# Gender Role Attitudes and Depressive Symptoms of the Mother-Daughter Dyad in Korea*

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*Gender role attitudes are a lens through which people make sense of life. Several studies have examined the psychological consequences of egalitarian gender role attitudes and found significant associations. Gender socialization and ideologies are practiced daily in the family. However, little is known about how family members' gender role attitudes influence the psychological wellbeing of other members of their family. This study examined interactive associations between the gender role attitudes and depressive symptoms of young daughters (aged 19-35) and their mothers (aged 40-68) in Korea. Actor-partner interdependence model analysis revealed significant within-dyad nonindependence. Daughters' egalitarian gender role attitudes were related to lesser depressive symptoms in themselves, while egalitarian outlooks of mothers predicted greater depressive symptoms in daughters. Daughters' egalitarian gender role attitudes, though not mothers' own attitudes, were associated with lesser depressive symptoms in mothers. This suggests that the egalitarian gender ideology does not directly result in better wellbeing within the mother-daughter dyad. The relationship is complicated within the context of sociocultural settings.*

***Keywords:*** *Gender role attitudes; Depressive feeling; Mother-daughter dyad; Korea*

## Introduction

Every society has its own cultural expectations regarding desirable personal characteristics and social roles, with stratified sets of opportunities and constraints based on gender. Gender role attitudes (GRA), that is, the degree to which people accept the conventional gender norms of their society, provide a mental framework by which to make sense of society and to act within it (Han and Hong 2011; Song and Lee 2012). Several studies have found meaningful associations between rigid GRA and negative psychological wellbeing (PWB), such as depression and anxiety (McLean and Hope 2010; O'Neil 2008; Vafaei et al. 2016).

Studies on GRA and PWB have focused on within-person associations, such as how an individual's gender ideology is associated with their own wellbeing (O'Neil 2008). The family is the key place where gender ideology is socialized, practiced, and monitored through daily interactions. The GRA of other family members, not only one's own GRA, affects one's PWB. For example, young daughters with an egalitarian GRA may feel encouraged when their mothers have similar attitudes, and mothers may feel depressed when their daughters have values related to gender that significantly differ from their own. Surprisingly, the family context of GRA and PWB is rarely examined. To the author's knowledge, no study has investigated how other family members' GRA influence an individual's PWB after controlling for their own attitudes.

Associations between GRA and PWB in the family context are expected to be more pronounced in societies undergoing rapid changes toward gender egalitarianism. Korea is an important example of such a society. As will be discussed in detail in the literature review section, women's educational attainment and labor force participation continue to rise in Korea and people are departing from a traditional gender ideology that is rooted in patriarchy and Confucianism (Kim 2017; Kim and Cheung 2019). The pace of change, however, is not even across age groups (Chung et al. 2007; Ok and Chin 2011). As a result of advancements in education and the labor market, young women now have higher socioeconomic status and more egalitarian attitudes than their parents, and the generational gap is ever widening. As a majority of unmarried daughters live with their parents, such a gap may be experienced in everyday family life and may give rise to conflict and poor wellbeing. Many unmarried Korean young adults live with their parents until marriage; the family is the place where parents and children contest different gender

ideologies. Thus, it is crucial to examine the role of family members to understand the associations between GRA and PWB.

This study aimed to fill the gap in the extant literature on GRA and PWB by examining the following questions: (1) How, and to what extent, are an individual's own gender role attitudes associated with depressive symptoms in unmarried young daughters and their mothers? (2) How, and to what extent, are the gender role attitudes of mothers/daughters related to depressive symptoms of daughters/mothers after controlling for their own gender attitudes? I conducted a dyadic data analysis using data from a nationally representative probability sample of 791 co-residing mother-daughter dyads, where the daughters were between ages 19 and 35 years old and the mothers were between ages 40 and 68 years old. Both GRA and depressive symptoms were measured directly from the daughters and the mothers using identical survey questions. I addressed the issue of nonindependence using the actor-partner interdependence model (APIM). I examined the mother-daughter dyad among the various relationships that exist within the family because mothers and daughters are active agents of gender socialization (Platt and Polavieja 2016) and have experienced notable differences in socioeconomic status as a result of rapid social changes regarding gender equality in Korea (Kang 2007; Kang, Shin and Park 2015).

