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Previous research suggests that raising children is costly to well-being, particularly for women. However, this work is limited by the examination of almost entirely Western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic (WEIRD) countries (particularly the United States); single outcomes (often single-item measures); inconsistent conceptualizations of childrearing; and the lacking investigation of variability within countries. Across 15 countries and six well-being indicators (i.e., relationship satisfaction, relationship disagreement, work-to-family and family-to-work spillover, depressive symptoms, and social integration), the goals of this study were to examine and compare (a) within-country differences between individuals with and without minor children in the home (i.e., childrearing disparities), accounting for differences between men and women, and the extent to which childrearing disparities differed for men and women (i.e., childrearing by gender disparities), and (b) differences in childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities between non-WEIRD, semi-WEIRD, and WEIRD groups of countries. Drawing on Generations and Gender Survey data from 61,248 partnered, coresident adults living with or without children under age 18, I used ordinary least squares and fixed-effects regression models to address study goals. Underscoring the importance of examining within-country and within-group variability, results indicated that childrearing was not universally detrimental across dimensions of well-being, countries, and country groups.

In contrast to previous research, surprisingly few childrearing disparities were statistically significant, indicating few mental health costs (though no benefits) of childrearing in this predominantly European sample. When present, childrearing disparities were most noticeable for relationship satisfaction and disagreement, suggesting that children may take a greater toll on the well-being of the partner relationship relative to other life domains. Although women typically reported lower well-being than men across countries, results indicated that living with children was protective for Swedish and Norwegian women's depressive symptoms and Swedish women's social integration, and detrimental for Polish women's family-to-work spillover and Italian women's relationship disagreement. When examined by group, the semi-WEIRD group (concentrated largely in Eastern Europe) appeared most vulnerable to childrearing disparities and within the WEIRD group, the detrimental effects of living with children were amplified for women's work-to-family spillover and mitigated for women's depressive symptoms. Larger disparities may be costly to partnership stability, fertility, children's mental health, and social and gender equality, and may reflect a mismatch between individuals' needs, cultural or religious attitudes, and policies to support households with children.

CHILDREARING, GENDER, AND WELL-BEING IN
CROSS-NATIONAL CONTEXT

by

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To children,
especially my nephews, William and Bennett.

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation, written by Natalie D. Hengstebeck, has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of The Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

To varying degrees around the world, societal changes over the last century have altered the meaning and experience of raising children, such as rising financial costs of childrearing, greater acceptance of childlessness, less stable marital and parenting unions, increased centrality of parenthood identity, and the influx of previously absent mothers into paid labor (McLanahan & Adams, 1987). Raising children has both the potential to bolster well-being by providing a sense of meaning, the satisfaction of evolutionary desires to procreate, and status within prosocial roles, and to undermine well-being by straining partnership relationships, disrupting work and leisure time, and exacerbating financial stress (Nelson, Kushlev, & Lyubomirsky, 2014). However, it is likely that the link between childrearing and well-being varies based on conceptualizations of well-being (i.e., positive or negative, type of measure), participant characteristics (e.g., gender), and the country contexts from which populations are sampled. Thus, the present study examined differences in well-being between individuals with and without children in the home (i.e., childrearing disparities), between women and men (i.e., gender disparities), and the extent to which childrearing disparities were amplified or mitigated for women relative to men (i.e., childrearing by gender disparities) across six indicators of well-being, both within 15 individual countries and three groups of countries classified

by the extent to which they are Western, educated, industrialized, rich, democratic (i.e., WEIRD) and represented in research (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010).

Given that raising children is a life event that most people in the world will experience, the extent to which there are differences in well-being between individuals with and without minor children in the home (i.e., childrearing disparities) is crucial for public policy. At the country level, larger childrearing disparities may indicate a mismatch between individuals' preferences or needs, cultural or religious attitudes, and/or policies to support households with children. For example, if childrearing individuals experience lower well-being than their counterparts without children, countries may inadvertently undermine adult and child mental health and partnership stability, as well as macro efforts to promote fertility and equality. Because women do disproportionately more childrearing than men, negative effects of childrearing are likely to be felt more strongly by women. Conversely, individuals without children who fare worse may indicate that countries are underinvesting in that segment of the population. Taken together, it is important to examine within-country childrearing disparities in well-being and the extent to which this association varies by participant gender across a range of countries.

