Work-to-family conflict, family-to-work conflict and their relation to perceived parenting and parent-child relationship before and during the Covid-19 lockdown.

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Abstract

Objective: Our objective is twofold: First, to examine whether, to what extent and for whom (by sex and educational attainment) work-to-family conflict ($W \rightarrow F$ -conflict) and family-to-work conflict ($F \rightarrow W$ -conflict) increased from the pre-Covid-19 period to the lockdown period. Second, to examine whether, to what extent and for whom the associations between $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict/ $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict and perceived parenting (positive encouragement, coercive parenting and parent-child relationship) became stronger.

Background: During the Covid-19 lockdown, parents were asked to provide childcare and home-schooling for their children while also being expected to fulfil their work obligations. Under these circumstances, this study was set out to examine how $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict/ $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict, perceived parenting and their association were affected.

Method: Multilevel regression models were applied to longitudinal data collected among 59 employed mothers and 77 employed fathers with a 3-year-old child.

Results: We found that $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict/ $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict increased most strongly among highly educated mothers, followed by lower/medium educated mothers and highly educated fathers, while no increase or even a decrease was observed among lower/medium educated fathers. We found some associations between $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict/ $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict with perceived parenting, but these were not consistent for fathers nor mothers, nor across waves. Although overall heightened levels of conflict did strongly not spill-over to mothers' and fathers' perceived parenting, our results showed that for some parents, in particular those with high working hours, conflict clearly increased with negative implications for their perceived parenting.

Conclusion: With some noteworthy exceptions, increases in $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict/ $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict did not coincide with decreases in perceived parenting, indicating that most parents did not let increased conflict between work and family affect their parenting.

Keywords: Covid-19, work-family conflict, parenting, gender inequalities, educational differences, the Netherlands

Introduction

The Covid-19 pandemic, and the social distancing regulations aimed at slowing down and preventing the spread of the disease, have impacted, and remain to impact, families across the world. Many countries went into (partial) lockdown in March 2020, which strongly influenced key aspects of life. In the Netherlands, from the 16th of March 2020 onwards, all schools and day-care facilities closed. For a period of almost two months most children in the Netherlands were unable to go to school and day-care centers, and all other informal forms of childcare, such as care by grandparents, were discouraged by the Dutch government. On May 11th schools in the Netherlands were allowed to re-open partially, enabling children to attend school for approximately half of their regular school hours, and from the 8th of June primary schools re-opened entirely. Also, from March 2020 onwards, the Dutch government recommended employees to work from home as much as possible. Although this was not possible for all workers, a large part of the Dutch working population started working from home at least part of their workweek (Von Gaudecker et al., 2020).

These regulations strongly impacted family life, mainly among working parents with pre-school and school-aged children. Normally, children in Dutch primary schools spend on average 25 hours per week in school, and on average another 12 hours at some form of childcare (Roeters & Bucx, 2018). Between the 16th of March and the 8th of June, these hours were all spent at home, leaving the care and the home-schooling responsibilities entirely to the parents. (The exception to this rule were children of parents with essential occupations, such as healthcare workers and supermarket employees, who were allowed to go to school and day-care centers (Verhue & Bouwman, 2020). Around 16% of the families in the Netherlands consist of parents with essential occupations. Unfortunately, no numbers are available on the percentage of children from these families that actually went to school or childcare.)

Prior to the Covid-19 lockdown, many mothers and fathers already experienced conflicts between work and family demands (Shockley et al., 2017). In the literature, two types of work-family conflict are identified: (1) work-to-family conflict (which we have labelled 'W→F-conflict' throughout this manuscript), where obligations from work make it difficult to fulfil family responsibilities, and (2) family-to-work conflict (which we have labelled 'F→W-conflict' throughout this manuscript), where family obligations make it difficult to fulfil work responsibilities (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Given the strongly changed circumstances regarding work and family responsibilities during the lockdown, the first aim of this study is to examine whether, to what extent, and for whom feelings of W→F-conflict and F→W-conflict increased during the Covid-19 lockdown, compared to the period before. There is reason to

assume that both F→W-conflict and W→F-conflict increased, since family responsibilities clearly intensified, while work obligations remained present for many parents.

Given that the division of paid work and childcare is still highly gendered in the Netherlands, as women perform the majority of childcare tasks (Dulk & Yerkes, 2016), we examined differences in (changes in) feelings of W→F-conflict and F→W-conflict between fathers and mothers. In addition, we examined to what extent changes in W→F-conflict and F→W-conflict differed between higher and lower/medium educated parents, the rationale being that these groups not only differ in their parenting practices and values (Lareau, 2002), but also their working hours (CBS, 2020).

The second aim of the current study was to investigate associations between W→F-conflict/F→W-conflict with perceived parenting (positive encouragement, coercive parenting and parent-child relationship), and scrutinize whether and to what extent these associations became stronger during the Covid-19 lockdown. Previous studies showed that parents who experience more conflict between work and family, demonstrated lower quality of parenting behavior (Cooklin et al., 2016; Matejević & Đorđević, 2019). During the lockdown period, associations between conflict and perceived parenting might have been stronger given the fact that parents were expected to be intensively involved with their children's care and school work, while at the same time they could rely less on others for support with childcare (Prime et al., 2020), which increases the likelihood that conflict spills over to perceived parenting.

To answer our research questions, we made use of prospective data. The first wave of data was collected between 2018 to January 2020 in families with both fathers as well as mothers and their 3-year-old child. During the Covid-19 lockdown in early 2020, a second wave of data was collected, again administering questionnaires to the same parents about, among others, their conflict between work and family and their perceptions of their own parenting.

To summarize, we examined (1) whether and to what extent parents experienced increases in W→F-conflict and F→W-conflict, (2) for which groups of parents (mothers versus fathers, higher vs lower/medium educated parents) these increases were most substantial, and (3) whether, to what extent and for whom the association between conflict and perceived parenting changed during the lockdown compared to the period before the lockdown.

