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Anna-Karin Nylin, Kelly Musick*, Sunnee Billingsley, Ann-Zofie Duvander and Marie Evertsson

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Stockholm University
Demography Unit

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Anna-Karin Nylin, Kelly Musick*, Sunnee Billingsley, Ann-Zofie Duvander and Marie Evertsson

*Stockholm University and Cornell University**

Abstract: This study brings a couple perspective to assess change and variation in gender equality over time in a setting with high maternal labor force participation, a long history of family policy investment, and strong norms of gender equality. Using fixed effects methods and Swedish register data covering the total population of couples becoming parents between 1987 and 2007, we investigate how trajectories of within-couple earnings inequality around the time of a first birth have changed over time and varied by couples' relative educational levels. Our descriptive findings indicate that the immediate loss in women's share of couples' earnings after the first child has lessened over time, but this change virtually disappears in our fixed effect models. Among couples in which women have tertiary education, we find a small decrease in couples' income inequality that holds with the introduction of fixed effects and time-varying controls. This appears to be driven by a decline in men's labor income in the most recent cohorts, consistent with an increase in childcare among men. We find no corresponding increase in women's labor income, however, which leads us to question the idea that men's increased childcare necessarily facilitates an increase in women's labor market investment.

Keywords: earnings trajectories, parenthood, gender equality

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Introduction

Women have made important and well-documented advances in their economic standing since the 1970s (Buchman and DiPrete, 2006; Esteve et al., 2016; Goldin, 2006). Gender gaps in earnings nonetheless persist. Research has put the spotlight on parenthood as a "critical juncture" for the reproduction and reinforcement of gender inequalities (Evertsson and Boye, 2016). The transition to parenthood comes with new time demands at home, the bulk of which are taken up by women. New mothers substantially increase their time in housework and childcare and reduce their time in paid work, whereas fathers' work hours change little (Baxter et al., 2008; Musick et al., 2018; Sanchez and Thomson, 1997). Changes in the division of labor coincide with widening earnings differentials between partners following parenthood (Musick et al., 2018), with implications for women's economic independence and, potentially, bargaining power within families (England and Kilbourne, 2009). These patterns hold across industrialized countries, including in Sweden (Angelov et al., 2016), where high levels of female labor force participation and norms of gender equality have long been in place (Statistics Sweden, 2016).

A long-standing policy emphasis on gender equality within households makes Sweden an important setting to study couples' income responses to parenthood over time. Sweden's well-developed social insurance system and public childcare have encouraged strong labor force attachment among Swedish mothers, and dual-earner couples have been the norm since the early 1980s. More recent policy reforms have been explicitly aimed at encouraging fathers' participation in childcare. Alongside labor market and policy changes, and consistent with trends elsewhere, Swedish women have made greater educational gains than men and surpassed men in college enrollment and completion since the 1990s (Buchman and DiPrete, 2006; Esteve et al., 2016). Swedish women are increasingly likely to partner with men who have less education (Henz and Jonsson, 2003; Chudnovskaya, 2017), and such pairings are in turn associated with a higher odds of women out-earning their partners (Van Bavel and Klesment, 2017).

Given broad trends over the past three decades in Sweden that point to increases in women's economic standing relative to men's, we ask: how has within-couple income inequality following parenthood changed over time in Sweden, and further, has it changed differentially by parents' education? Women's relative gains in paid work and education across cohorts should on aggregate contribute to greater similarity in partners' earnings over time. Labor market and policy changes may further interact with responses to parenthood among couples by education, differentially shaping outcomes over time by parental education. We explore these questions using fixed effects methods and register data covering the total population of parents giving birth

in Sweden between 1987 and 2007. We follow parent cohorts differentiated by his and her education from two years before the birth of their first child up to eight years after birth. Our study brings a couple perspectives to assessing change and variation in gender inequality in a setting with high maternal labor force participation, a long history of family policy investment, and strong norms of gender equality.

The Swedish context over time

Women's—and especially mothers'—labor force attachment has increased dramatically over time in Sweden, in tandem with a constellation of policies to support work and family. By 1985, the start of the study period here, 80 percent of all women was in paid work, trailing men by eight percentage points. The gender gap in the employment rate dropped to less than two percentage points following the economic crisis in the early 1990s, and then shifted between three and six percentage points over time to the benefit of men (Statistics Sweden, 2016). The gender gap is larger for those with lower education compared to those with tertiary education (Evertsson et al. 2009; Statistics Sweden, n.d.). Women's part-time employment (typically 30+ hours in Sweden) declined over time from 35 percent in 1985 to a quarter in the first decade of the 2000s, and this part-time participation shifted into full-time work. Over the same time period, men increased their part-time work, but only slightly (from 5 to 8%), such that the gender gap in part-time work declined, but women are still much more likely to work part-time than men. Mothers are especially prone to cut back work hours, and the share working part-time goes up with the number of children in the family (Statistics Sweden, 2016). Women and men with a low level of education also tend to work fewer hours than women and men with higher education (Evertsson et al. 2009; Statistics Sweden, n.d).

At the same time that women increased their labor force participation, men's circumstances were relatively stable, with the exception of changes driven by macro-level economic forces. The economic crisis of the 1990s was associated with a decline in men's employment rate from almost 90 percent to a low of 77 percent. During the 2000s, the rate has been about 82 percent.

Particularly from the 1990s, educational expansion influenced labor market participation and the composition of the labor force. In 1990, 11 percent of women and 12 percent of men aged 25-64 had tertiary education of three years or longer. Following the economic crisis, the share of highly educated women started to increase faster than among men. By 2003, one fourth of all women had a tertiary education. The latest figures from 2017 show that 32 percent of all women and 22 percent of men now have a tertiary education (Statistics Sweden, 2017).

Supporting both men and women to combine work and family has been a consistent goal of a number of policy measures, such as affordable and available childcare, the right for parents to temporarily reduce work hours, and a parental leave system with a high wage-replacement rate. Subsidized, publicly financed, and regulated childcare was expanded in the 1970s (Viklund and Duvander, 2017). Since the turn of the millennium, there has been guaranteed childcare for all children ages 1-5 and a strong emphasis on educated personnel and age- and developmentally-appropriate curricula. Attendance is more or less universal by children's second year. Preschools and childcare centers are obligated to fit opening hours to parents' work schedules (Swedish National Agency for Education, n.d.).

The parental leave system was established in the 1970s and further facilitates parents' ability to combine work and family. The system allows both mothers and fathers time off from work to care for children while guaranteeing job security. Income lost during leave is compensated through parental leave benefits up to a relatively high ceiling for all days in the week, paid from employer taxes (Swedish Social Insurance Agency, 2017a). Income replacement agreements outside social security further compensate for lost income, and these have increased over time to cover the major part of the labor market and with greatest benefit to the highest earners (Swedish Social Insurance Agency 2005). Benefit levels are tied to pre-birth earnings (with a low, flat rate paid to those with no earnings prior to birth), encouraging work attachment prior to parenthood. From the late 1970s, the Parental Leave Act guaranteed the right to reduce regular work hours by 25 percent until the youngest child is eight years old. This has a high take-up rate and results in long spells of long part-time work for many women (Statistics Sweden, 2016), providing parents flexibility in managing work and family commitments (Paull, 2008).

Several changes in leave length and compensation have been implemented within the parental leave system over time (see Swedish Social Insurance Agency, 2017b). These include a stepwise increase of leave length from six months to today's 16 months, mainly during the 1980s; changes in compensation between 90 and 75 percent; and the introduction of reserved months for each parent. Prior to the introduction of reserved months in 1995, or *daddy quotas*, mothers typically took the full leave provided to families and less than half of all fathers used any leave at all. One month of parental leave was reserved for each parent in 1995, a second month was reserved in 2002, and a third in 2016 (not covered in this study) (Swedish Social Insurance Agency, 2017b). Both the introduction of the first and second reserved month increased fathers leave use significantly, but in somewhat different ways. With the first

reserved month, primary educated fathers increased their leave use to similar levels of the fathers with high education, but the second month left this group lagging behind higher educated fathers (Duvander and Johansson, 2016). Despite increases in leave-taking among fathers over time, mothers use approximately 80 percent of the parental leave days (compared to fathers' 20 percent) during the child's first two years (Duvander and Viklund, 2014). Parents can further extend their total time away from work by taking unpaid days off; this is a strategy mainly used by mothers, and mainly in households with relatively high household income, reducing income following birth for a longer period (Duvander and Viklund, 2014).

Within-couple income inequality

The policy context in Sweden supports a dual earner-carer model (Gornick and Meyers, 2003). Nonetheless, like elsewhere, responses to parenthood are gendered in ways that increase the income gap between male and female partners. On average, women in Sweden decrease their paid work hours by almost 10 percent after childbirth, while men's work hours remain largely unchanged (Kennerberg, 2007). Women with children of pre-school age seldom recover to their pre-birth work income levels, although there is variation by education and shared leave-taking (Duvander et al., 2015). In one of the few studies focusing on within-couple income changes around the time of first birth, Angelov et al. (2016) find long-term increases in the gender gap in parents' income after parenthood in Sweden. Fifteen years after the birth of the first child, male-female gaps in income and wages were, respectively, 32 and 10 percentage points higher than pre-birth levels. This study did not assess how within-couple income inequality following parenthood has changed over time.

Prior work has identified various mechanisms for the divergence in partners' incomes following the transition to parenthood—mechanisms that are changing, at times slowly and unevenly, and potentially differentially by parents' education. Notions of mothers as primary carers remain important, contributing to longer parental leaves among mothers than fathers, long spells of part-time work, and overall greater responsibility for home versus market work (Grunow and Evertsson 2016). Mothers' leave-taking following birth further reinforces the idea of mothers as primary carers and may have effects on the division of care and labor market work—and thus within-couple income inequality—long after mothers have returned to their jobs (Angelov et al. 2016; Evertsson et al. 2009; Evertsson, 2016; Kühhirt, 2012). Notwithstanding the persistence of gendered norms, the work and family roles of men and women have evolved to encompass greater flexibility (Kaufman, 2013; Kaufman and Uhlenberg, 2000; Marsiglio and Roy, 2012), and policies promoting public childcare and leave-

taking among fathers have supported and potentially hastened this change (Duvander et al., 2015; Patnaik, forthcoming).

In addition to a shift from market to care work that lowers mothers' work hours and income relative to their partners', mothers also experience penalties related to the time they spend in market work. Motherhood wage penalties, or wages of mothers relative to childless women, tend to be smaller in the Nordic countries than other advanced industrialized countries (Sigle-Rushton and Waldfogel, 2007). In the context of high female employment and well-developed parental leave policies, however, statistical discrimination against *all women* of childbearing age may be more common (Mandel and Semyonov, 2005; Ruhm, 1998). This may manifest through differential investment, for example, employers are less likely to invest in on-the-job training for women than men (Evertsson, 2004). Motherhood penalties may further arise from real or expected differences in productivity upon return to work and trade-offs between higher wages and flexibility (i.e., transitions into "mother-friendly" jobs) (Budig and England, 2001; Cooke, 2014; Gangl and Ziefle, 2009; Sigle-Rushton and Waldfogel, 2007). Men, by contrast, reap career rewards for fatherhood (Petersen, Penner and Høgsnes, 2014; Cooke, 2014; Hodges and Budig, 2010). Bygren and Gähler (2012), find that when men become fathers in Sweden, their chances of attaining supervisory positions increase, whereas women's chances do not change when entering motherhood. They ascribe this finding to differences in the investments that men and women are expected to make following parenthood, namely fathers in traditional breadwinning and mothers in primary caretaking (Ridgeway and Correll, 2004).

