

Collegio Carlo Alberto



Work-family Conflict Moderates the Impact of Childbearing on Subjective Well-Being

Anna Matysiak
Letizia Mencarini
Daniele Vignoli

No. 435

December 2015

Carlo Alberto Notebooks

www.carloalberto.org/research/working-papers



Work-family Conflict Moderates the Impact of Childbearing on Subjective Well-Being

Anna Matysiak^a
Letizia Mencarini^b
Daniele Vignoli^c

a) Vienna Institute of Demography;

b) Bocconi University - Dondena Centre for Research on Social Dynamics and
Public Policy & Collegio Carlo Alberto;

c) University of Florence

Work-family Conflict Moderates the Impact of Childbearing on Subjective Well-Being

Abstract

Many empirical studies find parents to be less happy than non-parents and parenthood to exert a negative effect on subjective well-being (SWB). We add to these findings by arguing that there is a key moderating factor that has been overlooked in previous research, the work-family conflict. In this paper we assesses the effect of parenthood on individuals' SWB, taking into account that the birth of a child means an increase in work-family tensions, which may be substantial for some parents and relatively weak for others. To this end, we estimate fixed-effects models using panel data from the Household, Income and Labor Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) survey. We find that childbearing negatively affects SWB only when parents, and mothers, in particular, have to face a heavy work-family conflict.

Keywords: Fertility; Subjective wellbeing; Work-family conflict

1. Introduction

In the recent decade, demographic research has started to be interested in the effects children exert on subjective well-being of individuals (Aassve et al. 2012; Aassve et al. 2015; Baranowska 2010; Billari 2009; Billari and Kohler 2009; Dykstra and Keizer 2009; Hansen 2012; Kohler et al. 2005; Margolis and Myrskylä 2011; Myrskylä and Margolis 2014). This interest arose after a publication of seminal papers by Billari (2009) and Billari and Kohler (2009) who argued that the “quest for happiness” in which children play a key role, is the “commonality” that may provide an enhanced understanding of fertility behavior and differentials in contemporary societies. Nonetheless, there is little consensus in the existing literature concerning the effect of childbearing on individuals’ subjective well-being (SWB from now onwards) in developed countries. Whereas some studies yield positive, although weak, effects of parenthood on subjective well-being (Kohler et al. 2005, Baranowska-Rataj and Matysiak 2011), the majority of them reported negative effects (e.g., Clark and Oswald 2002; Clark et al. 2008; Clark & Oswald 2002; Nomaguchi & Milkie 2003).

With this paper we contribute to the discussion on the effects of parenthood on SWB by hypothesising that the effect is moderated by the intensity of the work-family conflict experienced by parents. In our view, parents may be more likely to benefit from the close and intimate relationships with their children if they face good opportunities for combining paid work and care, in terms of well accessible high quality external childcare, partner’s support, availability of relatives or friends in case of an emergency or supportive work environment with flexible working hours and little overtime. In contrast, parents who experience high stress in juggling work and family obligations because of receiving insufficient support for combining paid work and care and who continuously monitor the reaction of the employer to their involvement at home may experience a decline in SWB with an increase in their family size. Overall, childbearing may negatively affect SWB only when parents, and mothers in particular, face a strong work-family conflict. On the contrary, when the work-family conflict is weak, we anticipate a less negative, or even a positive, effect of childbearing on SWB. We are in particular interested in the moderating role of the subjective perception of work-family conflict as it captures not only the individual experiences with combining paid work and care, but also the psychological distress work-and-family reconciliation generates.

Our study is based on the Australian panel data – the Household, Income and Labor Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) survey – as among many panel data available it uniquely provides the most comprehensive set of questions on the experience and subjective perception of work-family tensions in

addition to fertility histories as well as questions on SWB. Incidentally, Australia is also an interesting case-study, because it exemplifies a country where the strong cultural value of having – at least two – children (McDonald and Moyle, 2010) is combined with relatively modest public support for working parents and dual-earner couples with children (Brennan, 2007).

2. Background: fertility, subjective well-being and work-family conflict

Folk theories and common beliefs usually contend that children make people happier and that childless persons lead empty and lonely lives. However, simple attitudes towards parenthood and childlessness vary considerably between social and cultural groups and the belief that parenthood makes people happier received relatively little support in empirical research conducted for developed countries, particularly among women and in younger more educated generations (Hansen, 2011). As both “folk” and scholarly theories contemplate, as well as empirical evidence throughout survey data results show, the effect of a(nother) child can be positive or detrimental for parents’, depending on individual characteristics (i.e. gender, parents’ and children’s age and socio-economic status) and contextual characteristics (i.e. cultural and institutional context).

On one hand, some theoretical arguments suggest that parents derive satisfaction from having children. “Needs theory” argues that children may gratify basic human needs where parenthood confers emotional rewards (Veenhoven 1996); “Goal theory” and “Comparison theory” (e.g. Michalos 1985) predicts positive effects, because parenthood is widely to be an important life goal and may be a strong marker of personal success, which brings social recognition, pride, esteem and satisfaction. The sociological (Durkheimian) theories argue that parenthood structures people’s lives and integrates people into social networks, thereby providing their lives with a meaning and purpose. For parents, having children may lead to a strengthening of social ties, provide enjoyable and novel experiences, and contribute to a sense of personal fulfilment and, in addition, a child can represent a potential source of support in old age (Hoffmann and Hoffmann 1973). Also in the economic rational-choice models of fertility, the utility derived from having children is the fundamental tenet (Becker 1981), though the precise specification of the innate value of children is actually a missing component (Nauck 2000). Finally, evolutionary theories suggest that parenthood may have a positive effect on SWB because humans have evolved a predisposition to nurture (e.g., Rodgers et al. 2001). This implies that parents may enjoy taking care of children and fostering their intellectual and physical development.

On the other hand, however, it is unblemished that bearing and rearing children implies also certain costs on parents. First of all, parenthood requires financial expenditures and increases financial responsibilities (Zimmermann and Easterlin 2006). Second, it imposes opportunity costs in the form of foregone earnings and human capital on the parent who reduces involvement in paid employment to provide care (Becker 1981, Even 1987, Joesch 1994, Ranson 1998). Furthermore, childrearing reduces leisure time (Sanchez and Thomson 1997), leads to time conflict (Pailhe and Solaz 2009) and affects the quality of the couple's relationship (Lavee et al. 1996, Keizer et al 2010). Overall, it may also result in emotional distress (McLanahan and Adams 1987).

Beside the previous theoretical approaches, there is a third position represented by the so-called "set-point theory" of happiness which asserts that a large fraction of variation in well-being is due to social or biological endowments, and while life events may change the level of well-being, this change is only temporary. In the now-famous metaphor of Brickman and Campbell (1971), each individual would be on a "hedonic treadmill" and having children would only have temporary effects on happiness. The existence of a hedonic treadmill implies, in fact, that, if people continue to adapt to their life-course circumstances, improvements yield no real benefits and worsened conditions will not necessarily translate into a lower assessment of well-being. Thus, every individual is presumed to have a predefined happiness level that he or she returns to as time goes by (Williams & Thompson, 1993; Kahneman et al 1999, Csikszentmihalyi and Jeremy 2003). Although several empirical studies support the prediction that objective circumstances appear to be limited in the magnitude, scope, and particularly duration of their effects on psychological well-being, which, in the long run, would be therefore likely to reflect instead stable characteristics of the individual (Costa et al. 1987; Lykken and Tellegen 1996; De Neve et al. 2012), recent analyses focussing on the long-term patterns of subjective well-being have led to revisions of the set point hypothesis. A number of psychological (i.e. Sheldon and Lucas 2014), demographic (Kohler et al. 2005; Margolis & Myrskylä 2011) and economic (Zimmerman & Easterlin 2006) studies, in fact, consistently suggested that demographic events do indeed bring about long-lasting shifts in SWB. Changes in family-related domains seem even more enduring than in domains related to their material standard of living, i.e. income (Diener et al., 1999; Argyle, 2001). More specifically, Myrskylä and Margolis (2014), consistently with prior literature using longitudinal designs (e.g., Clark et al. 2008), documented a transitory gain in happiness around the time of birth, although older parents and those with more socioeconomic resources have the strongest and more permanent happiness gains around the time of birth.

