INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF MATERNAL EMPLOYMENT AND DAUGHTERS' CAREER PATHS: EVIDENCE FROM THE 2021 FAMILY STRUCTURE SURVEY

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Abstract

The study investigates the intergenerational transmission of maternal employment to daughters' employment outcomes using data from the 2021 Family Structure Survey. The results of estimations based on a linear probability model (LPM) and a probit model indicate a positive link between maternal employment and daughters' employment. Furthermore, multinomial logistic regression results demonstrate that mothers working as salaried workers increases the probability of daughters to work as salaried workers. Similarly, mothers who have been employed as unpaid family workers transmit this employment status to their daughters. This pattern is consistent for mothers who have held positions as day laborers, employers, or have been self-employed, as they also influence their daughters' employment in similar roles. The estimation findings also highlight the significant impact of higher education on the likelihood of daughters becoming salaried workers, indicating that higher levels of education substantially contribute to this outcome. The study provides valuable evidence into the intergenerational influence of maternal employment on daughters' career paths.

Key Words: *Intergenerational transmission, maternal employment, daughters' employment, socialization, multinominal logistic regression*

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ANNENİN İSTİHDAMININ NESİLLER ARASI AKTARIMI VE KIZLARIN KARİYER YOLLARI: 2021 AİLE YAPISI ARAŞTIRMASI VERİLERİNDEN KANITLAR

Öz

Çalışma, 2021 Aile Yapısı Araştırması verilerini kullanarak annenin istihdamının kızların istihdamına olan nesiller arası aktarımını araştırmaktadır. Doğrusal olasılık ve probit modellerine dayalı tahmin sonuçları, annenin istihdamı ile kızların istihdamı arasında pozitif bir ilişki olduğunu göstermektedir. Ayrıca, multinomial lojistik regresyon sonuçları, maaşlı işçi olarak çalışan annelerin kızlarının maaşlı işçi olarak çalışma olasılığını artırdığını göstermektedir. Benzer şekilde, ücretsiz aile işçisi olarak çalışan annelerin bu istihdam durumunu kızlarına aktarma eğiliminde olduğu görülmektedir. Bu kalıp, günlük işçi, işveren veya kendi işini yapan anneler için de tutarlıdır. Onlar da kızlarının benzer rollerdeki istihdamını etkilemektedir. Ayrıca tahmin bulguları kızların maaşlı işçi olma olasılıklarında yüksek eğitimin önemli bir etkisi olduğunu vurgulamaktadır, bu da daha yüksek eğitim düzeylerinin bu sonuca önemli katkı sağladığını göstermektedir. Çalışma, annenin istihdamının kızların kariyer yolları üzerindeki nesiller arası etkisine dair değerli kanıtlar sunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Nesiller arası aktarım, annenin istihdamı, kızların istihdamı, sosyalizasyon, multinominal lojistik regresyon*

INTRODUCTION

Over time, the path of female labor force involvement has seen remarkable changes, mirroring shifts in societal norms, economic structures, and gender roles. Momentum gathered behind social movements that championed gender equality, accompanied by legislative alterations that gradually removed obstacles that had previously restricted women's access to education and professional avenues. This led to an increased presence of women in fields traditionally dominated by men, which in turn contributed significantly to the growth of the female workforce. Women's educational achievements have surged, resulting in a highly skilled and capable female workforce. In addition, the availability of contraceptive pills (Goldin and Katz, 2002) and the ownership of household appliances (Coen-Pirani et al., 2010; Greenwood et al., 2005) have had a positive impact on women's careers. However, while female labor force participation has increased, it still remains at a relatively low level in many developing countries, including Türkiye. Female labor force participation in 2023 is 66.6 percent (OECD, 2024) whereas it is 35.8 percent in Türkiye (Turkstat, 2024). In 1988, only 13 percent of married women in urban areas were part of the workforce (Turkstat, n.d.) Over the next eleven years, this figure increased slightly to 14 percent in urban areas. In rural areas, the female labor force participation rate was 50.8 percent in 1988, but it decreased to 48.3 percent in 1999 (Turkstat, n.d.). Additionally, within the same time frame, the majority of working women in urban areas were salaried workers, followed by unpaid family workers. In rural areas, most working women were engaged in unpaid family work. It is followed by self-employment (Turkstat, n.d.). The statistic from Turkish Statistical Institution shows that the main reason for married women not to participate to the labor market in rural and urban areas is being busy with household chores between 1988 and 1999 (Turkstat, n.d.). In today's Türkiye, the situation does not appear significantly different from the past. The majority of women are employed as salaried workers or day laborers in non-agricultural sectors, with a smaller percentage working as unpaid family workers in agriculture. On the other hand, men predominantly work as salaried workers or day laborers in non-agricultural sectors, and a notable portion engages in self-employment in these sectors. In agriculture, unlike women, most men work as self-employed individuals.