The work interruptions more commonly experienced by women for childcare are associated with long-term wage losses and slower career advancement (Aisenbrey et al., 2009; Evertsson and Duvander, 2011; Gangl and Ziefle, 2009). Reductions in human capital accumulation through on-the-job training and experience are part of the story (Becker, 1993; Mincer and Polacheck, 1974). Signaling theory suggests that lower wages also stem from employer perceptions of leave-taking, in particular, employers' penalizing time out with lower wages for what they view as less commitment to the job (Albrecht et al., 1999; Evertsson, 2016; Gangl, 2006; Spence, 1973). Signaling seems to be particularly important for men's wage outcomes, as evidenced by negative wage effects of even very short parental leaves (Albrecht et al., 1999, 2015; Evertsson, 2016). Thus, fatherhood bonuses may be reserved for those who signal the importance of their breadwinning role by foregoing parental leave. Wage losses due to time away are also greatest for the most highly educated men and women (Albrecht et al., 1999; England et al., 2016; Evertsson, 2016; Glauber, 2018).

As noted, policy changes in Sweden since the 1970s have aimed to facilitate the combination of work and family for both men and women, potentially contributing to declines in within-couple inequality over time. These policies may have different impacts on couples across the education distribution. Although there is some debate in the literature (Korpi et al., 2013; Mandel, 2011), one strand of research suggests that de-familialization policies, including job protected parental leaves, increase gender equality at the bottom of the educational distribution by pulling less-educated women into the work force (Ferrarini, 2006). In addition, less educated women may experience smaller wage penalties for work interruptions than their more educated counterparts (Albrecht et al., 1999; Evertsson, 2016) and the adjusted gender wage gap has decreased the most over time among employees in less qualified occupations (compared to those in qualified occupations) (Boye et al., 2017). This evidence points to greater income gains following birth among less educated women over time—and greater reductions in income inequality among couples in which the female partner has low levels of education.

Change over time in fathers' post-birth work patterns also point to greater income gains among less educated men following birth. Highly educated men are more likely to take parental leave than their less educated counterparts (Duvander and Johansson, 2016)—a practice associated with wage losses that are steeper for the more educated (Albrecht at al., 1999; Evertsson, 2016). Father's leave has been linked to reduced income inequality within couples in both Sweden (Johansson 2010) and Denmark (Andersen 2018), although not in Norway (Cools et al. 2011). Further, men's contributions to housework and childcare have increased more rapidly among the more highly educated over time (Sullivan et al., 2014). Slower change among less-educated men in leave-taking and domestic contributions suggest *smaller* reductions in income inequality among couples in which the male partner has low levels of education. Any post-birth income losses due to paternal leave among the more educated, however, may be offset by increasing wage returns to education among men over this period (Lemieux, 2006).

The *relative education* of partners will further shape post-birth work and income, complicating predictions based on his or her income in isolation of the other. According to Qian (2018), there is a gender-asymmetric nature in partner influence when it comes to relative education. Women with more education than their partner have better income development than other women, while men's development is similar no matter their partner's education. Higher education of female relative to male partners then likely attenuates the negative association between motherhood and within-couple income inequality. Van Bavel and Klesment (2017) show that

college-educated mothers partnered with less educated men are nearly as likely to be main breadwinners as college-educated childless women in homogamous unions. In their study of Swedish couples' income following the transition to first birth, Angelov et al. (2016) similarly find that gender gaps in income and wage are smaller for couples in which women are more highly educated than their partners. Potentially related to relative education, other couple-level processes play into post-birth outcomes, for example, Duvander and colleagues (2015) show that women's post-birth earnings recuperation is faster when parental leave is shared more equally. A recent study on Danish data further shows that fathers' parental leave use reduces the gender gap within couples through increasing mothers' wages (Andersen, 2018).

Our study

Changes in educational attainment, work patterns, returns to work, and policy context point to change and variation over time in couples' relative income following parenthood in Sweden—a context with strong maternal labor force participation, family policy investment, and norms of gender equality. We ask how within-couple income inequality following parenthood has changed over time, and further, how it has changed differentially by parents' education. In particular, we focus on how within-couple inequality in pre-tax labor earnings has evolved five to eight years after the first birth. We use register data on the total population of parents giving birth in Sweden between 1987 and 2007, following cohorts of parents for ten years around the time of first birth and differentiating couples by levels of his and her relative education.

We expect that female partners' contributions to couple income have, on net, increased across these cohorts, although some countervailing forces have been at play. Women's economic standing relative to men's has increased, particularly evident in relative gains in education over time. The introduction of daddy quotas should further contribute to increases in her share of couples' income across cohorts, as fathers shift their time from market to care work. By contrast, other aspects of policy change may have put downward pressure on increases in her share of couples' income over time. For example, the lengthening of parental leave at the end of the 1980s and decreases in compensation rates in the mid-1990s potentially exacerbated within-couple income inequality, as women continue to take most parental leave, and long leaves are associated with negative career consequences.

Whereas expectations related to changes over time according to an individual's educational level may be straightforward, development according to relative educational levels within a couple over time is less clear. We base some preliminary and contradictory expectations on

factors that influence post-parenthood employment as well as being part of a couple with a specific combined educational level.

Large changes in the size of a group relative to the total population is a strong indicator of compositional change. Couples in which both have tertiary education or the woman only has tertiary education have both grown from a share of four to 20 percent of new parents from the 1987-1988 period to the 2005-2007 period in Sweden (Table 1). This shift implies that selection into these two groups has declined substantially over time. Whereas before only the most career-driven women were in these couples, this shift likely entails widening income differentials in her contribution to household income, which may lead to greater within-couple inequality over time. Changes in credentialing have also played a role, for example, in increasing educational requirements for relatively low-paying occupations, such as pre-school teacher.

In contrast, couples in which both partners have low education declined from 85 to 53 percent, which indicates that this group potentially became more homogenous as the education of those around them increased. Greater selection into both partners having low educational attainment should mean greater compression of income for this group and particularly for women, because women have driven educational expansion. The women left in the less-educated group may increasingly be those with lower career aspirations, which would imply constant or greater within-couple inequality over time among couples with low education. This might hold as well among couples in which women have low educational levels and men are more highly educated, despite the size of this particular pairing remaining relatively stable.

Although changes based on selection into higher education suggest greater within-couple inequality over time, other factors related to the intersection of parenthood, labor market participation, and couple dynamics point in the other direction when mothers have a tertiary degree. Among couples in which women have an educational advantage over their partners, financial and normative pressures have likely contributed to more mothers returning quickly to the labor market after parental leave, as well as to more fathers engaging in childrearing and domestic work. Female partners' higher relative education should thus attenuate the negative association between motherhood and within-couple income inequality. Declining within-couple inequality for couples in which mothers have more education than fathers is also likely from the perspective of bargaining based on comparative advantage; if the woman is the stronger earner, parental leave may be more equitably shared, along with skill depreciation and signaling costs. When both partners have a high educational level, men may also be more likely

to take longer leaves, contributing to less specialization within the household, and leading to declining inequality over time among these couples as well.

In sum, changes related to the composition of couples suggests increased income inequality for most if not all educational pairings, whereas changes related to leave taking and labor market participation suggest reduced income inequality among couples in which mothers have a tertiary degree. The counteracting forces may produce little change overall, or their magnitude may vary by educational pairing. The strength of these forces is difficult to foresee. In addition, the factors we consider are not exhaustive; we do not elaborate on labor market aspects that are not related to parenthood such as changes over time in earnings developments that differ by educational level and in skill depreciation due to changes in the labor market.

Data

To measure income trajectories we rely on administrative registers with information covering the whole population of Sweden. We draw on data from the STAR[1]-database made available to researchers at Stockholm University via Statistics Sweden's secure MONA-system. With this rich resource of Swedish register data, information on individuals' labor earnings, as well as basic demographic information is used.

We use a sample of 599,064 couples who have had their first biological or adopted[2] child together between 1987 and 2007 and construct a panel data set where couples are the unit of analysis. The data set includes 5,792,862 couple-years, including records on couples from two years prior to the couple's first birth and up to, at the most, eight years after the birth.

We restrict the study to couples in which both partners have positive earnings from work two years before the birth of the child and do not earn more than 1 million SEK during a given year (measured in 2012 years value). Almost 14 percent of the total number of families is removed due to these restrictions, the majority being couples without income two years before birth. However, this share is larger for couples entering parenthood in the mid-1990s, partly due to increased immigration and newly arrived families not having stayed long enough to be actively engaged in the labor market and partly because of increased enrollment in studies. Families are

[1] *Sweden over Time – Activities and Relations*

[2] *Although decreasing over time, adoption has been of considerable size in Sweden since the 1970s (Statistics Sweden, 2018). Only children living with their adoptive parents by the end of their birth year are included.*

censored when couples separate, migrate or a partner dies. Of the original number of families in our sample, almost 80 percent are followed over the whole period of eight years.

Key measures

To evaluate whether and how within-couple income inequality following parenthood has changed over time we measure *women's share of couples' labor income.* This measurement is derived from pre-tax income from work and does not include work-related transfers like parental leave benefits. We will also directly measure women's and men's income trajectories separately to understand which partner drives the change in relative income differences.

Couples are grouped together in *parent cohorts* by the year of their first birth together, pooling over two birth years for all cohorts but the last, for which we pool three. We include results for all cohorts in the Appendix, and we highlight below results for four cohorts representing childbirth years 1987-2007: 1987-1988, 1993-1994, 1999-2000 and 2005-2007. For all couples, we generate a set of dummies for *time to and from birth*, including single-year dummies for two years before birth and up to eight years after. For our last parent cohort, we observe a maximum of up to five years after birth.

We dichotomize educational attainment into "less than 3 years of tertiary education"[3] and "3 years tertiary education or more." To assess *relative education*, we divide couples into four constellations, where (1) both have less than tertiary education, (2) both have tertiary education, (3) she has tertiary education while he has less than tertiary education and, (4) he has tertiary education while she has less than tertiary education. This variable is time-varying as Swedes often enter parenthood while studying at the university (Thalberg, 2013)[4]. Due to a high share of missing information about education in the registers before 1990 we have imputed the first known level of education, lowering the share of missing education from 10 to 2 percent in the first parent cohort.

Women's educational advances are reflected in table 1. In the 2005-2007 parent cohort, 20 percent of the couples have both tertiary education and women have more education than her

[3] *Women and men with no education are excluded from the analysis.*

[4] *For instance, the share of couples in which both partners have less than tertiary education two years before birth decreased by almost 10 percentage points over the observation period (eight years after the first birth) due to one or both partners attending three years or more of tertiary education.*

partner in another 20 percent. These shares are considerably lower in the earlier parent cohorts[5]. However, even in the last parent cohort, couples where both have less than tertiary education are still the most common and the majority couple constellation.

Table 1. Distribution of educational constellations of couples 2 years before birth in percent of parent cohorts

	Both less than tertiary education	Both tertiary education	She tertiary education, he less	He tertiary education, she less	Partner missing educational information	Total	Total numbers of couples
1987-1988	85	4	4	6	2	100	63 868
1993-1994	82	5	6	6	1	100	58 588
1999-2000	74	7	12	6	0	100	46 448
2005-2007	53	20	20	7	0	100	87 164

Method

We use fixed effects models to estimate couples' income trajectories pre- and post-birth and test differences across parent cohorts. The analysis proceeds in two steps. First, we estimate how couples' predicted earnings trajectories change across cohorts by including two-way interactions between time to/from birth (birth clock) and parent cohort. Second, to assess how couples' earnings trajectories have changed across cohorts by couples' educational attainment, we include three-way interactions between birth clock, parent cohort, and the couples' educational pairing. The full model with all interactions can be summarized:

$$Y_{it} = \sum_{s=-2}^{8} \eta_s D_{it} C_i E_{it} + \gamma \boldsymbol{X}_{it} + \alpha_i + \mu_{it}$$

where Y measures income (his, hers or her share) for couple *i* in year *t*, *D* is a set of *s* = 11 dummies for each year two before and up to eight after first birth (reference is 2 years before birth), *C* represents dummies for parent cohorts, and *E* represents dummies for the educational groups. The **X** is a vector of controls that vary across couples and years. α_i is a couple-level fixed effect and μ_{it} is the error term.