Background and hypotheses

Comparing F→W-conflict and W→F-conflict before and during Covid-19 lockdown

The concept of work-family conflict has originally been developed by Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) as the inter-role conflict that arises through conflicting pressures and expectations from the work and family roles. The conflict between work and family can take on two forms; W→F-conflict and F→W-conflict. W→F-conflict refers to the extent to which time devoted to work, and strain created at the workplace interferes with family life, such as not being able to fulfil family responsibilities. F→W-conflict refers to the extent to which time demands and emotional strain that comes from family life interferes with work, such as not being able to meet work-deadlines (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985).

As their names suggests, previous research showed that W→F-conflict is mainly driven by work related aspects, such as (the flexibility of) work hours, while F→W-conflict is more strongly driven by family aspects, such as the age and number of children in the household (Byron, 2005). During the lockdown, especially family responsibilities were intensified, as home-schooling and caring for the children became the full responsibility of parents. At the same time, during the lockdown in the Netherlands, the majority of employees did not experience changes in work pressure (Yerkes et al., 2020) and working hours remained unchanged (Von Gaudecker et al., 2020). Thus, because family obligations intensified most, and work obligations remained unchanged, it is likely that F→W-conflict increased over time. It is also likely that W→F-conflict increased, because work obligations could have hindered the ability to help one's children with home-schooling. However, we expect a weaker increase in W→F-conflict compared to F→W-conflict, as for some parents a reduction in commuting time, and more flexibility in working hours while working from home might have reduced the feeling that work hindered fulfilling parenting tasks. Based on the abovementioned, we expect that especially F→W-conflict, but to a lesser extent also W→F-conflict increased, leading to the hypotheses that *F→W-conflict (H1a) and W→F-conflict (H1b) increased between wave 1 and 2.*

Differences between fathers and mothers in hypothesized increases in F→W-conflict and W→F-conflict

There are reasons to expect differences between fathers and mothers in the extent to which conflict between work and family increased between wave 1 and 2. These hypothesized differences could work in opposite directions, implying stronger increases in conflict among fathers, but also among mothers. Firstly, there is reason to assume that conflict increased most among mothers. The Netherlands is known for its one-and-a-half earner model in which 75% of working women work part-time (compared to 25% of working men), and parenting

tasks are mostly shouldered by mothers (Dulk & Yerkes, 2016; Mills, 2015). One study from the Netherlands already showed that, even though fathers reported being relatively more involved during the Covid-19 period as compared to their relative involvement prior to Covid-19, mothers still performed the majority of childcare tasks, and reduced their hours of leisure to a much larger extent (Yerkes et al., 2020). Based on the above, we hypothesize that *F→W-conflict increased more strongly among mothers than fathers (H2a)*. We can also expect that W→F-conflict increased more strongly among mothers than fathers. Previous research found that mothers, more often than fathers, experience feelings of guilt that their children might suffer from their work commitment (Borelli et al., 2017). This is likely due to internalized gender roles through which mothers feel more responsible for childcare than fathers (Fetterolf & Rudman, 2014). Given that work obligations remained unchanged during the lockdown, mothers in particular might have felt that they were not able to perform all the childcare and home-schooling activities that arose. Findings from among others Singapore, Australia and Italy, indeed indicated that during the lockdown the disbalance between work and family was much more common among mothers than among fathers (Chung et al., 2020; Craig & Churchill, 2020; Del Boca et al., 2020). Therefore, we hypothesise that *W→F-conflict increased more strongly among mothers than fathers (H2b)*.

In contrast, it can also be argued that F→W-conflict and W→F-conflict might have increased more strongly among fathers than among mothers. First, the lockdown implied that in particular many fathers saw a strong relative increase in the hours spend at home in the presence of their children. Before the lockdown, mothers in the Netherlands were already more used to being at home with their children part of the week (CBS, 2020). For fathers, fulfilling one's work obligations during lockdown might have been a bigger challenge than for mothers given the relatively stronger increase of time spend with their children. Prior to the lockdown, many parenting tasks were mainly considered mothers responsibility, while during the lockdown many fathers were also confronted with these tasks. This leads to the following hypothesis: *F→W-conflict increased more strongly among fathers than mothers (H3a)*. It can also be argued that W→F-conflict increased more strongly for fathers than mothers. Men in the Netherlands work more hours than women, on average 40 hours per week, compared to 26 hours per week among women (Roeters & Bucx, 2018) and men also more often work overtime (García, 2017; Van Echtelt et al., 2009). Furthermore, despite that mothers still do the majority of childcare tasks, fathers' participation in these tasks has increased over the last years (Dotti Sani & Treas, 2016). Therefore, fathers also have to combine work and family roles, and previous research showed that fathers, just as mothers, report conflict between these two roles (Shockley et al., 2017). Men in particular experience a strong ideal worker norm, which expects employees to be fully committed and available to their work (Acker, 1990, 2012). Given the higher working hours of men in the Netherlands, it is possible

that, during the lockdown, fathers were even more likely than mothers to experience tensions in their ability to fulfil the additional childcare and home-schooling responsibilities. As such, we hypothesize that *W→F-conflict increased more strongly among fathers than mothers (H3b)*.

Differences by educational level in increases in F→W-conflict and W→F-conflict

Beyond differences by parents' sex, feelings of conflict between work and family might also differ by parents' educational level. There are two interrelated reasons to expect that higher educated parents experienced more W→F-conflict and F→W-conflict, in particular during the lockdown period, compared to lower/medium educated parents. First of all, it can be expected that higher educated parents experience more F→W-conflict and W→F-conflict because they work more hours and work more overtime, and higher working hours are related to greater W→F-conflict and F→W-conflict (Byron, 2005). In the Netherlands, higher educated women work on average 30 hours while medium educated women work 25 hours and lower educated women work 20 hours a week (CBS, 2020). Among men these numbers are 37, 36 and 31 hours respectively (CBS, 2020). Higher educated individuals also work more overtime than their lower educated counterparts (Van Echtelt et al., 2009).

Secondly, we expect higher educated parents to experience more F→W-conflict and more W→F-conflict because they adhere to a more intensive parenting ideology compared to lower educated parents (Lareau, 2002). Higher educated parents more actively try to stimulate the development of their children through various activities, while lower educated parents generally believe in the process of natural growth and simultaneously may feel less capable of supporting their children with their homework. Because of these differences, higher educated parents are on average spend more time in caring for their children, playing with their children and helping their children (Sayer et al., 2004).