Consensus has been reached in the literature also regarding the fact that researchers need to analyse individual changes over time instead of only comparing parents with the childless, otherwise, the analyses may be biased by genetic factors, personality, or other unobserved or difficult-to-measure fixed characteristics, such as orientation toward career versus family, which may be associated with both fertility behaviour and SWB (Alvergne et al. 2010; De Neve 2011; Myrskylä and Margolis 2014, Rodgers et al. 2001). The new availability of longitudinal survey data has prompted widely quite investigation on the relationship between SWB and fertility, nevertheless, the empirical evidence regarding the direction and the magnitude of the relationship is very inconsistent. While some empirical studies find a positive association between parenthood and happiness (e.g., Kohler et al 2005, Baranowska and Matysiak 2011), the majority of them have shown that having children has either non-significant or negative effects on SWB (Clark and Oswald 2002; Clark et al. 2008; Frey & Stutzer 2000, Clark & Oswald 2002; Nomaguchi & Milkie 2003). This inconsistency in findings may result from the fact that the effect of children on SWB presumably is moderated/mediated by several characteristics, not always considered in the studies – i.e. the number and age of children (Clark et al 2008; Kohler et al 2005; Myrskylä and Margolis 2014), the “initial” pre-birth happiness level (Kohler et al 2005, Myrskylä and Margolis 2014), or the stage in the life course of the parents (Margolis and Myrskylä 2011, 2015).

While in the subsequent analysis we will take these factors into account, we additionally posit that the experience of work-family conflict may represent a further potential moderating factor of the impact of parenthood on SWB that has so far not been considered. Engagement in multiple life roles – e.g., worker, spouse and parent (Kossek and Ozeki, 1998) – having humanly limited time and energy, may generate inter-role conflicts. The concept of work-family conflict is defined when the resources associated with one role are insufficient to meet the demands of another role (Voydanoff, 2005), i.e. it occurs when meeting demands in one sphere, work or family, makes it difficult to meet obligations in the other. It is a bi-directional phenomenon (Frone et al., 1997; Carlons et al., 2000). Family-to-work conflict (FWC) emerges when fulfilling family roles interferes negatively with paid employment with the possibility to perform professional roles and related duties (Greenhaus and Beutel, 1985). It is stronger for parents who receive little support either from the other partner, other family members or friends or the state in combining paid work with childbearing as well as for parents with higher number of children or younger children who require more attention and care (Michel et al 2011). Work-to-family conflict (WFC) occurs when individuals’ participation in paid work prevents them from fulfilling their family role to the extent desired and is stronger for individuals who work under time

pressure, face large work overload, receive little support in the work from either work colleagues or the organisation, have low autonomy at work or face repetitive tasks. Furthermore personality characteristics were shown to matter for the intensity of WFC and FWC which can be stronger for parents with low internal locus of control or parents who score high on negative affect or neuroticism (Michel et al 2011).

As far as we know, there is no study that explicitly evaluates – as we aim to do here – the potential moderating role of work-family conflict in assessing the impact of fertility on SWB. The excess of professional duties or work-related stress may lead to the situation in which the individual has too little time for the family or is unable to concentrate on fulfilling family duties, both of which may have negative consequences on relationships with family members, partnership quality or even the well-being of children. Likewise, the spillover from family to work may make the individual unable to concentrate on performing the job or lead to absenteeism, which may affect professional career negatively or even result in a job loss. Both FWC and WFC can thus lead to psychological distress and important losses either in family or professional life with their likely negative consequences on individual life satisfaction. Therefore, we believe that accounting for both conflicts is of pivotal importance to gain a deeper understanding of mechanisms through which fertility may affect SWB.

3. Data and Method

We evaluate the moderating role of work-family conflict on the effect of parenthood on SWB using panel data which comes from the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) Survey. This survey was selected for our analyses since it provides longitudinal and detailed information on subjective well-being, labour market and family dynamics of individuals together with a comprehensive set of questions which allow measuring the perceived work-family conflict. The HILDA Survey was conducted for the first time in 2001 on a sample of 7,682 households and 19,914 individuals out of which 15,127 were aged 15 or older and thus were eligible for a personal interview. Panel members were re-interviewed every year since then (Summerfield et al 2015). Additionally, the sample has been gradually extended to new household members who moved into the household or reached age 15 at which individuals qualified for completing the individual questionnaire. In 2009 new household members who arrived in Australia for the first time after 2001 were added to the sample. Finally, the sample was topped up with an additional 2,153 households (5,477 individuals) in 2011. Currently, 13 waves of the survey are available for research. This study makes use of the first 12 waves.

During the interview individuals were asked to fill in the household questionnaire, the personal questionnaire and were also given a self-completing questionnaire which was collected by interviewers at a later date or was returned by respondents by mail. This questionnaire comprises mainly attitudinal questions which might be sensitive or uncomfortable to respond to in a face-to-face interview. Among others, the self-completion questionnaire covers a battery of questions about the experience of the work-family conflict. The response rates to the self-completion questionnaire were usually slightly lower than the response rates to the personal questionnaire (e.g. 87% of the eligible individuals completed and returned the self-completion questionnaire in the first wave in comparison with 92% who completed the personal questionnaire).

In our study, we included individuals who filled in the household questionnaire and responded to both, the personal and self-completion questionnaire. We decided to focus on persons who were most likely to have small children at home. Therefore, we selected individuals born in 1960 or after and followed them since they entered the panel, but not earlier than since they became 18. Hence, our respondents were 18-41 at the first wave and 18-52 at the last wave. Furthermore, we limited our analysis to persons who had maximum three children by the end of the observation window. Higher

parities were rare (parents of four or more children constituted slightly less than 8% of person-years). Altogether our sample comprises 4,670 women and 4,247 men which correspond to 27,149 female-years and 24,756 male-years.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics for sample person-years

Variable	MEN	WOMEN
Number of person-years	24,756	27,149
Age		
average	33.6	32.9
st dev	8.3	8.3
Partnership (%)		
single	18.2	15.8
cohabiting	26.2	24.6
married	50.9	53.7
divorced	4.8	5.9
total	100	100
Number of children (%)		
none	54.2	42.1
one	15.5	18.2
two	22.1	28.7
three	8.2	11.0
total	100	100
Educational level (%)		
low	21.5	24.7
medium	57.4	48.9
high	22.1	28.4
total	100	100
Enrolment in education (%)		
no	91.9	89.7
yes	8.1	10.3
total	100	100
Life satisfaction		
average	7.8	7.9
st dev	1.4	1.4

The basic descriptive statistics of the sample are presented in Table 1 which presents the distributions of the sample person-years. It can be seen that our respondents are thus on average 33 years old. They spend around 50% of the observation time in marriage and 25% in cohabitation.

Female respondents spend on average around 42% of their observation time as childless, 18% as mothers of one child, 28% as mothers of two children and 11% as mothers of three children. Men are even more likely to be present in the sample if they do not have children (54% of the observation time) and less likely after they become fathers (15% of the observation time with one child, 22% with two children and 8% with three children). We considered the following educational attainment groups: primary (which we labeled as low education), secondary and upper-secondary (medium education), and post-secondary and tertiary (high education). Relatively high proportion of person-years belong to low educated respondents (37% for men and 44% for women), but this is partly due to the case that some individuals in the sample are in education (8% for male-years and 10% for female-years). Women spend around 30% of the observation time as highly educated, men 24%.

