division of labor, then, children are likely to learn that mothers and fathers perform different tasks, i.e. that they divide paid and unpaid work unequally between them. In families where gender roles are less strict, parents' division of housework is equal (or less unequal) and mothers are employed, offspring are however less likely to learn that tasks are gendered and, accordingly, adopt less traditional gender role attitudes. As the same-sex parent may be a particularly salient role model (e.g. Cunningham, 2001), we expect the impact of mother's employment on children's gender role attitudes to be even stronger for daughters than for sons. Thus, our first two hypotheses read:

H1. Young adults whose mothers were full-time employed during their childhood exhibit more modern gender role attitudes than peers whose mothers were not full-time employed. H2. The association between mother's full-time employment and young adult's modern gender role attitudes is stronger for women than it is for men.

There is rather strong support for the association between mother's employment and adult children's modern gender role attitudes (see, e.g., review by Halimi et al. 2016; and studies by Bjarnason & Hjalmsdottir, 2008; Pepin & Cotter, 2018; de Valk, 2008; Wright & Young, 1998), although some findings suggested that the association is indirect, transmitted via child rearing practices (Ex & Janssens, 1998), and others found no impact of maternal employment on adult daughter's gender role ideology once mother's gender role beliefs during childhood was controlled for (Moen, Erickson, & Dempster-McClain, 1997). The support for an interaction between maternal employment and offspring gender on gender role attitudes is mixed. Whereas some studies suggested a stronger effect of maternal employment for females than for males (see Spitze, 1988 for review; Kiecolt & Acock, 1988; de Valk, 2008), others found no gender difference in this respect (Bjarnason & Hjalmsdottir, 2008; Cunningham, 2001; Wright & Young, 1998).

Childhood Family Structure and Gender Role Attitudes

In single-parent families, parents must perform a wide range of tasks, even the ones non-traditional for their gender, such as daily household chores for men and breadwinning for women.

Boys and girls in divorced families are affected too. They usually do more household labor than their peers in intact families (Acock & Demo, 1994; Gager et al., 1999), and they increase their time not only in gender-typical but also in gender-atypical chores (Goldscheider & Waite, 1991; cf. Berridge & Romich, 2011). Given the parent's engagement in both paid work and domestic responsibilities, children in one-parent families should be less likely than children in two-parent families to take a gendered household division of labor for granted. Moreover, biological parents' gender ideologies is a strong predictor for child gender ideologies, and single parents express more egalitarian gender ideologies than married parents (Carlson & Knoester, 2011). Based on this, our third hypothesis reads:

H3. Young adults with divorced parents exhibit more modern gender role attitudes than peers from intact families.

It is reasonable to assume that the force of socialization, i.e. the transmission of "proper" gender roles, increases with exposure time (or young age at parental divorce). In other words, the longer a child or adolescent lives in a certain family type, the more likely he or she is to adopt the gender roles in that family (cf. Goldscheider & Waite, 1991). Thus, our fourth hypothesis reads:

H4. Young adults with longer exposure to living with a single parent exhibit more modern gender role attitudes than peers with shorter exposure to living with a single parent.

Research shows that women express more liberal gender role attitudes than men (e.g., Halim et al. 2016); divorced women express more liberal gender role attitudes than other women (Plutzer, 1991); and divorced mothers become more oriented towards market work and breadwinning, and less oriented towards household work, thus transmitting less traditional views on gender roles to their children than do mothers in intact families (Goldscheider & Waite, 1991; McLanahan & Booth, 1989). On the other hand, fathers are more likely than mothers to stress conformity to traditional gender roles, and this may particularly be the case in single father families where there is no mother to balance these views (Dronkers, 2016; Kiecolt & Acock, 1988). Hence, children in single father families are likely to adopt more traditional gender role attitudes than children in single mother families, whereas adults from intact families are expected to take an intermediate position (Kiecolt & Acock, 1988; Wright & Young, 1988). The two hypotheses that follow from this reasoning read:

- H5. Young adults who grew up in a single mother family exhibit more modern gender role attitudes than peers who grew up in an intact family.
- H6. Young adults who grew up in a single father family exhibit less modern gender role attitudes than peers growing up in an intact family.

