

Mum's the Word!
Maternal Employment and Gender Inequalities at Work and at Home

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Significance

We identify stark differences in men's and women's employment and domestic outcomes based on whether or not they were raised by a mother who was employed. Across 24 countries, adult daughters of employed mothers are more likely to be employed and, if employed, are more likely to hold supervisory responsibility, work more hours, and earn higher wages than women whose mothers were not employed. At home, sons raised by employed mothers spend more time caring for family members, and daughters raised by employed mothers spend less time on housework. Our findings reveal the potential for employed mothers to positively influence their daughters' and sons' lives and reduce gender inequality in workplaces and homes.

ABSTRACT

Questions about the impact of mothers' employment on their children reverberate in homes, workplaces, and public forums. Though considerable research has explored effects on young children's cognitive and social development, the lasting influence of maternal employment on adult sons' and daughters' lives is less clear. In the current research, we ask whether being raised by an employed mother can simultaneously enhance adult daughters' employment outcomes and adult sons' domestic outcomes, ultimately reducing gender inequality in both realms. Analyzing survey data collected from over 40,000 men and women across 24 countries and two decades, we find that maternal employment positively affects a spectrum of employment outcomes for daughters and domestic outcomes for both daughters and sons. Adult daughters, but not sons, of employed mothers are more likely to be employed and, if employed, are more likely to hold supervisory responsibility, work more hours, and earn higher wages than women whose mothers were not employed. At home, sons raised by employed mothers spend more time caring for family members, and daughters raised by employed mothers spend less time on housework. Using mediation tests and analyses exploring variation across countries, we show that the pattern of results is due, in part, to the link between mothers' employment and adult children's gender attitudes, as well as adult children's skills for managing dual responsibilities of employment and parenthood.

Gender inequality is a barrier to human development across the globe. In the public sphere, gender inequality manifests in disadvantages for women and girls in health, political representation, and labor market participation (1). In the private sphere, unequal engagement in parenting disadvantages men, women, and their children (2, 3). Gender attitudes—beliefs about appropriate roles for men and women—both reflect and reinforce gender inequality (4). Multiple studies have found a positive relationship between egalitarian gender attitudes and gender equality in public and private spheres (5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10). Research on the intergenerational transmission of gender attitudes provides

evidence that parents play an essential role in shaping the gender attitudes their children hold as adults (11). Specifically, children raised by employed mothers hold more egalitarian gender attitudes (6). In spite of possible benefits to their children and society, and the economic necessity for many families, mothers' employment during their sons' and daughters' childhood years remains a lightning rod for emotional debate and policy discourse (12). In this study, we explore the relationship between maternal employment and gender equality in adult children's employment and domestic outcomes across 24 countries.

Considerable research focuses on links between maternal employment and early childhood behavioral and cognitive outcomes. Meta-analyses yield few consistent findings (13), but provide evidence of slight cognitive and behavioral benefits to maternal employment in lower income children, and short-term detrimental behavioral effects related to maternal employment in the child's first year (14). Detrimental effects of first year maternal employment may be limited to non-Hispanic white children, and offset by positive indirect effects of increased attendance in formal child-care settings (15).

A smaller set of papers considers the association between maternal employment and adult outcomes. Adult daughters of employed mothers report more equitable division of household work (16) and more hours spent in paid work (9). Men whose mothers were employed are more likely to be married to women who are also employed (7). While these studies suggest the potential for positive effects on adult children of employed mothers, their scope is limited. We suggest that maternal employment will be positively associated with a spectrum of adult children's employment and domestic outcomes, driven by maternal employment's links to two mechanisms: shaping attitudes about what is appropriate and desirable (17), and transmitting skills, capacities, and templates for action that children can draw upon as they navigate work at home and in the labor force later in life (18).

Mothers play an essential role in shaping the gender attitudes their children hold as adults, influencing their sense of what is desirable and possible (6, 11, 19, 20). Notably for our study, children raised by employed mothers hold more egalitarian gender attitudes as adults—supporting women's engagement in the public sphere and shared responsibilities between men and women in the private sphere (4, 7). In turn, women's

participation in the public sphere and both men's and women's participation in the private sphere reflect held gender attitudes. Traditional gender attitudes—supporting women as homemakers and men as breadwinners—have been associated with substantial reductions in women's human capital investment, labor supply, and earnings (8, 10, 11, 21, 22). In homes, egalitarian gender attitudes have been associated with more equitable division of household labor and care of family members—a finding that holds true across continents, including Australia (24); Europe (25, 26, 27); Asia (28) and North America (29, 30, 31, 32, 33), as well as in a number of cross-national studies (34, 35, 36, 37). Women's gender attitudes appear especially important in maintaining a more equitable division of household labor after couples become parents (38).

Being raised by a mother who is employed may also teach children useful life skills. By observing their parents' behaviors, children build capacities that can be drawn upon as resources later in life (18). Analyzing data from a 31-year panel study, Cunningham (16) found that parental division of household labor during childhood was associated with men's adult participation in routine housework, while mothers' employment was a more important predictor of adult daughters' behavior at home. Sons raised in homes where household labor is shared among household members appear to learn how to do housework, and daughters whose mothers held paid employment appear to learn how to manage their households and jobs simultaneously. Cunningham concludes that parental influences are transmitted partially through the children's gender-role attitudes, and that life skills learned as children have important additional behavioral effects, especially for men and household labor.

In the present study, we investigate the association between maternal employment and adult children's employment and domestic outcomes. We test whether individually held gender attitudes mediate relationships between maternal employment and adult outcomes, where present. To explore the potential transmission of life skills, we consider employment effects for women with and without children separately; maternally influenced gender attitudes should affect both populations, while life skills gleaned from first-hand exposure to an employed mother should be more critical for women with children at home. As a secondary test of the learned skills mechanism, we control for individually-held gender attitudes and test whether positive maternal employment effects

are stronger in countries with lower levels of female employment and weaker in societies with higher levels of female employment, where plenty of examples outside of the home teach alternative approaches to managing work-life commitments. Finally, we present robustness tests assessing alternative explanations.

RESULTS

Our analyses rely on individual level data from the 2002 and 2012 “Family and Changing Gender Roles” module of the International Social Survey Programme (39). (See *SI Appendix* for ISSP details and survey items used.) We rely on responses from 20,966 female and 15,508 male respondents, 18 to 60 years old, across 24 countries in Asia, Europe, and North and South America. Our measure of maternal employment is based on responses to the question: “Did your mother ever work for pay for as long as one year, after you were born and before you were 14?” We create a standardized index of gender attitudes based on eight survey items regarding individual beliefs about appropriate economic and domestic roles for women and men (higher = more egalitarian). Our four employment measures include likelihood of being employed (= 1 if hours worked for pay > 0), likelihood of supervisory responsibility if employed (= 1 if directly responsible for work of other people), hours of paid work per week if employed, and income if employed (log transformed annualized earnings, standardized within each country-year). Measures of domestic engagement include hours spent on housework weekly and hours spent caring for family members weekly. Women and men differ significantly on each of the outcome variables ($p < .001$ for all). (See *SI Appendix, Table S1* for outcome variable details, by country.)

We estimate the effects of being raised by an employed mother using step-wise linear probability fixed effects regressions, which allow us to directly assess the relationship between maternal employment and our outcome variables within each country in a given year. (See *SI Appendix* for model details.) All analyses are run separately for males and females. In addition to accounting for country-year fixed effects, our regressions also control for individual respondents’ age, age squared, years of education, marital status, whether or not there are children living in the household, and religion. (See *SI Appendix, Table S2* for control variable details, by country.)