We expect that this combination of intensive parenting ideologies with long working hours gave highly educated parents the feeling that they could not fulfil both of these tasks adequately during the lockdown. This leads to the hypothesis that *the increases in F→W-conflict and W→F-conflict are stronger for highly educated parents compared to lower/medium educated parents (H4)*.

The associations between F→W-conflict and W→F-conflict with perceived parenting

Previous studies showed that parents who experience more W→F-conflict and F→W-conflict show more negative parenting such as an authoritarian parenting style (Matejević & Đorđević, 2019), hostile parenting behavior (Cooklin et al., 2015, 2016) and negative communication (such as yelling to the child) (Eynde et al., 2000), less positive parenting such as less parental consistency and warmth (Cooklin et al., 2015, 2016) and more negative

feelings towards the child (Cooklin et al., 2015, 2016) and lower perceived relationship quality (Vieira et al., 2016). In this study, we examined three different aspects of perceived parenting, namely positive encouragement, coercive discipline, and the parent-child relationship. Positive encouragement is the extent to which parents encourage and praise positive behaviour of their children and this is associated with, among others, fewer child misbehaviour (Webster-Stratton, 2007). Coercive parenting refers to the extent to which parents, among others, shout to or spank their children and is associated with a wide range of negative child outcomes, such as low self-esteem and depressive feelings (Hoskins, 2014). The parent-child relationship in this study refers to the positive feelings that parents derive from the relationship with their child (Sanders et al., 2014). A positive parent child relationship is essential for children's well-being and development (Lamb, 2011).

There are two main pathways through which $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict and $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict could be associated with perceived parenting. The first pathway is through parents' stress and negative mood. Previous research found that $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict and $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict are strongly positively linked to several types of stress, such as psychological stress, parental stress and emotional exhaustion (Allen et al., 2000; Nohe et al., 2015; Yavas et al., 2008). This link between $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict and $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict and stress is caused by the overload between the demands stemming from the two roles (Nohe et al., 2015; Yavas et al., 2008). Stress stemming from the conflict between work and family can impact parents' mood and make them more irritated and frustrated (Bolger et al., 1989; Repetti, 1999). This negative mood stemming from stress might influence perceived parenting because it relates to the threshold parents have in responding to child's positive and negative behaviour; parents with a negative mood are found to be more rejecting and punishing towards their children and have fewer positive interactions with their children (Belsky et al., 1995). Therefore, this negative mood stemming from $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict and $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict might relate to more coercive parenting and a lower quality of the parent-child relationship.

The second pathway through which $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict and $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict could influence perceived parenting is through social withdrawal. Previous research showed that one strategy that parents use to deal with stress stemming from their work, is social withdrawal at home (Repetti et al., 2009; Repetti & Wang, 2017; Repetti & Wood, 1997). This strategy could also be used to deal with stress stemming from $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict and $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict. One type of social withdrawal, namely emotional withdrawal, implies that parents are physically present but emotionally absent (Ranson, 2001). These emotionally absent parents might not have the energy and attention to praise their child for good behaviour (positive encouragement) or might spend less time playing and hugging with their child (which is an aspect of a positive parent-child relationship). To summarize, we expect that negative mood, and social withdrawal can be a response to stress stemming from both $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict and

F→W-conflict and as such may function as an underlying mechanism in the relationship with perceived parenting. Therefore, we expect that *greater levels of F→W-conflict and W→F-conflict are associated with less positive perceived parenting (H5)*.

Perceived parenting during the Covid-19 lockdown

Concerns about parenting increased during the Covid-19 lockdown (Prime et al., 2020). One possible explanation for this concern is that research from previous crises, such as the Great Farm Crisis in the 1980 in the United States, or the global economic crisis in 2008, showed that during these crises quality of parenting generally decreased (Prime et al., 2020). During crises, parents experience many sources of stress and uncertainty. During the Covid-19 crisis, parents might have had financial worries, were worried about their health or the health of their relatives and had an increasing amount of parenting tasks to fulfil. In line with the family stress model, these types of stress might have resulted in lower quality of parenting (Conger et al., 2000), such as more harsh parenting and less sensitive and supportive parenting (Masarik & Conger, 2017).

During the lockdown, parents spend more time with their children (Verhue & Bouwman, 2020). With regard to the quality of the parent-child relationship, under normal circumstances, more contact between parents and children is generally related to more favourable perceptions of the parent-child relationship as rated by the parent (Roeters et al., 2010). However, the experiences of stress might have hindered parents to reap the benefits from intensified contact in terms of increases in the perceived quality of the parent-child relationship. Furthermore, the parents in our sample had to combine their time with their children with fulfilling work obligations, and research showed that when activities with children are frequently interrupted by work duties, perceptions of the quality of the parent-child relationship decrease (Roeters et al., 2010). One study that we are aware of showed that during the lockdown in the UK parents actually often had the feeling that the relationship with their children improved (Perelli-Harris & Walzenbach, 2020). However, this study used a retrospective measure, also included parents that did not work, and included older children. Therefore we argue that these findings should not be leading in formulating hypotheses for our sample. Altogether, we hypothesize that *perceived parenting became less positive during wave 2 compared to wave 1 (H6)*.