In recent years, there has been a blossoming interest in understanding the dynamics of intergenerational transmission within families and its impact on various aspects of individuals' lives. Parent(s) could transmit their education (Black et al, 2005; Holdmund et al., 2011), their income (Lee and Allen, 2020), their culture (Noghanibehambari et al., 2023), gender ideology (Perales et al., 2021) and attitudes (Fernández et al., 2004), even their employer (Corak and Piraino, 2011). The concept of intergenerational transmission within families, particularly concerning employment patterns, has garnered considerable attention in the field of labor economics and sociology. Del Boca and colleagues (2000) examine the determinants of female labor force participation in Italy. The estimation findings show that having a working mother is a strong determinant of women's employment. Durman-Aslan (2020) investigates women's employment in Turkey through intergenerational links, using data in 2011. The estimation findings in her study reveal that adult daughters' employment is strongly influenced by their mothers' employment. Furthermore, she suggests that the effect of mothers in rural areas is stronger than those in urban areas. Another study focused on Türkiye (Eryar and Tekguc, 2020) reveals the indirect link between a mother's employment and her daughter's employment. The study by Morrill and Morrill (2013) shows that the probability of married women working increases if their mothers worked in the United States. McGinn and colleagues (2018), examining the effect of maternal employment on children's outcomes in 29 countries, demonstrate a positive relationship between maternal employment and adult daughters' employment, while no link between mother and son is found. Abouelenin and Hu (2023) examine the effect of maternal employment on their daughters' employment stability in Egypt. Their findings suggest that when mothers work in a particular sector, it enhances the job stability of their daughters within that same sector. Aydinbakar (2023), testing the link between mother and married women in Japan, provides consistent findings previous studies listed above.

This study uses data from the 2021 Family Structure Survey to uncover the change in labor market across generations. The data source closely reflects how past labor market influences today's labor market. This study also contributes to the literature by explaining the persistent gender inequality by considering the transmission of certain employment status to adult children.

In addition, while most studies concentrate on the binary measures of employment status, this study not only examines these associations but also explores the transmission of employment status across generations. Thus, by identifying the employment statuses with consistent transmission patterns, targeted policy proposals can be developed. The estimation results from LPM and probit models reveal a positive association between maternal employment and daughters' employment. The further results reveal that mothers in salaried employment are more likely to have daughters who follow a similar career path as salaried workers. It is also found that mothers working as unpaid family workers, day laborers, employers, or self-employed also tend to influence their daughters to pursue similar employment status.