Adult children whose mothers were employed hold more egalitarian gender attitudes. Consistent with findings in past research, women and men raised by employed mothers hold more egalitarian gender attitudes than those raised by mothers who were not employed ($p < .05$ in all countries except Latvia) (Fig. 1). Overall, our standardized measure of gender attitudes averages .22 (SD = .99) for adult children whose mothers were employed and -.09 (SD = .97) for those whose mothers were not employed ($p < .001$). Fig. 2 presents the marginal effects of maternal employment on men's and women's gender attitudes from our country-year fixed effects regression controlling for demographics. Regression results confirm that adults raised by mothers who were employed hold significantly more egalitarian gender attitudes than their peers raised in households where the mother was not employed. Notably, men whose mothers were employed hold more egalitarian gender attitudes than women whose mothers were not employed, suggesting the effect of maternal employment may overshadow sex differences in gender attitudes. In the regressions below, we first test for direct effects of maternal employment on our outcome variables, and then add gender attitudes to the regressions, exploring potential mediating effects.

Daughters and sons raised by employed mothers experience benefits at work and at home. Regressions show significant associations between maternal employment and all but one of women's employment and domestic outcomes. In contrast, regressions reveal only one significant association between maternal employment and men's employment and domestic outcomes. Table 1 presents regression models with significant effects for maternal employment. (See *SI Appendix, Table S3* for omitted regressions.) Being raised by an employed mother is associated with a 3.4% marginal increase in women's likelihood of employment (Fig. 3a). Among employed women, those raised by mothers who were employed are 4.1% more likely to supervise others at work than those whose mothers were not employed (Fig. 3b), and spend roughly 45 minutes more at their jobs each week (Fig. 3c). Adult daughters of employed mothers have significantly higher annual earnings, partially due to greater time investment (Fig. 3d). In the domestic realm, daughters of employed mothers spend approximately 45 fewer minutes on housework weekly than daughters of mothers who were not employed, controlling for employment status (Fig. 4a), but we find no significant relationship between maternal employment and

the time women spend caring for family members. In stark contrast to the effects for women, we find no significant relationship between maternal employment and men's employment outcomes or housework hours, but we do find that men raised by an employed mother spend approximately 50 additional minutes weekly caring for family members, relative to sons whose mothers were not employed (Fig. 4b). In sum, daughters whose mothers were employed reap benefits at work and at home; sons experience no significant impact of their mother's employment status on their own employment, but those raised by employed mothers spend more time caring for family members.

Turning to gender attitudes as a possible mechanism driving maternal employment effects, Sobel-Goodman tests showed that gender attitudes mediated all significant relationships between maternal employment and women's outcomes (all $p < .001$). Gender attitudes mediated 41% of maternal employment effects on the likelihood of female employment, 14% on likelihood of supervisory responsibility, 20% on hours worked, 55% on income (controlling for hours) worked, and 30% on housework hours. Gender attitudes also significantly mediated maternal employment effects on men's engagement in family care ($p = .03$), but the mediation by gender attitudes accounts for only 10% of the effects. Overall, attitudes regarding appropriate economic and domestic roles for men and women are strongly shaped by mothers' employment status and these attitudes, in turn, partially account for the observed relationships between maternal employment and adult children's employment and domestic outcomes.

Additional analyses allow us to tease out whether or not skills learned from employed mothers also account, at least in part, for the observed pattern of results. If growing up in a home with an employed mother not only influences gender attitudes, but also transmits skills useful for balancing dual responsibilities of parenting and employment, these skills are likely to be more determinative when daughters become mothers themselves. To test the possibility that employed mothers transmit skills that their daughters tap into when they become parents, we run models interacting maternal employment with women's parental status (with or without children living in the household), controlling for individual gender attitudes, demographics and country-year fixed effects. The positive relationship between maternal employment and daughters' likelihood of employment, as well as likelihood of supervisory responsibility, holds

regardless of the daughters' parental status (Interaction bt/ maternal employment and with children, $p > .1$). For women who are employed, those with children at home experience a closer relationship between maternal employment and their own work hours (Interaction $\beta = 1.37$, $p = .012$) and income (Interaction $\beta = .103$, $p = .011$). These results suggest that employed mothers influence their adult daughters' employment outcomes through conveyance of skills as well as attitudes. Employed daughters of employed mothers, when faced with the opportunities and challenges of having children themselves, appear both willing and able to emulate their mothers as they manage employment and caregiving roles simultaneously.

If employed mothers transmit life skills their daughters and sons rely on as adults, these lessons are likely to be more critical when other non-traditional gender role models are less available within society. To further explore transmission of life skills as a mechanism underlying maternal employment effects, we test for interactions between maternal employment and country-level Female Labor Force Participation rates (FLFP) by observation year (40), using linear mixed-effects models controlling for individual gender attitudes and average gender attitudes within each country, acknowledging the aggregated effects of individual attitudes within a society (8, 41).¹ (See Fig. 5 for illustration of significant interactions.) We find that the positive relationships between maternal employment and daughters' likelihood of employment, work hours, and time doing housework are strongest in countries with lower FLFP and weak or absent in countries where employed women are more common. Men's increased engagement in family care, however, appears to rely on reinforcement across childhood and adult experiences; the link between maternal employment and men's caring for family members is strongest in countries with higher FLFP. The moderating effect of role models within society suggests that employed mothers transmit to their daughters a set of skills and capacities for taking on roles not broadly reinforced by others in the society around them.

¹ None of the mixed models without the interaction term generated a coefficient for Mother Employed that was meaningfully different in magnitude or significance from the coefficients generated by the fixed effects models, providing a robustness check for the results reported above.

Testing alternative explanations. Several alternative explanations warrant consideration. Maternal employment may be a proxy for childhood homes with more resources, more educated parents, more emphasis on work and discipline, etc. We do not control for resources or stimuli in childhood homes. If beneficial resources or stimuli associated with maternal employment, but not inherently related to non-traditional gender role modeling, are driving our effects, we should find that adult daughters *and sons* of employed mothers have employment outcomes superior to peers raised by mothers who were not employed. But we find no significant associations in the regressions of adult sons' employment status. This does not rule out the possibility that our findings reflect differences between homes with employed mothers and homes with mothers who are not employed, but it suggests that any such differences cannot be gender neutral. An alternative, gendered, account of maternal employment as a proxy for household differences could be that employed mothers reflect households in which women, including daughters, are favored overall and men, including sons, suffer (42). Tests on additional outcome variables suggest little support for this conjecture. Both sons and daughters raised by employed mothers have significantly higher average years of education than children of mothers who were not employed (Sons, Mean [Emp mom] = 12.00, SD = 3.83; Mean [Mom not emp] = 12.99, SD = 3.32; $p < .001$; Daughters, Mean [Emp mom] = 11.97, SD = 3.75; Mean [Mom not emp] = 13.07, SD = 3.23, $p < .001$). Regressions with country-year fixed effects and the controls used in primary analyses show positive and significant associations between sons' and daughters' education and maternal employment, not differing significantly between males and females. We also check for overall differences in adult son's and daughter's life satisfaction; we find no significant effects in fixed-effect analyses testing for associations between maternal employment and self-reported overall happiness for males or females (males: $\beta = .02$, $p = .488$; females: $\beta = -.00$, $p = .847$). We conclude there is no evidence that daughters benefit at the expense of sons in homes with employed mothers.