Life satisfaction is our major dependent variable. It is measured as a response to the question “How satisfied are you in your life?” The responses are given on 11-point Likert scale where 0 means totally dissatisfied and 10 stands for totally satisfied. Our respondents are relatively satisfied with life: the average life satisfaction for women over the observation period is 7.9 and for men 7.8. Nearly 95% of the responses to this question fall in the interval from 6 to 10 for both, women and men. Number of children, age of the youngest child and work-family conflict are our major explanatory variables. Number of children is a categorical variable which varies over time and assumes values from 0 to 3. It refers to resident own (biological and adopted) children of the respondent. Time since the last conception is time-varying as well. Since we had no information on the month of birth (only the year of birth) this variable enters our models around the time of the last conception and captures the time around the last pregnancy as well as the age of the youngest child measured in years reached. It is grouped into following categories: one year before birth (around-pregnancy time), newborn (below 1), aged 1 but less than 2, aged 2 but less than 3, 3-4, 5-6, 7-10, 11-14 and 15+. Additionally, for childless individuals two or more years before the birth we introduced the category “no children & not pregnant”. We distinguished the time around the pregnancy from the rest of the time before birth as it has been shown that happiness increases strongly already one year before birth for both women and men in anticipation of upcoming birth (Myrskylä and Margolis 2014). Since we did not have information on the exact age of the child we performed a robustness check in order to verify whether lack of this information may affect our findings. To this end, we estimated our models on a sample of women who gave birth to their first child during the panel. For these women we had the information on the trimester of the birth and hence were able to compute the age of the youngest child with a quite high precision. Irrespective of whether we used the trimester of birth or not for measuring age of the

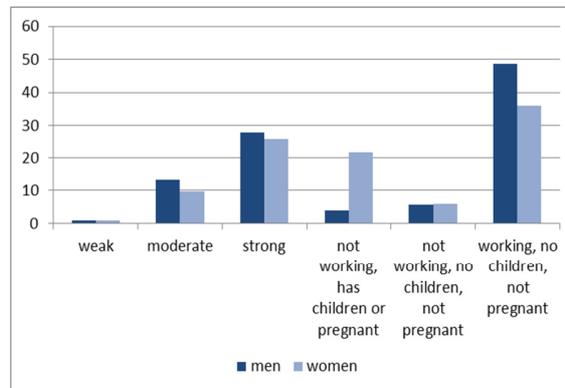
youngest child our models yielded fairly similar trajectories of life satisfaction before and after childbirth for women who became mothers during the panel. On the basis of this robustness check (results not shown, but available upon request) we opted for not limiting our analysis only to persons who became parents after entering the panel as such strategy would strongly limit the number of cases and would severely restrict our possibilities of studying how work-family conflict moderates the impact of childbearing on the level of life satisfaction.

Finally, we constructed three indicators of the subjective experience of work-family conflict. Respondents were asked to react to these statements during the self-completion part of the data collection using 7-point Likert scale where 1 stands for strongly disagree and 7 for strongly agree. The first indicator we constructed using these data measures the general feeling of work and family balance. It comprises answers to following three statements: “Having both work and family responsibilities makes me a more well-rounded person”, “Having both work and family responsibilities gives my life more variety”, “Managing work and family responsibilities as well as I do makes me feel competent”. The second indicator captures tensions resulting from the spillover from paid work to family (work-to-family conflict) and is composed of the answers to the following three statements: “Because of the requirements of my job, I miss out on home or family activities that I would prefer to participate in”, “Working leaves me with too little time or energy to be the kind of parent I want to be” and “Working causes me to miss out on some of the rewarding aspects of being a parent”. Finally, the third indicator measures tensions resulting from the spillover from the family to paid work (family-to-work conflict). It is constructed on the basis of the answers to three statements: “Because of my family responsibilities, I have to turn down work activities or opportunities that I would prefer to take on”, “Because of my family responsibilities, the time I spend working is less enjoyable and more pressured”. We averaged over respondents’ answers within each category. Further, we transformed the obtained continuous variables into categorical ones by dividing their values into three equal intervals, denoting strong, moderate, weak feeling of the general work-family balance, work-to-family and family-to-work conflict respectively. We also created additional categories for persons who were not entitled to answer the statements on the experience of work-family conflict, namely the childless and/or non-working individuals. These additional categories are: “not working, no children and not pregnant”, “working, no children and not pregnant” and “not working, has children or is pregnant”. The distributions of the created variables among women and men are presented in Figures 1a-c. One can see that our respondents, particularly men, are working and childless for the most of the observation time. Those who have children usually experience strong or moderate work-family balance: for around one forth the

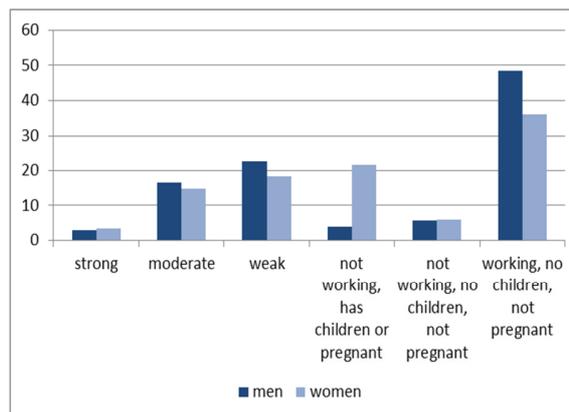
work – family balance is strong, for around 10%-13% it is moderate and only 1% falls into the category of weak balance. At the same time, however, some respondents do experience work-to-family tensions, which are strong for 12% of men and 7% of women and moderate for 20% of men and 15% of women. Family-to-work tensions seem to be less common: the percentage of those classified into the category strong amounts to 3% and the percentage of persons classified into the category moderate amounts to around 15% for both women and men.

Figure 1 Distribution of the indicators of work and family balance (% person-years)

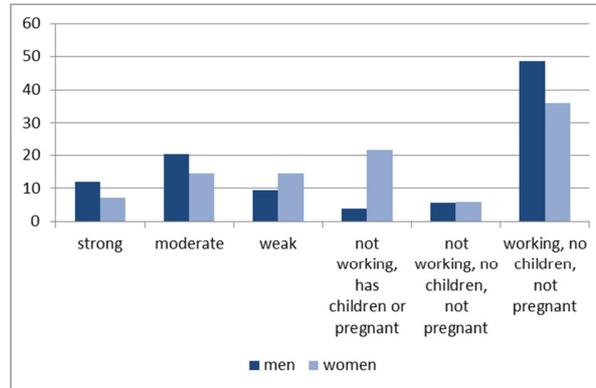
a. Overall level of work and family balance



b. Level of work-to-family conflict



c. Level of family-to-work conflict



We regressed life satisfaction against our major explanatory variables in the fixed-effects linear regression framework. We treated life satisfaction as a cardinal rather than ordinal variable since it was shown that there is not much difference between the two approaches if the Likert scale on which life satisfaction is measured is as long as it is in our study (Ferrer-i-Carbonell and Frijters 2004). Furthermore, we apply fixed-effects models as they allow accounting for the time constant unobserved characteristics, such as personality traits or genetic endowments, which may jointly affect the overall subjective well-being and fertility behaviours (Tavares 2008, Skirbekk and Blekesaune 2014, Le Moglie et al 2015). In our modelling approach we follow Clark et al (2008) and Myrskylä and Margolis (2014) and investigate not only how the birth of the child affects life satisfaction but also how this effect varies with the child’s age, taking into account that happiness may increase already in anticipation of childbearing. The novelty of our approach is to look additionally how these trajectories of life satisfaction which vary across the child’s age depend on the experience of the tensions between paid work and the family. We achieve it by adding our work-family conflict indicators to our model on a stepwise basis.

Our models are estimated separately for women and men. In addition to our major explanatory variables we also include a series of time-varying control covariates which may jointly affect fertility, the experience of work-family conflict and life satisfaction and thus may confound the relationships of our interest. Namely, we control for respondents’ age and age squared, partnership status (single or divorced or widowed / cohabiting / married) and partner’s employment status (employed / unemployed / inactive), respondent’s educational attainment (low / medium / high) and attendance to education, respondents health status (dummy variable denoting experience of long-term health problems or diseases), and an index of economic resources (grouped in deciles), which measures socio-economic

relative disadvantage of the region of respondents' residence¹. In the model for men we also included a control for the fact of having biological non-resident children.