Stronger linkages between F→W-conflict/W→F-conflict with perceived parenting during the Covid-19 lockdown

On top of a possible general tendency towards less positive perceived parenting, we expected that during the Covid-19 lockdown, associations between F→W-conflict/W→F-conflict and perceived parenting would be stronger than those assessed during the pre-

Covid-19 period. Prior to the lockdown, parents who experienced F→W-conflict/W→F-conflict might have been more successful in maintaining positive levels of perceived parenting, since they had more opportunities to handle their frustrations and let off steam. They could leave the house for example for sport activities which could reduce their frustration, while during the lockdown many sport activities were cancelled. Also, during the lockdown in the Netherlands, people were urged to avoid social contact (yet not prohibited), while social contact and social support has been found to prevent against the negative consequences of for example high workload and financial stress on parenting (Lee et al., 2009; Leinenen et al., 2003). Parents who experienced W→F-conflict/F→W-conflict were not able to bring their children to the grandparents, whom under normal circumstances are often a source of support (Roeters & Bux, 2018). Furthermore, during the lockdown parenting and working were, for most parents, not separate spheres; children could interrupt work meetings and work obligations could interrupt moments with children. As a consequence, parents might have been less successful in preventing F→W-conflict/W→F-conflict to spill over to perceived parenting. Parents therefore might not have been able to provide their children with positive encouragement or might not have been able to refrain from harsh parenting (Prime et al., 2020). With regard to the quality of the parent-child relationship, parents who experienced a lot of F→W-conflict/W→F-conflict might have felt more frustrated by the interference of their children during work time, which might have resulted in more negative feelings towards their children. Based on the above, we expect that *the associations between F→W-conflict/W→F-conflict and perceived parenting are stronger during wave 2 than during wave 1 (H7)*.

Methods

Participants

In the current study, data were used from an interdisciplinary research project investigating the role of fathers and mothers in young children's development. A total of 104 three-year old children (51 boys, *M* age = 41.43 months, *SD* age = 3.93) and their parents (104 mothers and 104 fathers) from the city region of *blinded for review* participated in the study. Families were recruited by a team of student assistants at (indoor) playgrounds, national festivities, swimming pools, libraries, and general outdoors. Eligibility criteria were (1) having a three year-old child; (2) being an two-parent residential family, and (3) having a Dutch native background (mother and father of both parents were born in the Netherlands). We recruited 53 families with a relatively high educational background (at least one of the parents obtained higher vocational training or (post) university degree) and 51 families with a

relatively low/medium educational background (neither parents more than intermediate vocational training).

The first questionnaires were filled in between May 2018 and January 2020, when the child was three years old. During the Covid-19 lockdown, on April 15 all participants from the initial wave were asked to fill in a second online questionnaire. By May 11—100 families of the initial sample had replied (96%). Data from four families were removed from our analyses because the parents separated in between the two waves which makes their situation less comparable to those of the majority two-parent households. From the 96 remaining families, we have information from both mother and father within 90 families, and from the remaining 6 families we solely have information from the mother.

We only include those parents who were working in both wave 1 and 2, because we are interested in $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict/ $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict, on which information is missing when respondents do not work. In the first wave, 72 of the mothers and 90 of the fathers in our sample were working. In wave 2, 64 of the mothers and 79 fathers were working. This resulted in a total sample of 59 mothers and 77 fathers who were employed during both waves. This selection reduced especially the proportion of lower/medium educated mothers, since 27 of the 56 (48%) lower/medium educated mothers did not work in either one or both waves, compared to 10 of the 40 (25%) higher educated mothers. A similar, although weaker, pattern was also found for the fathers in our sample - 15 out of the 56 (27%) lower/medium educated were excluded based on this criterium in comparison to 4 out of the 40 (10%) higher educated fathers.

Procedure

At the first wave of data collection, all families were visited at home by two trained observers. During the first 30 minutes of each parent-child session, the parent was asked to fill in an online questionnaire using a tablet. The observers did not interfere with the parent while they were filling in the questionnaire. Children were instructed to play for themselves, while their parent filled in the questionnaire. During the lockdown period, due to Covid-19-regulations, the families could not be visited in their homes. Therefore, they received the online questionnaire through email. Both measurements T1 and T2 of this study were approved by the Ethics Committee of *blinded for review*. All parents provided informed consent for participating in the study.

Measures

$W \rightarrow F$ -conflict was assessed by using the work-family conflict scale as developed and validated by Netemeyer and colleagues (1996). Respondents were asked to what extent the

following situations applied to them: 1) The demands of my work interfere with my home and family life; 2) The amount of time my job takes up makes it difficult to fulfil family responsibilities; 3) Things I want to do at home do not get done because of the demands my job puts on me; 4) My job produces strain that makes it difficult to fulfil family duties; 5) Due to work-related duties, I have to make changes to my plans for family activities. Respondents could respond on a seven-point scale ranging from 1) totally disagree to 7) totally agree. Cronbach's alpha showed high internal consistency for both mothers (0.84) and fathers (0.90). At wave 2 the Cronbach's alpha's were 0.94 for mothers and 0.89 for fathers. A higher score on this index reflects higher levels of W→F-conflict.

F→W-conflict was assessed by using the other half of the work-family conflict scale (Netemeyer et al., 1996). Respondents were asked to what extent the following situations applied to them: 1) The demands of my family or partner interfere with my work activities; 2) I have to forgo work activities, because of the time demanded by my family life; 3) Things I want to do at work do not get done because of the demands my family or partner puts on me; 4) My family life disturbs my work responsibilities, such as being at work in time, finishing daily tasks and working overtime; 5) Family related stress disturbs my ability to fulfil work related obligations. Respondents could respond on a seven-point scale ranging from 1) totally disagree to 7) totally agree. Cronbach's alpha of this scale is 0.79 for mothers and 0.87 for fathers. At wave 2 the Cronbach's alpha's were 0.92 for mothers and 0.93 for fathers. A higher score on this index reflects higher levels of F→W-conflict.

Perceived parenting was assessed using the self-reported Parenting and Family Adjustment Scale (PAFAS) (Sanders et al., 2014). Parents were asked to assess a number of items related to perceived parenting, and to indicate to what extent these were applicable in the past four weeks. Parents could answer on a scale from 1 to 4, in which 1 means this aspect did not apply to them at all, and 4 indicates this strongly applied to them. They were asked to consider these perceived parenting in general regarding all their children. We used three subscales of the PAFAS, namely coercive discipline, positive encouragement and the parent-child relationship.

Positive encouragement was assessed with the following items: 1) I give my child a treat, reward or fun activity for behaving well; 2) I praise my child when they behave well; 3) I give my child attention (e.g. a hug, wink, smile or kiss) when they behave well. At the first wave the Cronbach's alpha was 0.68 for mothers and 0.57 for fathers. At wave 2, the Cronbach's alpha was 0.67 for mothers and 0.67 for fathers.