As noted, same-sex role models may be particularly important for children's gender ideology formation (Cunningham 2001) and, thus, children's gender may interact with family type. For example, Goldscheider and Waite (1991) argue that children and adolescents who experience economic struggles of single parents, are particularly likely to focus on market work and a secure income. This effect is assumed to be stronger for daughters in single mother families, because traditional gender roles leave less choice for men with respect to market work. On the other hand, Goldscheider and Waite find that teenage boys increase their share of household tasks in single mother families more than teenage girls do (although daughters still do more work), thus implying that this family type has a larger impact on boys' gender role attitudes. This leads to two opposing hypotheses on the interaction between single mother family and child gender (insufficient cell frequencies unfortunately precludes us from analysing any gender differences in single father families):

- H7. Young adult females who grew up with a single mother exhibit more modern gender role attitudes than young adult males who grew up in a single mother family.
- H8. Young adult males who grew up with a single mother exhibit more modern gender role attitudes than young adult females who grew up in a single mother family.

When a stepparent enters a single-parent family, the division of work may (again) become gender-typical. Remarried mothers spend fewer hours a week in gainful employment than divorced mothers do, and the division of paid and unpaid work between spouses is very similar to first-married couples (Acock & Demo, 1994). In effect, children learn that men and women perform different tasks. Stepparents may add resources to the child's household and thereby compensate for the loss of the non-resident biological parent (Erola & Jalovaara, 2017; De Leeuw & Kalmijn, 2019). Hence, stepfamilies more closely resemble two-parent families than single-parent families. Stepfamily relations are, however, complex. Swedish children in stepfamilies are also more likely than children in original two-parent and single-parent families to report conflict with parent(s) (Turunen, 2013). Moreover, when a stepfather enters the family, children feel less close also to their biological mother (King 2009) and express lower levels of family belonging

(King, Boyd, & Thorsen, 2015). The stepfather-stepdaughter relationship may be particularly problematic (see, e.g., review by Hetherington, Bridges, & Insabella, 1998). Girls feel less close to stepfathers (Jensen & Shafer, 2013), and have more difficulty interacting with them than boys do (Vuchinich, Hetherington, Vuchinich, & Clingempeel, 1991). Based on this, we may hypothesize that children in stepfamilies are less sympathetic to the (gender-typical) way paid and unpaid work is divided between the biological parent and the stepparent. In effect, children in stepfamilies, and daughters in particular, may develop more modern gender role attitudes. This reasoning, then, leads to two opposing hypotheses on the association between growing up in a stepfamily (biological mother and stepfather) and young adults' gender role attitudes (insufficient cell frequencies unfortunately precludes us from analysing biological father and stepmother families):

H9. Young adults who grew up with a biological mother and stepfather exhibit modern gender role attitudes to the same extent as peers who grew up in an intact family.

H10. Young adults, particularly females, who grew up with a biological mother and stepfather exhibit more modern gender role attitudes than peers who grew up in an intact family.

There are relatively few previous studies of the association between childhood family structure and gender attitudes (Halimi et al., 2016). Existing studies are predominantly American and offer inconclusive findings, thus requiring further exploration of the topic. Amato and Booth (1991) found positive associations between parental divorce and a number of indicators on liberal gender role attitudes, but in no case did they reach statistical significance. In Goldscheider and Waite (1991), young women and men from non-intact families exhibited higher approval of mothers' working than their peers in intact families. There were no family type differences, however, regarding whether a woman's place is at home and the importance of women's employment (young women only). Wright and Young (1998) found no childhood family structure difference in gender attitudes for men. Women growing up with single mothers, however, reported significantly less traditional gender attitudes than women from intact families, whereas women growing up with single fathers reported significantly more traditional gender attitudes. Finally, in a recent study Pepin and Cotter (2018) found that living with a single father or mother was only weakly associated with gender ideology among 17 and 18 year olds.

A few studies also included stepfamilies. Kiecolt and Acock (1988) found that adults who grew up with divorced single mothers, had more liberal attitudes towards women in politics than their peers who grew up in intact families, whereas no difference was found for attitudes regarding married women's employment and 'proper' gender role behavior among boys and girls. Attitudes were not associated with growing up in a mother and stepfather family, except for girls who had more liberal views about women in politics. An Icelandic study by Bjarnason and Hjalmsdottir (2008) found no differences in gender role attitudes of 15-16 year olds in single parent and two biological parent families whereas adolescents in stepfamilies preferred an equal gender division of typically male (but not female) household tasks to a higher extent than adolescents in other family types. Carlson and Knoester (2011) found very small differences in gender ideology between adult children from two-parent biological families, single-parent families and stepfamilies. Finally, a study by Dronkers (2016) among 13-14 year olds in 22 European countries showed that vis-à-vis living in intact families, positive attitudes to gender equality with respect to politics and employment were less likely for stepfather families, more likely among sons of lone mothers, and no significant differences were found for single-father families.