In the second section, theoretical framework is introduced. The third section presents data source and sample selection. In the fourth section, estimation model and method are introduced. Fifth section reports the estimation results, and the last section concludes.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

One such area of investigation is the interplay between maternal employment and its potential influence on the labor force participation of daughters. Socialization theory suggests that children are influenced by their parents during childhood, and as they begin to diverge from their parents, various factors such as media, peers, and teachers also influence their attitudes (Burt and Scott, 2002). Burt and Scott (2002) point out that children's attitudes often mirror those of their same-sex parent. Daughters' attitudes and self-conceptions are particularly influenced by their mothers' views on women's roles and decisions regarding work (Moen et al., 1997). Mothers are viewed as role models during the socialization process, leading children in households where mothers are educated or employed to be exposed to a more egalitarian environment (Davis and Greenstein, 2009). Del Boca and colleagues (2000) emphasize the stigma effect to explain the association between working mothers and children's perceptions of working women. This effect suggests that if there is a working mother in the household, children perceive the image of working women as less stigmatized.

Olivetti and colleagues (2020) expand on these socialization effects by demonstrating that a woman's labor force participation in young adulthood is influenced not only by her own mother's employment behavior but also by the work behaviors of her peers' mothers during adolescence. This research highlights the importance of the broader social environment, showing that young women who grow up in settings with predominantly working mothers are more likely to adopt the ideal of balancing motherhood and work. Similarly, Colaner and Rittenour (2015) explore how mothers' gender socialization messages shape daughters' feminist identities and influence their career and motherhood aspirations. They find that mothers who encourage both feminine and masculine behaviors in their daughters help develop broader gender schemas, which contribute to feminist identity formation. This feminist identity acts as a mediator between maternal socialization practices and daughters' career aspirations, suggesting that promoting feminist identity and valuing diverse traits can enhance girls' future labor force participation. In addition, Lawson, Crouter, and McHale (2015) provide further evidence on the impact of family gender socialization by examining how parental attitudes and involvement in childhood influence gender-typical occupational attainment in young adulthood. They found that traditional maternal gender role attitudes contribute to sons pursuing more gender-typed occupations, while time spent with fathers is associated with daughters attaining less gender-typed occupations. These findings underscore the role of both maternal and paternal influences in shaping children's career paths and highlight the importance of flexible gender roles in promoting diverse occupational choices. In essence, the influence of mothers, especially those who are employed, goes beyond shaping children's attitudes towards gender roles and work decisions, laying the groundwork for more egalitarian perspectives within both the household and society at large.

DATA AND SAMPLE SELECTION

The study uses data from the Family Structure Survey 2021, which was conducted for the first time in 2006. This survey was subsequently carried out at five-year intervals. The questionnaire covers a wide array of topics, encompassing demographics, parental information, marital status, children,

divorce, societal perceptions, family dynamics, habits, and more. In 2021, it was conducted in cooperation with the Turkish Statistical Institute (TurkStat) and the Ministry of Family and Social Services. It covered 19,428 households and surveyed 42,043 people aged 15 and over.

In this study, our exclusive focus centers on married women (referred to as daughters) who either serve as the household head or are married to the household head, within the age range of 25 to 55 years. Any incomplete data were rigorously excluded, resulting in a sample size of 8,264 married women falling within the specified age bracket. Two distinct outcome variables pertaining to married women's employment were utilized based on the following survey questions: "Have you worked to earn income (in cash or in kind) in the last week?" and "What is your employment status in this organization or workplace?". As for mothers' and fathers' employment, the following questions were asked to married women: "Has your mother/ father ever worked in any job to earn income?" and "What is your mother/ father's employment status at this workplace?". Previous research studies have controlled for mothers' and/or fathers' employment by utilizing the question "Has your mother/father worked when you were 14/15/16 years old?" (Abouelenin and Hu, 2023; Aydinbakar, 2023; Durman-Aslan, 2020; Farré and Vella, 2013; McGinn et al., 2018; Morrill and Morrill, 2013). However, due to the absence of this specific question in the survey employed in our study, it is impossible to precisely determine when mothers or fathers were employed. It is noteworthy to mention that the majority of mothers in the selected sample (96%) had given birth when they were under the age of 40. As a result, this study assumes that they were capable of working when their daughters were teenagers.