## Literature review

### *Gender role attitudes*

Gender ideology defines the desirable personalities and roles for men and women (Han and Hong 2011; Song and Lee 2012). Men are expected to be active, logical, and competitive, while women are expected to be passive, emotional, and caring. Based on these characteristics, men and women are assigned different social roles, with men working as economic providers and women taking care of the family at home. People develop personal attitudes toward society's gender role ideology as well. Two aspects of GRA are examined in the existing literature. One relates to the ideal or expected personality traits for men and women, such as femininity, masculinity, expressiveness, or instrumentality (Bem 1974; McLean and Hope 2010; Vafaei et al. 2016). The other pertains to measuring the levels of agreement with the man-breadwinner and woman-housemaker role division (Song and Lee 2012; Sweeting et al. 2014). For this measure, GRA can be described as

having two polar ends: traditional and egalitarian (Halimi et al. 2016). People with traditional attitudes accept conventional gendered role division. People have egalitarian attitudes when they have more flexible attitudes toward gendered role division, and they support equal participation in work and family roles. In this study, I examined the second aspect of GRA.

*Gender role attitudes and psychological wellbeing*

Previous studies have found negative associations between traditional gender ideology and psychological wellbeing (McLean and Hope 2010; O'Neil 2008; Vafaei et al. 2016). Gender ideology sets the ideal standards to follow with limited ways to achieve these goals. Failure to achieve these standards and the devaluation of characteristics that do not conform to gender norms have negative psychological consequences (O'Neil 2008). Traditional gender ideology assigns women to the family domain with a stratified social status and resources and devalues roles and characteristics traditionally considered feminine, such as family care roles and emotionality. Endorsement of strict gender ideology is linked to increased feelings of limitation or restriction (Jwa 2014). For example, girls with traditional GRA have lower aspirations for higher education (Davis and Pearce 2007; van der Vleuten et al., 2016). In addition, girls report lower interest in work when their parents have traditional attitudes and participate in the gendered division of domestic work (Croft et al., 2014). Such restrictions lead to low self-efficacy and poor PWB (Han and Hong, 2011). Feminine characteristics and coping styles are also suggested as reasons for poor wellbeing (Broderick and Korteland 2002). A focus on emotions and passivity, rather than active adaptation or adjustment to difficult situations, results in poor problem management and depression among women (Vafaei et al. 2016). The tendency to ruminate on negative emotions also results in greater depressive symptoms among women (Cox, Mezulis, and Hyde 2010).

Associations between GRA and PWB, however, are not conclusive, as they are often contingent on an individual's current work and family status. In Jo and Cho's (2004) study on married Korean women, traditional GRA predicted better PWB and marital satisfaction among non-working wives, while an egalitarian gender ideology was correlated with better wellbeing for working wives. When people experience conflict between gender ideology and their current situation, they adjust their ideology to be more compatible with their work and family situation at the time (Kroska and Elman 2009). These findings suggest the importance of the contextual factors of GRA and

PWB (O'Neil 2008).

*Family context*

The family provides a critical context for both GRA and PWB and the association between them. Family members share socioeconomic status, life experiences, and cultural background, which fosters similarities in PWB (Sfärlea et al. 2019). Several studies have examined the intergenerational transmission of depression. Children of parents with depression are at a greater risk of experiencing depression themselves compared with children of non-depressed parents (Hammen 2009). Pathways of transmission include exposure to negative and depressed moods of parents, psychological and physical maltreatment, issues of interpersonal stress, and a stressful living environment, as well as genetic similarity such as cortisol level (Goodman and Gotlib 1999; Hammen, Brennan, and Le Brocque 2011; Thompson et al. 2014). Parents are the primary agents of gender socialization, transmitting their gender ideology to children in both direct (verbal transmission) and indirect ways (children's observation and mimicking of parental roles) (Endendijk, Groeneveld, and Mesman 2018). A considerable number of studies have examined the intergenerational transmission of gender ideology during childhood and adolescence (Halimi et al. 2016). Such similarities continue when children become adults (Endendijk, Groeneveld, and Mesman 2018). For example, children of egalitarian parents are more likely to have flexible gender attitudes and experience more equal division of household work in their 20s and 30s (Cunningham 2001a, 2001b).

As children grow older, they develop their own gender-related values and ideas from new experiences outside of the family, such as at school, with friends, and in the workplace. For example, they learn about liberal ideals during their years at school, meet women in higher occupational positions, and experience gender-unequal practices in the workplace. Bolzendahl and Myers (2004) argue that exposure to gender-egalitarian situations and self-interest in career development are two mechanisms that promote an egalitarian gender ideology. Young women in Korea develop egalitarian attitudes as they transition into adulthood, such as through participation in the labor market and marriage (Lee 2019). The dissimilarity or the intergenerational gap in key cultural values among family members often results in negative wellbeing, such as depression (Weaver and Kim 2008), low self-esteem, aggressive behaviors (Toro and Nieri 2018), and suicide attempts (Baumann, Kuhlberg, and Zayas 2010). Studies on the psychological

consequences of intergenerational similarity and dissimilarity have often focused on migrant families because the parents' and children's generations go through the process of cultural assimilation at different paces. Surprisingly, intergenerational (dis)similarity in gender ideology and PWB has rarely been researched.