Coercive discipline was measured with the following items: 1) I shout or get angry with my child when they misbehave; 2) I try to make my child feel bad (e.g. guilt or shame) for misbehaving to teach them a lesson; 3) I spank (smack) my child when they misbehave; 4) I argue with my child about their behaviour/attitude; 5) I get annoyed with my child. At the

first wave the Cronbach's alpha was 0.61 for mothers and 0.62 for fathers. During wave 2, the Cronbach's alpha was 0.60 for mothers and 0.59 for fathers.

Parent-child relationship was measured with the following items: 1) I chat/talk with my child; 2) I enjoy giving my child hugs, kisses and cuddles; 3) I am proud of my child; 4) I enjoy spending time with my child; 5) I have a good relationship with my child. At the first wave the Cronbach's alpha was 0.76 for mothers and 0.55 for fathers. During wave 2, the Cronbach's alpha was 0.76 for mothers and 0.69 for fathers.

Parental educational level is assessed by asking respondents about the highest level of education they completed. We recoded this into a binary variable in which primary school, secondary school or intermediate vocational training is considered lower/medium education and in which higher vocational training or (post) university degree is considered high education.

Control variables In the models in which we assess changes in F→W-conflict and W→F-conflict we control for whether *a child was born* in between the waves, as conflict between work and family generally increases when a new child is born (Byron, 2005). In the models in which we assessed the relationship between W→F-conflict, F→W-conflict and perceived parenting, we control for *parents' educational level* and *the presence of a younger sibling* in the household. We include this information because having younger children is related to higher conflict between work and family (Allen & Finkelstein, 2014). Also several aspects of perceived parenting, such as the parent-child relationship and the way that parents punish their children change when children get older (Collins & Madsen, 2009).

Preliminary analyses

We assessed multicollinearity to test whether W→F-conflict and F→W-conflict could be added simultaneously in the same model. Despite the relatively high correlation between F→W-conflict and W→F-conflict of between 0.48 and 0.61 (in the different subsamples/waves), the variance inflation factor (VIF) is between 1.33 and 2.08 (in the different subsamples/waves), which is below the critical VIF value of 2.5 (Thompson et al., 2017). We therefore decided to include W→F-conflict and F→W-conflict simultaneously in our models. We detected no univariate outliers for increase in W→F-conflict and F→W-conflict. We assessed if there were multivariate outliers through Mahalanobis distance (De Maesschalck et al., 2000) and removed, depending on the model analysed, between 1 and 6 cases. Comparing our models with and without outliers showed that with outliers included there were significant associations for fathers in wave 1 between F→W-conflict and a lower quality parent-child relationship and less positive encouragement, which reduced in effect size and became insignificant when removing outliers. Lastly, we inspected the distribution of the main variables in our model and noticed that in almost half of the cases, parents value

their parent-child relationship with a 4, the highest possible value. In our preliminary analyses, we therefore dealt with this outcome in two steps: first we ran a logistic regression model on the likelihood of reporting a 4 or not, and after this, we ran a linear model on all respondents who did not report a value of 4. This is comparable to zero-inflated Poisson models, which account for the excess of zeros (Coxe et al., 2009). Given that these results were largely comparable to the regular linear model, for ease of interpretation, and conciseness we report the results from the normal linear models in our main analyses below.

Analyses

To examine changes in F→W-conflict and W→F-conflict, we first descriptively show differences in levels of F→W-conflict and W→F-conflict at wave 1 and 2, and we report on the significance of these differences based on paired t-tests. Differences in increase by parents' sex and education are assessed with multilevel regression models, which take the nested structure of our data of parents within households into account. Next, we ran linear regression models to assess the association between W→F-conflict, F→W-conflict and perceived parenting separately at wave 1 and 2. We furthermore ran a multilevel model on measurements nested within individuals, and included an interaction term between W→F-conflict/F→W-conflict and wave to test our hypothesis that associations between W→F-conflict/F→W-conflict and perceived parenting are stronger during wave 2 in comparison to wave 1.

Results

Changes in F→W-conflict and W→F-conflict between wave 1 and 2

As expected, based on H1a, our results indicated that F→W-conflict increased significantly between wave 1 and 2. However, these increases were not seen for all of the subgroups of parents within our study (see Figure 1a). We found that F→W-conflict significantly increased among highly educated mothers (an increase of $M=1.5$ points), among lower/medium educated mothers (increase of $M=1.1$), and among highly educated fathers (increase of $M=0.7$) (see Figure 1a). However, we did not find a significant increase among lower/medium educated fathers (increase of $M=0.2$ point). Next, we also saw the expected increase in W→F-conflict (H1b) (see Figure 1B), but only for one subgroups of parents. We found that W→F-conflict increased significantly among highly educated mothers ($M=1.2$ points increase), while no significant increase was observed among lower/medium educated mothers and higher educated fathers. Contrary to our expectations, among lower/medium educated fathers we observed a significant decrease (of $M=0.5$ points).

Figure 1 F→W-conflict (A) and W→F-conflict (B) at the two different waves, for fathers and mothers of different educational levels. Significance of difference between waves based on paired t-tests are displayed. *Note: + $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$*

We formulated two contrasting hypotheses with respect to differences between mothers and fathers in the increase in F→W-conflict and W→F-conflict (H2a/b versus H3a/b). Our results as depicted in Table 1 revealed that the increase in F→W-conflict was significantly weaker among fathers than among mothers ($B = -0.848$, $SE = 0.246$). Regarding W→F-conflict, we also found a significantly weaker increase among fathers than among mothers ($B = -0.957$, $SE = 0.298$). As such, our results provide support for the hypothesis that the increase would be stronger for mothers than for fathers (H2a/b and not H3a/b).

Secondly, we expected that the increase in F→W-conflict and W→F-conflict would be stronger among highly educated parents as opposed to lower/medium educated parents

(H4). As shown in Table 1, we indeed found that the increase in F→W-conflict is weaker among lower/medium educated parents ($B=-0.439$, $SE=0.267$, borderline significant). Regarding W→F-conflict, we found a significantly weaker increase among lower/medium educated parents ($B=-0.695$, $SE=0.300$). Our results are thus in line with hypothesis 4.