Table 1 offers a comprehensive overview of key statistics pertaining to the selected sample. Only 29 percent of women within the age range of 25 to 55 in the sample are currently employed, with the majority falling into the non-working category, followed by those in salaried positions. Approximately 4 percent of married women in the sample can be categorized as day laborers, employers, or self-employed individuals. Another 4 percent are classified as unpaid family workers. In terms of the mothers of married women, 25 percent

have a history of employment, with 12 percent having worked as unpaid family workers. Furthermore, 8 percent of mothers have held regular salaried positions, and 4 percent belong to the category of day laborers, employers, or self-employed individuals. The majority of these women were born before 1960. Concerning the fathers within the sample, almost all of them have a history of employment. Approximately 55 percent of fathers have worked in roles such as day laborers, employers, or self-employed individuals, while the remainder have held regular salaried positions. Similar to the mothers, a substantial proportion of fathers were born prior to 1960. On average, the married women within the sample are around 40 years old, with the majority having attained education levels below high school. The average age of the husbands in the sample is 44, and 81 percent of them are currently employed, with an average income of 5018 Turkish lira. Number of children is 2.31 in average.

Table 1. Summary Statistics

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.
Daughter's employment (=1)	0.29	0.45
Employment status of daughter		
Non-working	0.69	0.46
Salaried worker	0.23	0.42
Unpaid family worker	0.04	0.19
Other (day laborer, employer, self-employed)	0.04	0.20
Maternal employment (=1)	0.25	0.43
Employment status of mother		
Non-working	0.75	0.43
Salaried worker	0.08	0.28
Unpaid family worker	0.12	0.33
Other (day laborer, employer, self-employed)	0.04	0.20
Cohort of mother		
Before 1960s	0.64	0.48
1960s	0.28	0.45
After 1970s	0.08	0.28
Paternal employment (=1)	0.99	0.07
Employment status of father		

Non-working	0.01	0.07
Salaried worker	0.44	0.50
Unpaid family worker	0.01	0.09
Others (day laborer, employer, self-employed)	0.55	0.50
Cohort of father		
Before 1960s	0.75	0.43
1960s	0.22	0.41
After 1970s	0.03	0.18
Age of daughter	40.07	8.38
Education level of daughter		
Less than high school	0.59	0.49
High school	0.24	0.43
University and above	0.17	0.37
Age of spouse	44.13	9.31
Education levels of spouse		
Less than high school	0.49	0.50
High school	0.30	0.46
University and above	0.21	0.41
Spouse's employment (=1)	0.81	0.39
Spouse's income	5018.17	4631.43
Number of children	2.31	1.43
Number of observations	8,264	

Notes: St. Dev. is the abbreviation for standard deviation.

ESTIMATION MODEL AND METHOD

The following linear probability model is employed to test the effect of maternal employment on daughters' employment:

$$P(Y_i = 1 \mid X_i) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_i 1 + \beta_2 X_i 2 + \varepsilon$$

(1)

where Y equals to 1 if daughters are employed, and 0 otherwise. X_1 represents maternal employment. If mothers have worked, it equals to 1, and 0 if mothers have not been employed. X_1 also refers to maternal employment status: non-working, salaried worker, unpaid family worker, other (day laborer, employer, self-employed). X_2 is a set of control covariates: cohort of mothers (before

1960s, 1960s, after 1970s), paternal employment (working=1), cohort of father (before 1960s, 1960s, after 1970s), age of daughter and its squared, education level of daughter (less than high school, high school, university or above), age of spouse and its squared, education level of spouse (less than high school, high school, university or above), spouse's employment (working=1), spouse's income, number of children, and dummies for NUTS-1. In the model in which maternal employment status is used, paternal employment is replaced by paternal employment status. The probit model is also used for robustness check.