*The case of Korea*

The Korean context provides several implications for the study of GRA and PWB. It has a cultural background of Confucianism, which is characterized by patrilineal and patriarchal familism and gender-stratified role division (Kim 2017). With the changes in the socioeconomic structure, traditional GRA are weakening rapidly. For example, the Korean Social Survey asks, "Who should take the primary responsibility for housework?" The percentage of people who answered "wife entirely" or "mostly wife with husband's participation" declined from 65.9% in 2002 to 43.8% in 2016 (Korean Statistical Information Service 2019). During the same period, the percentage of people who answered "wife and husband equally" increased from 30.7% to 53.5%. This trend has been fostered by socio-structural changes, especially in education. With the rapid expansion of tertiary education, the percentage of women aged 25 to 34 with tertiary education was 75.7% in 2015, which is about ten percentage points higher than that of men (66.3%). In the same year, the proportion of tertiary education among people aged 55 to 64 was 13.3% for women and 27.6% for men (Korean Statistical Information Service 2019).

The pace at which egalitarian attitudes develop, however, is uneven across age groups and social domains. Younger generations have more egalitarian attitudes than older generations and the generational gap is widening in family-related values (Chung et al. 2007; Chung, Bae, and Choi 2012; Ok and Chin 2011). The percentage of people in their twenties who answered "wife entirely" or "mostly wife with husband's participation" to the survey question mentioned above declined from 34% to 15.2%, while the percentage of people aged 60 years and older who answered similarly only declined from 61% to 54.4% (Statistics Korea 2019). When the generational gap is wide and hard to reconcile, it results in a generational conflict (*sedaegaldeung* in Korean), which has been one of the main social concerns since 2000 in Korea. The generational gap in gender ideology is part of the substantive and often hidden social conflict over economic resources and cultural hegemony (Lee 2018; Sohn et al. 2019).

An uneven transition also happens across social domains such as education, work, and family. Despite extensive advancements in women's education, change happens at a much slower speed in the labor market. The employment rate of women in the working-age group (15-64 years old) has risen from 49% in 1990 to 56.1% in 2016 (Korean Statistical Information Service 2019). The participation rate of women (69%) with tertiary education in the labor force is lower than that of Korean men (81%), and the gap is wider than the average gender gap (9% points) among OECD countries (OECD 2019a). In addition, the gender wage gap, defined as the difference between the median earnings of men and women relative to the median earnings of men, was 34.6% in 2017, the largest among OECD countries (OECD 2019b). Studies on the transition of gender attitudes in other societies have suggested that there is increasing consensus on women's equal labor force participation, but that does not readily apply to the family domain. Women are still expected to be the primary caretaker in the family (Scarborough, Sin, and Risman 2019; Shu and Zhu 2012). The double burden of family and work responsibilities, in turn, results in a high rate of career interruption for women and an M-shaped curve of labor force participation.

Based on the abovementioned gap in GRA and PWB research, I aimed to test the following hypotheses in this study. First, I hypothesized that more egalitarian gender role attitudes of daughters are associated with lesser depressive symptoms in the daughters (Hypothesis 1a) and more egalitarian gender role attitudes of mothers are associated with lesser depressive symptoms in the mothers (Hypothesis 1b). Second, I hypothesized that more egalitarian gender role attitudes of mothers are associated with lesser depressive symptoms in their daughters (Hypothesis 2a) and more egalitarian gender role attitudes of daughters are associated with lesser depressive symptoms in their mothers (Hypothesis 2b), after controlling for respondents' own GRA.

## Method

### Data

I used data from the Korean Longitudinal Survey of Women and Families (KLoWF). The KLoWF is an ongoing biennial survey that employs population-based random sampling of women and obtains extensive information related to family, work, values, attitudes, and demographic