One promising alternative explanation for the effect on sons' involvement with family care draws from past research showing that sons raised by mothers employed outside the home are more likely to be married to women who work outside the home (7), suggesting our findings for men's involvement in family care may be due to men's

wives'—rather than their mothers'—employment. We reran the analyses on men's outcomes, controlling for spouse's employment status, and find that maternal employment remains a significant predictor of men's involvement in family care ($\beta = .89$; $p = .03$) and has no significant relationship to men's employment outcomes.

We also consider the possibility that maternal employment may be simply a proxy for the local availability of employment opportunities for women, a feature of the place and era in which children were raised (43). If so, our findings may reflect similarities in job availability due to mothers' and daughters' colocation, especially if they co-locate in urban settings where there are more employment opportunities (44). To test this possibility, we reran our fixed-effects analyses on the subset of observations in our sample where surveys included questions about respondents' communities, adding a variable controlling for whether the respondent lived in an urban or suburban community. Living in an urban community is significantly related to several of our outcome variables, but the effects for maternal employment, and the mediation of those effects through gender attitudes, remain essentially unchanged from those in the main analyses reported above. (See *SI Appendix* additional robustness checks.)

Endogeneity threats are inherent in cross-sectional survey data. But the consistent association between maternal employment and daughters' employment outcomes, the lack of association with men's employment outcomes, the magnification of influence for women with children at home, interactions with current rates of female employment, and the stability of the effects in robustness tests mitigate concerns of omitted variables or alternatives or explanations driving our results. We offer robust evidence that employed mothers provide non-traditional gender role models benefitting their adult children at work and at home, ultimately reducing gender inequality in employment and domestic outcomes worldwide.

DISCUSSION

We find that maternal employment plays a key role in reducing gender inequality across the globe. Analyzing survey data from 24 countries in 2002 and 2012, we find that adult daughters of employed mothers are more likely to be employed than adult daughters of mothers who were not employed when their children were young. When employed,

adult daughters of employed mothers work more hours, are better compensated, and are more likely to hold supervisory positions than daughters of mothers who did not work for pay. At home, adult daughters of employed mothers spend fewer hours on housework each week. For sons, we see the opposite pattern: adult sons' employment outcomes and housekeeping roles are essentially unassociated with maternal employment, but adult sons of employed mothers spend more time caring for family members than adult sons of mothers who were not employed.

The pattern of results across 24 countries suggests that having a non-traditional role model—being raised by an employed mother—shapes adult outcomes through two mechanisms. The first is a mother's influence of on gender attitudes, or beliefs about behaviors that are “right” and “normal” for men and women. We see evidence of this in our mediation analyses: adult children of employed mothers hold significantly more egalitarian gender attitudes than adult children of mothers who stayed home full time; in turn, gender attitudes mediate the relationships between maternal employment and adult daughters' hours worked, earnings, and hours spent on household work each week. Yet gender attitudes account for only part of the relationship between mothers' employment status and adult children's employment and domestic outcomes. We conclude that children raised by employed mothers also observe the decisions and behaviors of their parents, learning skills and capacities that they draw upon as they navigate gendered situations and decisions later in life. Skills conveyed to daughters by employed mothers seem most salient in contexts where gender inequality is most problematic. Being raised by an employed mother has its strongest influence on daughters' outcomes when women become mothers themselves, and where dual roles for women are not broadly reinforced by others in the society around them.

CONCLUSIONS

By focusing on the long-term impact of maternal employment on adult sons and daughters, our work provides an important counterpoint to persistent beliefs and rhetoric that employed mothers are “abandoning their children” and negatively affecting their families and society over the long term. Our research reinforces calls for national and local policies supporting parental employment, especially mothers who work part time or

full time. Providing quality and reasonably priced childcare is an important factor, but policy makers should also address workplace policies that hinder or assist parental employment. Such policies range from addressing the culture of excessive work hours that drives parents—both men and women—out of the workplace, to workplace practices that encourage more women to pursue their career aspirations. We are hopeful that our research will promote respect for the spectrum of choices women and men make at home and at work.

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Figure Legends

Figure 1. Range of values for gender attitudes (standardized across full sample), by mother's employment status, by country. Box represents median (middle line) and range of values in 1st through 3rd quartiles. Whiskers note most extreme values within 1.5 IQR of the nearest quartiles. Differences are significant at $p < .05$ in all countries except Latvia.

Figure 2. Marginal predictions for men's gender attitudes and women's gender attitudes, by mother's employment status. Bars represent marginal predictions in regressions controlling for demographics and country-year fixed effects. Whiskers note standard errors. All differences significant at $p < .05$.

Figures 3a – 3d. Marginal predictions for women's employment outcomes, by mother's employment status. Bars represent marginal predictions in regressions controlling for demographics and country-year fixed effects. Whiskers note standard errors.

Figures 4a & 4b. Marginal predictions for domestic outcomes, by mother's employment status. Bars represent marginal predictions in regressions controlling for demographics and country-year fixed effects. Whiskers note standard errors.

Figure 5. Marginal predictions for women's likelihood of employment, hours worked, and housework hours, and for men's family care hours, by female labor force participation rates within country, by mother's employment status. Bars note 95% confidence intervals.

Table 1: Regression models for women's and men's employment and domestic outcomes significantly related to maternal employment. Direct and gender-attitude-mediated effects of maternal employment on adult daughters' and sons' employment and domestic outcomes. Step-wise, fixed effects regression models. Data from ISSP, 2002 and 2012. Standard deviations in parentheses.