To obtain the probabilities of daughters' employment status conditional on maternal employment status and control covariates, a multinomial logistic regression model is also employed. The outcome variable is daughters' employment status, categorized as non-working, salaried worker, unpaid family worker, or other (day laborer, employer, self-employed). The control variable of interest in this study is maternal employment status, categorized as non-working, salaried worker, unpaid family worker, or other (day laborer, employer, self-employed). In this model, paternal employment is replaced by paternal employment status (non-working, salaried worker, unpaid family worker, or other (day laborer, employer, self-employed)). The rest remains the same as mentioned above.

ESTIMATION RESULTS

Table 2 presents outcomes of estimating equation 1. In column (1), estimation results from LPM show that maternal employment increases probability of daughters' employment. This finding is corroborated by results of probit model in column (2). In contrast to maternal employment, no relationship is found between paternal employment and daughters' employment. Additionally, no significant effects of the cohorts of mothers and fathers on daughters' employment are detected. Individuals with at least high school diploma exhibit higher likelihood of employment compared to those with less education. Furthermore, being married to one who is employed positively affects married women' employment (daughter), while higher income and larger number of children are associated with reduced female employment. These outcomes are consistent with results in column (2) of

probit model. Table 2 also reports impact of mothers' employment status on likelihood of daughters (married women) engaging in work. When compared to mothers who have never worked, daughters are more likely to work if their mothers have experience as salaried worker, day laborer, employer, self-employed, or unpaid family worker. Most substantial effect on daughters' employment is observed when their mothers have worked as unpaid family worker. No relationship is found between any employment status of the father and daughters' employment. Furthermore, the cohort variables for mothers and fathers have an insignificant effect on daughters' employment, suggesting that the generational differences represented by the cohorts do not substantially influence whether daughters are employed. Possessing at least high school diploma has positive impact on employment of married women (daughters), result confirmed by probit model in column (4).

Table 2. Results for the Effect of Maternal Employment on Daughters' Employment

	LPM	Probit	LPM	Probit
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Maternal employment (=1)	0.107***	0.104 ***		
	(0.012)	(0.011)		
Employment status of mother (Ref: Non-working)				
Salaried worker			0.057***	0.046***
			(0.018)	(0.016)
Unpaid family worker			0.157***	0.161***
			(0.016)	(0.016)
Other			0.083***	0.083***
			(0.024)	(0.023)
Cohort of mother (Ref: Before 1960)				
1960s	-0.012	-0.009	-0.011	-0.009
	(0.015)	0.014	(0.015)	(0.014)
After 1970s	0.014	0.024	0.017	0.027
	(0.025)	(0.026)	(0.025)	(0.026)
Paternal employment (=1)	0.052	0.050		
	(0.052)	(0.052)		
Employment status of father (Ref: Non-working)				

Salaried worker			0.053	0.049
			(0.054)	(0.054)
Unpaid family worker			0.025	0.018
			(0.071)	(0.077)
Other			0.029	0.022
			(0.053)	(0.054)
Cohort of father (Ref: Before 1960)				
1960s	0.015	0.018	0.018	0.021
	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)
After 1970s	0.040	0.047	0.042	0.050
	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.037)
Control variables				
Age of daughter	0.060***	0. 064***	0.060***	0.066***
	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.008)
Age of daughter (squared)	-0.001***	-0.001***	-0.001***	-0.001***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education level of daughter (Ref: Less than high school)				
High school	0.094***	0.091***	0.097***	0.095***
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)
University and above	0.440***	0.424***	0.446***	0.43***
	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.020)
Age of spouse	0.010**	0.009	0.010*	0.008
	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.006)
Age of spouse (squared)	-0.000**	-0.000	-0.000**	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education level of spouse (Ref: Less than high school)				
High school	-0.030***	-0.029**	-0.030***	-0.029**
	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.012)
University and above	0.008	0.007	0.009	0.008
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Spouse's employment (=1)	0.091***	0.093***	0.090***	0.092***
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Spouse's income (log)	-0.036***	-0.036***	-0.036***	-0.036***
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Number of children	-0.031***	-0.037***	-0.031***	-0.038***
	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)