characteristics.[1] In 2007 (Wave 1), the KLoWF selected 9,068 households through a probabilistic sampling process based on the 2005 Population and Housing Census and interviewed 9,997 female members of the selected households aged between 19 and 65. From the original sample, 6,632 women from 6,225 household participated in 2016 (Wave 6), which was the most recent publicly available data set at the time of the current study. When female family members of the original households (mostly younger daughters) became eligible for the survey age-wise (turned 19), they were added to the survey as new members. In 2016, 886 new members were added as they reached the survey-eligible age. The KLoWF provides parallel information on GRA and depressive symptoms of both daughters and mothers. The target study sample included unmarried daughters aged 19 to 35 years and their mothers aged 40 to 68, who were living in the same household at the time of the study. I selected daughters as the focal point for selecting the dyad because the young generation represents the advancement of egalitarian gender attitudes. 796 households met these criteria. Among them, 124 households had two daughters, while 6 households had three daughters. Where there were multiple daughters in the household, I randomly selected one daughter from among them. For two-daughter households, I randomly selected half of the households using STATA's random sampling command, and for the first half, selected the first daughter on the family list. For the second half of the households, I selected the second daughter on the family list. The family list did not necessarily reflect the birth order of the daughters. The same procedure was applied for three-daughter households. The study sample included 796 mother-daughter dyads (667 from households with one daughter, 123 from households with two daughters, and 6 from households with three daughters). Five dyads (five daughters and five mothers) were excluded due to missing values in the variables used in the analyses. The final study sample consisted of 791 mother-daughter dyads.

*Variables*

The independent variable (GRA) was measured using the mean of the GRA index with six survey questions. Respondents reported the extent to which they agreed with six statements on conventional gender role norms on a four-

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[1] A detailed description of the KLoWF including the sampling process is available at https://klowf. kwdi.re.kr.

point scale, ranging from agree very much" (1) to "do not at all agree" (1). The survey statements were as follows: "In general, it is men's role to conduct important social issues"; "Men should be the leaders in society"; "Men should lead the sexual relationship"; "Women should take the main responsibility of housework"; "Husbands should make financial decisions in the family"; and "The wife should follow the husband in deciding whether to have a job." A higher score indicated more egalitarian GRA (Cronbach's alpha = 0.86).

The dependent variable (depressive symptoms) was measured using the 10-item version of the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D-R) (Nezu et al. 2009; Radloff 1977). CES-D-R measures how often one has experienced depressive symptoms during the previous week; for example, "felt considerably depressed," "everything felt hard," and "was not able to sleep" (Cronbach's alpha = 0.79). The response categories ranged from "rarely" (1) to "almost all the time" (4). A higher value indicated greater depressive symptoms. I controlled for known correlates of GRA and depressive symptoms.

The APIM, which was the analytical model for this study, distinguishes variables as between-dyad, within-dyad, and mixed variables (Kenny, Kashy and Cook 2006). In this study, mixed variables and between-dyad variables are used in the analyses. Self-rated health and work status were mixed variables obtained using the same questions for the daughters and the mothers. Scores of mixed variables may differ between the two members within a dyad and between the dyads. Self-rated health status was a binary variable where "1" indicated having good or very good health. Current work status had three categories: "not working," "working in a professional or managerial occupation," and "all other occupational types." Women are exposed to gender-stratified practices in the workplace and gain economic independence and self-confidence. Thus, work often strengthens egalitarian attitudes (Lee 2019).

Between-dyad variables included age, education, total household income, mother's marital status, and presence of a significant other in the daughter's life. The values of a between-dyad variable differ from dyad to dyad, but members within a dyad share same scores. Age was significantly different between daughters and mothers and was closely related to educational attainment. Thus, I used the mean age and the age difference of the mother-daughter dyad and treated them as dyad-level variables. The age difference was calculated by subtracting the daughter's age from the mother's age. Education was positively related to gender egalitarianism, as it provides exposure to egalitarian values and new experiences (Calvo-Salguero, García-

Martínez, and Monteoliva 2008; McDermott and Schwartz 2013). Higher education was positively related to better psychological health (McFarland and Wagner 2015). Educational attainment differed significantly between mothers and daughters due to the rapid expansion of tertiary education in Korea. Because the study sample included daughters in their early 20s, the majority of respondents were currently attending university (including college) and were expected to graduate. Thus, it was reasonable to apply separate categorizations for the daughters and the mothers. The educational attainment of daughters was grouped as "high-school graduate or lower," "currently attending university," and "university graduate or higher." Mothers' educational attainment was grouped into "middle-school graduate or lower," "high-school graduate," and "university graduate or higher." Due to the different categorizations for the daughters and the mothers, I treated the educational level as a dyad-level variable.