Previous research has examined links between childrearing and well-being, though most of these studies have examined a single outcome (often a single-item measure of life satisfaction; e.g., Glass, Simon, & Andersson, 2016), drawn conclusions almost entirely based on samples from WEIRD countries (particularly the United States), and neglected to examine variability in the gendered nature of childrearing within

countries. Further, regardless of the extent to which included countries could be described as WEIRD, cross-national studies often fail to model how childrearing and/or gender disparities vary across countries (e.g., Aassve, Goisis, & Sironi, 2012; Hansen, Slagsvold, & Ingebretsen, 2012; Plagnol & Huppert, 2010; Savolainen, Lahelma, Silventonen, Gauthier, & Silventonen, 2001; Soons & Kalmijn, 2009; Stack & Eshleman, 1998; Stanca, 2012). Not only does this lack of attention to within-country variability implicitly assume that the hassles and uplifts of raising children are the same across countries, but also it ignores the larger sociohistorical and policy contexts that shape the everyday experience of childrearing. Even among WEIRD countries, previous research suggests that childrearing may be more costly to well-being in English-speaking countries (particularly the United States) and less costly (or even beneficial) in Western Europe (e.g., Glass et al., 2016; Spector et al., 2004), particularly in the Nordic countries (e.g., Hansen, Slagsvold, & Moum, 2009; Roeters, Mandemakers, & Voorpostel, 2016). These childrearing trends parallel rates of divorce and parental union dissolution, which are typically higher in the United States than in Sweden or Norway (e.g., Andersson, 2003; OECD, 2015), suggesting that maintaining high well-being while raising children may be more challenging in some countries relative to others. This may reflect the extent of social and family policies aimed at supporting individuals and families within countries.

The present study aimed to address these limitations using data from Wave 1 of the Generations and Gender Survey, which is a cross-national, longitudinal survey of 18 to 79-year-old non-institutionalized adults in 19 countries. First, I examined childrearing

disparities across six dimensions of well-being. Indicators of well-being in this study were a single-item measure of relationship satisfaction, a seven-item measure of relationship disagreement, a two-item measure of work-to-family spillover, a two-item measure of family-to-work spillover, a six-item measure of depressive symptomatology, and a three-item measure of social integration. Second, I examined 15 countries individually (i.e., Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, France, Georgia, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Romania, Russia, and Sweden) and within three groups I labeled non-WEIRD, semi-WEIRD, and WEIRD. Third, I accounted for the gendered nature of parenting and the potential for childrearing, gender, and/or childrearing by gender disparities to vary within countries and within country groups. Fourth, whereas there is conceptual inconsistency between the measurement of childrearing and/or parenting in the literature (discussed in the literature review), I used a policy-relevant conceptualization of childrearing. Specifically, I define childrearing as the presence or absence of minor children under 18 in the home (excluding those who live with adult children). Not only does this definition have the clearest implications for policy by targeting households where children are present, but also it better distinguishes between individuals who experience the daily uplifts and hassles of childrearing and those who do not. In addition, this study is not limited to the examination of only households with young children. Fifth, given the relatively rare inclusion of relationship outcomes in cross-national research and to remove potential family structure confounds (e.g., Aassve et al., 2012; Brown, 2000; Woo & Kelly Raley, 2005), I focus exclusively on partnered, coresiding *individuals* (not couples) with or without children in the home.

Below, I discuss Henrich et al.'s (2010) paper, which is my point of departure. Second, I review existing literature on the links between childrearing and aspects of well-being, the importance of examining childrearing through a gendered lens, and why links between childrearing and well-being may vary between WEIRD and other countries. Third, I discuss the specific research questions and the methods used to address them. Fourth, I discuss the analyses conducted and the results. I conclude with a discussion of key findings, limitations and future directions, and implications for policy.

What is so Weird about WEIRD Countries?

Henrich et al. (2010) draw attention to the ways in which social scientists often implicitly infer that findings based on samples of Western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic (WEIRD) societies are generalizable to other populations. This may occur in how researchers discuss and interpret their own findings and in the ways in which they uncritically review literature from other countries, cultures, and/or sociohistorical periods that may be entirely irrelevant to their own samples (Arnett, 2008). The assumption that childrearing and/or gender will be similarly associated with well-being within and between countries is particularly relevant in the research literature on parenting and childrearing in cross-national context, both in the ways findings are discussed and in the ways that countries are treated analytically. Even though many cross-national and American studies have found that American parents and/or childrearing individuals reported the largest disparities in well-being relative to their counterparts without children (e.g., Glass et al., 2016) and the United States is uniquely characterized by the lack of universal paid family leave and other family policies,

researchers in Europe and elsewhere uncritically expect childrearing in other samples to be negatively associated with well-being.