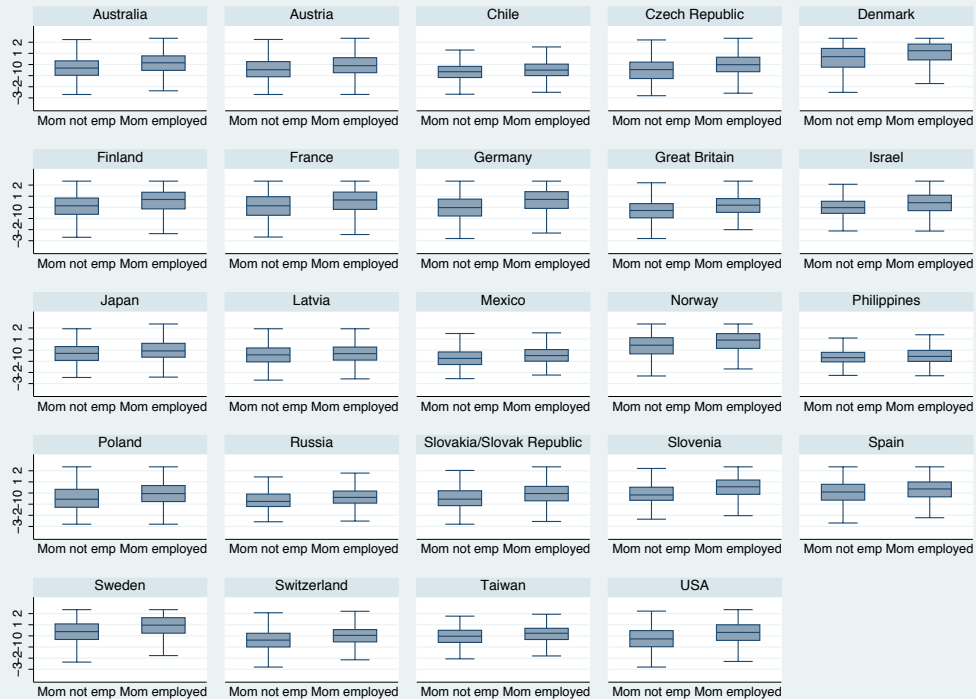
	Daughters' Likelihood of Employment		Daughters' Likelihood of Holding Supervisory Responsibilities, if Employed		Daughters' Hours Worked Weekly, if Employed		Daughters' Z-Income, Controlling for Hours Worked, if Employed		Daughters' Hours Spent on Household Work Weekly		Sons' Hours Spent on Family Care Weekly, 2012 Only	
Maternal Employment	0.034*** (0.008)	0.021*** (0.007)	0.040*** (0.008)	0.035*** (0.008)	0.737** (0.289)	0.594** (0.285)	0.037** (0.018)	0.017 (0.018)	-0.783** (0.296)	-0.547* (0.285)	1.001** (0.392)	0.899** (0.376)
Gender Attitudes		0.074*** (0.005)		0.032*** (0.005)		0.839*** (0.214)		0.129*** (0.013)		-1.366*** (0.177)		0.416* (0.205)
Age	0.078*** (0.005)	0.078*** (0.005)	0.015*** (0.003)	0.015*** (0.003)	0.799*** (0.135)	0.799*** (0.136)	0.091*** (0.010)	0.091*** (0.010)	0.989*** (0.114)	0.956*** (0.115)	0.867*** (0.123)	0.863*** (0.123)
Age ²	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.010*** (0.002)	-0.010*** (0.002)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.010*** (0.001)	-0.010*** (0.001)	-0.011*** (0.001)	-0.011*** (0.001)
Yrs Education	0.018*** (0.002)	0.014*** (0.002)	0.019*** (0.002)	0.017*** (0.002)	0.070 (0.069)	0.025 (0.065)	0.086*** (0.007)	0.079*** (0.006)	-0.495*** (0.060)	-0.424*** (0.059)	0.076 (0.075)	0.058 (0.077)
Married	-0.041*** (0.013)	-0.034** (0.013)	0.010 (0.009)	0.012 (0.009)	-1.918*** (0.345)	-1.888*** (0.344)	-0.032 (0.020)	-0.029 (0.020)	4.103*** (0.587)	3.986*** (0.594)	3.401*** (0.606)	3.405*** (0.607)
Child at Home	-0.084*** (0.011)	-0.079*** (0.011)	-0.021** (0.009)	-0.020** (0.009)	-2.778*** (0.335)	-2.765*** (0.340)	-0.069*** (0.017)	-0.067*** (0.018)	2.596*** (0.308)	2.527*** (0.303)	7.982*** (0.887)	7.998*** (0.891)
Christian	-0.014 (0.009)	0.000 (0.009)	-0.009 (0.008)	-0.003 (0.008)	-0.329 (0.287)	-0.164 (0.276)	-0.064*** (0.022)	-0.038* (0.022)	0.862*** (0.287)	0.621** (0.282)	-0.018 (0.276)	0.079 (0.283)
Other Religion	-0.060** (0.023)	-0.040** (0.020)	0.009 (0.017)	0.017 (0.017)	-0.384 (0.586)	-0.172 (0.597)	-0.112*** (0.036)	-0.079** (0.034)	0.879 (0.586)	0.533 (0.576)	0.517 (0.522)	0.660 (0.490)
Hrs Wk/Week							0.021*** (0.002)	0.021*** (0.002)				
Employed									-6.830*** (0.516)	-6.379*** (0.518)	-1.654*** (0.559)	-1.667*** (0.561)
Constant	-0.938*** (0.109)	-0.912*** (0.109)	-0.382*** (0.054)	-0.375*** (0.053)	23.895*** (2.991)	24.074*** (3.005)	-3.807*** (0.188)	-3.770*** (0.184)	2.980 (1.969)	2.870 (1.981)	-11.727*** (2.018)	-11.541*** (1.990)
Country-Year Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Country Only	Country Only
N												
Observations	20,966	20,966	13,752	13,752	14,124	14,124	12,161	12,161	17,740	17,740	7,322	7,322
R-squared Within	0.095	0.115	0.031	0.035	0.019	0.022	0.246	0.261	0.148	0.155	0.143	0.144

Robust standard errors clustered at country-year

P values of statistical significance between M/F

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Gender Attitudes, standardized. Higher=More egalitarian