Being in an intimate relationship such as having a spouse or a significant other has a positive effect on PWB (Tumin 2018). I controlled for the marital status of mothers and the dating status of daughters ("1" if currently in a relationship with a boyfriend). Marriage is a heavily gendered institution and is closely related to GRA (Kim 2017; Kim and Cheung 2019). At the same time, marital satisfaction is a critical factor for PWB, especially for married mothers (Kim and McKenry 2002). To control for both marital status and the quality of relationship, I grouped mothers' marital status into four categories: unmarried, married with low satisfaction, married with average satisfaction, and married with high satisfaction. Marital satisfaction was measured by the mean value of four items related to the quality of marital relationship for married mothers. The items included: "I trust my husband," "My husband and I have a lot of conversations," "I am satisfied with the sexual relationship I have with my husband," and "My husband and I have similar views" (Cronbach's alpha=0.803). The responses ranged from "not at all agree" (1) to "agree very much" (4). I defined low marital satisfaction as one standard deviation below the mean, high satisfaction as one standard deviation above the mean, and average satisfaction within the upper and lower limits of one standard deviation from the mean. I treated these as dyad-level variables because having a spouse and having a boyfriend are not symmetrical information. The total household income in 2015 was included in the model as a dyad-level variable.

*Analytic method*

This paper aimed to examine how one's GRA and the GRA of a family member were associated with depressive symptoms in the mother-daughter dyad. Within a dyad of a close relationship such as the mother-daughter dyad, an individual's attitudes or emotions are closely related to the other member's attitudes or emotions. This nonindependence within a dyad violates the assumption of independence and results in biased test statistics. The APIM, developed by Kenny, Kashy, and Cook (Cook and Kenny 2005; Kenny, Kashy, and Cook 2006), made it possible to control for the nonindependence of key variables by using a dyad as a unit of analysis and to examine both "actor effects" (in the case of this study, effects of one's individual GRA on one's own depressive symptoms) and "partner effects" (effects of one's GRA on their partner's depressive symptoms). Figure 1 presents the APIM model. As discussed in the previous section, mothers and daughters are expected to share considerable similarities both in GRA and in depressive symptoms. Ignoring such nonindependence may result in biased variances and test statistics (Kenny et al. 2006).

First, to examine interdependence within the dyad, I calculated the correlation coefficient of mothers' GRA and daughters' GRA. A Pearson's correlation coefficient larger than 0.5 indicates a significant correlation and nonindependence should be addressed using dyadic data analyses (Cook and Kenney 2005; Kenny et al. 2006). Second, as the mothers and daughters had significantly different levels of depressive symptoms, I used the two-intercept model of APIM to investigate associations between GRA and depressive symptoms. I conducted a log-transform of the depression score because the distribution of depressive symptoms was positively skewed. All continuous
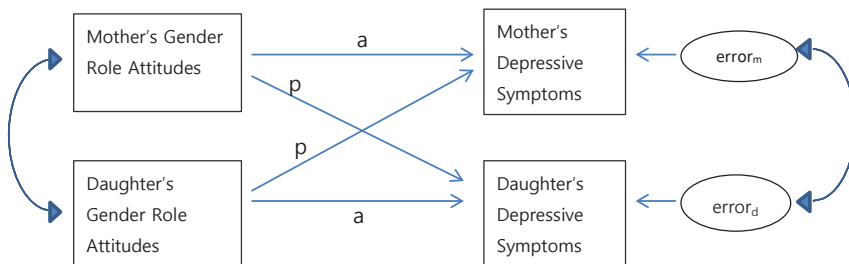


Note.—"a" indicates actor effect and "p" indicates partner effect. Double-headed arrows indicate correlated variables. This figure was annotated from Kenny, Kashy and Cook (2006).

FIGURE 1.—THE ACTOR-PARTNER INTERDEPENDENCE MODEL (APIM).

variables in the model were centered at the mean to run the APIM. Binary variables were effect-coded, having either "1" or "-1" values instead of "1" or "0".

*Data description*

The distribution of the study sample is presented in Table 1. The mean scores

Table 1
Data distribution: Percentages, means, and standard deviations

|  | Daughter | Mother | x2/F/t-values |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Individual characteristics** | | | |
| Egalitarian GRA | 3.05 (0.52) | 2.75 (0.52) | 17.18*** |
| Depressive symptoms | 1.26 (0.36) | 1.41 (0.46) | -9.16*** |
| Having good health (%) | 81.5 | 55.1 | 50.27*** |
| Work status (%) | | | |
|    Not working | 52.1 | 36.3 | 21.50*** |
|    Managerial/Professional occupation | 26.8 | 52.8 | |
|    Non-Managerial/Professional occupation | 21.1 | 10.9 | |
| **Dyad characteristics** | | | |
| Mean age of the dyad (in years) | 38.11 (4.30) | | |
| Mean age difference of the dyad (in years) | 27.54 (3.45) | | |
| Daughter's education (%) | | | |
|    High school or lower | 10.8 | | |
|    Currently attending university | 36.2 | | |
|    University or higher | 53.1 | | |
| Mother's education (%) | | | |
|    Below high school | 13.8 | | |
|    High school graduate | 59.8 | | |
|    University or higher | 26.4 | | |
| Mother's marital status (%) | | | |
|    Not married | 13.4 | | |
|    Married with poor satisfaction | 14.2 | | |
|    Married with average satisfaction | 66.6 | | |
|    Married with high satisfaction | 5.4 | | |
| Daughter in romantic relationship (%) | 19.5 | | |
| Total household income (in 10million KRW) | 5.85 (2.94) | | |