The Multifaceted Nature of Gender Role Attitudes

Our study draws also on recent findings by Yu and Lee (2013), who highlighted the importance to distinguish between attitudes towards gender equality in the public sphere and in the home. Their multi-level analysis of 33 countries showed that high macro-level gender equality in terms of few if any barriers to women's, especially mothers', economic role, was not necessarily associated with support for non-traditional gender roles in the private sphere (regarding women's and men's contribution to household income, and men's to household work and childcare), rather the opposite. The main argument is that gender differentiation is central for social relations as well as identities, hence limited gender role specification in the public sphere in more genderequal societies tend to be compensated by greater acceptance of gendered practices in the family. The complexity of gender attitudes was shown also by Knight and Brinton (2017), even though they did not distinguish them along separate spheres. Their study of 17 European countries revealed important differences in the support to women's labor force participation and taking a traditional role in the home, linked to the public and private spheres respectively, by taking into account freedom of choice with respect to gender roles. Thus, they identified three varieties of

egalitarianism (liberal-, flexible egalitarianism and egalitarian familism) beside gender-traditional attitudes. Whereas neither of these studies considered possible effects of family structures, they inform our analytical strategies on the importance to take into account the multidimensional nature of gender role attitudes, and address specifically the public and private spheres as well as their combination.

Method

Data and Methods

In this paper we analyze data extracted from the second wave of the survey "Family and Working Life among Young Adults in the 21st century" (Young Adult Panel Study, YAPS, http://www.suda.su.se/research/demographic-data/survey-projects/yaps-in-english). YAPS is a mail questionnaire survey, distributed to a nationally representative sample of young adults born in Sweden, with Statistics Sweden in charge of all fieldwork. In 1999, the sampling frame of the first survey included 4,360 persons, born in 1968, 1972, and 1976, i.e., aged 22, 26, and 30 years. The response rate was 65 percent, thus resulting in 2,820 respondents. In 2003, a second survey was distributed to the original participants and to a new birth cohort, 1,194 persons born in 1980, i.e. aged 22 years. With an overall response rate of 70 percent, the second round provides information on 2,816 persons, 1,588 women and 1,228 men, including 347 respondents with at least one parent born in either Poland or Turkey.

YAPS has been designed to enable studies, like ours, of the complex relationships between demographic behavior and attitudes. It provides information on plans, expectations and attitudes regarding family and working life, including gender ideology, histories of childbearing and partnerships, as well as information about current situation and background characteristics, especially childhood experiences.

Given our topic, it was not possible to include all respondents in the analyses. Respondents whose parent(s) deceased before they turned 16 years (54 cases), whose parents shared custody equally after their break-up (resulting in the offspring alternately living with them), but it is unknown if any of them re-partnered (44 cases), who were raised by father and stepmother (due to small group size: 17 cases), as well as those with missing information on either the childhood family type (61 cases), or on mother's employment in respondent's childhood (59 cases) are

excluded. The reason for not including those with deceased parents is the qualitatively different mechanism affecting attitudes related to trauma coming from a bereaved background, compared to the experience of a parental break-up or of being raised by a single mother (Corak, 2001; Short, 2002). With respect to the shared custody group, the possible presence of a stepparent in addition to the biological parents would make it difficult to test our hypotheses, hence we chose not to include them in the analytical sample. Respondents with missing response on the statements based on which we composed our dependent variables (i.e. 90 cases altogether) are also excluded. Thus, our analytical sample includes 2,491 respondents (including 273 with non-Swedish parental background), 1,418 women and 1,073 men.

Binomial logit models is our tool of analysis. We rely on average marginal effects (AME), which have the advantage over, e.g., odds ratios of being comparable between groups and models and being easily interpretable, as they refer to average percentage point differences between categories and average percentage point effects of a continuous variable unit change for all studied individuals (see, e.g., Mood, 2010).

Dependent Variables

The three dependent variables in our models are all based on information from the 2003 wave: (i) attitudes about gender equality in the public sphere, i.e. paid work, (ii) attitudes about gender equality in the private sphere, i.e. the family, and (iii) attitudes about gender equality on combining these spheres, i.e. the ideal division of tasks among parents with pre-school children regarding economic provision and care. The first two indices are based on the results of factor analysis (a strategy applied by Yu & Lee, 2013, when addressing attitudes to domestic gender equality). We have analyzed responses of agreement/disagreement recorded on the five-grade Likert scale (where 1 corresponds to strong disagreement, 5 to strong agreement, and don't know responses were recoded to 3) with the following six statements: a) A society where men and women are equal is a good society, b) Men can do as well as women in caring jobs, c) Women can do as well as men in technical jobs, d) It is as important for a woman as for a man to support herself, e) The woman should take the main responsibility for housework, and f) The man should be the main supporter of the family. The scale was reversed for the latter two statements.