4. Results

In this section we present our empirical findings. They are largely displayed in Figures 2 and 3(a)-(c). The full model estimates are presented in Tables 1-2A in the Appendix. Figure 2 displays the trajectory of life satisfaction before and after the birth of the child by parity irrespective of the experience of work-family balance or conflict. The reference category in these graphs is the period of two or more years before the first birth. The change in life satisfaction after the birth of the child is denoted on the Y axis. It is to be considered as significantly different from the period before the pregnancy if the line marker is filled, otherwise it is not significant. In general, life satisfaction increases around the pregnancy and remains high until birth. Such an effect is observed for women and men, although women seem to react a bit more positively to the upcoming childbirth. After the child is born the life satisfaction decreases. For men, this decline is approximately monotonic and rather gradual. For women, it is stronger, even though a slight rebound is observed after the youngest child reaches 3-4 years. Overall, after the first child is born men's life satisfaction slowly returns to the pre-pregnancy levels, whereas women's life satisfaction falls below the pre-pregnancy levels and returns there only after the first child reaches the age 5-6 years. Second child has more detrimental effects on parents' life satisfaction, in particular women's. Mothers' life satisfaction declines below the pre-pregnancy levels already when the child is 2, for fathers it takes 5 more years. Finally, the third child does not reduce women's subjective well-being anymore (in comparison to the second child), but leads to some further reductions in men's life satisfaction. Overall, parity has a more detrimental effect on mothers' than fathers' SWB.

In the next step we evaluated whether the effect of parenthood on parents' SWB depends on the experienced work-family conflict. The presented analyses refer only to the effects of the first child. Higher parities have proportionally stronger effects as it was shown in Figure 2. Our more in-depth analyses confirm that the effect of the first child on life satisfaction clearly depends on the level of work-family balance and work-family conflict experienced by the parent. The life satisfaction

¹ It is the Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas (SEIFA) which ranks Australian regions according to relative socio-economic advantage and disadvantage. It is computed on the basis of the five-yearly Census, for more information see Adhikari (2006).

trajectories by child's age and the work-family balance or conflict are displayed in Figures 3(a)-(c). They are drawn on the basis of our model estimates under the assumption that a decline in work-family balance or increase in work-family conflict shifts the life satisfaction trajectories proportionally across all ages. This is achieved by adding up the estimated coefficients for the birth of the first child, time since conception and work-family balance or conflict². The solid black line in Figures 3(a)-(c) represents the trajectory in life satisfaction for parents who experience most balance or the weakest conflict. Similarly as before the markers are filled if parental life satisfaction at certain age of the child is significantly different than before the pregnancy. Furthermore, the strongest work-family balance or the weakest work-family conflict serves as the reference category. This means that life satisfaction of persons who experience weaker balance / stronger conflict or who do not work is compared with the life satisfaction of the most balanced / least conflicted individuals. All these differences turned out to be significant at 10% for women as well as men.

In our study life satisfaction of most balanced or least conflicted individuals is always significantly higher than the life satisfaction of less balanced or more conflicted or not working individuals (irrespective of the work-family balance or conflict indicator used). This difference is particularly visible for men. Fathers who declare high work-family balance or who experience only weak spillovers from work to family or from family to work are more satisfied with life than men who do not have children and whose partners are not pregnant. This positive effect of fatherhood is relatively long lasting (compared to what is observed for mothers). Even though it declines after birth it vanishes completely only after the youngest child reaches school age. We do not observe such a positive parenthood effect for women. Even the least conflicted or most balanced mothers experience increase in life satisfaction only temporarily, around the pregnancy and birth. The life satisfaction of these women returns, however, to the pre-pregnancy level just after the child is born and remains there over the next years.

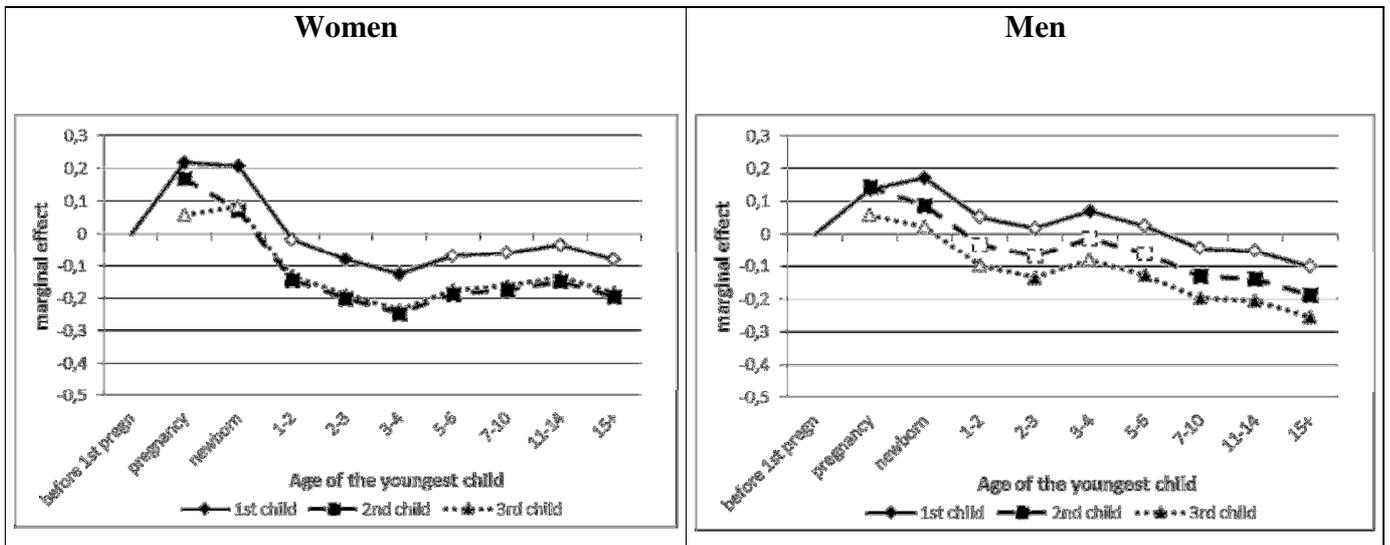
For other groups of parents, i.e. those who experience the moderate to weak work-family balance or moderate to strong work-family conflict, the positive effect of parenthood is largely temporary. It vanishes soon after birth for moderately balanced or conflicted mothers and even before birth for strongly conflicted mothers and moderately to strongly conflicted fathers. Parents whose

² The three variables numbers of children, time since conception and work-family balance / conflict are interacted. In other words, time since conception assumes certain values only after the first child was born. In the same vein the work-family balance / conflict can be in place only for parents. Therefore adding up respective coefficients for this variables produces the total marginal effect of experiencing a certain work-family balance / conflict by a parent of a certain number of children with youngest child aged x .

youngest child is 2 or more and who experience moderate to strong levels of work-family conflict or weak to moderate levels of work-family balance are usually less satisfied with life than childless individuals who do not expect a child. Lack of general work-family balance has the most negative effect on parents' life satisfaction. Experience of the work-to-family and family-to-work conflict affects the life satisfaction of parents to a slightly lower extent. Furthermore, the spill-over from work to family seems to affect the life satisfaction of parents in a similar way as the spill-over from family to work; neither are any differences in that respect observed between mothers and fathers.