Note.—N=791 mother-daughter dyads. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

of GRA were 3.05 for the daughters and 2.75 for the mothers. As expected, daughters had more egalitarian GRA than mothers. A paired-sample t-test result suggested that the difference was statistically significant (t=17.18, p < 0.001). Mothers reported greater depressive symptoms than daughters (t=-9.16, p < 0.001).

The proportion of mothers with (very) good health (55.1%) was lower than that of daughters (81.5%). Slightly more than half of the daughters were not working (52.1%) and 26.8% worked managerial/professional occupations. More than one-third of the mothers (36.3%) were not working and 10.9% worked in managerial/professional occupations. The mean age of the daughter-mother dyad was 38.11 years (mean age of daughters was 24.36 years and that of mothers was 51.87). The mean age difference between the daughters and the mothers was 27.54 years. Daughters who were attending university at the time of the survey formed 36.2%, while 53.1% were university graduates. The proportion of mothers with a university-level education was 26.4%. The majority of the mothers (86.6%) were married and 19.5% of the daughters were in a romantic relationship. The average total household income in 2015 was 58.5 million Korean Won.

## Results

The correlation coefficient of daughters' GRA on mothers' GRA was 0.54 (p < 0.001), which suggests that there was strong within-dyad similarity and that nonindependence should be addressed by using dyadic data analysis methods.

Table 2 presents the results of the APIM analysis with different intercepts for the daughters and the mothers. Daughters with more egalitarian GRA reported lesser depressive symptoms (b=-0.087, p < 0.001). This result supported Hypothesis 1a and it was consistent with previous literature on positive links between egalitarian GRA and PWB. The GRA of mothers did not predict their own depressive symptoms. Thus, Hypothesis 1b was not supported. For both the mothers and the daughters, an individual's own depressive symptoms were responsive to their partners' GRA after controlling for the respondent's own GRA. Interestingly, the directions of association were opposite. Daughters reported greater depressive symptoms when their mothers had egalitarian GRA (b=0.060, p < 0.01). This result was contrary to Hypothesis 2a. On the contrary, mothers reported lesser depressive symptoms when their daughters reported having more egalitarian gender

**TABLE 2. RESULTS OF ACTOR-PARTNER INTERDEPENDENCE MODEL (DUAL-INTERCEPT) ANALYSES OF DEPRESSIVE SYMPTOMS**

| | Daughter | Mother |
|---|---|---|
| | Coeff.  (s.e.) | Coeff.  (s.e.) |
| Intercept | 0.127  (0.066) | 0.340  (0.076) *** |
| Egalitarian GRA: Own | -0.087  (0.019) *** | 0.022  (0.022) |
| Egalitarian GRA: Partner | 0.060  (0.019) ** | -0.082  (0.022) *** |
| Having good health: Own | -0.067  (0.011) *** | -0.049  (0.010) *** |
| Having good health: Partner | 0.000  (0.009) | -0.024  (0.013) |
| Work status (ref. Not working): Own | | |
|   Professional/Managerial occupation | -0.042  (0.013) ** | -0.020  (0.018) |
|   Other occupation | -0.039  (0.012) ** | -0.031  (0.011) ** |
| Work status (ref. Not working): Partner | | |
|   Professional/Managerial occupation | -0.037  (0.015) * | 0.005  (0.015) |
|   Other occupation | -0.034  (0.009) *** | 0.001  (0.014) |
| Mean age of the dyad (years) | 0.000  (0.003) | -0.004  (0.003) |
| Mean age difference of the dyad (years) | -0.001  (0.003) | 0.011  (0.003) ** |
| Daughter's education (ref. University graduate) | | |
|   High school or lower | 0.002  (0.015) | -0.020  (0.017) |
|   Currently attending university | -0.030  (0.013) * | -0.024  (0.015) |
| Mother's education (ref. University graduate) | | |
|   Middle school or lower | 0.005  (0.016) | 0.013  (0.019) |
|   High school graduate | -0.001  (0.011) | 0.006  (0.012) |
| Mother's marital status (ref. Married with average satisfaction) | | |
|   Not married | 0.007  (0.013) | 0.060  (0.016) *** |
|   Married with low satisfaction | 0.026  (0.012) * | 0.075  (0.014) *** |
|   Married with high satisfaction | -0.004  (0.019) | -0.037  (0.021) |
| Daughter in romantic relationship (ref. not in a relationship) | -0.046  (0.021) * | -0.048  (0.024) * |
| Total household income (in 10million KRW) | -0.003  (0.003) | -0.010  (0.004) *** |
| -2 Log Likelihood | -117.9  *** | |

Note.—N=791 mother-daughter dyads. * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

attitudes (b=-0.082, p < 0.001). Thus, Hypothesis 2b was supported.