The public sphere index (Cronbach's alpha: 0.69) is based on statements a-d. Those who strongly agreed with all four statements are considered as 'modern' (coded 1), with any other

responses coded '0' (other). The private-sphere index (Cronbach's alpha: 0.89) is built on items e and f, where strong agreements with both statements (reverse-coded) are considered 'modern' (coded '1'), and other responses coded '0' (other). A previous study by Kaufman, Bernhardt, and Goldscheider (2017) using YAPS data, has relied on a similar approach when defining indices for gender equality attitudes regarding work and family, respectively. The reason for dichotomizing the indices is the highly skewed distribution of responses for each item in them, with around 10 % not (strongly) agreeing with the statements a-d respectively, and about 25% having such opinion (half of these being uncertain) with respect to statements e and f respectively.

The combined sphere indicator addresses the ideal situation regarding the division of provider and domestic responsibilities between parents with young children, based on the question "What do you think would be the best arrangement for a family with preschool children?" with the following response options: 1. Only the man works and the woman takes the main responsibility for home and children, 2. Both work, but the woman works part-time and takes the main responsibility for home and children, 3. Both work, but the man works part-time and takes the main responsibility for home and children, and 4. Both parents work roughly the same hours and share the responsibility for home and children equally. In line with previous studies (Goldscheider, Bernhardt, & Brandén, 2013; Oláh & Gähler, 2014), choosing any of the last two statements (3 or 4) is considered 'modern' (coded '1'), with other responses coded '0' (other). Thus, our three outcome variables are dichotomous, distinguishing between (semi-)traditional and modern attitudes.

Independent Variables

Our two main explanatory variables are family structure during childhood and maternal employment, where we rely on retrospective information from the 1999 survey for the three older cohorts and from 2003 for the youngest cohort, interviewed only then. For family structure during childhood, we first use a dichotomous variable called childhood family type, distinguishing between those growing up with both their parents versus others (including those whose parents divorced and the few born into a single-parent family). This variable is based on two survey questions: "Did your parents live together until you turned age 16?" and, if not, the follow-up question: "Why not?" with response alternatives: "My parents divorced/separated", "My mother and/or father deceased" (these respondents were excluded), and "My mother and father never lived together". As long-term cohabitation is widespread in Sweden and many

couples do not marry until after the birth of their first or second child, if at all (Oláh & Bernhardt, 2008), we do not distinguish between marriage and cohabitation in the paper. Hence, no matter of the legal status of that union we call the disruption of a partnership 'divorce'.

In further analyses we use a variable called childhood family structure (post-divorce), where we take main custody for those from a non-intact family background into account. This variable is also based on two survey questions: "How old were you when your parents divorced/separated or your mother/father died?" and "With whom did you live after that?" with response alternatives "Mainly with my mother", "Mainly with my father", "Mainly with my mother and stepfather", "Mainly with my father and stepmother", "Alternate living (equally much with both parents)", and "With none of my parents". As discussed above, respondents in any of the last three response-categories were excluded from the analyses, along with those whose parents died before they turned 16 years. Hence, for childhood family structure we distinguish between those who mainly lived with their mother, their father, or their mother and a stepfather. With respect to the latter, there is no information on the age of the respondent when the stepfather entered the family. Also, respondents from non-intact families may have experienced several family transitions in their childhood, but no such information is available in the data.

For maternal employment, we created a dummy variable: 'full-time' if the mother worked full time during the pre-school years and/or the school years of the respondent versus 'other' (for all other cases), excluding respondents with missing information on this item.

Further independent variables were included in the models, based on their potential importance regarding gender role attitudes (see e.g. Axinn & Barber, 1997; Brooks & Bolzendahl, 2004; Kane, 2000; Thornton & Young-Demarco, 2001; Yu & Lee, 2013). These are: gender, age (based on cohorts 1968, 1972, 1976 and 1980), and ethnic background (all respondents were born in Sweden but their parents were either both born in Sweden or at least one parent was born in Poland or Turkey) with information from the 1999 wave, except for those born in 1980. Based on information from the 2003 wave we also included: partnership status (single -including 3 missing responses- versus married/cohabiting), parental status (having a child living in the household, or not – including 17 missing), own education (primary/secondary – including 128 missing- versus post-secondary), and economic activity (employment versus other – including 38 missing). As we aimed not to further diminish the sample size, missing responses on control variables only were retained for the analyses, and included in categories associated

with less beneficial demographic and socioeconomic outcomes in line with findings of the itemnon-response survey literature (for overview, see Yan & Curtin, 2010). A large number of sensitivity analyses (not presented here) have been conducted, including other categorizations of the independent variables, but the results were only marginally affected.