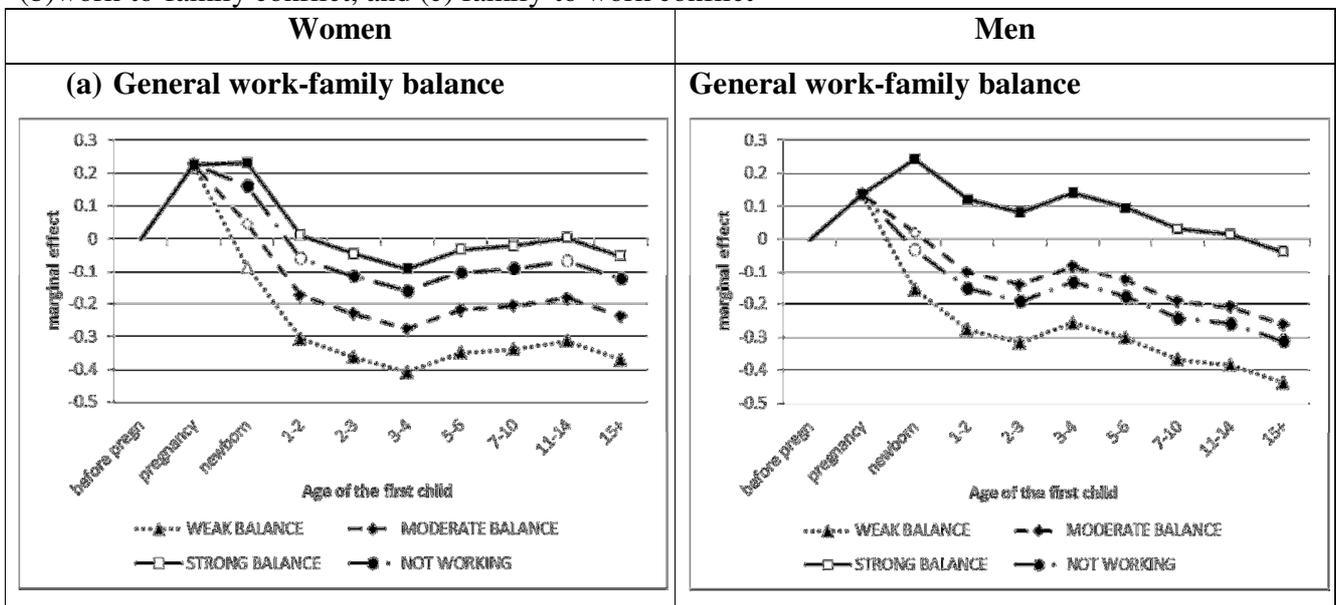
Parents may experience work-family conflict or balance only when they work for pay. Some mothers in our sample spent, however, substantial amount of their observation time (around 20%) as not employed. Joblessness was less likely in case of fathers (5% of observation time). Various reasons may have led them to remain out of employment. One of them, which might be of relevance to women in particular, could have been an inability to combine paid work and care, either experienced or anticipated. We are not able to assess the magnitude of the conflict which would be experienced by the non-working women if they were employed, i.e. the counterfactual effect of the conflict. But we can still see how being out of employment moderates the effect of having a child on parents' SWB. This effect is illustrated in Figures 3(a)-(c) by the dashed line with circles. Again the effect of not working is compared with the effect of working and experiencing a strong balance / weak conflict and the difference is significant at 10% for both women and men. The circles at the line denoting the effects for non-working women are filled if the difference in life satisfaction is significantly different than before the pregnancy. We find that the moderating effect of not working on parental life satisfaction is clearly different for women than men. Non-working mothers are only slightly less satisfied with life than the strongly balanced or weakly conflicted ones. At the same time, they are definitely happier than mothers who work but experience strong work-family tensions. Non-working fathers are usually as unhappy as those who work but experience strong spill-over from work to family and from family to work.

Figure 2. Effects of the first child on men’s and women’s life satisfaction by child’s age

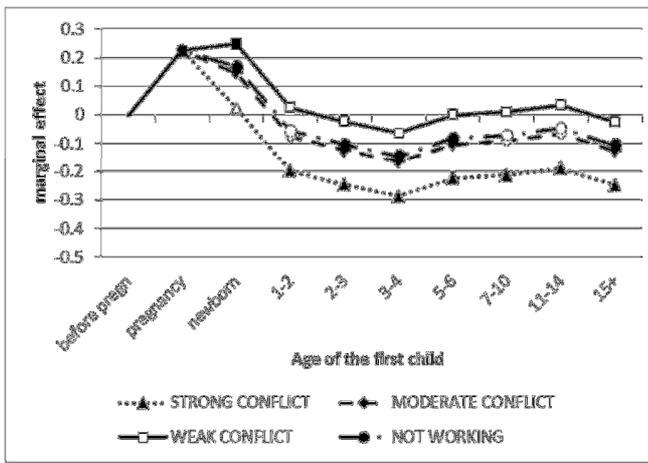


Note: The colour of the markers illustrates the significance of the difference between the life satisfaction in pregnancy or when the child is aged x and life satisfaction before pregnancy. The marker is filled if the difference is significant and empty otherwise. Pregnancy refers to the year before birth.

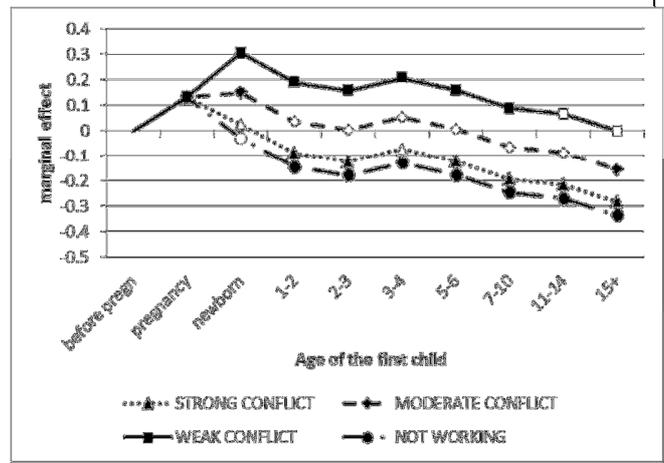
Figure 3 – Effects of of first birth on women’s and men’s LS by (a) overall work-family conflict, (b)work-to-family conflict, and (c) family-to work conflict



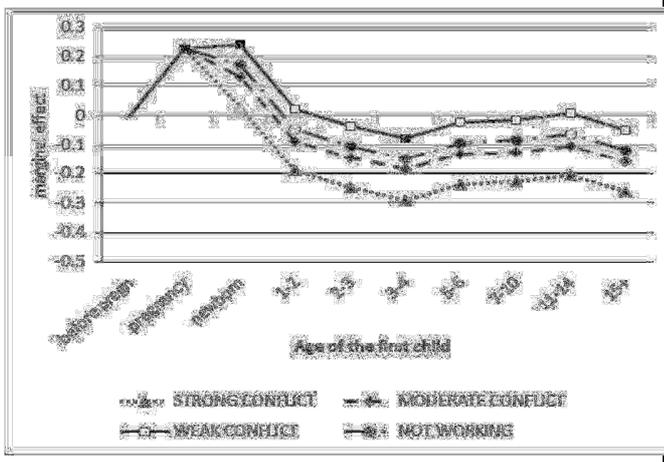
(b) Work-to-family conflict



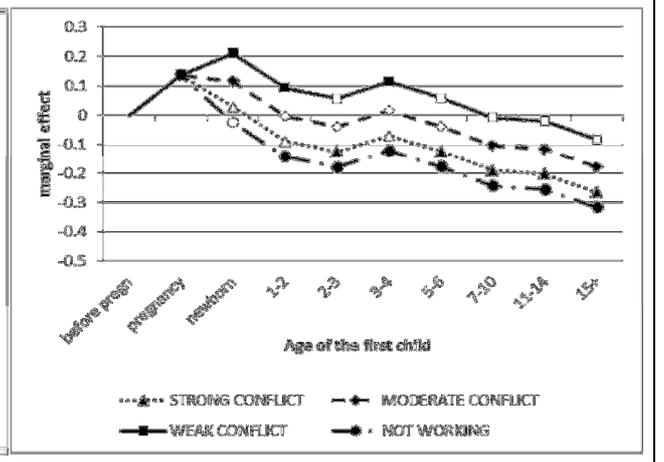
Work-to-family conflict



(c) Family-to-work conflict



Family-to-work conflict



Note: The solid black line for the “weak conflict / strong balance” serves as a reference category for all categories of work-family balance or conflict. All the three remaining effects, denoted by the dashed or dotted lines, are significantly different from the reference at 10%. The colour of the markers illustrates the significance of the difference between the life satisfaction when the child is aged x and life satisfaction before pregnancy. The marker is filled if the difference is significant and white otherwise. Pregnancy refers to the year before birth.

5. Concluding discussion

This article aimed to evaluate the moderating effect of work-family conflict on the impact of childbearing on SWB, recognizing the bi-directional nature of the work-family conflict, accounting for unobserved characteristics that may affect the perception of work-family conflict and life satisfaction at the same time, and focusing on both genders. At least three key findings did emerge from our analysis.