Fixed effects methods exploit within-group variation and address omitted variable bias on time-invariant characteristics. This means that all unobserved variables that do not change over time

[5] *To a small extent, the increase in the share that are tertiary educated is also due to quality improvements in the educational variable provided by Statistics Sweden in 2000. Three percent of women increased their educational qualifications in 2000 compared to an increase of 0.5 percent or lower in the surrounding years.*

are accounted for, for instance, the age at first birth or a parent being foreign born (Allison, 2009). We further account for several factors that change from year to year and potentially affect earnings trajectories. We control for whether an individual in the couple experiences unemployment (measured as receiving unemployment benefits or not). We also control for demographic transitions that may lead to further specialization within the household, including the birth of a second child and entry into marriage (although we are limited in adjusting for anticipatory changes affecting income due to planned pregnancies and union formalization).

Results

Descriptive results

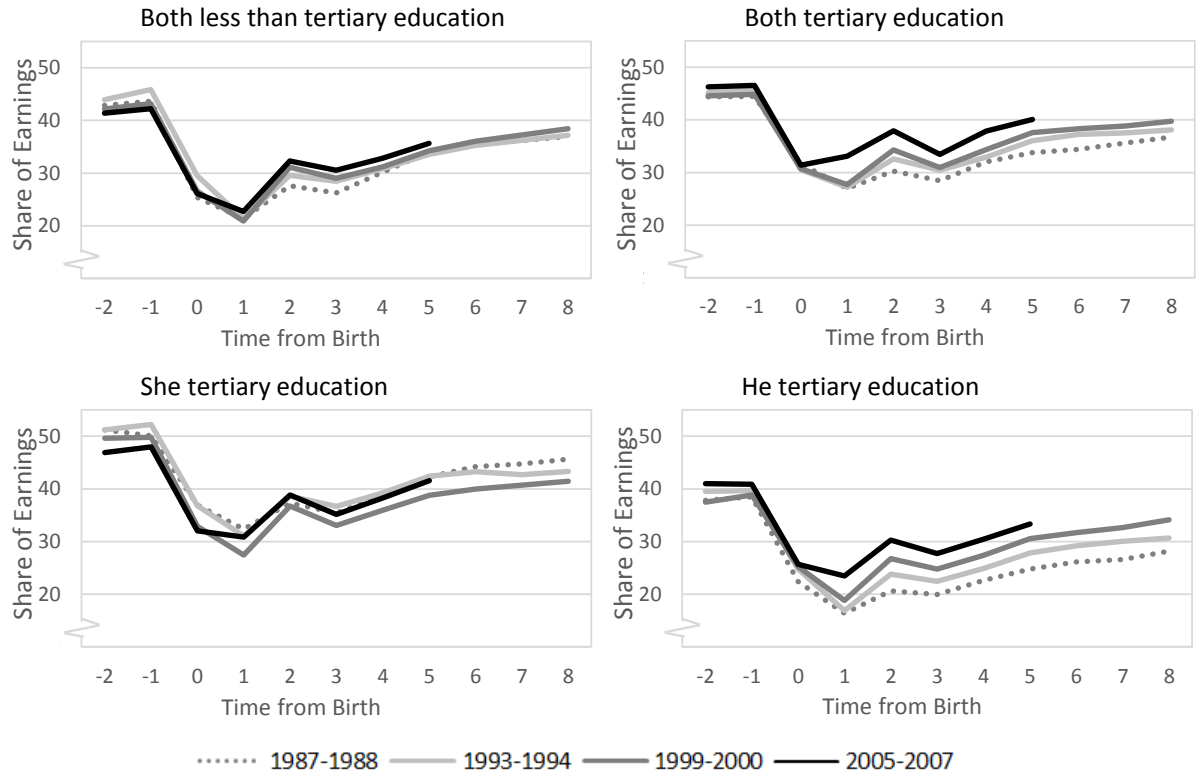
Figure 2 illustrates how the average annual share of women's labor income relative to couples' total labor income changes from two years before the birth of the first child to maximum eight years after for selected parent cohorts. (Results for all parent cohorts are shown in Appendix Table 2). In all parent cohorts, her pre-birth share of couples' income is below his share. There are several reasons for this, from the prevailing gender wage gap to women generally being the younger partner, giving him a head start on his income trajectory. Her share two years before birth shows virtually no change, hovering right about 43 percent across all parent cohorts. In all parent cohorts, women's share of couples' work income increased somewhat the year before birth. This is likely explained by the design of the Swedish parental leave system, which encourages employment before birth. During the birth year, the share dips considerably as women usually take the initial—and also the majority—of parental leave days. However, among couples who became parents in 2005-2007 the dip one year after birth is not as marked as among earlier cohorts, leading to a more positive earnings recuperation. Although women regain substantially in earnings share from the low of one year following birth, her share at last observation remains well below her pre-birth level. The most recent cohort looks on track at five years following birth to fare better than others; women in other cohorts remain at about 38 percent of earnings by year eight.

Figure 2. Women's average annual share of couples' work income over parent cohorts by time from birth

N = 599,064 couples at birth and 5,792,862 observations in total. Selected parent cohorts shown. Complete results are found in Appendix Table 2.

In figure 3, we distinguish income trajectories according to educational pairings of couples. The decline in her share of earnings following birth and partial—but not full—recuperation is similar across couples' educational pairings, although starting levels and the degree of change differ across groups. Her share before birth is, as expected, largest among couples where she has tertiary education and her partner does not. However, we see a decline over time in the relative income of women in this group before entering parenthood. This may be due to changing selectivity over time, as discussed earlier, where educational expansion may have weakened the link between tertiary education and career aspirations or earnings capacity. Figure 3 also reveals a lessening impact of childbirth over cohorts on her share of couples' earnings the first year following birth among couples in which both partners have tertiary education and those in which only he has tertiary education. These changes across parent cohorts may not hold, however, when adjusted for couple-characteristics as well as unemployment, having an additional child, and marriage.

Figure 3. Women's average share of couples' work income over parent cohorts by education and time from birth



N = 599,064 couples at birth and 5,792,862 observations in total. Selected parent cohorts shown. Complete results are found in Appendix Table 3.

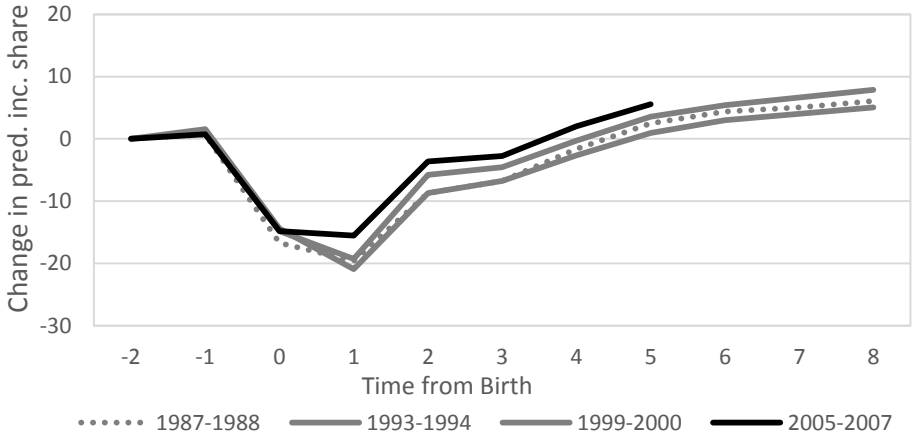
Multivariate analysis

The use of fixed effects allow us to study the *change* in marginal effects of her share of couples' work income from two years before birth in one parent cohort and compare it with the change in other cohorts. Note that we do not assess how the level of her share fluctuates across the birth clock, as we did in figures 1 and 2, but rather relative changes over time. We are strictly exploring whether earlier and later parent cohorts experience similar or diverging income trajectories. First, we interact only parent cohorts and the birth clock. Subsequently, we include couples' educational pairing to create a three-way interaction.

Differences in parent cohorts' earnings trajectories do not emerge until the year after birth; those becoming parents in 2005-2007 made the greatest progress in increasing her share at five years after birth (see figure 4). At eight years after birth, the 1999-2000 parent cohort increased women's share more than earlier cohorts, despite having practically the same development directly following birth. Even though these differences between cohorts are statistically significant, the changes are small. The weak trend that we observe across cohorts, however,

may be a result of averaging over patterns that differ by couples' educational pairing. Note that as distinct from the descriptive patterns, controlling for fixed effects and time-varying economic and demographic factors, we see a full recuperation of her share of couple income within five years of birth. In supplementary results (available by request from the author), we found that controlling for a second birth accounts for a substantial share of this recuperation.

Figure 4. Predicted change in women's average share of couples' work income over parent cohorts by time from birth



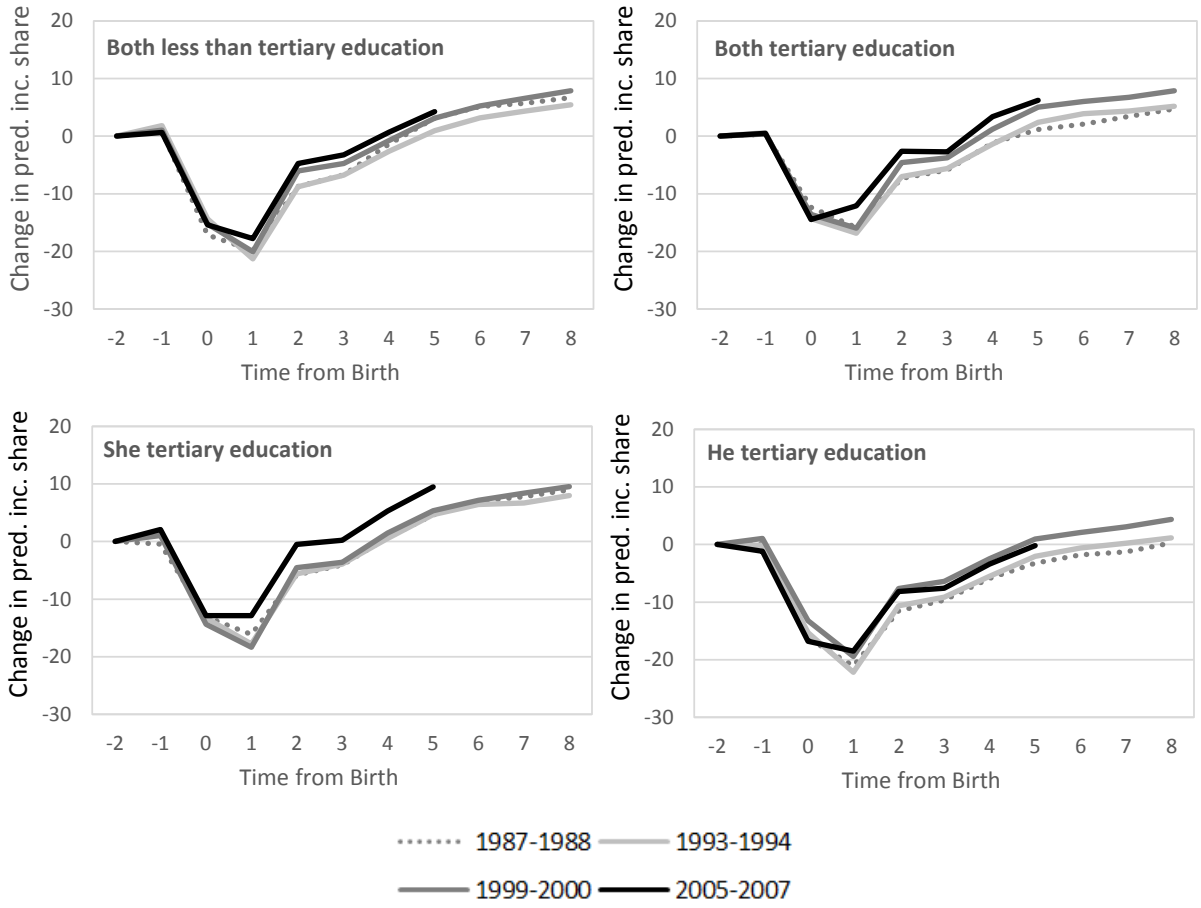
Based on an interaction of parent cohort and birth clock in a fixed effects regression, adjusted for time-varying unemployment, marriage, second birth, and couples' educational pairing. All parent cohorts, including confidence intervals, are shown in Appendix Table 4.