In additional analyses we selected the 529 respondents from a non-intact family background to study whether there is an impact of duration of living in a disrupted family, based on age at parental divorce/separation. We used a dichotomous measure distinguishing between those who experienced parental break-up in their pre-school age (0-6 years, including those who were born into a single-parent family) versus their school-age (7-16 years). We tested alternative measures, but these analyses (available upon request) did not lead to any other conclusions than the ones presented here.

Results

Descriptive Results

Descriptive statistics for all variables used in the analyses, by gender, are displayed in Table 1. We note that almost four out of five respondents in these birth cohorts grew up with both their parents throughout their childhood, regardless of gender. After parental divorce, most children stayed with their mothers, either with a single mother (most common) or in a reconstituted family (with a stepfather). Approximately half of the respondents report having a mother who worked full-time during their childhood. This was clearly more common among respondents who grew up in a mother only or mother and stepfather family than among respondents who grew up with both their parents or in a father only family (not shown).

Most respondents express modern gender role attitudes: around sixty percent see no difference in what men and women can, and should, achieve in the public and private spheres respectively, and eight out of ten respondents prefer that mothers and fathers with preschool children work to the same extent and share responsibility for the children equally between them. Statistically significant (on the 1 percent level, not shown) gender differences can be noted for all spheres, however, where female respondents prefer gender equality to a greater extent than male respondents do. Still, half or more of all male respondents express modern gender role attitudes, regardless of indicator.

Table 1. Frequencies for Variables in Analyses (Percent in Brackets)

	All	Women	Men	
Childhood family type				
Both parents	1,962 (78.8)	1,118 (78.8)	844 (78.7)	
Divorced/separated parents	529 (21.2)	300 (21.2)	229 (21.3)	
Childhood family structure (post-				
divorce)				
Both parents	1,962 (78.8)	1,118 (78.8)	844 (78.7	
Mother only	349 (14.0)	204 (14.4)	145 (13.5)	
Mother and stepfather	128 (5.1)	71 (5.0)	57 (5.3)	
Father only	52 (2.1)	25 (1.8)	27 (2.5)	
Age at parental divorce (if divorced				
parents, n=529)				
0-6 years	262 (49.5)	148 (49.3)	114 (49.8)	
7+ years (incl. missing)	267 (50.5)	152 (50.7)	115 (50.2)	
Age (cohort)				
34 (1968)	533 (21.4)	295 (20.8)	238 (22.2)	
30 (1972)	657 (26.4)	373 (26.3)	284 (26.5)	
26 (1976)	672 (27.0)	390 (27.5)	282 (26.3)	
22 (1980)	629 (25.2)	360 (25.4)	269 (25.1)	
Ethnic background				
Swedish	2,218 (89.0)	1,256 (88.8)	962 (89.7)	
Polish	181 (7.3)	106 (7.5)	75 (7.0)	
Turkish	92 (3.7)	56 (4.0)	36 (3.4)	
Maternal employment				
Full-time	1,263 (50.7)	690 (48.7)	573 (53.4)	
Other	1,228 (49.3)	728 (51.3)	500 (46.6)	
Education				
Primary/secondary (incl. missing)	1,360 (54.6)	738 (52.0)	622 (58.0)	
Post-secondary	1,131 (45.4)	680 (48.0)	451 (42.0)	
Partnership status				
Single (incl. missing)	934 (37.5)	486 (34.3)	448 (41.8)	
Married/Cohabiting	1,557 (62.5)	932 (65.7) 625		
Parental status				
No child in househ (incl. missing)	1,566 (62.9)	830 (58.5)	736 (68.6)	
Child in household	925 (37.1)	588 (41.5)	337 (31.4)	

Economic activity				
Employment	1,586 (63.7)	802 (56.6)	784 (73.1)	
Other (incl. missing)	905 (36.3)	616 (43.4)	289 (26.9)	
Attitude: public sphere				
Modern	1,453 (58.3)	920 (64.9)	533 (49.7)	
(Semi-)Traditional	1,038 (41.7)	498 (35.1)	540 (50.3)	
Attitude: private sphere				
Modern	1,562 (62.7)	1,010 (71.2)	552 (51.4)	
(Semi-)Traditional	929 (37.3)	408 (28.8)	521 (48.6)	
Attitude: combined sphere				
Modern	1,954 (78.4)	1,141 (80.5)	813 (75.8)	
(Semi-)Traditional	537 (21.6)	277 (19.5)	260 (24.2)	
N	2,491	1,418	1,073	

Main Results

In Table 2, average marginal effects (AME) from binary logistic regressions on all three types of gender role attitudes, by parental divorce and maternal employment respectively, are presented. In the first models for each attitude, we control for gender, age, ethnic background, partnership status, parental status, education, and economic activity.