Both self-rated health and occupational status were partly related to depressive symptoms. Own good health status predicted lesser depressive symptoms for both daughters (b=-0.067, p<0.001) and mothers (b=-0.049, p<0.001). Work status predicted lesser depressive symptoms, especially for the daughters. Working daughters reported lesser depressive symptoms than

non-working daughters, regardless of their occupation (b=-0.042 for professional/managerial, b=-0.039 for other occupation, p<0.01). Working mothers with non-professional/managerial occupations had lesser depressive symptoms than non-working mothers (b=-0.031, p<0.01). Daughters with working mothers reported lesser depressive symptoms than their counterparts with non-working mothers (b=-0.037, p<0.05 for prof-/managerial, b=-0.034, p<0.001 for other occupation). Daughters' work status, however, was unrelated to their mothers' depressive symptoms.

Most of the dyad-level variables were significantly related to depressive symptoms. Mothers who had greater age difference with their daughters reported greater depressive symptoms (b=0.011, p<0.01). Daughters who were currently attending university reported lesser depressive symptoms compared to university graduates (b=-0.03, p<0.05). Education was not significantly related to mothers' depressive symptoms. Compared to married mothers with average levels of marital satisfaction, mothers who were not married and mothers with poor marital satisfaction reported greater levels of depressive symptoms (b=0.06 and 0.075 respectively, p<0.001). The presence of a romantic partner in the daughter's life predicted lesser depressive symptoms for both the daughters and the mothers (b=-0.046 and -0.048 respectively, p<0.05). Total household income was negatively and significantly related to mothers' depressive symptoms (b=-0.01, p<0.001), but not to those of daughters.

## Discussion

Gender role attitudes serve as a lens through which people make sense of life. Several studies have examined the psychological consequences of GRA and found significant and positive associations between egalitarian attitudes and psychological wellbeing. Although the family is the primary place where gender socialization and gender ideologies are practiced daily, little attention is given to how family members' GRA influence the PWB of others in their family. To fill this gap, this study investigated the associations between GRA and depressive symptoms in the family context in Korea. I examined how the GRA of daughters in young adulthood is associated with depressive symptoms in their mothers after controlling for the mothers' own GRA. Parallel associations between daughters' GRA and mothers' depressive symptoms were also examined.

On average, young daughters and mothers had significantly different

levels of GRA and depressive symptoms. Daughters had more egalitarian attitudes and lesser depressive symptoms than their mothers had. However, the test of nonindependence suggested that mothers and daughters had considerable within-dyad similarities. The similarity within the mother-daughter dyad was larger than the similarity within the same generation. This finding suggests that within-family value transmission is still intact between adult daughters and mothers, although the intergenerational gap in cultural values seems to be wide when generations are contrasted as a whole.

This study found that young women with egalitarian gender attitudes tend to have fewer depressive symptoms. For younger generations, traditional GRA may serve as a self-imposed restriction on aspirations or behaviors (Han and Hong 2011). As gender equality is on the rise in Korea, women are both able and expected to engage in active social participation and achieve economic independence. Egalitarian attitudes encourage women to realize their full potential and are beneficial for their PWB. Early adulthood is full of life course transitions and new experiences, such as starting a career, engaging in intimate relationships, and marriage. Women in this period tend to develop egalitarian attitudes (Bolzendahl and Myers 2004; Lee 2019). For them, egalitarian GRA is associated with fewer restrictions on their aspirations and behaviors, thus leads to fewer depressive symptoms.

For middle-aged to older mothers, however, gender attitudes do not seem to be significantly related to depressive symptoms. One possible explanation is that their GRA now may reflect their needs and role division after the adjustment process in previous life stages (Kroska and Elman 2009) and are not an active factor in PWB.