Constant	-1.069***		-1.060***	
	(0.151)		(0.152)	
Regions	Included	Included	Included	Included
Number of observations	8,264	8,264	8,264	8,264
R^2	0.198		0.200	

Notes: The employment status categorized as other includes day laborer, employer, self-employed. Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. Marginal effects of probit models are listed. * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 3 reports relative risk ratios of multinomial logistic model for associations between maternal employment and married woman's employment status. Reference category is non-working daughter. In column (1), estimation results reveal that daughters of working mothers are 1.288 times more likely to be salaried workers compared to daughters of non-working mothers, indicating significant positive impact of maternal employment on daughters' likelihood of being salaried workers (statistically significant at 1% level, with robust standard error of 0.094). Model does not show statistically significant effect of paternal employment on likelihood of daughters being salaried workers. Daughters with high school degree are 2.33 times more likely, and those with university degree or higher are 11.34 times more likely to be salaried workers compared to those with less than high school education, both significant at 1% level. Daughters with employed spouses are 1.39 times more likely to be salaried workers (significant at 1% level), showing spouse's employment status also plays role in employment status of daughter, whereas increase in spouse's income and number of children decreases likelihood of daughters being salaried worker. In column (2), it is reported that daughters of working mothers are 4.88 times more likely to work as unpaid family workers compared to daughters of non-working mothers. This significant relative risk ratio suggests strong link between maternal employment and likelihood of daughters participating in unpaid family work. Higher education decreases likelihood of married women working as unpaid family worker, highlighting influence of educational attainment on employment type. Similar results are found for level of education that spouse has. Employed spouses are 4.41 times more likely to have wives who work as unpaid family worker. In column (3), similar association between mothers' employment and daughters (married women) working as day laborers, employers, or self-employed is revealed.

Daughters of working mothers are 1.63 times more likely to work as day laborers, employers, or be self-employed compared to daughters of non-working mothers. Daughters (married women) with university degrees are 3.18 times more likely to be hired as day laborers, employers, or self-employed. Presence of employed spouse also increases likelihood of married women working in these roles, while increase in number of children has reducing effect on this likelihood.

Table 3. Results of Multinomial Logistic Regression of Daughter's Employment Status on Maternal Employment

	Reference: Non-working daughter		
	Salaried worker	Unpaid family worker	Other
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Maternal employment (=1)	1.288***	4.877***	1.626***
	(0.094)	(0.647)	(0.199)
Cohort of mother (Ref: Before 1960)			
1960s	0.896	0.928	1.121
	(0.088)	(0.203)	(0.214)
After 1970s	1.168*	1.178	0.788
	(0.20)	(0.536)	(0.333)
Paternal employment (=1)	1.353	1.490	2.500
	(0.545)	(0.964)	(2.519)
Cohort of father (Ref: Before 1960)			
1960s	1.186	1.305	1.160
	(0.126)	(0.349)	(0.261)
After 1970s	1.545	1.019	1.176
	(0.362)	(0.628)	(0.708)
Control variables			
Age of daughter	1.689***	1.062	1.530***
	(0.098)	(0.125)	(0.179)
Age of daughter (squared)	0.994***	0.999	0.995***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Education level of daughter (Ref: Less than high school)			
High school	2.330***	0.588**	0.949
	(0.194)	(0.137)	(0.163)