The results generally show no strong association between the respondents' experience of parental divorce/separation in childhood and gender role attitudes later in life. There is only one exception: respondents from a disrupted family are more likely to express modern gender role attitudes regarding the private sphere. The average difference versus respondents from intact families, the reference category, was 4.2 percentage points, but the estimate is only significant at the 10-percent level (Model 1, private sphere). For the two other outcomes, combined sphere and public sphere, estimates are statistically insignificant and hover closely around 0.

In contrast, maternal full-time employment during childhood seems to be strongly associated with offspring gender role attitudes, regarding the private and the combined spheres (but not the public sphere). In other words, respondents whose mothers worked full-time during their childhood are more likely than respondents whose mothers worked less or not at all, to agree with the statement that mothers and fathers with preschool children should share the responsibility for housework and supporting the family (i.e. combined sphere), and they are more likely to disagree

with the statements that men should be main providers for the family and women take main responsibility for housework (private sphere), than respondents whose mothers worked part-time or were homemakers.

We also investigate whether the associations between gender role attitudes and childhood family type and maternal full-time employment respectively vary by respondent's gender. To answer these questions we add the interactions for childhood family type and maternal full-time employment by gender respectively (Model 2 for each dependent variable). Whereas we find no statistically significant associations for the family type*gender interaction, there is a general tendency for mother's full-time employment to be more strongly associated with female than male respondents' modern gender role attitudes. Only in one case, the public sphere attitudes, however, does this association reach statistical significance, showing that the association between mother's full-time employment and public sphere modern gender role attitudes is 7.0 percentage points stronger, on average, for women than for men.

Results for Post-Divorce Family Structure

Although parental divorce/separation per se, seems to be only weakly associated with gender role attitudes, there might still be an association with the family situation following parental divorce. In other words, does whom they mainly live with after their parents move apart matter for children's attitude formation? In Table 3, we show results from an analysis where we take post-divorce childhood family structure into account. We control for the same variables as in Table 2 but because coefficients for maternal employment and for control variables differ only marginally from the previous analyses, they are not displayed in this table.

The most common family type for children from disrupted families is to live (mainly) with a single mother. Given their predominance, and that we found no family type difference in general, it is not surprising that respondents in this family type do not differ in their gender role attitudes, regardless of sphere, from respondents stemming from an intact family background. Turning our attention to mother and step-father and single father families respectively, we find only one significant coefficient, respondents who grew up with a single father are significantly more likely to express modern private sphere gender role attitudes (Model 1 for each dependent variable).

Table 2. Childhood Family Type, Maternal Full-time Employment, and Modern Gender Role Attitudes: Public Sphere, Private Sphere, Combined Sphere. Binary Logistic Regression, Average Marginal Effects (AME)

Variable/Model	Public sphere		Private sphere		Combined sphere	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
Childhood family type (ref: intact						
family)						
Divorced/separated parents	008	038	.042†	.033	.013	.022
Maternal full-time employment (ref:						
no)						
Yes	.010	028	.071***	.065*	.067***	.042†
Gender (ref: male)						
Female	.140***	.092***	.196***	.186***	.055***	.037
Age (cohort) (ref: 34 (1968))						
30 (1972)	.060*	.060*	022	022	.011	.012
26 (1976)	.061†	.060†	046	046	010	010
22 (1980)	.076*	.074*	121***	121***	012	012
Ethnic background (ref: Swedish)						
Polish	001	003	102**	102**	042	042
Turkish	097†	100†	275***	276***	167***	170***
Partnership status (ref: single, incl.						
missing)						
Married/Cohabiting	.039†	.039†	.018	.017	017	017
Parental status (ref: no child in						
household, incl. missing)						
Child in household	000	.001	096***	096***	093***	093***

Education (ref: primary/secondary,						
incl. missing)						
Post-secondary	.107***	.106***	.116***	.116***	.090***	.089***
Economic activity (ref: employment)						
Other (incl. missing)	003	001	.017	.018	.010	.011
Divorced/separated parents*Female		.053		.017		020
Maternal full-time employment*Female		.070†		.012		.050
N	2,491	,		<u> </u>		

^{***} p≤.001, ** p≤.01, * p≤.05, † p≤.10

Table 3. Childhood Family Structure (Post-divorce) and Modern Gender Role Attitudes: Public Sphere, Private Sphere, Combined Sphere. Binary Logistic Regression, Average Marginal Effects (AME)

	Public sphere		Private sphere		Combined sphere	
Variable/Model	1	2	1	2	1	2
Childhood family structure (ref: intact family)						
Mother only	.001	.007	.044	.046	.016	.002
Mother and stepfather	011	147*	003	074	005	.013
Father only	055	056	.145*	.144*	.039	.037
Gender (ref: male)						
Female	.140***	.092***	.196***	.184***	.055***	.033
Mother only*Female		013		005		.025
Mother and stepfather*Female		.256**		.145†		037
N	2,491	<u>'</u>				1

^{***} p≤.001, ** p≤.01, * p≤.05, † p≤.10

Note: Models include controls for maternal employment, age (cohort), ethnic background, partnership status, parental status, education, and economic activity (maternal employment*female is included in Model 2 only).