Daughters reported greater depressive symptoms when their mothers had more egalitarian gender attitudes, after controlling for the daughters' own gender attitudes. This finding is quite the opposite of the association between an individual's own attitudes and depressive symptoms. The Korean context, with its uneven transition toward gender equality, may provide an insight into this unexpected relationship. Korea is undergoing a transition toward gender equality, but the pace of change is uneven across age groups (Chung et al. 2007; Chung et al,. 2012; Ok and Chin 2011). There is increasing agreement on women's labor force participation and economic independence. However, women are still expected to shoulder the primary responsibility of family care. Within traditional familism rooted in patriarchy and Confucianism, the role of caring for the family falls to the family itself, and especially the women of that family. There is relatively little public support provided to families. Thus, young Korean women must bear the

unrelenting pressure of juggling the dually demanding responsibilities of work and family at the same time (Kang 2007). For them, their mothers are a pivotal source of support (Kim, Lee, and Lim 2018). Unmarried women are well aware of such situations and they may feel ambivalent in the sense that they want egalitarian liberation for themselves but prefer their mothers to be traditional because they need their mothers' support in order to get by in society. Due to increasing economic inequality and an unfavorable job market for entry-level applicants and those early in their careers, it is becoming harder for young adults to gain economic independence. With the cultural background of familism, it is expected—both culturally and practically—that young adults rely on parental support during their transition into adulthood (Kim 2014). This ambivalent attitude is similar to Keizer and Komter's findings (2015), where husbands with egalitarian GRA reported greater satisfaction, both in general life and in relationships, when their wives had traditional GRA.

At the same time, it is also plausible that daughters may experience negative feedback from mothers who have more egalitarian attitudes. Mothers with egalitarian gender attitudes have higher aspirations for their daughters to achieve things (Sarker, Karim, and Suffiun 2017; Wood, Kaplan, and McLoyd 2007) and these high expectations may result in poor PWB in their daughters. To investigate this possibility, I conducted additional analyses to examine how each of the pairings of types of GRA in a dyad is associated with depressive symptoms. Daughters and mothers were coded as having egalitarian GRA when their GRA score was above the mean and traditional GRA if below the mean. This resulted in four pairings of GRA: both the daughter and the mother were egalitarian, both were traditional, the daughter was egalitarian while the mother was traditional, and the daughter was traditional while the mother was egalitarian. I conducted APIM analyses using the pairings of GRA as a between-dyad variable after controlling for all variables used in the main analyses (results not shown). Daughters and mothers in traditional daughter–egalitarian mother dyads showed the highest level of depressive symptoms. For these unconventional dyads, it may be plausible that mothers' GRA and negative feedback is related to poor wellbeing in daughters. Daughters and mothers in both-traditional dyads reported greater depressive symptoms compared to their counterparts in both-egalitarian dyads.

Interestingly, mothers reported lesser depressive symptoms when their daughters had more egalitarian attitudes. Mothers who experienced gender inequality when they were younger may be supportive of their daughters who

believe in an egalitarian society. The mothers in the study sample were in middle adulthood. They were more educated than their parent's generation and were the first generation of women to venture into the labor market, although their work careers were interrupted by marriage and childrearing. Thus, they were more cognizant of the presence of gender inequality and may feel encouraged by their egalitarian daughters to be more open to social changes. For both daughters and mothers, their differing GRA do not necessarily result in generational conflict and poor PWB, as is often discussed at the societal level. At the family dyad level, they seem to complement and support each other with the increasing burden of juggling the demands of family and work being placed on.

This study has several limitations. First, it only examined the mother-daughter dyad. A family consists of multiple relationships (e.g., father-daughter, mother-son, siblings), and each dyad or relationship uniquely contributes to gender ideology and PWB. For an extensive understanding of the family context of GRA and its psychological consequences, other family dyads or group relationships should be examined. Second, as an explorative study, I examined the cross-sectional relationship relying on one set of data from a panel survey. GRA and depressive symptoms are not static situations; they change over time as individuals experience various life transitions such as marriage, childrearing, and career. At the same time, attitudes of society as a whole can change along with social movements toward gender equality and advancement of women's education and labor force participation. Future research should utilize the longitudinal data to examine the dynamic nature of GRA and PWB over time. Third, to better understand gender ideology and its psychological consequences in the family context, it is important to investigate mechanisms or contextual factors such as parent-child relationship satisfaction (O'Neil 2008). For example, the partner effect would be stronger when family members have good relationships with one another with high relational satisfaction. As detailed information on relationship quality was not available, it was not possible to examine these mediating factors. This calls for future studies to further examine the complicated mechanisms of the family.

Despite these limitations, this study contributes to the study of GRA and PWB in the family context. The study showed a similarity in gender ideology between mothers and daughters in the context of rapid value changes. At the same time, the GRA of family members influences the PWB of others, after controlling for individuals' own GRA. At the social level, the generational gap in gender ideology has become a serious social issue in Korea. Within the

family context, however, the relationship between GRA and PWB is complicated within the context of sociocultural settings

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