N = 596,284 couples with 5,735,439 observations.

A three-way interaction of the birth clock, parent cohort, and partners' education, shown in figure 5, shows small differences between parent cohorts, if any at all. The starkest divergence and greatest improvement between the latest parent cohort and earlier ones are found in couples in which the woman has tertiary education and her partner has less education, even though descriptive findings show that these women have lower earnings levels before birth compared to their counterparts in earlier parental cohorts. In these couples, women entering parenthood in 2005-2007 do not experience the same decrease in their share of couples' earnings the year after birth as earlier cohorts, and this divergence between cohorts is statistically significant. Because of this smaller decline, the overall recuperation in earnings share five years after birth is stronger for this cohort of couples. No other educational constellation of couples reached the same increase even eight years after birth. In contrast, the most recent parent cohort of tertiary educated women with tertiary educated partners did not manage to extend the gains in relative earnings experienced immediately after the birth relative to earlier cohorts across the birth clock.

Among couples in which only he has tertiary education, the differences between parent cohorts are mostly rather small and not statistically different both directly following birth as well as five years after birth. These similarities across parent cohorts also appear for couples in which both partners have less than tertiary education.

Figure 5. Predicted change in women's average share of couples' work income over parent cohorts by education and time from birth



Based on an interaction of parent cohort, couples' educational level, and birth clock in a fixed effects regression, adjusted for time-varying unemployment, marriage, and second birth. All parent cohorts, including confidence intervals, are shown in Appendix Table 5.

N = 596,284 couples with 5,735,439 observations

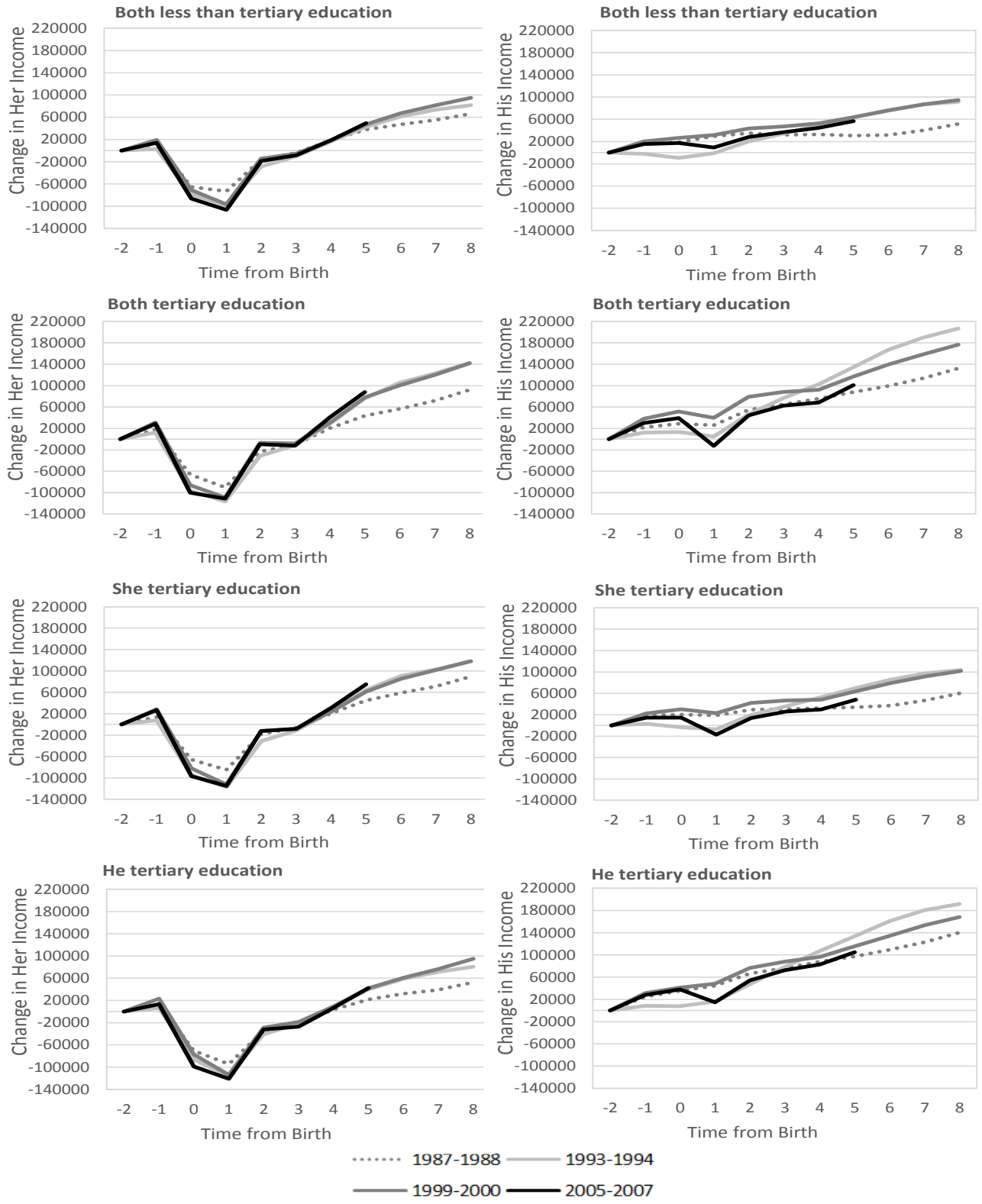
By exploring his and her earnings separately as dependent variables (instead of her share of earnings), we can observe whether the divergence between parent cohorts, shown in figure 5, originates in his or her inflation-adjusted work income adjustments following birth. Using the log of income is customary when the interest lies in proportionality between groups; however, we are interested in within-person change, and therefore do not transform work income to a logarithmic scale. In figure 6, changes in her earnings are shown at the left hand side and changes in his earnings are shown at the right hand side.

As evident from the results, women's income trajectories in the latest three parent cohorts are strinkingly similar pre- and post birth. Women who became parents in 1987-1988, however, did not experience as steep a decline in earnings directly after birth. This is possibly an effect of the total parental leave length being shorter at that time (Swedish Social Insurance Agency, 2017b). Further, the earnings development among these women 5-8 years after birth is generally lower than later cohorts. This suggests that later cohorts' opportunity to take longer parental leave did not necessarily affect them more negatively 5-8 years after birth.

In contrast, the income development for men who became parents in 2005-2007, and to some extent those who became parents in 1999-2000, behaves differently from earlier parent cohorts; their income distinctively declines the year after birth in a way earlier cohorts did not. This is likely an effect of the introduction of reserved months leading later cohorts of fathers to increase their parental leave uptake. In addition, men's income trajectories at five years after birth among those who became parents in 2005-2007 almost catches up with previous cohorts, indicating only a temporary earnings loss. The result of men's income development following parenthood also shows that those becoming parents in 1993-1994, right after the financial crisis began, have a poorer income development before and right after birth compared to other cohorts. We control for individual unemployment experiences that may be more frequent during this time period, but the crisis may be reflected in a more selected group who entered parenthood at a time when fertility declined substantially. Over the entire birth clock, this group experienced the steepest earnings development.

Taken together, the results shown in figure 6 provide suggestive evidence that the small increases in within-couple income inequality in the years right after first birth among the latest parent cohorts originate in men's income adjustment following birth.

Figure 6. Predicted change in his and hers earnings over parent cohorts by education and time from birth



Based on fixed effect regression of women's and men's labor earnings on the three-way interaction of parent cohort, couple's education, and time from birth, and controlling for unemployment, marriage, and second birth. All parent cohorts, including confidence intervals, are shown in Appendix Table 6 and 7.

N = 596,296 couples with 5,775,064 observations

Concluding discussion

In this study we explored how within-couple income inequality following parenthood has changed over time in Sweden, and further, whether it has changed differentially by parents' education. Our descriptive findings (figure 2) indicate that the immediate loss in women's share of couples' earnings after the first child is born has lessened over time (as measured over parent cohorts). Once we adjust for couples' time-invariant, unobserved characteristics as well as educational level and other time-varying economic and demographic factors, this improvement in gender equality within couples virtually disappears (figure 4). In other words, we find strikingly little change in couple inequality over time, consistent with the thesis of a stalled gender revolution (England, 2010), even in a context promoting gender equality and gender-neutral support for combining work and parenthood. We observe only a small improvement in the year directly following childbirth and the subsequent improvement in earnings generated by this initial difference.

We further explored earnings trajectories across couples differentiated by the educational pairing of the partners and had two main contradictory expectations. We suspected that compositional changes in the educational pairing of couples might increase income inequality over time. Compositional effects may be present in the descriptive pattern we observed, where we saw declines across parent cohorts in the pre-birth levels of her share of income among tertiary-educated women partnered with lower educated men (Figure 3). This descriptive pattern fits with increasing heterogeneity of women achieving tertiary education, particularly those who did not partner with highly educated men.

From a policy perspective, we expected earnings inequality to decline over time due to changes in leave taking, particularly among couples in which the woman has a higher education or both partners are tertiary educated. This effect would likely emerge in the years immediately following the first birth, when we would expect to see fathers increasingly taking parental leave in response to policy changes. Mothers remain the first to take parental leave due to factors such as recovery from childbirth and breastfeeding, and fathers' leave commonly follows, although the length of fathers' leave can vary greatly. The most striking difference that we observed, although small, was in line with these expectations: an improvement in women's earnings as a share of couples' earnings the year after childbirth (figure 4). More specific to changes in father's leave taking, we see a new dip in earnings for fathers the year following

childbirth (figure 6).

One key take-away from these observations is that the small changes towards decreasing within-couple inequality appear to be driven by adjustments in men's labor income over time, pointing to an important shift in the allocation of care work within couples. The lack of adjustments in women's labor income (figure 6) is surprising, as presumably women decrease their parental leave use as men increase their use. However, this is not necessarily the case. Karimi et al. (2012) show that when men increase their parental leave use, women instead use unpaid leave days to extend their parental leave, which would explain why we do not see any effect over time for women. Together, our results suggest that, net of any countervailing compositional effects, family policies have had an important, although small, impact on men whereas women's work has been more resistant to change since the late 1980s. This may be due to tenacious norms of mothers as caretakers, mothers' leave-taking for children's sick days and other care-taking accommodations, as well as a low return for investments in the labor market. Further, men's earnings seem to recuperate from childbirth over a relatively short period of time, indicating that they may have greater opportunity to choose when to take parental leave, facilitating easier adaption to employer preferences to leave-taking during slower periods.