Table 1 Multilevel regression model on increase in F→W-conflict and W→F-conflict

	Increase family-work conflict		Increase work-family conflict	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Intercept	1.509***	0.238	1.006***	0.281
Education= lower/medium	-0.439+	0.267	-0.695*	0.300
Parent= father	-0.848**	0.246	-0.957**	0.298
Birth of a child= yes	-0.051	0.338	0.161	0.372
<i>R</i> ²	0.024		0.027	
N Families	136		136	
N individuals	88		88	

Note: + $p<0.1$, * $p<0.05$, ** $p<0.01$, *** $p<0.001$. The *R*² refers to the marginal *R*² for the fixed effects.

Changes in perceived parenting

In Figure 2 we turn to our univariate descriptions for perceived parenting. During wave 1, fathers and mothers rated their positive encouragement on average relatively high ($M=3.1$ among mothers and $M=3.0$ among fathers on a 4-point Likert scale). In addition, most fathers and mothers indicated low levels of coercive parenting behaviors: on average, fathers and mothers scored $M=1.5$ on a 4-point Likert scale. The parent-child relationship, as aforementioned, was rated on average very highly by both fathers and mothers: on average mother scores a $M=3.9$ and fathers $M=3.7$ on a 4-point Likert scale.

In contrast to our expectations (H6), overall, we only saw very small changes in perceived parenting between wave 1 and 2 (See Figure 2). Among mothers, overall, we saw no significant differences in positive encouragement (stable at $M=3.07$), coerciveness increased slightly from $M=1.54$ to $M=1.59$ (marginally significant), while the perceived quality of the mother-child relationship decreased slightly but significantly from $M=3.89$ to $M=3.81$. For fathers, we saw no significant changes in their levels of positive encouragement, parental coerciveness and parent-child relationship.

Figure 2 Self-reported perceived parenting at the two different waves for fathers and mothers. Significance of differences between waves based on paired t-tests are displayed. Note: + $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

The relationship between $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict, $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict with perceived parenting

Table 2 displays the regression results for the relationship between $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict, $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict and perceived parenting at both wave 1 and 2. Our hypothesis was that *higher levels of $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict/ $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict would be associated with less positive perceived parenting (H5)*. For mothers during the first wave, we found no significant association between $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict and positive encouragement. In line with our hypothesis, we did find that higher levels of $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict were associated with higher levels of coercive parenting behavior ($B = 0.114$; $SE = 0.036$) and with lower levels of the quality of the parent-child relationship ($B = -0.056$; $SE = 0.021$). Turning to association between $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict and our three measures of perceived parenting, we found no significant associations among mothers during the first wave.

Regarding the associations for mothers during wave 2, just as during the first wave, no significant association between mothers' $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict and positive encouragement was found. In line with our wave 1 association, we found a significant positive association between $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict and coercive parenting behavior for mothers at wave 2 ($B = 0.060$, $SE = 0.027$). During wave 2, the association between $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict and the parent-child

relationship was no longer present. In addition, and again in line with the findings for wave 1, we found no association between mothers' $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict with perceived parenting during wave 2.

With regard to the findings for fathers during wave 1, we did not find any significant associations between fathers' $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict on the one hand and our three measures of perceived parenting on the other hand. Turning to $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict, contrary to our expectations, we found that for fathers higher levels of $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict were related to more positive encouragement ($B=0.083$; $SE=0.043$, borderline significant) during wave 1. We found no significant association between fathers' $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict on the one hand and coercive parenting and the parent-child relationship on the other.

When considering wave 2, and in line with the associations found for wave 1, our data revealed no associations between fathers' $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict and perceived parenting. With regard to $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict, we found no significant associations between fathers' $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict on the one hand and coerciveness and positive encouragement on the other. However, we did find a significant negative association between $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict and the parent-child relationship; fathers who experience more $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict reported a significantly lower quality of the parent-child relationship ($B=-0.081$; $SE=0.026$).

To summarize, these findings only partly support hypothesis 5 that greater levels of $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict and $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict are associated with less positive levels of perceived parenting: for mothers we found that $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict is associated with more coercive parenting during both waves and a lower quality of the parent-child relationship during wave 1. For fathers, $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict is positively related to positive encouragement during the first wave (borderline significant), and is negatively related to the quality of the parent-child relationship during wave 2.

Differences in the associations between $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict/ $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict and our perceived parenting measures across the waves.

We expected that the association between $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict/ $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict and perceived parenting would be stronger during the Covid-19 wave than during wave 1 ($H7$). The multilevel models on measurements nested within individuals (results available upon request), in which we included an interaction term between $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict and $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict and wave, showed only one significant interaction effect: The association between fathers' $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict and the quality of parent-child relationship was significantly higher during the Covid-19 wave. No other significant interaction effects were found, indicating that the association between $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict, $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict and perceived parenting overall did not change significantly in the Covid-19 wave compared to the initial wave. Thus, we found relatively little evidence for hypothesis 7.

Table 2 Linear regression models on perceived parenting among mothers and fathers during wave 1 and Covid-19 wave