First, our results suggest that the effect of parenthood on parents' subjective well-being depends on the number of children and age of the youngest child. Anticipation of an arrival of a new child indeed leads to an increase in life satisfaction, but this effect disappears shortly after birth. Raising young children, up to 3 years of age, has even negative influence on women's SWB. These findings are consistent with the previous study by Margolis and Myrskylä (2014) for Germany and the United Kingdom. Furthermore we also find that mothers' life satisfaction reacts more strongly to changes in parenthood status and in particular a birth of the second or third child leads to substantial declines in their SWB.

Second, the study has shown that the effect of parenthood on SWB is strongly moderated by the degree of work-family tensions experienced by parents. This effect is clearly negative for parents who experience strong and moderate work-family tensions. Importantly, however, a birth of the first child does not lead to a decline in SWB for parents who experience weak tensions or have high work-family balance. For men, this effect is even positive whereas women's SWB usually returns to pre-pregnancy levels provided that they experience only weak work-family tensions.

Third, we found a clear gender difference in how non-employment moderates the effect of parenthood on individuals' SWB. Whereas non-employment improves the SWB of mothers it has an opposite effect on men. Namely, mothers who do not work for pay are usually more satisfied with life than mothers who experience a meaningful work-family conflict (but less satisfied than mothers who experience strong work-family balance). Non-employed fathers are as unhappy as those who work for pay but experience strong tensions between work and family life.

In all, our results reject the notion of a simple, uniform, and uni-directional relationship between childbearing and life satisfaction. They rather emphasize the need for a multi-dimensional approach as outlined in this paper. In line with previous research, we illustrated the importance to distinguish the impact of childbearing on life satisfaction between gender since the various ruptures brought about by parenthood are clearly differently perceived by women and men. What is more, without evaluating the moderating role played by the level of work-family conflict / balance, we could have concluded that the impact of childbearing on life satisfaction is negative, especially for employed women. This is not

always the case, however. When the level of the conflict is weak childbearing is not detrimental for either women's or men's life satisfaction. In fact, employed parents who experience a weak conflict display the highest levels of SWB. Overall, we cannot find arguments in favour of sustaining the "set point theory", since also the trajectories of SWB of individuals before and after the birth of a child (in the short, but also in the long-run, i.e. more than 15 years the event) are not homogenous.

Our results leave the door open for policy intervention. From a policy perspective, a central goal for any modern welfare state should be to decrease the strain women and men experience from having children, especially in a low fertility context. Reducing the conflict between work and family can not only stimulate employment and fertility, as it has been shown by previous empirical research, but, as we demonstrated in this paper, should also contribute to an improvement in general life satisfaction. This result may be an additional reason to develop and target policies interventions which help people to combine family and paid work.

Our study should also stimulate further research on how work-family conflict moderates the effect of parenthood on SWB. In our study we looked at the perceived levels of work-family conflict, but these findings could be complemented by using objective measures, i.e. division of household labour or certain workplace characteristics which may produce the conflict. Second, use of larger datasets could help in understanding how the moderating effect of the conflict changes with the combination of age of the child and parity. In our study we had to assume proportional effects due to sample size limitations. Finally, future studies could try to assess the effects of the predicted work-family conflict after accounting for the fact that non-working women could have withdrawn from employment because of the inability to combine paid work with care. This has not been done in our study which may have led to an underestimation of the negative effect of work-family conflict on parents' SWB.

References

- Aassve, A., Mencarini, L. and Sironi, M. (2015), Institutional change, happiness and fertility", *European Sociological Review*, forthcoming.
- Aassve A., Goisis A., Sironi M. (2012), "Happiness and Childbearing across Europe", *Social Indicator Research*, 108:65-86.
- Adhikari, P. 2006. Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas: Introduction, Use and Future Directions. Australian Bureau of Statistics.
<http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/1351.0.55.015Sep%202006?OpenDocument>
- Argyle, M. (2001). *The Psychology of Happiness*. London: Routledge, 2nd ed.
- Baranowska, A. (2010). Family formation and subjective well-being. A literature overview. Working Papers, n. 5, ISID, Institute of Statistics and Demography, Warsaw School of Economics.
- Becker, G. S. (1981), *A treatise on the family*. Cambridge, MS: Harvard University Press.
- Billari, F. C. (2009). The happiness commonality: Fertility decisions in low fertility settings. Paper presented at Conference on How Generations and Gender Shape Demographic Change: Toward policies based on better knowledge, Geneva: UNECE, May 14–16, 2008.
- Billari, F.C., Kohler H.-P. (2009), Fertility and happiness in the XXI century: Institutions, preferences, and their interactions. Paper presented at the XXVI IUSSP International Population Conference in Marrakech, Morocco, 27 September-2 October, 2009.
- Brewster, K. L. and Rindfuss, R. R. (2000). Fertility and women's employment in industrialized nations. *Annual Review of Sociology* 26: 271–296.
- Brickman, P. and Campbell, D. T. (1971). Hedonic relativism and planning the good society. In: Appley, M. H. (ed.). *Adaptation Level Theory: A Symposium*. London: Academic Press, 287–305.
- Carlson D. S. (1999), Personality and role variables as predictors of three forms of work-family conflict, *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 55(2): 236-253.
- Carlson, D. S., Kacmar, K.M. & Williams, L. J. (2000). Construction and initial validation of a multidimensional measure of work-family conflict. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 56(2), 249-276.
- Clark, A. E., Diener, E., Georgellis, Y., & Lucas, R. E. (2008). Lags and leads in life satisfaction: A test of the baseline hypothesis. *The Economic Journal*, 118(529), 222–243.
- Clark, A., & Oswald, A. (2002). A simple statistical model for measuring how life events affect happiness. *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 31, 1139–1144.
- Costa, P. T., A. B. Zonderman, R. R. McCrae, J. Conronihuntley, B. Z. Locke, and H. E. Barbano. 1987. "Longitudinal analyses of psychological well-being in a national sample—Stability of mean levels," *Journal of Gerontology* 42(1): 50–55.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. and H. Jeremy. 2003. "Happiness in everyday life: The uses of experience sampling," *Journal of Happiness* 4(2): 185–189.
- De Neve, J.-E., Christakis, N.A., Fowler, J. H. and Frey, B. S. (2012). Genes, economics, and happiness, *Journal of Neuroscience, Psychology, and Economics*, 5 (4): 193–211.
- Diener E., Suh E. M., Lucas R. E., & Smith H. (1999). Subjective well-being: Three decades of progress. *Psychological Bulletin* 125: 276-302.