Further, the small decline in couples' income inequality only appears when women have tertiary education, at least thus far. As much as half of all couples becoming parents in 2005-2007 are still comprised of women and men who both have less than tertiary education. Because women, and particularly those with low education, continue to take the lion's share of parental leave, and these leaves are associated with negative career consequences, income inequality within the couple will persist. Further, as the educational advancement of the population continues, growing homogamy and increasing selection of women with inhibited chances or low career aspirations in the low educated group pose a risk that these couples will lag behind in a more gender equal sharing of care and paid work.

Given the small change toward decreasing inequality within couples that we attribute to a change in men's earnings adjustments following parenthood, family policies enabling gender equality with a focus on increasing men's parental leave uptake and shortening women's leave are important. Recent suggestions have been made to restrict the flexibility in leave length (SOU 2017:101), but if we are to see any substantial improvements in gender equal earnings, family policy might also need to be complemented by changes in labor market policies. Goldin (2014) argues for increased workplace flexibility to reduce the gender gap in pay. Discussion

of workplace flexibility, however, tend to focus on white-collar occupations, leaving the less educated behind. A substantial challenge facing policy makers is to continue to develop policies striving for increasing gender equality that include all social groups. Here, further research on how workplace flexibility shapes relative earnings trajectories after parenthood would be informative (e.g., Ishizuka and Musick, 2018). Research using measures of within-couple equality that complement relative annual earnings would also be fruitful. Studies on changes over income and wage distributions (e.g., Glauber 2018) are promising for broadening our knowledge about how groups at different ends of the income spectrum, particularly more vulnerable groups, are hindered from partaking in and gaining from gender equal parenthood and work life. Providing a sound basis for the composition of new and advanced policies supporting improved gender equality among all depends on this knowledge.

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Table 1. Descriptive statistics

Table 1.1. Distribution of educational constellations of couples between 2 years before birth and 8 years after birth in percent of parent cohorts

	1987-1988		1993-1994		1999-2000		2005-2007	
	-2	+8	-2	+8	-2	+8	-2	+8
Both less than tertiary education	85	78	82	72	74	57	53	43
Both tertiary education	4	7	5	9	7	15	20	25
She tertiary education, he less	4	6	6	10	12	19	20	24
He tertiary education, she less	6	8	6	9	6	8	7	7
Partner missing educational information	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total numbers of couples	63 868	48 152	58 588	44 157	46 448	37 128	87 164	75 699

Table 1.2. Percent of married couples between 2 years before birth and 8 years after birth by parent cohorts and education

	1987-1988		1993-1994		1999-2000		2005-2007	
	-2	+8	-2	+8	-2	+8	-2	+8
Both less than tertiary education	12	75	14	61	14	61	12	51
Both tertiary education	39	89	40	83	40	82	25	74
She tertiary education, he less	28	84	29	73	27	73	20	62
He tertiary education, she less	29	85	30	75	31	75	21	65
Partner missing educational information	15	78	31	67	31	82	22	65
Total	15	77	17	65	19	68	17	61
Total numbers of married couples	9 467	37 156	10 145	28 841	8 776	25 196	14 677	45 926
Total numbers of couples	63 868	48 152	58 588	44 157	46 448	37 128	87 164	75 699

Table 1.3. Percent of initial couples (at year -2) who experienced unemployment and second birth at some point during the observation period

	1987-1988	1993-1994	1999-2000	2005-2007
Unemployment	57	67	60	48
Second birth	81	78	81	79
Total number of initial couples (at year -2)	63 868	58 588	46 448	87 164

Table 2. Women's average share of couples' annual work income over parent cohorts by time from birth

	1987-1988	1989-1990	1991-1992	1993-1994	1995-1996	1997-1998	1999-2000	2001-2002	2003-2004	2005-2007
-2	43,0	42,5	43,2	44,1	44,6	43,2	42,9	43,2	43,4	43,4
-1	43,7	43,1	44,9	45,8	44,7	43,8	43,9	44,1	44,8	44,3
0	26,0	26,5	29,4	29,7	28,3	27,7	27,9	28,3	29,3	28,6
1	21,9	21,2	23,4	22,1	22,5	22,4	22,5	24,1	25,7	26,9
2	27,8	28,7	30,6	30,0	31,1	31,6	32,1	32,8	33,6	35,0
3	26,4	28,2	28,0	28,7	28,8	29,0	29,6	29,9	31,1	32,1
4	30,2	32,0	31,5	31,1	30,9	31,4	32,1	32,9	34,4	35,2
5	33,7	34,1	34,6	33,9	34,0	34,5	35,2	36,0	37,6	38,1
6	35,4	35,7	35,8	35,6	35,8	36,1	36,7	37,9	39,2	
7	35,9	36,8	36,6	36,4	36,9	37,1	37,8	39,1	39,8	
8	36,8	37,4	37,3	37,3	37,7	38,0	38,9	40,2	40,7	

Table 3. Women's average share of couples' annual work income over parent cohorts by education and time from birth

Table 3.1 Both have less than 3 years of tertiary education

	1987-1988	1989-1990	1991-1992	1993-1994	1995-1996	1997-1998	1999-2000	2001-2002	2003-2004	2005-2007
-2	42,9	42,5	43,0	43,9	44,4	42,6	42,2	42,1	41,9	41,4
-1	43,6	43,0	44,7	45,9	44,4	43,3	43,2	43,0	43,3	42,2
0	25,4	25,9	29,1	29,5	27,6	26,7	26,6	26,6	27,2	26,1
1	21,4	20,6	23,0	21,4	21,5	21,3	20,9	21,8	22,5	22,7
2	27,6	28,8	30,6	29,6	30,6	30,8	31,1	31,2	31,7	32,3
3	26,2	28,5	27,9	28,5	28,5	28,6	29,0	29,1	29,9	30,6
4	30,1	32,2	31,2	30,8	30,4	30,8	31,2	31,3	32,4	32,8
5	34,0	34,3	34,5	33,5	33,4	34,0	34,2	34,7	35,9	35,7
6	35,8	35,9	35,8	35,3	35,5	35,6	36,1	37,0	37,8	
7	36,2	37,0	36,6	36,2	36,6	36,6	37,2	38,5	38,6	
8	37,0	37,5	37,2	37,2	37,5	37,5	38,5	39,5	39,3	

Table 3.2 Both have 3 years tertiary education or more

	1987-1988	1989-1990	1991-1992	1993-1994	1995-1996	1997-1998	1999-2000	2001-2002	2003-2004	2005-2007
-2	44,4	43,9	45,3	45,1	45,5	46,0	44,6	45,0	45,4	46,3
-1	44,4	44,4	46,0	45,6	45,9	45,3	44,9	45,6	46,5	46,5
0	31,6	31,1	31,1	30,6	31,1	31,2	30,7	31,3	32,3	31,4
1	27,0	27,0	26,8	27,2	28,5	27,3	27,7	29,0	31,3	33,1
2	30,3	29,7	30,6	32,6	33,8	34,4	34,3	35,1	36,2	38,0
3	28,5	27,8	28,9	30,4	30,8	30,6	30,9	30,7	32,4	33,4
4	32,0	32,2	32,9	32,9	33,7	33,8	34,4	35,6	37,2	37,9
5	33,8	34,8	35,4	36,1	36,4	36,7	37,6	37,9	39,5	40,1
6	34,4	36,4	36,2	37,3	37,2	38,0	38,3	38,7	40,2	
7	35,6	36,9	37,0	37,5	38,0	38,7	38,8	39,4	40,4	
8	36,8	38,1	37,8	38,1	38,6	39,3	39,7	40,3	41,3	

Table 3.3 She have 3 years tertiary education or more while, partner have less than 3 years of tertiary education

	1987-1988	1989-1990	1991-1992	1993-1994	1995-1996	1997-1998	1999-2000	2001-2002	2003-2004	2005-2007
-2	51,2	48,5	49,8	51,2	52,5	50,4	49,6	48,3	47,2	46,9
-1	50,1	49,5	51,6	52,2	51,8	49,9	49,8	48,1	48,7	47,9
0	36,9	35,4	37,6	36,8	36,1	34,9	32,9	33,0	33,3	32,0
1	32,4	31,3	33,4	31,1	31,1	28,7	27,5	28,6	30,3	30,8
2	37,3	36,7	39,9	38,6	39,5	37,6	36,8	37,7	37,9	38,8
3	35,5	36,4	36,5	36,7	36,4	33,5	33,0	33,5	34,3	35,2
4	38,7	40,5	40,8	39,3	38,0	36,0	35,9	36,9	37,8	38,3
5	42,3	42,2	43,5	42,4	40,8	38,9	38,8	39,8	41,4	41,6
6	44,2	43,6	44,8	43,3	42,0	40,2	40,0	41,1	43,0	
7	44,8	44,7	45,7	42,7	42,7	41,0	40,7	42,3	43,2	
8	45,7	44,9	45,2	43,3	43,3	41,5	41,4	43,4	44,0	

Table 3.4 He have 3 years tertiary education or more while, partner have less than 3 years of tertiary education

	1987-1988	1989-1990	1991-1992	1993-1994	1995-1996	1997-1998	1999-2000	2001-2002	2003-2004	2005-2007
-2	37,8	38,3	39,2	39,5	38,9	37,9	37,5	39,9	41,1	41,0
-1	38,5	38,8	40,2	39,7	39,1	38,9	38,8	41,2	41,4	40,9
0	22,4	23,2	24,1	24,8	23,9	23,8	25,2	26,4	26,9	25,7
1	16,4	16,2	16,4	16,9	17,9	17,7	18,8	21,7	22,2	23,4
2	20,7	21,0	22,1	23,8	24,4	26,4	26,7	29,3	29,2	30,3
3	20,0	19,6	20,8	22,4	22,0	24,0	24,8	26,2	26,8	27,7
4	22,6	23,1	24,6	24,9	24,9	26,5	27,4	29,5	30,2	30,5
5	24,7	25,6	27,3	27,8	28,3	29,4	30,6	32,1	32,8	33,3
6	26,1	27,4	28,1	29,2	29,5	31,3	31,7	33,6	33,6	
7	26,6	28,5	28,6	30,1	30,5	32,0	32,7	34,0	34,7	
8	28,2	29,1	29,8	30,6	31,5	33,1	34,1	35,4	35,8	

Table 4. Predicted change in women's average share of couples' work income over parent cohorts by time from birth.