	Positive encouragement				Coercive parenting behavior				Parent-child relationship			
	Wave 1		Covid-19 wave		Wave 1		Covid-19 wave		Wave 1		Covid-19 wave	
Mothers	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Intercept	3.314***	0.216	3.106***	0.198	1.341***	0.104	1.378***	0.116	4.096***	0.062	3.897***	0.086
F→W-conflict	-0.062	0.076	0.014	0.048	0.114**	0.036	0.060*	0.027	-0.056**	0.021	-0.026	0.021
W→F-conflict	0.026	0.056	0.005	0.053	-0.014	0.03	-0.019	0.029	0.001	0.017	0.029	0.022
Education= high	-0.137	0.114	-0.228+	0.131	0.007	0.061	0.021	0.075	-0.04	0.035	-0.085	0.056
Younger sibling= no	-0.117	0.116	0.007	0.128	-0.091	0.06	0.055	0.074	-0.039	0.036	-0.012	0.056
R2	0.060		0.059		0.223		0.097		0.185		0.080	
N	53		58		55		57		55		56	
Fathers												
Intercept	2.971***	0.135	2.946***	0.169	1.521***	0.105	1.372***	0.095	3.905***	0.073	4.075***	0.076
F→W-conflict	-0.063	0.058	0.002	0.057	-0.005	0.043	0.039	0.033	-0.035	0.029	-0.017	0.026
W→F-conflict	0.083+	0.043	0.021	0.058	0.015	0.029	0.022	0.033	0.002	0.022	-0.081**	0.026
Education= high	-0.013	0.102	-0.063	0.125	0.005	0.076	-0.016	0.074	-0.012	0.053	-0.066	0.058
Younger sibling= no	-0.086	0.093	0.007	0.116	-0.077	0.07	-0.028	0.067	-0.044	0.05	-0.021	0.054
R2	0.065		0.006		0.023		0.080		0.046		0.283	
N	74		72		74		73		72		71	

Note: + $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; F→W-conflict, Family-work-conflict; W→F-conflict, Work-family-conflict. Sample sizes differ per model due to different numbers of multivariate outliers.

Increases in W→F-conflict and F→W-conflict but only for very few parents a deterioration in perceived parenting

Overall, we found substantial increases in W→F-conflict and F→W-conflict, while perceived parenting slightly decreased, and the association between conflict and perceived parenting did not intensify. In supplementary material (SM) Figure 1 to 4 and SM Table 1 we took a closer look at the associations to see whether this pattern was indeed present for all parents in our sample. We saw that despite increasing levels of W→F-conflict and F→W-conflict, most parents were able to maintain relatively high levels of positive perceived parenting. However, there were some exceptions, as for example there is a small amount of mothers who experienced both high levels of W→F-conflict/F→W-conflict and low levels of the quality of the parent-child relationship during wave 2 (see SM Figure 1 and 3 left panel) and more coercive parenting during wave 2 (see SM Figure 1 and 3 middle panel). Looking closer at these mothers (SM Table 1), the only thing that stands out is that they are working relatively more hours (marginally significant) compared to mothers who do not report lower levels of perceived parenting. For fathers, we identified a subgroup who experienced high levels of W→F-conflict and a lower quality of the parent-child relationship in wave 2 (see SM Figure 2 left panel). When looking closer at this group (SM Table 1), our results show that their partners worked significantly more hours than the partners of the fathers who did not report lower levels of perceived parenting. These findings suggest that conflict between work and family does spill over to parenting, but mainly in those couples in which mothers working hours are relatively high.

Conclusion and discussion

The Covid-19 lockdown, that started in March 2020 in the Netherlands, substantially changed the lives of families with young children, as schools and child-care facilities closed and parents were asked to work from home as much as possible. Given these circumstances, our study firstly aimed to examine whether, to what extent, and for whom (by sex and educational attainment) work-to-family conflict (W→F-conflict) and family-to-work conflict (F→W-conflict) increased from the pre-Covid-19 period to the lockdown period. Second, our study aimed to examine whether, to what extent, and for whom the associations between W→F-conflict/F→W-conflict and perceived parenting became stronger over time.

Increase in W→F-conflict as well as F→W-conflict

Our first finding is that both F→W-conflict and W→F-conflict increased during the lockdown compared to the period before the lockdown, but only for some parents: highly educated mothers experienced the strongest increase in conflict, followed by lower/medium educated mothers and higher educated fathers, while lower/medium educated fathers did not

experience an increase, or even experienced a decrease in conflict. This pattern was found for both $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict as well as $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict. As expected, $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict increased to a stronger extent than $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict.

Interestingly, as we did not expect that conflict would become less for any of our respondents, our results showed that $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict decreased among lower/medium educated fathers. Reductions in work hours cannot explain this finding, given that, in preliminary analyses, we did not find an association between changes in working hours and changes in $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict. While inspecting our data for possible explanations, we found that lower/medium educated fathers in our sample often had a partner who worked less hours than the highly educated fathers did. In combination with the notion that lower/medium educated parents generally hold more traditional views on gender roles (Pampel, 2011), this could be an explanation why, specifically among the lower/medium educated couples, the gendered division of childcare further intensified during the lockdown. These lower/medium educated fathers thus did not have to juggle the combination of parenting and work and therefore did not strongly experienced $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict.

The spill-over from $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict and $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict to perceived parenting

The second aim of our study was to examine whether $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict and $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict spilled-over into perceived parenting, and to what extent these associations became stronger during the Covid-19 wave. For mothers we found that higher levels of $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict were associated with a lower quality of the parent-child relationship during wave 1 and with more coercive parenting during both wave 1 and the Covid-19 wave. We found that fathers, who experienced more $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict during the Covid-19 lockdown, reported lower quality of the parent-child relationship. However, with the exception of our finding that the association between fathers' $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict and the quality of the parent-child relationship became more negative during the second wave, associations between conflict and our three measures of perceived parenting did not change significantly. Despite the strongly changed societal context, and despite increased experiences of conflict, parents were able to maintain positive levels of perceived parenting. These findings could indicate that parents put great efforts into preventing the lockdown situation from harming their parenting. At the time of our data collection, the lockdown was relatively short-lived, and parents likely considered the lockdown as a temporary situation, and were therefore able to cope with the situation and to avoid a stronger spill-over from $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict/ $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict to perceived parenting. At the time, there was also a strong feeling of country-wide solidarity and a feeling of a shared burden (Ridder et al., 2020), which might have given parents the motivation to cope with heightened feelings of work-family conflict. Possibly during the second lockdown that the

Netherlands experienced, the spill-over from $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict/ $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict to perceived parenting might have intensified, as this feeling of solidarity diminished and parents in general might have felt more exhausted.

That said, our sample did reveal that there are certain parents for whom heightened levels of $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict/ $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict do coincide with reductions in the quality of the parent-child relationship and increases in coercive parenting. Closer inspection of these subgroups of parents suggested that these were couples in which mothers' work hours were relatively high. Although we recommend future studies to examine these associations using larger samples, these findings do seem to suggest that the spill-over from conflict to perceived parenting is likely conditional upon mothers' working hours.