- Dykstra, P. A., Keizer, R. (2009), The wellbeing of childless men and fathers in mid-life, *Ageing & Society* 29 (Special Issue 08): 1227-1242.
- Even, W.E. (1987): Career interruptions following childbirth. In: *Journal of Labor Economics* 5(2): 255-277.
- Ferrer-i-Carbonell, A. and P. Frijters (2004). "How Important is Methodology for the estimates of the determinants of Happiness?." *The Economic Journal* 114(497): 641-659.
- Fremaux S. F., Adkins, C. L. & Mossholder, K. W. (2007). Balancing work and family: A field study of multi-dimensional, multi-role work-family conflict, *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 28, 705–727.
- Frey, B., Stutzer, A. (2000) "Happiness, Economy and Institutions," *Econ. J.* 110:446, pp. 918–38.
- Frone, M. R., Russell, M. & Cooper, M. L. (1992). Antecedents and outcomes of work-family conflict: Testing a model of the work-family interface. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 77, 65-78.
- Frone, M. R., Yardley, J. K. & Markel, K. S. (1997). Developing and testing an integrative model of the work-family interface. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 50(2), 145-167.
- Goffman, E. (1977). The arrangement between the sexes, *Theory and Society*, 4(3), 301-331.
- Greenhaus, J. H. & Beutell, N. J. (1985). Sources of Conflict between Work and Family Roles. *The Academy of Management Review*, 10, 76-88.
- Gregory, E. (2007). Ready: Why women are embracing the new later motherhood. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Hansen, T. (2012). Parenthood and happiness: A review of folk theories versus empirical evidence, *Social Indicators Research*, 108 (1): 29-64.
- Hilleras, P. K., H. Aguero-Torres, and B. Winblad. 2001. "Factors influencing well-being in the elderly," *Current Opinion in Psychiatry* 14(4): 361–365.
- Hoffmann, L. W., & Hoffmann, M. L. (1973). The value of children to parents. In J. T. Fawcett (Ed.), *Psychological perspectives on population* (pp. 19–76). New York: Basic Books.
- Joesch, J. M. 1994. Children and the timing of women's paid work after childbirth: A further specification of the relationship. *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 56(2): 429-440.
- Kahneman, D., E. Diener, and N. Schwarz (eds.). 1999. *Well-Being: The Foundations of Hedonic Psychology*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Keizer, R., Dykstra, P., Poortman A-R. 2010. The Transition to Parenthood and Well-Being: The Impact of Partner Status and Work Hour Transitions. *Journal of Family Psychology* Vol. 24, No. 4, 429–438.
- Kohler, H.-P. (2012). Do children bring happiness and purpose in life? In *Whither the Child? Causes and Consequences of Low Fertility*, edited by Eric Kaufman and W. Bradford Wilcox, pp. 47–75. Boulder & London: Paradigm.
- Kohler, H.-P., Behrman, J. R., & Skytthe, A. (2005). Partner ? children = happiness? The effect of partnerships and fertility on well-being. *Population and Development Review*, 31(3), 407–446.
- Kossek, E.E. & Ozeki, C. (1998). Work-family conflict, policies, and the job-life satisfaction relationship: a review and directions for organizational behavior-human resources research, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 83(2): 139-149.
- Kotowska, IE, Matysiak, A., Pailhe´, A., Solaz, A., Styr, M., & Vignoli, D. (2010). Family life and work, Second European Quality Of Life Survey, European foundation for the improvement of

- living and working conditions. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Lavee, Y., Sharlin, S., & Katz, R. (1996). The effect of parenting stress on marital quality: An integrated mother–father model. *Journal of Family Issues*, 17, 114–135.
- M. Le Moglie, M., Mencarini, L., Rapallini, C., (2015), “Is it just a matter of personality? On the role of well-being in childbearing behavior”, *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*.
- Lykken, D. T. and A. Tellegen. 1996. “Happiness is a stochastic phenomenon,” *Psychological Science* 7(3): 186–189.
- Margolis R., Myrskylä M. (2011), A global perspective on happiness and fertility, *Population and Development Review*, 37:1, 29-56.
- McDonald, P. (2000). Gender equity in theories of fertility transition. *Population and Development Review* 26(3): 427–440.
- Mc Ginnity, F. & Calvert, E. (2009). Work-Life Conflict and Social Inequalities in Western Europe, *Social Indicator Research*, 93:489-508.
- McLanahan, S., & Adams, J. (1987). Parenthood and psychological well-being. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 13, 237–257.
- Michalos A.C. (1985), Multiple discrepancies theory (MDT), *Social Indicators Research*, 16(4), pp.347-413.
- Michel, J. S., L. M. Kotrba, J. K. Mitchelson, M. A. Clark and B. B. Baltes (2011) Antecedents of work–family conflict: A meta-analytic review, *Journal of Organizational Behaviour* 32: 689-725.
- Myrskylä, M., & Margolis, R. (2014). Happiness: Before and after the kids, *Demography*, Onlinefirst 21 August 2014.
- Nauck B. (2000). The Changing Value of Children - a Special Action Theory of Fertility Behavior and Intergenerational Relationships in Cross-cultural Comparison. Paper presented at the seminar “Low fertility, families and public policies”, organised by the European Observatory on Family Matters in Sevilla, September 15-16, 2000.
- Nelson, S. K., Kushlev, K., & Lyubomirsky, S. (2014). The pains and pleasures of parenting: When, why, and how is parenthood associated with more or less well-being? *Psychological Bulletin*, 140, 846-895.
- Nomaguchi, K. M. and Milkie, M. A. (2003). Costs and rewards of children: The effects of becoming a parent on adults’ lives. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 65(2): 356–374
- Nelson, S. K., Kushlev, K., English, T., Dunn, E. W., & Lyubomirsky, S. (2013). In defense of parenthood: Children are associated with more joy than misery. *Psychological Science*, 24, 3-10.
- Neyer, G. and Andersson, G. (2008). Consequences of family policies on childbearing behavior: Effects or artifacts? *Population and Development Review* 34(4): 699–724.
- Noor, N. M. (2003). Work- and family-related variables, work–family conflict and women’s well-being: some observations, *Community, Work & Family*, Vol. 6, No. 3
- Pailhe, A. and Solaz A. (2009). Work-family arrangements. In: Kotowska, I.E., Matysiak, A., Styr, M., Pailhe, A., Solaz, A., Vignoli D. Family life and work. Analytical report on the Second

- quality of Life Survey. Dublin: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions., p. 33-54.
- Pinquart, M. and S. Sörensen. 2000. "Influences of socioeconomic status, social network, and competence on subjective well-being in later life: A meta-analysis," *Psychology and Aging* 15(2): 187–224.
- Ranson, G. (1998). Education, work and family decision making: finding the "right time to have a baby. In: *The Canadian Review of Sociology & Anthropology* 35(4): 517-533.
- Rodgers, J. L., Kohler, H.-P., Kyvik, K., & Christensen, K. (2001). Behavior genetic modeling of human fertility: Findings from a contemporary Danish twin study. *Demography*, 38(1), 29–42.
- Small, S. A. and Riley, D. (1990). Toward a multidimensional assessment of work spillover into family life. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 52, 51-61.
- Sanchez, L., & Thomson, E. (1997). Becoming mothers and fathers: Parenthood, gender, and the division of labor. *Gender and Society*, 11(6), 747–772.
- Sheldon, K.M., Lucas, R.E. (Eds.) 2014. *Stability of Happiness. Theories and Evidence on Whether Happiness Can Change*, New York: Elsevier.
- Skirbekk, V. and M. Blekesaune (2014). "Personality Traits Increasingly Important for Male Fertility: Evidence from Norway." *European Journal of Personality* 28(6): 521-529.
- Steiber, N. (2009). Reported Levels of Time-Based and Strain-Based Conflict Between Work and Family Roles in Europe: A multilevel Approach, *Social Indicator Research*, 93:469-488.
- Summerfield, M., Freidin, S., Hahn, M., Li, N., Macalalad, N., Mundy, L, Watson, N., Wilkins, R. and Wooden, M. (2014), *'HILDA User Manual – Release 13'*, Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, University of Melbourne
- Tavares, L. (2008). Who delays childbearing? The relationships between fertility, education and personality traits. ISER Working Papers 2010-17.
- Umberson, D., Crosnoe, R., Reczek, C. 2010. Social Relationships and Health Behaviors across the Life Course. *Annual Review of Sociology*. 36:139–57.
- Veenhoven, R. (1993). *Happiness in Nations: Subjective Appreciation of Life in 56 Nations 1946-1992*. Rotterdam: Erasmus University, RISBO, Center for Socio-Cultural Transformation.
- Veenhoven R. (1996), Developments in satisfaction research, *Social Indicators Research*, 20, 333-354.
- Voydavhoff, P. (2005). Toward a Conceptualization of Perceived Work–family Fit and Balance: A Demands and Resources Approach, *Journal of Marriage and Family* 67, 822–36.
- Wallace, C., Pichler, F. and Hayes, B.C. (2007). *First European Quality of Life Survey: Quality of work and subjective life satisfaction in Europe*, Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Williams , D. E. Thompson , J. K. (1993). Biology and behavior: A set-point hypothesis of psychological functioning. *Behavior Modification*, 17, 43-57.
- Zimmermann, A. C., & Easterlin, R. A. (2006). Happily ever after? Cohabitation, marriage, divorce and happiness in Germany. *Population and Development Review*, 32(3), 511–528.