	1987-1988			1989-1990			1991-1992			1993-1994			1995-1996		
-2	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0
-1	0,7	±	0,1	0,6	±	0,1	1,7	±	0,1	1,6	±	0,1	0,1	±	0,2
0	-16,7	±	0,1	-15,7	±	0,1	-13,8	±	0,1	-14,4	±	0,1	-16,1	±	0,2
1	-19,6	±	0,1	-19,7	±	0,1	-18,7	±	0,1	-20,9	±	0,1	-21,0	±	0,2
2	-8,7	±	0,1	-7,3	±	0,1	-6,7	±	0,1	-8,7	±	0,1	-8,5	±	0,2
3	-6,8	±	0,1	-4,7	±	0,1	-6,1	±	0,1	-6,8	±	0,1	-7,3	±	0,2
4	-1,6	±	0,1	0,4	±	0,1	-1,2	±	0,1	-2,7	±	0,1	-3,3	±	0,2
5	2,5	±	0,1	3,2	±	0,1	2,6	±	0,1	1,0	±	0,1	0,5	±	0,2
6	4,4	±	0,1	5,1	±	0,1	4,2	±	0,1	3,0	±	0,2	2,9	±	0,2
7	5,0	±	0,1	6,4	±	0,1	5,3	±	0,1	4,0	±	0,2	4,1	±	0,2
8	6,1	±	0,1	7,0	±	0,1	6,0	±	0,1	5,0	±	0,2	5,0	±	0,2

	1997-1998			1999-2000			2001-2002			2003-2004			2005-2007		
-2	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0
-1	0,6	±	0,2	1,0	±	0,2	0,9	±	0,1	1,4	±	0,1	0,7	±	0,1
0	-15,3	±	0,2	-14,8	±	0,2	-14,5	±	0,1	-14,0	±	0,1	-14,8	±	0,1
1	-19,8	±	0,2	-19,3	±	0,2	-17,9	±	0,1	-16,7	±	0,1	-15,5	±	0,1
2	-6,7	±	0,2	-5,8	±	0,2	-5,1	±	0,1	-4,6	±	0,1	-3,6	±	0,1
3	-5,7	±	0,2	-4,6	±	0,2	-4,3	±	0,2	-3,5	±	0,1	-2,7	±	0,1
4	-1,3	±	0,2	-0,3	±	0,2	0,4	±	0,2	1,5	±	0,1	2,0	±	0,1
5	2,6	±	0,2	3,6	±	0,2	4,2	±	0,2	5,4	±	0,1	5,6	±	0,1
6	4,6	±	0,2	5,4	±	0,2	6,4	±	0,2	7,2	±	0,1			
7	5,7	±	0,2	6,6	±	0,2	7,7	±	0,2	8,0	±	0,2			
8	6,6	±	0,2	7,9	±	0,2	8,8	±	0,2	8,9	±	0,2			

Table 5. Predicted change in women's average share of couples' work income over parent cohorts by education and time from birth.

Table 5.1 Both have less than 3 years of tertiary education

	1987-1988			1989-1990			1991-1992			1993-1994			1995-1996		
-2	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0
-1	0,8	±	0,1	0,6	±	0,1	1,8	±	0,1	1,8	±	0,1	0,1	±	0,2
0	-17,1	±	0,1	-16,1	±	0,1	-13,8	±	0,1	-14,3	±	0,1	-16,5	±	0,2
1	-19,9	±	0,1	-20,2	±	0,1	-18,7	±	0,1	-21,3	±	0,1	-21,7	±	0,2
2	-8,7	±	0,1	-7,1	±	0,1	-6,3	±	0,1	-8,8	±	0,2	-8,8	±	0,2
3	-6,7	±	0,1	-4,3	±	0,1	-5,9	±	0,1	-6,7	±	0,2	-7,4	±	0,2
4	-1,3	±	0,1	0,8	±	0,1	-1,0	±	0,1	-2,6	±	0,2	-3,6	±	0,2
5	3,1	±	0,2	3,6	±	0,1	2,9	±	0,1	1,0	±	0,2	0,4	±	0,2
6	5,1	±	0,2	5,5	±	0,1	4,6	±	0,1	3,2	±	0,2	3,0	±	0,2
7	5,7	±	0,2	6,9	±	0,1	5,6	±	0,1	4,4	±	0,2	4,3	±	0,2
8	6,7	±	0,2	7,5	±	0,1	6,4	±	0,2	5,4	±	0,2	5,2	±	0,2

	1997-1998			1999-2000			2001-2002			2003-2004			2005-2007		
-2	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0
-1	0,7	±	0,2	1,0	±	0,2	1,0	±	0,2	1,3	±	0,2	0,6	±	0,1
0	-15,7	±	0,2	-15,2	±	0,2	-15,2	±	0,2	-14,7	±	0,2	-15,4	±	0,2
1	-20,2	±	0,2	-20,0	±	0,2	-18,9	±	0,2	-18,5	±	0,2	-17,8	±	0,2
2	-7,0	±	0,2	-6,1	±	0,2	-5,8	±	0,2	-5,7	±	0,2	-4,7	±	0,2
3	-5,6	±	0,2	-4,7	±	0,2	-4,5	±	0,2	-4,0	±	0,2	-3,2	±	0,2
4	-1,5	±	0,2	-0,7	±	0,2	-0,5	±	0,2	0,2	±	0,2	0,7	±	0,2
5	2,5	±	0,2	3,1	±	0,2	3,7	±	0,2	4,5	±	0,2	4,3	±	0,2
6	4,6	±	0,2	5,3	±	0,2	6,4	±	0,2	6,8	±	0,2			
7	5,7	±	0,2	6,6	±	0,2	7,9	±	0,2	7,7	±	0,2			
8	6,7	±	0,2	7,9	±	0,2	8,9	±	0,2	8,5	±	0,2			

Table 5.2 Both have 3 years tertiary education or more

	1987-1988			1989-1990			1991-1992			1993-1994			1995-1996		
-2	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0
-1	0,3	±	0,6	0,6	±	0,6	0,8	±	0,5	0,6	±	0,6	0,8	±	0,6
0	-12,3	±	0,6	-12,7	±	0,6	-14,0	±	0,5	-14,3	±	0,6	-13,7	±	0,6
1	-15,9	±	0,6	-15,6	±	0,6	-17,1	±	0,5	-16,8	±	0,5	-15,7	±	0,6
2	-7,3	±	0,6	-7,4	±	0,6	-8,2	±	0,5	-7,0	±	0,5	-5,9	±	0,6
3	-5,9	±	0,6	-6,1	±	0,6	-6,6	±	0,5	-5,6	±	0,5	-5,2	±	0,6
4	-1,1	±	0,6	-0,6	±	0,6	-1,3	±	0,5	-1,4	±	0,5	-0,7	±	0,6
5	1,2	±	0,6	2,5	±	0,6	1,9	±	0,5	2,4	±	0,5	2,7	±	0,6
6	2,1	±	0,6	4,2	±	0,6	3,0	±	0,5	3,9	±	0,5	4,0	±	0,6
7	3,5	±	0,6	4,9	±	0,6	4,0	±	0,5	4,4	±	0,5	5,1	±	0,6
8	4,7	±	0,6	6,1	±	0,6	5,0	±	0,5	5,2	±	0,5	5,9	±	0,6

	1997-1998			1999-2000			2001-2002			2003-2004			2005-2007		
-2	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0
-1	-0,2	±	0,6	0,4	±	0,5	0,9	±	0,4	1,2	±	0,3	0,5	±	0,2
0	-14,0	±	0,6	-13,6	±	0,5	-13,3	±	0,3	-12,9	±	0,3	-14,4	±	0,2
1	-17,2	±	0,6	-15,9	±	0,5	-14,9	±	0,3	-13,2	±	0,3	-12,1	±	0,2
2	-6,1	±	0,6	-4,6	±	0,5	-3,9	±	0,3	-3,3	±	0,3	-2,6	±	0,2
3	-5,7	±	0,6	-3,8	±	0,5	-4,1	±	0,3	-2,9	±	0,3	-2,7	±	0,2
4	-0,6	±	0,6	1,2	±	0,5	2,2	±	0,3	3,3	±	0,3	3,4	±	0,2
5	2,8	±	0,6	5,0	±	0,5	5,2	±	0,3	6,2	±	0,3	6,2	±	0,2
6	4,6	±	0,6	6,0	±	0,5	6,2	±	0,3	7,1	±	0,3			
7	5,4	±	0,6	6,8	±	0,5	7,1	±	0,3	7,5	±	0,3			
8	6,2	±	0,6	7,9	±	0,5	8,2	±	0,3	8,5	±	0,3			

Table 5.3 She have 3 years tertiary education or more while, partner have less than 3 years of tertiary education

	1987-1988			1989-1990			1991-1992			1993-1994			1995-1996		
-2	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0
-1	-0,5	±	0,7	1,4	±	0,6	3,1	±	0,6	1,4	±	0,6	0,5	±	0,6
0	-13,1	±	0,7	-11,2	±	0,6	-10,5	±	0,6	-13,2	±	0,6	-14,1	±	0,6
1	-16,1	±	0,7	-13,7	±	0,6	-13,6	±	0,6	-17,8	±	0,6	-17,8	±	0,6
2	-5,7	±	0,7	-3,1	±	0,6	-2,1	±	0,6	-5,6	±	0,6	-5,0	±	0,6
3	-4,0	±	0,7	-0,3	±	0,6	-2,0	±	0,6	-3,9	±	0,6	-4,0	±	0,6
4	0,7	±	0,7	5,3	±	0,6	3,8	±	0,6	0,6	±	0,6	0,1	±	0,6
5	4,6	±	0,7	7,8	±	0,6	7,5	±	0,6	4,7	±	0,6	4,2	±	0,6
6	7,0	±	0,7	9,8	±	0,6	9,3	±	0,6	6,4	±	0,6	6,1	±	0,6
7	7,8	±	0,7	11,4	±	0,6	10,4	±	0,6	6,7	±	0,6	7,5	±	0,6
8	9,0	±	0,7	12,0	±	0,6	10,6	±	0,6	8,0	±	0,6	8,8	±	0,6

	1997-1998			1999-2000			2001-2002			2003-2004			2005-2007		
-2	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0
-1	0,7	±	0,5	1,0	±	0,4	1,1	±	0,3	2,5	±	0,3	2,1	±	0,2
0	-13,2	±	0,5	-14,3	±	0,4	-13,1	±	0,3	-12,0	±	0,3	-12,9	±	0,2
1	-18,2	±	0,5	-18,3	±	0,4	-16,2	±	0,3	-13,8	±	0,3	-12,8	±	0,2
2	-4,5	±	0,5	-4,5	±	0,4	-2,5	±	0,3	-1,4	±	0,3	-0,5	±	0,2
3	-4,0	±	0,5	-3,6	±	0,4	-2,5	±	0,3	-0,8	±	0,3	0,2	±	0,2
4	0,8	±	0,5	1,5	±	0,4	3,0	±	0,3	4,8	±	0,3	5,3	±	0,2
5	5,1	±	0,5	5,3	±	0,4	6,9	±	0,3	9,2	±	0,3	9,5	±	0,2
6	7,0	±	0,5	7,2	±	0,4	8,8	±	0,3	11,3	±	0,3			
7	8,2	±	0,5	8,4	±	0,4	10,4	±	0,3	11,9	±	0,3			
8	9,1	±	0,5	9,5	±	0,4	11,8	±	0,3	12,9	±	0,3			

Table 5.4 He have 3 years tertiary education or more while, partner have less than 3 years of tertiary education

	1987-1988			1989-1990			1991-1992			1993-1994			1995-1996		
-2	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0
-1	0,2	±	0,5	0,2	±	0,5	0,0	±	0,5	-0,1	±	0,5	-0,3	±	0,6
0	-16,2	±	0,5	-16,0	±	0,5	-16,0	±	0,5	-15,3	±	0,5	-15,6	±	0,6
1	-21,1	±	0,5	-22,2	±	0,5	-22,6	±	0,5	-22,2	±	0,5	-21,2	±	0,6
2	-11,5	±	0,5	-12,2	±	0,5	-12,1	±	0,5	-10,6	±	0,5	-10,6	±	0,6
3	-9,6	±	0,5	-10,8	±	0,5	-10,6	±	0,5	-9,2	±	0,5	-9,7	±	0,6
4	-5,9	±	0,5	-6,4	±	0,5	-5,6	±	0,5	-5,5	±	0,5	-5,7	±	0,6
5	-3,2	±	0,5	-3,5	±	0,5	-2,5	±	0,5	-2,0	±	0,5	-2,4	±	0,6
6	-1,8	±	0,5	-1,5	±	0,5	-1,5	±	0,5	-0,6	±	0,5	-0,6	±	0,6
7	-1,2	±	0,5	-0,4	±	0,5	-0,8	±	0,5	0,2	±	0,5	0,6	±	0,6
8	0,3	±	0,5	0,0	±	0,5	0,1	±	0,5	1,2	±	0,5	1,5	±	0,6