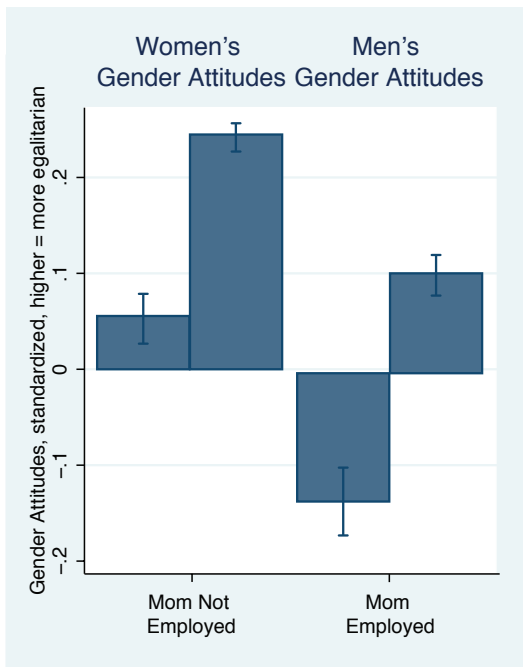


Figure 3a: Women's Employment Status

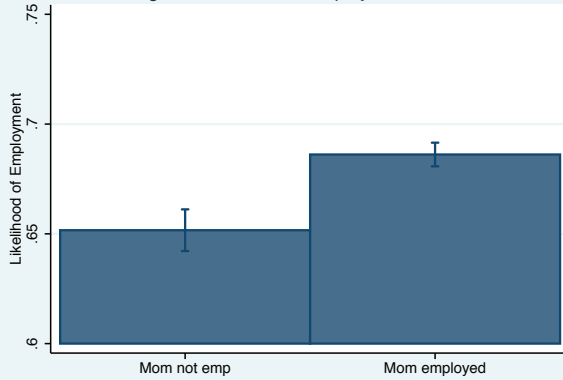


Figure 3b: Women's Supervisory Responsibility

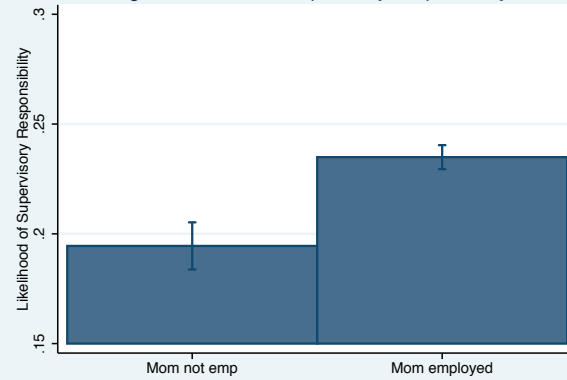


Figure 3c: Women's Hours Worked Weekly

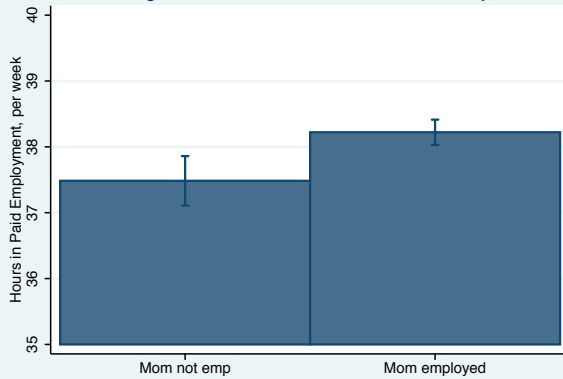


Figure 3d: Women's Income, if employed

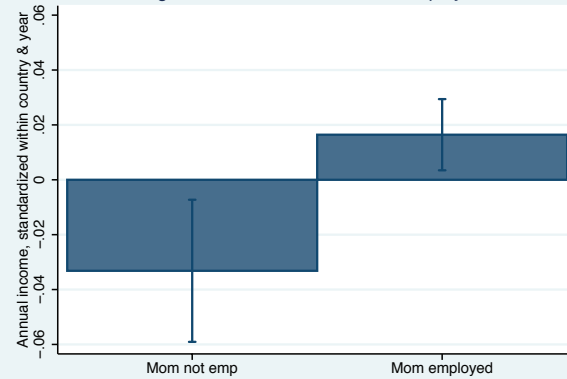
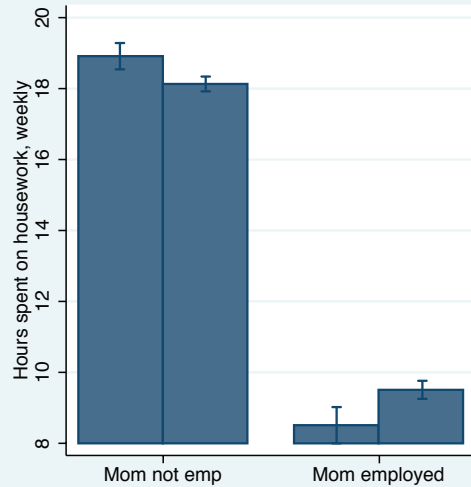
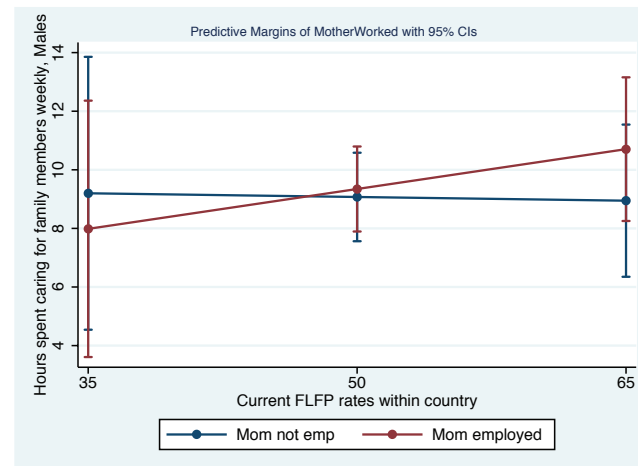
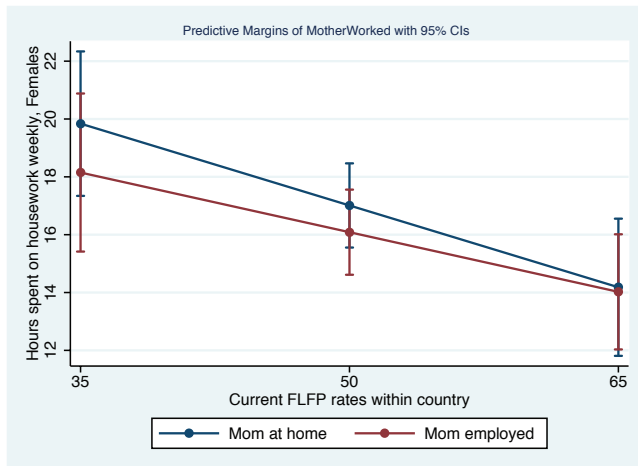
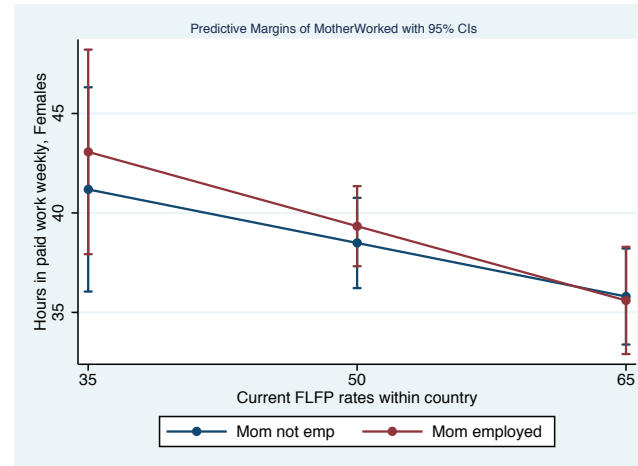
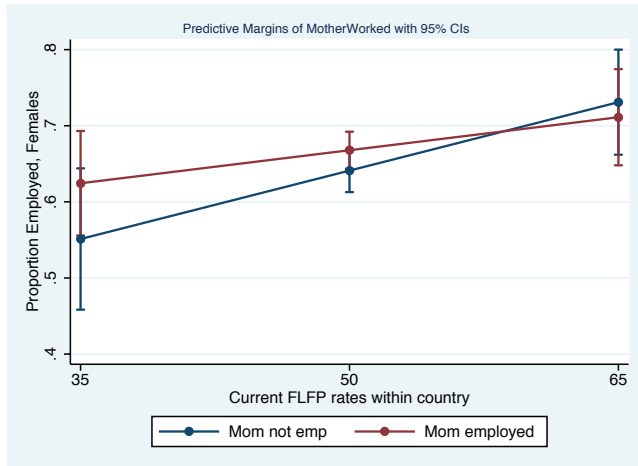


Figure 4a:
Women's
Housework Hours

Figure 4b:
Men's Family
Care Hours





Supplementary Information for:
**Mum’s the Word! Cross-national Relationship between Maternal Employment and Gender
Inequalities at Work and at Home**
Kathleen L. McGinn¹, Mayra Ruiz Castro² & Elizabeth Long Lingo³

Fixed Effects Model Details

We estimate the following country-year fixed-effect regressions:

$$Y_{ic} = \delta \text{Mother Employed}_{ic} + \beta X_{ic} + \eta_c + \varepsilon_{ic}$$

where Y_{ic} represents adult outcomes—in the workplace or at home—for the i th respondent in country c ; $\text{Mother Employed}_{ic}$ is a dichotomous variable indicating whether the respondent’s mother was employed for pay for one year or more between the respondent’s birth and 14th birthday (1 = yes); X_{ic} represent respondent demographics and family characteristics; η_c denotes country-year fixed-effects capturing factors expected to differ by country and year, such as GDP, rates of female labor force participation, welfare policies, and widely-held gender attitudes; ε_{ic} is the error term. Our fixed-effects models include robust standard errors clustered at the country-year level. We use linear models for all of our outcome variables, including dichotomous variables, to simplify interpretation of the coefficients (Angst & Pischke, 2008). In addition, because our models include multiple dichotomous and categorical variables, logit models often fail to converge.

International Social Survey Programme Details

The ISSP, a cross-national collaboration program that designs annual questionnaires across a range of social science topics. Independent organizations in the participating countries collect ISSP survey data in the national language, either separately or as part of ongoing national surveys, from representative samples of the country’s adult population. Surveys are conducted

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primarily through face-to-face interviews and self-completion surveys. The data are documented and made available by the Central Archive for Empirical Social Research at the University of Cologne, Germany. ISSP publishes complete documentation of the randomization procedures, survey protocol, and response rates, by country and year, on their website.