Appendix

Table 1A. Estimates from fixed-effects linear regression with life satisfaction as dependent variable, women

Variables	Not controlled for work-family balance/conflict			Controlled for work-family balance			Controlled for conflict due to spillover from family to work			Controlled for conflict due to spillover from work to family		
	coeff	se	sign	coeff	se	sign	coeff	se	sign	coeff	se	sign
Number of children												
no children	ref			ref			ref			ref		
one	-0.04	0.055		-0.32	0.093	***	-0.22	0.069	***	-0.22	0.063	***
two	-0.15	0.062	**	-0.40	0.098	***	-0.33	0.074	***	-0.33	0.069	***
three	-0.14	0.073	*	-0.47	0.109	***	-0.32	0.084	***	-0.31	0.079	***
Age of the youngest child before the pregnancy around the pregnancy												
newborn	0.22	0.045	***	0.14	0.044	***	0.23	0.045	***	0.22	0.045	***
2 years	0.24	0.065	***	0.17	0.067	**	0.25	0.065	***	0.24	0.065	***
3 years	0.02	0.064		0.05	0.067		0.03	0.064		0.02	0.064	
4 years	-0.04	0.066		0.01	0.069		-0.03	0.066		-0.03	0.066	
5-6 years	-0.09	0.065		0.07	0.068		-0.07	0.065		-0.07	0.065	
7-10 years	-0.03	0.066		0.02	0.070		-0.02	0.066		-0.01	0.066	
10-15 years	-0.02	0.066		-0.04	0.070		-0.01	0.066		0.00	0.066	
15+ years	0.00	0.069		-0.06	0.075		0.01	0.069		0.03	0.069	
Age												
age	-0.04	0.074		-0.11	0.086		-0.04	0.074		-0.03	0.073	
Partnership status												
single	-0.01	0.003	***	-0.01	0.003	***	-0.01	0.003	***	-0.01	0.003	***
cohabiting	ref			ref			ref			ref		
married	0.27	0.052	***	0.27	0.03	***	0.26	0.052	***	0.27	0.052	***
divorced / widowed	0.21	0.057	***	0.24	0.04	***	0.21	0.057	***	0.21	0.057	***
Partners' employment												
inactive	-0.30	0.051	***	-0.42	0.05	***	-0.30	0.051	***	-0.30	0.051	***
unemployed	ref			ref			ref			ref		
employed	0.01	0.066		0.01	0.03		0.01	0.065		0.01	0.065	
Household's economic resources												
HH's economic resources	-0.01	0.046		-0.03	0.05		-0.01	0.046		-0.01	0.046	
Health status												
no chronic illness	0.01	0.005		0.01	0.005	**	0.01	0.005	***	0.01	0.005	**
chronic illness	ref			ref			ref			ref		
Education level												
low	-0.23	0.025	***	-0.23	0.025	***	-0.23	0.025	***	-0.23	0.025	***
	-0.08	0.043	*	-0.08	0.043	*	-0.08	0.043	*	-0.08	0.043	*

medium	0.02	0.054		0.01	0.054		0.01	0.054		0.02	0.054	
high	ref			ref			ref			ref		
Attendance to education												
yes	-0.01	0.028		-0.01	0.028		-0.01	0.028		-0.01	0.028	
Respondents' employment												
employed	0.04	0.022	*									
Work-family balance												
weak				ref								
moderate				0.13	0.079	*						
strong				0.32	0.079	***						
working and no children												
not working and no children				-0.12	0.037	***						
not working and has children				0.25	0.079	***						
Family-to-work conflict												
weak							ref					
moderate							0.10	0.044	**			
strong							0.21	0.046	***			
working and no children												
not working and no children							-0.12	0.037	***			
not working and has children							0.14	0.047	***			
Work-to-family conflict												
weak										ref		
moderate										0.12	0.033	***
strong										0.22	0.037	***
working and no children												
not working and no children										-0.12	0.037	***
not working and has children										0.14	0.038	***
Constant	8.01	0.082	***	8.07	0.080	***	8.06	0.080	***	8.06	0.080	***

Table 2A. Estimates from fixed-effects linear regression with life satisfaction as dependent variable, men

Variables	Not controlled for work-family balance/conflict			Controlled for work-family balance			Controlled for conflict due to spillover from family to work			Controlled for conflict due to spillover from work to family		
	coeff	se	sign	coeff	se	sign	coeff	se	sign	coeff	se	sign
Number of children												
no children	ref			ref			ref			ref		
one	0.01	0.057		-0.32	0.093	***	-0.13	0.072	*	-0.13	0.061	**
two	-0.08	0.065		-0.40	0.098	***	-0.21	0.078	***	-0.21	0.068	***
three	-0.14	0.081	*	-0.47	0.109	***	-0.28	0.091	***	-0.28	0.083	***
Age of the youngest child before the pregnancy around the pregnancy												
newborn	ref			ref			ref			ref		
2 years	0.14	0.044	***	0.14	0.044	***	0.14	0.044	***	0.13	0.044	***
3 years	0.16	0.067	**	0.17	0.067	**	0.16	0.067	**	0.16	0.067	**
4 years	0.04	0.067		0.05	0.067		0.04	0.067		0.04	0.067	
5-6 years	0.01	0.069		0.01	0.069		0.01	0.069		0.01	0.069	
7-10 years	0.06	0.068		0.07	0.068		0.06	0.068		0.06	0.068	
10-15 years	0.02	0.071		0.02	0.070		0.01	0.071		0.01	0.071	
15 + years	-0.05	0.070		-0.04	0.070		-0.06	0.070		-0.06	0.070	
	-0.06	0.075		-0.06	0.075		-0.07	0.075		-0.08	0.075	
	-0.11	0.087		-0.11	0.086		-0.13	0.087		-0.15	0.087	*
Age												
age	-0.05	0.012	***	-0.05	0.012	***	-0.06	0.012	***	-0.05	0.012	***
age squared	0.00	0.000	***	0.00	0.000	***	0.00	0.000	***	0.00	0.000	***
Partnership status												
single	ref			ref			ref			ref		
cohabiting	0.27	0.030	***	0.27	0.030	***	0.27	0.030	***	0.27	0.030	***
married	0.24	0.039	***	0.24	0.039	***	0.24	0.039	***	0.24	0.039	***
divorced / widowed	-0.42	0.055	***	-0.42	0.054	***	-0.42	0.055	***	-0.42	0.054	***
Partners' employment												
inactive	ref			ref			ref			ref		
unemployed	0.00	0.026		0.00	0.026		-0.01	0.026		0.00	0.026	
employed	-0.04	0.050		-0.03	0.050		-0.03	0.050		-0.02	0.050	
Household's economic resources												
HH's economic resources	0.01	0.005	*	0.01	0.005	*	0.01	0.005	*	0.01	0.005	*
Health status												
no chronic illness	ref			ref			ref			ref		
chronic illness	-0.22	0.026	***	-0.21	0.025	***	-0.22	0.026	***	-0.22	0.026	***
Education level												
low	-0.07	0.049		-0.07	0.048		-0.06	0.049		-0.07	0.048	
medium	-0.12	0.064	*	-0.13	0.064	**	-0.12	0.064	*	-0.13	0.064	**

high Attendance to education	ref			ref			ref		ref		
yes Respondents' employment	0.11	0.032	***	0.11	0.032	***	0.11	0.032	0.11	0.032	***
employed Work-family balance	0.29	0.032	***								
weak				ref							
moderate				0.17	0.076	**					
strong				0.40	0.077	***					
working and no children											
not working and no children				-0.36	0.038	***					
not working and has children				0.12	0.088						
Family-to-work conflict											
weak							ref				
moderate							0.09	0.047	*		
strong							0.18	0.049	***		
working and no children											
not working and no children							-0.36	0.038	***		
not working and has children							-0.05	0.066			
Work-to-family conflict											
weak									ref		
moderate									0.13	0.028	***
strong									0.28	0.037	***
working and no children											
not working and no children									-0.35	0.038	***
not working and has children									-0.06	0.054	
Has stepchildren	0.06	0.159		0.04	0.159		0.05	0.159	0.02	0.159	
Constant	8.43	0.207	***	8.74	0.207	***	8.74	0.207	8.72	0.207	***