But does this general absence of association conceal a difference in association between women and men? To answer this question, we add the interaction terms for family types and gender in the second model for each dependent variable. We find no indication that growing up in a mother-only family is associated with gender role attitudes differently for women and men. The coefficient for mother only*female is statistically insignificant, and close to 0, for all three spheres.

Growing up with a mother and stepfather, however, is positively associated with modern private sphere and public sphere gender role attitudes for women but not for men, as can be seen in the contrast between the interaction terms (.256 for public sphere, and .145 for private sphere) and the main effect terms (-.147 and -.074 for public and private sphere respectively). In other words, whereas the coefficients for men are negative for both spheres (but only significantly so for public sphere attitudes) they turn positive for women and the gender difference is significant in both cases.

In a final analysis we take duration living in a disrupted family into account (including the 529 respondents living with a single parent throughout childhood or who experienced parental divorce/separation in pre-school age versus school-age). Judging from the results (not shown here), this duration, defined by age at parental divorce/separation, is not associated with gender role attitudes later in life, no matter whether controls are included or not.

Concluding Discussion

In this paper we use Swedish data from the Young Adult Panel Study (YAPS) to explore the association between growing up in a non-traditional family setting, maternal full-time employment in childhood, and three spheres of gender role attitudes (public, private and combined spheres). In general, the young adults (22, 26, 30, and 34 years old) in this sample have a strong preference for gender equality and non-traditionalism. The strongly positively skewed distribution forces us to define modern gender role attitudes in a very strict way. Therefore, young adults who are defined as (semi-)traditional here should not necessarily be viewed as preferring traditional gender roles or gender work specialization, although this category includes also respondents with such views. For all spheres, female respondents express stronger preference for gender equality. Still, at least half of the male respondents exhibit modern gender role attitudes, the way we measure them here. These results are well in line with previous comparative studies finding relatively modern gender role attitudes in

Sweden, among both women and men, compared to most other countries (Brandt, 2011; Grunow et al., 2018).

Growing up with a full-time employed mother shows a clear association with modern gender role attitudes in young adulthood, and the association is stronger for females than for males. These results are in line with our Hypothesis 1 and 2 and with vast prior research also from other contexts (see, e.g., reviews by Halimi et al., 2016; Spitze, 1988). Children with employed mothers thus seem less likely to view paid and unpaid work as gendered, especially females, as the same-sex parent may be the more salient role model (e.g., Cunnigham, 2001). A concern here is that we do not account for when, and for how long, the mother was employed. This may have been for a very short period or throughout the respondent's childhood. Thus, we believe that the coefficient for maternal full-time employment is conservative, i.e., that the association between permanent maternal full-time employment and respondents' modern gender role attitudes is, in fact, stronger than what has been shown here (see, e.g., Pepin & Cotter, 2018).

Gender role attitudes are only weakly associated, however, with parental divorce during childhood. Young adults from disrupted families of origin hardly differ from their peers growing up in intact families, except for expressing significantly (on the 10-percent level) more modern private sphere attitudes. Thus, Hypothesis 3 does not receive support here. These results comply well with most prior research, regardless of context and how attitudes are measured (e.g., Amato & Booth, 1991; Bjarnason & Hjalmsdottir, 2008; Carlson & Knoester, 2011; Goldscheider & Waite, 1991; Kiecolt & Acock, 1988; Pepin & Cotter, 2018). The weak importance of childhood family type is further underscored by the fact that duration in disrupted family (measured here by age at parental divorce) is unrelated to subsequent gender role attitudes. If family type were to affect attitudes, we would expect the duration of living in a non-traditional family setting to be of importance. This does not seem to be the case, however, and, thus, Hypothesis 4 is not supported. This finding complies with studies on other outcomes, showing no clear age pattern (for review, see Chapple, 2009; for meta-analysis, see Amato 2001).