Additional Robustness Check

We replaced Employed with Hours Worked in analyses of men's and women's time spent on housework and family care; results in terms of direction and level of significance remain essentially unchanged with the alternate specification for employment.

ISSP Survey Questions Used in Creating Measures for Primary Analyses

Age

Age of respondent (in years)

Years of Education

How many full years of schooling or education have you had? Please include primary and secondary schooling, university and full-time vocational training, but do not include repeated years.

Marital Status

What is your current legal marital status?

1=Married, or living as married; 2=Widowed; 3=Divorced; 4=Separated, after being married; 5=Never married, single, not married

Children Living in the Household

How many children up to the age of school age live in your household?

How many children between school age and 17 years old live in your household?

Religion

Do you belong to a religion and, if yes, which religion do you belong to?

(Categories varied across countries)

Recoded: 0=No Religion; 1=Christian; 3=Other

Predictor Variables

Mother Employed

Did your mother ever work for pay for as long as one year, after you were born and before you were 14?

1=Yes, she worked for pay; 2=No

Gender Attitudes (8 survey items; $\alpha = .78$; avg. inter-item covariance = .39)

To what extent do you agree or disagree...?

- A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work*
- A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works*
- Family life suffers if a woman goes out to work*
- Work is alright, but what a woman really wants is a home and family*
- Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay*
- A man's job is to earn money, a woman's job is to look after the home and family*

1=strongly agree; 5=strongly disagree

What do you think is the best arrangement for women's work outside the home under the following circumstances?

g) *When there is a child under school age*

h) *After the youngest child starts school*

1=stay home; 2=work part-time; 3=work full-time

Survey Questions Used in Creating Measures for Dependent Variables

Employed

Last week were you working full time, part time, going to school, keeping house, or what?

1=Currently in paid work; 2=Currently not in paid work, paid work in the past;

3=Never had paid work; 9=No answer

Hours Housework

How many hours spend on household work?

0=None, no hours, does not apply; 1=1 hour or less; 2=2 hours; 3=3 hours; 4=4

hours...(etc. to 94 hours); 95=95 hours and more; 98=Don't know; 99=No answer

Hours Care

On average, how many hours a week do you spend looking after family members (e.g. children, elderly, ill or disabled family members)?

0=None, no hours, does not apply; 1=1 hour or less; 2=2 hours; 3=3 hours; 4=4

hours...(etc. to 94 hours); 95=95 hours and more; 98=Don't know; 99=No answer

Supervisory Responsibility

In your main job, do you supervise anyone or are you directly responsible for the work of other people?

1=Yes, supervise others at work; 2=No, do not supervise

Hours Worked

How many hours, on average, do you usually work for pay in a normal week, including overtime?

0=None, no hours, does not apply; 1=1 hour or less; 2=2 hours; 3=3 hours; 4=4

hours...(etc. to 94 hours); 95=95 hours and more; 98=Don't know; 99=No answer

Z-Income

Before taxes and other deductions, what on average is your own total monthly income?

Z-Income = Country specific personal income (annualized, logged, and standardized)

¹ Questions phrased slightly differently across languages.

Table S1: Means and proportions for outcome variables, by country, by gender. Standard deviations in parentheses. Limited to observations with no missing data on independent variables. Data from 2002 and 2012.

Country	Employed		Supervisory Responsibility, if Employed		Hours Worked, Weekly, if Employed		Z-Income, if Employed		Hours Spent in Household Work, Weekly		Hours Spent in Family Care, Weekly, 2012 Only	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Australia	70.36%	78.23%***	36.41%	53.05%***	31.35 (13.55)	44.34*** (12.94)	-0.11 (00.98)	0.39*** (00.88)	18.08 (13.67)	11.14*** (08.95)	24.02 (29.13)	9.38*** (14.53)
	N = 830	579	574	443	584	453	514	418	799	558	361	232
Austria	66.29%	80.42%***	18.11%	31.42%***	34.67 (11.89)	42.58*** (09.22)	-0.02 (00.92)	0.64*** (00.75)	19.83 (12.74)	0.90*** (06.95)	15.61 (22.73)	6.96*** (10.16)
	N = 1071	618	690	471	710	497	555	396	833	476	385	243
Chile	44.16%	81.17%***	15.04%	28.09%***	44.25 (18.51)	51.78*** (16.74)	0.27 (00.82)	0.65*** (00.76)	32.82 (20.53)	10.79*** (12.05)	26.26 (23.70)	10.23*** (14.74)
	N = 1191	839	525	678	526	681	431	681	929	620	516	311
Czech Republic	60.51%	81.51%***	11.69%	18.82%***	42.23 (08.37)	45.68*** (19.65)	0.21 (00.78)	0.69*** (00.97)	20.39 (11.90)	9.99*** (07.82)	12.38 (18.16)	5.30*** (07.50)
	N = 894	557	513	471	541	454	431	356	794	495	543	368
Denmark	98.38%	97.51%	28.15%	45.88%***	36.11 (10.04)	40.33*** (10.85)	0.12 (00.82)	0.50*** (00.93)	11.12 (07.18)	7.41*** (07.41)	13.66 (22.59)	7.65*** (14.45)
	N = 743	603	714	582	731	588	718	586	654	551	397	354
Finland	76.40%	80.24%	13.95%	80.24%***	36.97 (09.73)	41.37*** (10.95)	0.25 (00.62)	0.59*** (00.61)	11.19 (08.06)	6.63*** (06.63)	16.97 (23.30)	10.61*** (10.61)
	N = 627	425	473	337	479	341	427	307	538	363	269	197
France	76.20%	84.91%***	29.42%	52.90%***	34.71 (09.16)	42.00*** (09.07)	-0.10 (00.87)	0.54*** (00.92)	11.20 (09.12)	5.78*** (06.02)	18.87 (19.39)	11.42*** (14.36)
	N = 1525	636	1132	535	1162	540	1068	501	1294	535	675	296
Germany	66.88%	81.59%***	35.17%	56.02%***	33.51 (12.42)	44.76*** (09.73)	-0.14 (00.93)	0.62*** (00.77)	15.62 (11.93)	7.09*** (06.32)	14.28 (21.25)	6.78*** (11.66)
	N = 767	706	588	573	767	576	585	526	685	593	421	374
Great Britain	67.82%	83.62%***	35.48%	48.57%***	33.70 (13.93)	45.39*** (11.93)	-0.35 (00.98)	0.44*** (00.81)	12.76 (09.41)	7.02*** (06.95)	24.01 (27.49)	11.00*** (15.92)
	N = 777	586	527	490	527	490	499	475	560	425	177	156
Israel	69.03%	78.82%***	0.25%	39.74%***	34.37 (14.60)	46.21*** (14.25)	-0.09 (00.94)	0.44*** (00.87)	18.64 (15.04)	7.11*** (07.23)	20.70 (21.22)	7.83*** (11.36)
	N = 833	595	564	453	575	469	487	398	713	453	377	240
Japan	68.41%	93.17%***	11.40%	31.88%***	34.66 (14.84)	49.60*** (15.61)	-0.35 (00.91)	0.79*** (00.73)	23.34 (14.92)	3.31*** (05.28)	17.64 (22.87)	5.09*** (09.28)
	N = 497	366	272	320	340	341	308	303	433	306	219	150
Latvia	68.98%	78.30%***	14.04%	24.49%***	43.46 (15.38)	48.57*** (16.37)	0.25 (00.71)	0.62*** (00.78)	19.86 (14.91)	12.22*** (10.43)	16.26 (19.12)	7.79*** (13.17)
	N = 777	507	534	392	536	397	434	303	622	442	388	273
Mexico	57.82%	83.87%***	20.20%	32%***	44.39 (20.19)	49.82*** (24.16)	0.00 (00.96)	0.23*** (00.91)	23.71 (19.49)	12.26 (15.42)	13.50 (19.58)	12.18 (20.01)
	N = 901	713	495	575	521	598	338	427	698	582	410	381
Norway	93.18%	96.63%***	22.08%	45.23%***	35.36 (12.55)	43.51*** (12.65)	-0.14 (00.91)	0.49*** (00.86)	9.97 (06.71)	5.99*** (06.89)	14.63 (20.23)	9.99*** (13.36)
	N = 850	713	770	681	792	689	727	661	718	621	355	311
Philippines	41.26%	69.53%***	10.58%	13.78%	43.96 (22.74)	46.03 (18.02)	-0.15 (01.05)	0.16*** (00.93)	24.93 (17.03)	16.05*** (13.91)	31.21 (27.54)	17.98*** (18.87)
	N = 875	827	359	566	361	575	337	547	785	697	451	427