Even though associations between $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict/ $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict and perceived parenting did not deteriorate for the majority of our sample, this does not necessarily imply that other domains of parents' life were not affected. Albeit beyond the scope of the current paper, prior studies have revealed that higher levels of $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict/ $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict are related to poorer health, lower subjective well-being, and more depression (Amstad et al., 2011). In addition, higher levels of $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict/ $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict are also related to lower satisfaction at work and lowered work related performance, as well as lowered family satisfaction (Amstad et al., 2011).

Limitations

Although the findings of this study provide relevant insight into parents' work and family conflict and perceived parenting before and during the Covid-19 lockdown, there are some limitations that need to be taken into account when interpreting our findings. The first limitation is that our study made use of self-reported measures of perceived parenting, which might have led to social desirable answers (Putnick, 2019). In general, parents might have reported more positively about their own parenting behaviour. In addition, in particular those parents who experienced a lot of conflict and stress, might not have been able to accurately reflect on their parenting. If this is true, the associations we found in the current study might actually be an underestimation of the true associations. Although we had preferred to make use of observational data on parenting, the Covid-restrictions did not allow us to visit the families in their homes to collect these data.

Secondly, the Cronbach's alpha's for some of our parenting scales (coercive discipline for fathers at the Covid-19 wave, positive encouragement for fathers at wave 1, and the parent-child relationship at the Covid-19 wave) were below .60, which suggests poor internal consistency among the items of the different subscales. These Cronbach's alpha's were largely comparable for fathers and mothers, yet slightly lower among fathers. However, these alpha values are comparable with previous research that used the same scales with

mainly mothers (Morawska et al., 2019). In addition, studies have shown that using only a small number of items, such as in our study, generally results in lower Cronbach's alpha's (Cortina, 1993).

Thirdly, the Covid-19 pandemic hit all our respondents. As such we did not have a control group of parents who did not experience the lockdown in the second wave of data collection. Therefore, we cannot conclude that the changes in $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict and $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict that we reported in this study are attributable to Covid-19 and its regulations.

Directions for future research

Our dataset consisted solely of two-parent residential families. In our sample, therefore, parents could at least to some extent share the burden of home-schooling between them, which generally is related to lower $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict (Moilanen et al., 2019). Our findings might therefore not be generalizable to single parents, where $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict/ $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict might have increased even more and the spill-over to perceived parenting might have been more difficult to prevent. Future research to the experiences of single parents would be useful.

In this study we did not have information on whether respondents worked from home during the lockdown. However, parents who were able to work from home might show different patterns in comparison to those who were not. On the one hand, working from home might have increased $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict/ $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict, because all activities had to take place at the same physical location. Parents working from home and home-schooling their children at the same time might have constantly been confronted with the request from both contexts which might have also impacted their parenting. On the other hand, parents who worked from home were more flexible in fulfilling their work-related duties, allowing them to make time for their children in between performing work tasks and vice versa. Future studies could investigate whether findings are different for those parents who were and those who were not working from home. Relatedly, we also do not have information on whether parents worked in essential sectors and were thus allowed to bring their children to school or childcare, which in the Netherlands was labelled as 'emergency care'. The ability to bring your children to these emergency care facilities likely reduced $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict/ $F \rightarrow W$ -conflict and may have buffered against the negative expected consequences for parenting.

General conclusion

To conclude, findings from this study clearly showed that, amongst all mothers and amongst highly educated fathers, the conflicts that parents experienced between fulfilling work duties and family responsibilities intensified in the period from before to during the Covid-19 lockdown in the Netherlands. Overall, we did not find much evidence that associations between $W \rightarrow F$ -conflict and perceived parenting became stronger between the waves. This

optimistically indicates that most parents were able not to let heightened levels of conflict interfere with their parenting. That said, for a small subsample of parents – our findings suggest couples in which mothers' working hours were relatively high – heightened levels of conflict did relate to more detrimental parenting. These findings suggest that it would be important, during future lockdowns, that measures are taken to alleviate conflict between work and family roles especially among mothers who work long hours. Cross-national comparison showed that countries differed in the extent of governmental support they provided to families during lockdown (Koslowski et al., 2020). For example, several countries, such as Belgium, offered paid parental leave during the lockdown. Such measures may help to reduce work-family conflict during lockdowns. Also from the side of employers, more support for combining work and family roles, and in general greater compassion, could buffer against conflict between work and family roles (Vaziri et al., 2020).

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Supplementary material

Supplementary Material Figure 1 W→F-conflict and parenting for mothers

Supplementary Material Figure 2 W→F-conflict and parenting for fathers

Supplementary Material Figure 3 F→W-conflict and parenting for mothers

Supplementary Material Figure 4 F→W-conflict and parenting for fathers

Supplementary Material Table 1 Characteristics of those respondents who reported relatively low perceived parenting at wave 2^a

		Relatively low perceived parenting at wave 2 ^a					
		No		Yes		Difference	
		<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>p-value</i>	
Mothers	Working hours	24.95	8.13	28.84	5.91	0.065	+
	Working hours partner	31.09	13.41	31.31	13.18	0.961	
	WFC	3.32	1.64	3.73	1.27	0.353	
	FWC	3.33	1.67	4.16	0.94	0.023	*
	Education (0=med/low. 1=high)	0.43	0.5	0.54	0.51	0.538	
	N	48		13			
Fathers	Working hours	31.25	14.57	34.6	5.2	0.147	
	Working hours partner	16.15	13.53	23.83	13.3	0.041	*
	WFC	2.59	1.25	3.65	1.39	0.006	**
	FWC	2.59	1.42	3.58	1.5	0.016	*
	Education (0=med/low, 1=high)	0.37	0.49	0.55	0.51	0.169	
	N	60		20			

Note: ^a relatively low perceived parenting at wave 2 are characterized as either a parent-child relationship of 3.5 or lower, coercive parenting of 2 or higher and positive encouragement of 2 and lower. Differences are tested with t-tests. +p<0.1, *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001.