University and above	11.335***	0.304**	3.177***
	(1.283)	(0.182)	(0.662)
Age of spouse	1.059	1.283***	1.038
	(0.045)	(0.117)	(0.076)
Age of spouse (squared)	0.999	0.998**	1
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Education level of spouse (Ref: Less than high school)			
High school	0.967	0.583***	0.766*
	(0.081)	(0.100)	(0.119)
University and above	1.224*	0.439**	0.985
	(0.132)	(0.149)	(0.205)
Spouse's employment (=1)	1.392***	4.408***	1.477**
	(0.141)	(0.927)	(0.264)
Spouse's income (log)	0.833***	0.797*	0.802
	(0.054)	(0.099)	(0.110)
Number of children	0.664***	1.045	0.857***
	(0.023)	(0.047)	(0.044)
Regions	Included	Included	Included
Number of observations	8,264	8,264	8,264
Log pseudolikelihood	-5609.017	-5609.017	-5609.017
Pseudo R^2	0.202	0.202	0.202

Notes: The employment status categorized as other includes day laborer, employer, self-employed. Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. Relative risk ratios are listed. * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

Table 4 presents relative risk ratios from multinomial logistic model examining link between maternal employment status and married daughters' employment status, with non-working daughters serving as reference category. As reported in column (1), daughters of mothers who work as salaried workers are 1.193 times more likely to be salaried workers themselves compared to daughters of non-working mothers, indicating significant positive influence of having salaried worker mother on likelihood of daughters also obtaining salaried employment. Daughters of mothers who are unpaid family workers are significantly 1.634 times more likely to be salaried workers compared to daughters of non-working mothers. Married women with university degree, spouses with university degree, and employed spouses increase likelihood

of married women working as salaried worker, while opposite effects of spouse's income and number of children are revealed. In column (2), results indicate that daughters of mothers who are unpaid family workers have significantly higher likelihood, with relative risk ratio of 6.55, of being unpaid family workers themselves compared to daughters of non-working mothers. Additionally, mothers who work as day laborers, employers, or are self-employed have daughters who are 2.32 times more likely to work as unpaid family workers. Higher education level among married women decreases likelihood of working as unpaid family worker. While employed spouses increase likelihood of married women working as unpaid workers, increase in spouse's income decreases likelihood of being unpaid worker. Estimation findings in column (3) show that mothers who are unpaid family workers are more likely to have daughters who work as day laborers, employers, or are self-employed. Additionally, mothers who work as day laborers, employers, or self-employed are 2.522 times more likely to have daughters in these roles. Highly educated married women are 3.36 times more likely to be employed as day laborers, employers, or self-employed. Employed spouse is related to likelihood of married women working in these roles, while number of children decreases likelihood of married women working as day laborers, employers, or self-employed.

Table 4. Results of Multinomial Logistic Regression of Daughter's Employment Status on Maternal Employment Status

	Reference: Non-working daughter		
	Salaried worker	Unpaid family worker	Other
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Employment status of mother (Ref: Non-working)			
Salaried worker	1.193*	1.082	1.335
	(0.123)	(0.443)	(0.279)
Unpaid family worker	1.634***	6.545***	1.381*
	(0.179)	(0.982)	(0.234)
Other	1.049	2.320***	2.522***
	(0.167)	(0.642)	(0.498)
Cohort of mother (Ref: Before 1960)			
1960s	0.896	0.939	1.131

	(0.088)	(0.211)	(0.217)
After 1970s	1.191	1.405	0.786
	(0.21)	(0.623)	(0.329)
Employment status of father (Ref: Non-working)			
Salaried worker	1.471	0.759	2.650
	(0.598)	(0.520)	(2.655)
Unpaid family worker	1.080	1.640	2.449
	(0.617)	(1.377)	(3.068)
Other	1.112	0.899	3.327
	(0.451)	(0.602)	(3.330)
Cohort of father (Ref: Before 1960)			
1960s	1.196*	1.477	1.159
	(0.127)	(0.403)	(0.261)
After 1970s	1.524*	1.124	1.182
	(0.357)	(0.706)	(0.707)
Control variables			
Age of daughter	1.690***	1.082	1.537***
	(0.098)	(0.127)	(0.179)
Age of daughter (squared)	0.994***	0.999	0.995***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Education level of daughter (Ref: Less than high school)			
High school	2.272***	0.747	0.981
	(0.192)	(0.176)	(0.169)
University and above	11.041***	0.449	3.359***
	(1.268)	(0.270)	(0.704)
Age of spouse	1.059	1.293***	1.038
	(0.046)	(0.118)	(0.076)
Age of spouse (squared)	0.999	0.998**	1
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Education level of spouse (Ref: Less than high school)			
High school	0.953	0.606***	0.776
	(0.080)	(0.105)	(0.121)
University and above	1.221*	0.461**	0.977
	(0.132)	(0.156)	(0.205)