Poland		58.16%	68.86%***	19.57%	32.04%***	41.03 (12.25)	48.59*** (14.65)	-0.12 (00.92)	0.22*** (01.02)	21.40 (14.85)	13.85*** (14.22)	18.69 (23.38)	8.93*** (14.22)
	N =	729	562	424	387	424	387	340	302	587	444	332	277
Russia		65.27%	79.53%***	21.10%	28.03%***	41.60 (12.33)	46.44*** (14.32)	0.20 (00.99)	0.62*** (00.94)	23.60 (15.80)	14.49*** (13.22)	17.56 (20.13)	7.01*** (10.10)
	N =	1143	601	730	471	746	478	638	379	1068	543	356	134
Slovakia		68.10%	77.82%***	15.22%	26.19%***	41.32 (10.28)	46.97*** (11.95)	0.21 (00.75)	0.80*** (00.78)	21.11 (13.06)	12.59*** (10.34)	13.40 (19.58)	7.26*** (10.43)
	N =	765	577	519	439	521	449	452	384	653	472	344	253
Slovenia		65.37%	77.47%***	24.94%	37.47%***	41.02 (09.10)	44.48*** (10.80)	0.35 (00.78)	0.56*** (00.76)	20.21 (13.15)	8.08*** (08.18)	14.18 (20.64)	7.02*** (11.81)
	N =	670	546	425	411	438	423	297	298	580	453	325	251
Spain		60.14%	76.25%***	19.29%	30.75%***	36.15 (11.48)	43.60*** (10.61)	0.00 (00.93)	0.56*** (00.88)	23.41 (17.66)	9.67*** (10.34)	19.08 (24.84)	9.60*** (14.71)
	N =	1385	1141	819	865	833	870	671	683	1114	870	688	536
Sweden		84.13%	91.14%***	27.76%	41.00%***	36.70 (08.86)	41.68*** (09.33)	0.01 (00.82)	0.50*** (00.89)	12.45 (07.40)	8.43*** (06.44)	11.95 (15.86)	12.39 (16.50)
	N =	567	429	461	383	477	391	460	378	485	360	231	161
Switzerland		82.40%	93.06%***	25.89%	48.44%***	31.69 (00.44)	45.23*** (12.51)	-0.31 (00.98)	0.46*** (00.73)	15.04 (12.03)	6.81*** (06.17)	15.21 (21.54)	7.54*** (11.48)
	N =	642	620	529	576	529	577	418	499	626	602	387	372
Taiwan		65.48%	83.43%***	9.98%	21.86%***	45.31 (13.77)	49.37*** (15.96)	0.09 (00.71)	0.46*** (00.79)	12.64 (11.79)	4.87*** (05.96)	11.00 (21.15)	6.11*** (12.38)
	N =	1208	1195	791	997	791	997	742	956	1020	1007	690	742
USA		66.81%	81.83%***	30.77%	40.50%***	38.31 (13.38)	45.05*** (14.47)	-0.08 (00.86)	0.25*** (00.96)	12.02 (11.69)	8.74*** (10.10)	28.81 (31.78)	13.30*** (21.03)
	N =	699	567	403	358	467	464	405	414	552	455	316	283
N Total		20,966	15,508	17,084	13,904	20,966	15,508	14,742	12,323	17,740	12,923	9,613	7,322
Overall													
Proportion/Mean		67.37%	82.05%***	22.13%	35.73%***	37.97 (13.85)	45.64*** (13.63)	00.00 (00.89)	0.50*** (00.85)	18.41 (14.90)	09.13*** (09.96)	17.77 (23.09)	09.13*** (14.41)

p values of statistical significance in differences between males and females

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table S2: Means and proportions for demographic control variables, by country, by gender. Standard deviations in parentheses. Data from 2002 and 2012.