	1997-1998			1999-2000			2001-2002			2003-2004			2005-2007		
-2	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0	0,0	±	0,0
-1	0,5	±	0,6	1,1	±	0,6	0,4	±	0,5	-0,4	±	0,5	-1,2	±	0,4
0	-14,9	±	0,6	-13,2	±	0,6	-14,7	±	0,5	-15,5	±	0,5	-16,8	±	0,4
1	-20,5	±	0,6	-19,4	±	0,6	-18,9	±	0,5	-19,8	±	0,5	-18,5	±	0,4
2	-8,5	±	0,6	-7,6	±	0,6	-7,3	±	0,5	-8,9	±	0,5	-8,1	±	0,4
3	-7,9	±	0,6	-6,4	±	0,6	-7,3	±	0,5	-8,1	±	0,5	-7,6	±	0,4
4	-3,8	±	0,6	-2,4	±	0,6	-2,8	±	0,6	-3,5	±	0,5	-3,4	±	0,4
5	-0,4	±	0,6	1,0	±	0,6	0,3	±	0,6	-0,3	±	0,5	-0,2	±	0,4
6	1,6	±	0,6	2,1	±	0,6	1,9	±	0,6	0,5	±	0,5			
7	2,3	±	0,6	3,1	±	0,6	2,4	±	0,6	1,4	±	0,6			
8	3,3	±	0,6	4,4	±	0,7	3,6	±	0,6	2,4	±	0,6			

Table 6. Predicted marginal effects in women's average work income over parent cohorts by education and time from birth.

Table 6.1 Both have less than 3 years of tertiary education

	1987-1988			1989-1990			1991-1992			1993-1994			1995-1996		
-2	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0
-1	12 496	±	553	11 530	±	505	7 794	±	528	2 911	±	600	9 907	±	706
0	-65 386	±	555	-69 633	±	510	-75 302	±	529	-78 533	±	603	-68 176	±	711
1	-72 977	±	566	-87 307	±	522	-96 687	±	539	-99 054	±	614	-86 927	±	723
2	-16 127	±	580	-23 339	±	532	-32 941	±	551	-28 655	±	625	-11 730	±	734
3	-4 068	±	596	-9 459	±	548	-19 161	±	566	-10 359	±	639	2 676	±	750
4	19 245	±	609	14 254	±	563	9 712	±	580	16 791	±	655	28 825	±	770
5	38 022	±	622	35 251	±	576	36 614	±	594	42 851	±	670	56 395	±	791
6	47 321	±	633	50 927	±	588	52 513	±	607	61 720	±	687	73 338	±	808
7	55 257	±	644	64 064	±	600	64 465	±	620	73 857	±	704	81 809	±	824
8	66 200	±	655	74 116	±	611	75 392	±	635	81 760	±	719	90 638	±	840

	1997-1998			1999-2000			2001-2002			2003-2004			2005-2007		
-2	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0
-1	13 028	±	748	19 266	±	764	17 907	±	753	10 690	±	767	14 022	±	621
0	-68 984	±	755	-71 098	±	782	-82 101	±	762	-90 392	±	777	-86 258	±	632
1	-89 208	±	768	-96 677	±	805	-108 324	±	779	-113 401	±	794	-106 762	±	647
2	-8 807	±	787	-14 189	±	822	-27 409	±	796	-29 675	±	813	-18 733	±	664
3	3 489	±	810	-5 562	±	840	-15 278	±	815	-15 131	±	834	-8 348	±	683
4	26 173	±	828	18 950	±	857	12 007	±	835	13 707	±	855	18 778	±	701
5	51 282	±	846	47 344	±	877	44 800	±	853	46 117	±	876	49 388	±	719
6	67 925	±	863	67 373	±	896	67 261	±	873	65 473	±	896			
7	79 673	±	881	81 594	±	915	80 395	±	893	78 242	±	916			
8	91 993	±	900	95 148	±	934	91 393	±	911	90 763	±	936			

Table 6.2 Both have 3 years of tertiary education or more

	1987-1988			1989-1990			1991-1992			1993-1994			1995-1996		
-2	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0
-1	17 633	±	2 639	19 315	±	2 529	13 377	±	2 252	12 490	±	2 351	20 077	±	2 630
0	-65 960	±	2 587	-78 374	±	2 419	-93 707	±	2 227	-96 102	±	2 294	-84 664	±	2 565
1	-90 257	±	2 553	-102 534	±	2 368	-119 843	±	2 226	-116 493	±	2 283	-98 297	±	2 550
2	-23 200	±	2 496	-36 612	±	2 363	-47 473	±	2 217	-31 128	±	2 273	-6 347	±	2 537
3	-10 114	±	2 460	-26 377	±	2 370	-34 626	±	2 216	-11 214	±	2 273	5 614	±	2 541
4	20 756	±	2 469	12 725	±	2 372	11 270	±	2 217	29 218	±	2 277	53 693	±	2 507
5	43 807	±	2 477	43 175	±	2 377	52 811	±	2 221	76 084	±	2 280	97 292	±	2 486
6	56 636	±	2 484	69 258	±	2 382	76 683	±	2 225	105 438	±	2 259	119 662	±	2 486
7	72 159	±	2 493	89 802	±	2 380	102 178	±	2 230	122 896	±	2 242	133 695	±	2 486
8	92 111	±	2 498	113 541	±	2 382	123 307	±	2 206	142 620	±	2 246	149 458	±	2 490

	1997-1998			1999-2000			2001-2002			2003-2004			2005-2007		
-2	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0
-1	25 004	±	2 493	31 053	±	2 185	32 798	±	1 484	24 498	±	1 098	28 836	±	656
0	-78 565	±	2 423	-85 857	±	2 061	-88 045	±	1 452	-101 015	±	1 078	-100 081	±	643
1	-104 100	±	2 410	-109 215	±	2 013	-118 670	±	1 443	-123 177	±	1 073	-111 307	±	641
2	462	±	2 353	-6 765	±	2 001	-23 538	±	1 440	-27 012	±	1 067	-9 485	±	638
3	9 274	±	2 324	-7 863	±	1 999	-21 090	±	1 437	-22 312	±	1 068	-12 084	±	640
4	50 000	±	2 319	30 743	±	2 004	30 774	±	1 436	33 450	±	1 071	41 178	±	642
5	87 568	±	2 321	78 073	±	2 002	74 375	±	1 438	77 736	±	1 074	88 102	±	645
6	109 767	±	2 324	100 600	±	1 999	97 094	±	1 440	101 260	±	1 079			
7	129 164	±	2 320	120 025	±	2 001	116 694	±	1 443	115 802	±	1 084			
8	151 166	±	2 319	141 910	±	2 001	139 175	±	1 447	138 649	±	1 091			

Table 6.3 She has 3 years of tertiary education or more

	1987-1988			1989-1990			1991-1992			1993-1994			1995-1996		
-2	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0
-1	13 847	±	2 809	18 064	±	2 518	15 222	±	2 348	7 761	±	2 408	14 715	±	2 511
0	-65 763	±	2 793	-71 279	±	2 499	-82 746	±	2 339	-95 169	±	2 377	-78 579	±	2 472
1	-84 787	±	2 808	-94 916	±	2 493	-109 524	±	2 354	-117 098	±	2 386	-100 656	±	2 482
2	-18 022	±	2 797	-27 019	±	2 506	-35 443	±	2 360	-31 147	±	2 387	-6 733	±	2 490
3	-6 012	±	2 796	-13 653	±	2 514	-22 990	±	2 374	-11 267	±	2 390	7 184	±	2 501
4	20 713	±	2 810	17 606	±	2 523	17 813	±	2 388	24 682	±	2 393	40 794	±	2 485
5	44 659	±	2 821	43 227	±	2 533	55 013	±	2 393	64 190	±	2 400	81 510	±	2 469
6	58 953	±	2 829	65 484	±	2 537	79 117	±	2 389	90 830	±	2 377	101 486	±	2 467
7	71 312	±	2 831	87 278	±	2 525	100 138	±	2 374	102 863	±	2 347	113 379	±	2 465
8	89 503	±	2 827	102 626	±	2 508	113 270	±	2 322	118 172	±	2 334	127 820	±	2 453

	1997-1998			1999-2000			2001-2002			2003-2004			2005-2007		
-2	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0
-1	21 791	±	2 195	28 222	±	1 705	22 868	±	1 325	21 047	±	1 118	26 717	±	744
0	-71 288	±	2 159	-81 923	±	1 682	-92 926	±	1 327	-100 210	±	1 113	-96 500	±	739
1	-98 740	±	2 173	-112 181	±	1 687	-127 100	±	1 346	-126 729	±	1 123	-114 868	±	746
2	760	±	2 165	-12 500	±	1 692	-27 724	±	1 351	-27 244	±	1 121	-12 018	±	745
3	9 957	±	2 153	-7 954	±	1 706	-23 062	±	1 353	-20 102	±	1 124	-8 129	±	749
4	40 857	±	2 162	23 761	±	1 712	14 939	±	1 353	21 426	±	1 129	30 985	±	753
5	77 053	±	2 174	61 265	±	1 705	57 196	±	1 354	66 374	±	1 132	75 173	±	756
6	96 761	±	2 175	85 221	±	1 696	81 136	±	1 352	90 814	±	1 134			
7	111 633	±	2 151	101 793	±	1 688	101 168	±	1 350	103 398	±	1 134			
8	127 659	±	2 129	118 334	±	1 683	118 919	±	1 348	120 692	±	1 137			

Table 6.4 He has 3 years of tertiary education or more

	1987-1988			1989-1990			1991-1992			1993-1994			1995-1996		
-2	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0
-1	13 707	±	2 152	10 625	±	2 069	5 281	±	2 044	6 520	±	2 175	11 517	±	2 524
0	-70 692	±	2 120	-82 776	±	2 005	-86 114	±	2 024	-86 427	±	2 159	-78 509	±	2 502
1	-94 598	±	2 098	-111 035	±	2 007	-115 813	±	2 025	-115 670	±	2 150	-104 853	±	2 503
2	-34 953	±	2 080	-48 217	±	2 018	-50 903	±	2 031	-40 659	±	2 150	-25 798	±	2 521
3	-21 549	±	2 102	-34 117	±	2 031	-36 476	±	2 040	-21 693	±	2 162	-11 153	±	2 531
4	3 595	±	2 118	-7 190	±	2 042	-2 771	±	2 052	9 360	±	2 180	19 671	±	2 523
5	21 720	±	2 139	14 426	±	2 058	25 242	±	2 074	39 910	±	2 198	51 302	±	2 535
6	31 960	±	2 161	31 304	±	2 079	40 596	±	2 092	58 942	±	2 210	68 759	±	2 537
7	39 137	±	2 179	47 355	±	2 107	54 157	±	2 108	71 491	±	2 230	78 479	±	2 545
8	52 809	±	2 199	57 874	±	2 133	67 506	±	2 126	80 568	±	2 247	87 959	±	2 566

	1997-1998			1999-2000			2001-2002			2003-2004			2005-2007		
-2	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0
-1	17 935	±	2 573	23 284	±	2 619	19 212	±	2 263	8 147	±	2 100	13 469	±	1 556
0	-76 125	±	2 561	-77 246	±	2 578	-94 428	±	2 248	-101 170	±	2 103	-98 879	±	1 571
1	-107 011	±	2 565	-113 866	±	2 567	-128 081	±	2 231	-133 440	±	2 112	-120 893	±	1 585
2	-20 811	±	2 571	-28 935	±	2 571	-43 032	±	2 244	-46 911	±	2 139	-32 402	±	1 618
3	-10 045	±	2 572	-18 859	±	2 572	-36 544	±	2 272	-35 332	±	2 169	-27 184	±	1 641
4	17 115	±	2 570	9 406	±	2 583	-103	±	2 302	2 778	±	2 196	6 786	±	1 666
5	45 373	±	2 567	42 152	±	2 611	37 386	±	2 334	37 774	±	2 227	42 545	±	1 699
6	62 566	±	2 581	60 748	±	2 655	58 026	±	2 370	53 377	±	2 266			
7	75 290	±	2 616	76 707	±	2 694	70 248	±	2 404	66 480	±	2 307			
8	90 358	±	2 652	95 204	±	2 727	88 198	±	2 443	82 812	±	2 341			

Table 7. Predicted change in men's average work income over parent cohorts by education and time from birth.