Spouse's employment (=1)	1.408***	4.366***	1.449**
	(0.142)	(0.934)	(0.259)
Spouse's income (log)	0.832***	0.789**	0.809
	(0.055)	(0.098)	(0.111)
Number of children	0.667***	1.042	0.851***
	(0.023)	(0.048)	(0.044)
Regions	Included	Included	Included
Number of observations	8,264	8,264	8,264
Log pseudolikelihood	-5567.116	-5567.116	-5567.116
Pseudo R^2	0.207	0.207	0.207

Notes: The employment status categorized as other includes day laborer, employer, self-employed. Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. Relative risk ratios are listed. * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

CONCLUSION

This study investigates the intergenerational transmission of maternal employment to daughters using data from the 2021 Family Structure Survey. The estimation findings from LPM and probit models reveal that maternal employment increases the probability of their daughters' employment. This finding is corroborated by the findings of Del Boca et al. (2000), Morrill and Morrill (2013), Durman-Aslan (2020), McGinn et al. (2018), Eryar and Tekguc (2020), and Aydinbakar (2023). Specifically, the effect of different employment statuses of mothers, when compared to non-working mothers, increases the likelihood of daughters being employed. Notably, the impact of mothers who are unpaid family workers on their daughters' employment is substantial. Additionally, this study examines the transmission of employment status. The results from multinomial logistic regression indicate that working mothers are more likely than non-working mothers to have daughters who hold various employment statuses, including salaried workers, unpaid family workers, and other types of employment, as opposed to those who are not employed. Furthermore, the most significant findings from multinomial logistic regression are that mothers working as salaried workers and unpaid family workers are more likely than non-working mothers to have daughters who are salaried workers, as opposed to those who are not employed. Mothers who are unpaid family workers are also more likely than non-working mothers to have daughters working as unpaid family workers, and mothers employed

as day laborers, employers, or self-employed individuals are also more likely to have daughters in these specific employment roles. These findings partially support the findings of Abouelenin and Hu (2023), suggesting a sectoral match between mothers and daughters. All findings provide evidence that mothers are determinants of daughters' employment, which can be explained by socialization and possibly the transmission of gender attitudes from mothers to daughters.

Policymakers might focus on enhancing educational opportunities for women, promoting policies that support working mothers to increase labor force participation, and implementing programs that encourage diverse employment opportunities for women. Policies supporting working mothers could positively affect the employment rates of future generations, promoting gender equality in the workforce. These policies could aim to break the cycle of certain types of employment being passed down generations, thereby contributing to a more diverse and inclusive labor market. Moreover, the findings suggested in the present study can be related to divorce in several policy-relevant ways. Policies aimed at supporting single mothers, improving access to quality childcare, and offering suitable working arrangements can empower women facing divorce or single parenthood to maintain or enter the workforce. Given that women are still predominantly confined to household roles and societal norms exacerbate the divorce process (Cetin, 2023), it becomes crucial to utilize alternative channels such as media to alter the societal perception of women. Such policies not only support women's economic independence but also serve as a model for their daughters, reinforcing the value of employment and education across generations (Aydinbakar Karakas, 2023, pp. 194-196). This approach can mitigate the economic vulnerabilities associated with divorce and promote long-term labor market participation among women.

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