Country	N Observations		Age Mean		Years of Education Mean		Married or Cohabiting		With Children at Home		Religious Affiliation (Males, upper row; Females, lower row)		
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	No Religion	Christian	Other
Australia	830	579	42.24 (11.19)	44.55*** (11.19)	13.29 (03.24)	13.07 (03.21)	66.14%	70.29%	39.88%	33.33%**	29.40%	65.30%	05.30%
Austria	1,071	618	39.39 (11.41)	40.11 (11.08)	11.15 (02.52)	10.94 (02.54)	58.45%	60.19%	44.63%	34.47%***	14.01%	82.45%	03.55%
Chile	1,191	839	38.14 (12.41)	36.73** (11.81)	10.97 (03.92)	11.77*** (03.99)	47.10%	43.98%	71.96%	61.62%***	09.07%	88.33%	02.60%
Czech Republic	894	557	40.06 (11.85)	40.38 (11.37)	12.69 (01.95)	12.90 (02.05)	58.84%	62.30%	45.30%	40.04%**	69.35%	27.29%	03.36%
Denmark	743	603	41.45 (11.49)	40.41 (11.68)	13.59 (04.09)	13.75** (04.51)	57.07%	49.59%***	48.18%	45.94%	10.50%	86.81%	02.69%
Finland	627	425	41.08 (12.01)	41.52 (11.46)	14.03 (04.05)	13.58* (03.65)	65.87%	67.06%*	43.54%	45.41%	13.40%	85.33%	01.28%
France	1,525	636	40.27 (10.75)	43.045*** (10.77)	14.32 (03.00)	14.26 (03.31)	58.82%	62.74%	58.95%	50.63%***	39.21%	55.02%	05.77%
Germany	706	767	39.69 (12.02)	40.51 (11.88)	12.11 (03.25)	12.05 (03.45)	56.45%	52.27%	43.81%	35.69%***	31.81%	64.28%	03.91%
Great Britain	777	586	39.77 (11.37)	41.23** (11.06)	12.69 (02.60)	12.75 (02.89)	53.93%	55.97%	49.42%	34.81%***	47.88%	48.65%	03.47%
Israel	833	595	37.92 (11.89)	36.13*** (12.04)	13.49 (02.78)	13.20* (02.77)	70.23%	58.49%***	65.07%	55.97%***	01.08%	03.84%	95.08%
Japan	497	366	42.06 (11.45)	41.82 (11.68)	13.02 (02.07)	13.77*** (02.63)	74.65%	68.03%**	48.09%	44.26%	70.62%	01.21%	28.17%
Latvia	777	507	38.97 (12.05)	38.68 (12.41)	13.41 (02.67)	12.82*** (02.68)	52.38%	58.78%**	52.64%	44.58%***	27.16%	68.34%	04.50%
Mexico	901	703	35.94 (11.46)	34.93* (11.47)	10.36 (04.45)	11.33*** (04.55)	59.38%	62.83%	67.04%	64.52%	03.22%	91.34%	05.44%
Norway	850	713	39.66 (11.88)	42.22*** (11.06)	14.05 (03.35)	14.00 (03.48)	52.47%	56.52%	52.94%	51.05%	13.41%	84.24%	02.35%
Philippines	875	827	36.70 (11.04)	37.10 (11.86)	9.79 (03.13)	9.69 (03.26)	72.91%	64.57%***	84.69%	77.63%***	00.34%	96.46%	03.20%
Poland	729	562	40.20 (11.79)	38.95* (12.01)	12.67 (03.15)	12.16*** (02.91)	65.16%	60.14%*	58.85%	49.47%***	10.15%	89.03%	82.00%
Russia	1,143	601	39.20 (12.20)	38.03* (12.34)	12.45 (02.50)	12.45*** (02.56)	54.94%	61.73%***	53.73%	42.76%***	16.54%	76.55%	06.91%
Slovakia	765	577	41.55 (11.84)	40.69 (11.98)	13.14 (02.76)	13.19 (02.72)	68.10%	68.80%	47.32%	47.31%	10.72%	86.01%	03.27%
Slovenia	670	546	40.53 (11.87)	40.12 (11.95)	12.77 (03.03)	12.46* (02.94)	66.12%	66.12%	43.88%	42.67%	24.93%	71.04%	04.03%
Spain	1,385	1,141	38.99 (11.43)	38.63 (11.55)	12.93 (04.48)	12.69 (04.56)	58.70%	55.21%*	45.78%	41.63%	18.56%	78.27%	03.18%
Sweden	567	429	40.73 (11.95)	42.85** (11.09)	13.35 (03.17)	12.62*** (03.44)	65.78%	66.43%	45.86%	47.79%	18.34%	79.37%	02.29%
Switzerland	642	620	41.14 (11.52)	41.29 (11.36)	12.68 (03.44)	12.97 (03.59)	55.30%	55.16%	41.12%	38.23%	20.72%	68.85%	10.44%
											23.87%	67.90%	08.23%

Taiwan	1,208	1,195	37.95 (11.81)	37.45 (11.96)	12.47 (03.59)	12.98*** (03.34)	60.02%	56.32%*	53.15%	48.54%**		21.52%	06.79%	71.69%
USA	699	567	37.98 (11.28)	38.56 (11.41)	13.48 (02.61)	13.39 (02.89)	47.50%	47.09%	48.21%	30.69%***		14.88%	80.69%	04.43%
Totals/Overall Means & %	20,966	15,508	39.65 (11.73)	39.80 (11.86)	12.70 (03.47)	12.66 (03.55)	59.60%	58.80%	51.93%	49.96%***	F M	21.87%	66.03%	12.11%
												25.72%	60.61%	13.68%***

p values of statistical significance in differences between males and females

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table S3: Direct and mediated effects of maternal employment on men's and women's employment outcomes, using step-wise, fixed effects regression models. Limited to outcome variables not significantly related to maternal employment Standard deviations in parentheses. Data from 2002 and 2012.

	Women's Hours Spent on Family Care, Weekly, 2012 Only		Men's Likelihood of Employment		Men's Likelihood of Holding Supervisory Responsibility, if Employed		Men's Hours Worked, Weekly, if Employed		Men's Z-Income, Controlling for Hours Worked, Weekly, if Employed		Men's Hours of Household Work, Weekly	
Maternal Employment	0.301 (0.454)	0.597 (0.441)	0.007 (0.008)	0.005 (0.008)	0.008 (0.011)	0.006 (0.010)	0.212 (0.283)	0.334 (0.293)	-0.009 (0.021)	-0.014 (0.021)	0.181 (0.316)	0.111 (0.312)
Gender Attitudes		-1.542*** (0.263)		0.007* -0.004		0.008 (0.005)		-0.512*** (0.136)		0.024* (0.012)		0.308** (0.125)
Age	1.510*** (0.204)	1.474*** (0.200)	0.064*** (0.004)	0.064*** (0.004)	0.017*** (0.003)	0.017*** (0.003)	0.839*** (0.083)	0.845*** (0.083)	0.088*** (0.010)	0.087*** (0.010)	0.354*** (0.069)	0.351*** (0.070)
Age ²	-0.020*** (0.003)	-0.020*** (0.003)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.010*** (0.001)	-0.010*** (0.001)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)
Years of Education	0.118 (0.075)	0.190** (0.074)	0.005*** (0.001)	0.005*** (0.001)	0.025*** (0.002)	0.025*** (0.002)	-0.076 (0.058)	-0.054 (0.059)	0.077*** (0.006)	0.076*** (0.006)	-0.076** (0.031)	-0.089*** (0.032)
Married	4.872*** (0.623)	4.752*** (0.625)	0.117*** (0.013)	0.117*** (0.013)	0.052*** (0.012)	0.052*** (0.012)	1.255*** (0.373)	1.251*** (0.372)	0.183*** (0.022)	0.183*** (0.022)	0.318 (0.387)	0.329 (0.389)
Children at Home	16.840*** (1.275)	16.777*** (1.269)	-0.001 (0.007)	-0.000 (0.007)	0.010 (0.010)	0.010 (0.010)	-0.004 (0.178)	-0.025 (0.176)	0.014 (0.018)	0.016 (0.018)	0.637*** (0.196)	0.650*** (0.198)
Christian	0.652 (0.453)	0.394 (0.484)	0.002 (0.008)	0.004 (0.008)	0.017 (0.010)	0.019* (0.011)	0.836*** (0.309)	0.706** (0.309)	-0.025 (0.021)	-0.019 (0.021)	-0.312 (0.244)	-0.239 (0.241)
Other Religion	-0.265 (0.668)	-0.659 (0.679)	-0.035** (0.016)	-0.032** (0.016)	0.002 (0.019)	0.005 (0.020)	-0.335 (0.611)	-0.506 (0.607)	-0.083** (0.038)	-0.075** (0.037)	-0.274 (0.360)	-0.166 (0.362)
Hours Worked, Weekly									0.013*** (0.001)	0.013*** (0.001)		
Employed	-7.141*** (0.567)	-6.683*** (0.580)									-2.643*** (0.477)	-2.661*** (0.479)
Constant	-16.090*** (3.446)	-16.058*** (3.375)	-0.486*** (0.081)	-0.482*** (0.081)	-0.435*** (0.061)	-0.431*** (0.061)	28.661*** (1.745)	28.374*** (1.749)	-3.074*** (0.182)	-3.063*** (0.181)	3.475*** (0.963)	3.651*** (0.995)
Country-Year Controls	Yr Only	Yr Only	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	9,613	9,613	15,508	15,508	12,400	12,400	12,725	12,725	11,096	11,096	12,923	12,923
R-squared Within	0.232	0.235	0.133	0.133	0.054	0.054	0.016	0.017	0.229	0.230	0.022	0.022

Robust standard errors clustered at country-year
P values of statistical significance between M/F
*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$