Table 7.1 Both have less than 3 years of tertiary education

	1987-1988		1989-1990		1991-1992		1993-1994		1995-1996	
-2	0	± 0	0	± 0	0	± 0	0	± 0	0	± 0
-1	15 377	± 601	16 053	± 548	500	± 573	-2 130	± 652	15 064	± 767
0	18 681	± 603	11 049	± 554	-9 018	± 575	-9 436	± 656	19 860	± 773
1	29 442	± 615	4 507	± 567	-15 193	± 586	-1 034	± 667	30 051	± 785
2	34 917	± 630	9 380	± 578	-7 876	± 599	20 180	± 679	50 670	± 798
3	31 922	± 648	7 410	± 595	4 841	± 615	34 267	± 694	64 821	± 815
4	32 872	± 662	10 290	± 612	20 204	± 631	49 358	± 711	78 434	± 837
5	30 584	± 676	22 377	± 626	34 227	± 645	63 864	± 727	90 743	± 859
6	31 865	± 688	34 553	± 639	47 544	± 659	76 799	± 746	95 726	± 878
7	40 296	± 700	46 638	± 651	59 293	± 673	86 994	± 765	98 323	± 895
8	51 483	± 711	58 942	± 664	71 153	± 690	91 303	± 781	103 607	± 912

	1997-1998		1999-2000		2001-2002		2003-2004		2005-2007	
-2	0	± 0	0	± 0	0	± 0	0	± 0	0	± 0
-1	15 710	± 813	20 386	± 830	18 739	± 819	6 533	± 833	15 645	± 674
0	22 552	± 821	26 721	± 850	15 482	± 828	1 545	± 845	17 415	± 687
1	31 817	± 834	31 612	± 874	7 931	± 846	-3 089	± 863	9 288	± 703
2	51 333	± 856	43 478	± 893	20 113	± 865	16 841	± 884	27 873	± 722
3	63 711	± 880	47 199	± 912	32 594	± 886	31 123	± 906	37 035	± 742
4	69 353	± 900	52 582	± 931	43 766	± 907	40 722	± 929	44 518	± 762
5	74 034	± 919	63 922	± 953	56 832	± 927	49 021	± 952	56 920	± 781
6	79 486	± 937	75 888	± 974	66 033	± 949	56 563	± 974		
7	89 574	± 957	86 813	± 994	70 482	± 970	64 725	± 995		
8	100 696	± 978	94 770	± 1 015	77 321	± 990	74 784	± 1 017		

Table 7.2 Both have 3 years of tertiary education or more

	1987-1988			1989-1990			1991-1992			1993-1994			1995-1996		
-2	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0
-1	22 455	±	2 867	21 478	±	2 748	10 794	±	2 447	12 350	±	2 555	20 720	±	2 858
0	28 841	±	2 811	21 255	±	2 629	10 081	±	2 420	13 628	±	2 492	28 385	±	2 787
1	26 133	±	2 774	9 677	±	2 573	-3 116	±	2 419	5 145	±	2 481	29 616	±	2 770
2	54 846	±	2 712	37 312	±	2 567	27 114	±	2 408	46 393	±	2 470	81 592	±	2 756
3	65 098	±	2 673	46 813	±	2 575	43 578	±	2 408	76 767	±	2 470	108 756	±	2 761
4	75 683	±	2 683	61 031	±	2 577	67 253	±	2 409	102 524	±	2 474	136 869	±	2 724
5	88 135	±	2 691	78 068	±	2 582	99 779	±	2 413	134 696	±	2 477	166 679	±	2 701
6	99 482	±	2 699	99 666	±	2 588	127 971	±	2 418	167 207	±	2 454	184 062	±	2 701
7	114 162	±	2 709	126 735	±	2 586	157 138	±	2 423	190 262	±	2 437	191 790	±	2 702
8	132 362	±	2 714	153 723	±	2 589	181 743	±	2 397	206 824	±	2 441	202 404	±	2 706

	1997-1998			1999-2000			2001-2002			2003-2004			2005-2007		
-2	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0
-1	34 047	±	2 709	38 414	±	2 374	34 706	±	1 612	18 173	±	1 193	30 247	±	712
0	51 337	±	2 632	51 738	±	2 239	42 695	±	1 578	18 577	±	1 172	39 582	±	699
1	45 565	±	2 618	40 006	±	2 188	5 896	±	1 568	-19 966	±	1 165	-12 555	±	697
2	95 536	±	2 556	79 283	±	2 175	39 420	±	1 564	27 516	±	1 159	44 262	±	693
3	123 995	±	2 525	88 420	±	2 172	62 940	±	1 561	47 905	±	1 161	62 935	±	695
4	138 241	±	2 519	92 302	±	2 177	72 060	±	1 560	58 753	±	1 164	68 487	±	698
5	149 823	±	2 522	116 928	±	2 175	102 052	±	1 562	89 110	±	1 167	100 971	±	701
6	161 622	±	2 525	139 698	±	2 172	123 002	±	1 564	110 427	±	1 172			
7	179 085	±	2 521	158 855	±	2 174	138 042	±	1 567	124 320	±	1 178			
8	200 307	±	2 520	176 845	±	2 174	153 802	±	1 573	143 090	±	1 185			

Table 7.3 She has 3 years of tertiary education or more

	1987-1988			1989-1990			1991-1992			1993-1994			1995-1996		
-2	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0
-1	18 402	±	3 052	13 647	±	2 736	-2 240	±	2 551	3 134	±	2 617	14 190	±	2 728
0	20 402	±	3 034	6 194	±	2 715	-11 668	±	2 541	-3 395	±	2 583	18 563	±	2 686
1	18 802	±	3 051	-12 014	±	2 709	-25 001	±	2 558	-7 078	±	2 593	19 308	±	2 697
2	29 674	±	3 039	513	±	2 723	-10 576	±	2 565	19 502	±	2 593	45 582	±	2 705
3	30 527	±	3 038	1 005	±	2 732	2 637	±	2 579	36 211	±	2 597	63 356	±	2 717
4	32 449	±	3 053	4 480	±	2 742	16 512	±	2 594	52 740	±	2 600	79 532	±	2 701
5	34 063	±	3 065	16 840	±	2 752	34 774	±	2 600	70 160	±	2 608	93 202	±	2 683
6	37 249	±	3 074	30 436	±	2 757	50 923	±	2 596	85 899	±	2 582	100 501	±	2 680
7	47 183	±	3 076	46 565	±	2 743	65 590	±	2 579	97 700	±	2 549	104 490	±	2 678
8	60 655	±	3 072	61 253	±	2 725	81 192	±	2 523	103 719	±	2 536	108 708	±	2 665

	1997-1998			1999-2000			2001-2002			2003-2004			2005-2007		
-2	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0
-1	20 802	±	2 385	22 545	±	1 853	17 350	±	1 439	4 574	±	1 215	14 625	±	808
0	29 708	±	2 346	30 457	±	1 828	13 340	±	1 442	-2 582	±	1 209	14 744	±	803
1	28 904	±	2 361	23 142	±	1 833	-10 540	±	1 462	-25 008	±	1 220	-16 940	±	810
2	55 841	±	2 352	42 332	±	1 839	5 905	±	1 467	2 579	±	1 218	13 859	±	809
3	72 424	±	2 339	46 602	±	1 854	23 610	±	1 470	19 047	±	1 222	26 197	±	814
4	77 445	±	2 349	48 328	±	1 860	29 938	±	1 470	25 737	±	1 227	29 759	±	818
5	84 165	±	2 363	63 767	±	1 853	49 347	±	1 471	40 489	±	1 230	48 316	±	822
6	91 310	±	2 363	79 244	±	1 842	62 922	±	1 469	51 747	±	1 232			
7	100 667	±	2 337	91 844	±	1 834	71 027	±	1 467	61 587	±	1 232			
8	113 415	±	2 314	101 823	±	1 828	78 066	±	1 465	72 654	±	1 235			

Table 7.4 He has 3 years of tertiary education or more

	1987-1988			1989-1990			1991-1992			1993-1994			1995-1996		
-2	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0
-1	24 919	±	2 339	18 942	±	2 248	9 074	±	2 221	8 576	±	2 363	21 232	±	2 743
0	35 295	±	2 303	21 499	±	2 179	7 594	±	2 199	7 809	±	2 346	30 494	±	2 718
1	44 742	±	2 280	24 021	±	2 181	7 938	±	2 200	16 218	±	2 336	47 604	±	2 720
2	66 754	±	2 260	41 382	±	2 193	30 336	±	2 207	47 301	±	2 336	89 435	±	2 739
3	76 395	±	2 284	53 891	±	2 207	48 484	±	2 216	78 325	±	2 349	120 552	±	2 750
4	87 996	±	2 301	67 646	±	2 218	72 604	±	2 230	107 060	±	2 369	148 885	±	2 741
5	97 202	±	2 324	86 033	±	2 236	102 105	±	2 253	133 557	±	2 388	174 763	±	2 755
6	109 274	±	2 348	107 382	±	2 259	126 233	±	2 273	160 735	±	2 401	187 289	±	2 756
7	122 976	±	2 367	133 364	±	2 289	151 924	±	2 290	180 763	±	2 423	192 573	±	2 765
8	140 355	±	2 389	156 245	±	2 317	173 683	±	2 310	191 671	±	2 441	202 955	±	2 788

	1997-1998			1999-2000			2001-2002			2003-2004			2005-2007		
-2	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0	0	±	0
-1	28 341	±	2 795	31 250	±	2 846	28 409	±	2 459	14 594	±	2 282	28 060	±	1 690
0	45 498	±	2 783	41 373	±	2 801	31 310	±	2 442	15 970	±	2 285	37 888	±	1 707
1	56 534	±	2 787	48 348	±	2 790	13 903	±	2 424	4 163	±	2 295	14 649	±	1 722
2	95 686	±	2 793	76 695	±	2 794	36 834	±	2 438	36 889	±	2 324	54 065	±	1 758
3	124 962	±	2 794	87 969	±	2 795	59 464	±	2 469	62 300	±	2 356	72 691	±	1 783
4	135 416	±	2 793	96 655	±	2 807	75 337	±	2 501	74 693	±	2 385	82 730	±	1 810
5	144 764	±	2 789	115 795	±	2 837	98 948	±	2 536	97 333	±	2 420	104 992	±	1 846
6	153 326	±	2 804	134 374	±	2 884	117 033	±	2 575	114 882	±	2 462			
7	171 133	±	2 842	153 376	±	2 927	129 749	±	2 612	126 508	±	2 507			
8	187 517	±	2 881	168 303	±	2 963	142 901	±	2 654	138 450	±	2 544			

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