We hypothesized that single mothers are more likely than two-parent families to instill modern gender role attitudes in children (Hypothesis 5), whereas single fathers are likely to instill more *traditional* gender role attitudes in children than two-parent families, because there is no mother to balance the traditional views of the father (Hypothesis 6). The results presented here give no support for this perspective. Growing up with a single mother is not

associated with more modern gender role attitudes, and growing up with a single father is not associated with more traditional gender role attitudes, than growing up in an intact family. In fact, young adults growing up with a single father, sons in particular, express more modern private sphere gender role attitudes than respondents in other family types. Why is this? It could be argued that being a single father with main responsibility for children is, per se, an indication of non-traditionalism as most children, still, stay mainly with their mothers after their parents' divorce. Conclusions for the father only category should only be drawn with caution, however, as they are based on only 52 cases. Nevertheless, our results are well in accordance with prior research, showing small differences in gender ideologies between children and adolescents from single mother and single father families respectively (Dronkers, 2016; Pepin & Cotter, 2018; but see Wright & Young, 1998 for deviating results).

We also analyze whether offspring gender interacts with growing up in a single mother family in forming gender role attitudes, based on two opposing hypotheses. First, that young females from single mother families would express more modern gender role attitudes than their male peers, because same-sex parents are particularly salient role models (Hypothesis 7). Second, that young males would express more modern gender role attitudes than their female peers, because sons' workload is likely to increase more than daughters' following parental divorce, thus affecting their views on gendered work tasks to a higher extent (Hypothesis 8). None of these hypotheses receive support. Growing up with a single mother is not associated with more modern gender role attitudes for daughters than for sons, or viceversa. This result again illustrates the limited impact of parental divorce on the formation of gender role attitudes; either the suggested gender difference is not far-reaching enough to cause variation in gender role attitudes, or the experience related to parental divorce does not differ by gender at all. A number of previous studies agree that the association between growing up with a single mother and gender role attitudes is similar for male and female offspring (Dronkers, 2016; Goldscheider & Waite, 1991; Kiecolt & Acock, 1988).

Finally, we address the impact of family reconstitution on the formation of gender role attitudes. First, we argue that growing up with a biological mother and stepfather would be similar to growing up in an intact family because division of work (again) becomes gender-typical (Hypothesis 9). Second, we argue that young adults from stepfamilies would express more modern gender role attitudes than their peers from intact families, because acceptance for an unequal division of work between biological mother and stepfather should be lower than in an intact family. Moreover, we hypothesize that this would particularly be the case for daughters as they may feel less close to stepfathers (Jensen & Shafer, 2013) and have more

difficulty interacting with them (Vuchinich et al., 1991) than boys do (Hypothesis 10). The first of these hypotheses receives support to the extent that differences between the two family types are in no case statistically significant and very close to zero. But this finding conceals an important gender difference; in accordance with the last hypotheses, daughters from mother and stepfather families express more modern public and private sphere gender role attitudes than daughters from intact families. Boys in stepfamilies do, however, express more traditional public sphere gender role attitudes, which is not predicted in our hypothesis. Two previous studies offer results on the interaction between stepfamily and child gender for gender role attitudes formation. Dronkers (2016) finds no gender difference regarding living in stepfather family for gender equality attitudes. Kiecolt and Acock (1988), on the other hand, find results that are in accordance with ours: Adult women from stepfather families are significantly more likely than women from intact families to be in favour of women in politics, whereas no such family type difference appears for men. The pattern is similar for rejection of traditional gender roles but does not reach statistical significance. The complexity in results, and the fact that our analyses on gender and stepfamilies are based on small numbers, implies that this issue deserves further study.

As far as we know, this is the first Swedish study dealing with the question if childhood family type is associated with adult gender role attitudes. A limitation with our data is that childhood experiences are retrospectively reported. We thus run the risk of recall error regarding family type and maternal employment. However, we expect these potential errors to be small because the occurrences are distinct with clear implications for respondents' daily lives. We have also noted that some of our findings must be interpreted with caution, because of small cell frequencies. These limitations notwithstanding, this research is a valuable contribution to an understudied field, and our results are in line with most (of the few) previous studies, in that childhood parental divorce adds little to our understanding of what shapes gender role attitudes in adulthood. This may be, however, less surprising for a society such as the Swedish, where modern gender role attitudes are more widespread and shared by a larger proportion of the population, both women and men, than in most other countries (Brandt, 2011; Grunow et al., 2018).

Acknowledgements:

We are grateful for financial support from the Swedish Council for Working Life and Social Research (FAS, dnr. 2006–1515), and to Livia Sz. Olah via the Swedish Research Council grant to the Linneaus Center on Social Policy and Family Dynamics in Europe, SPaDE (grant number 349-2007-8701). The authors have contributed equally to this paper.

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