Drawing on calls for more attention to families outside the United States (Arnett, 2008; Henrich et al., 2010), this study uses a sample representing 15 countries and 6.5% of the global population (World Bank, 2016a). In addition to examining countries individually, I indexed and ranked countries across six dimensions: Western, educated, industrialized, rich, democratic, and representation in research (i.e., international surveys). In contrast to Henrich et al.'s (2010) argument that there are only WEIRD and non-WEIRD countries, I argue that there are also semi-WEIRD countries, located in post-communist Central and Eastern Europe, which are notably more educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic than most of the world and are frequently included in international surveys. Nevertheless, these non-Western countries have not experienced the same degree of wealth, industrialization, democracy, nor survey representation as the WEIRD countries. Therefore, I examined three groups of countries: (a) WEIRD (i.e., Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Norway, and Sweden); (b) semi-WEIRD (i.e., the Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, and Poland); and (c) non-WEIRD countries (i.e., Bulgaria, Georgia, Romania, and Russia).

Recognizing that the Generations and Gender Survey was developed largely by scholars in WEIRD countries, a potential limitation of this study is that constructs or their measurement may vary in their relevance across countries. Further, though it would be desirable to examine well-being across an even more diverse range of countries and outcomes, this study nevertheless makes an important contribution to the literature about

the effects of childrearing across a wider range of countries and outcomes than are typically studied.

Scholars largely residing in WEIRD countries theorizing about individuals within WEIRD countries have suggested that the nature of the association between childrearing and well-being depends on (a) families' existing vulnerabilities and adaptive strategies (Karney & Bradbury, 1995), (b) the extent to which childrearing increases stress exposure that undermines mental health (e.g., Pearlin, 1989), and (c) the degree to which families are supported by communities and public and private institutions (Bronfenbrenner, 1978). Further, childrearing disparities may depend on (a) the psychological, relationship, economic, and opportunity costs of parenting; (b) the benefits of childlessness, particularly for leisure time; (c) efforts by the non-parents to pursue alternative rewarding roles and relationships in other life domains; (d) cognitive biases in favor of parenting resulting from evolution and socialization; and (e) parents mistaking rewards of parenting for happiness as opposed to meaning (Hansen et al., 2012). Recognizing that the significance of these factors is likely to vary across countries and well-being outcomes, and that these perspectives may neglect salient factors in non- or semi-WEIRD countries, they are a helpful starting point in thinking about childrearing disparities within countries.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THE PRESENT STUDY

Ideally, there would be no differences in aspects of well-being based on the presence of children, respondent gender, nor the interaction of these factors, as this would seem to indicate more equality and/or a better fit between individuals' preferences, cultural or religious attitudes, and public policies. However, many studies do find differences in well-being between these groups, though it is yet unclear the extent to which these differences vary across individual countries and groups of countries based on macro-level characteristics. In the sections that follow, I review the literature on childrearing and six indicators of well-being: relationship satisfaction, relationship disagreement, work-to-family spillover, family-to-work spillover, depressive symptoms, and social integration. Because policy implications can be inferred more directly from the presence of children in the household relative to parental status, I define childrearing status as whether participants live with or without children under age 18 in the home (excluding those living with adult children). However, given limited research in this area, I also draw on studies comparing differences in well-being between (a) parents vs. non-parents (or childless individuals), (b) parents with residential children vs. childless individuals, (c) the presence or absence of children in the home (regardless of age), and (d) individuals before and after the transition to parenthood. In addition to research conducted in or using samples from study countries, I draw on the relatively large body

of American research in this area. Next, I review the role of gender in the link between childrearing and well-being and conclude the literature review with a discussion of why disparities may differ among individual countries, as well as non-WEIRD, semi-WEIRD, and WEIRD groups.

Childrearing and Relationship Quality

Though the present study examines relationship satisfaction and disagreement, limited research necessitated broadening the scope of my review to related aspects of relationship quality. Whereas relationship satisfaction refers to the cognitive evaluation of the relationship and relationship disagreement refers to the frequency of conflict within the relationship, relationship quality encompasses both and is broadly defined as cognitive, affective, and behavioral qualities of the marital or non-marital relationship (Helms, 2013). There are many distinct dimensions of relationship quality, but they are strongly related (Fletcher, Simpson, & Thomas, 2000). Previous research conducted largely in the United States and other WEIRD countries has typically found that childrearing and/or parenting were negatively associated with relationship quality. In the United States, individuals living with children reported lower relationship quality than individuals without children (Nock, 1979) and parents reported lower relationship quality than non-parents (Somers, 1993). These associations were consistent with findings from the American transition to parenthood literature for both relationship satisfaction (e.g., Mitnick, Heyman, & Smith Slep, 2009; Twenge, Campbell, & Foster, 2003; Lawrence, Rothman, Cobb, Rothman, & Bradbury, 2008) and disagreement (e.g., Belsky & Rovine, 1990; Ceballo et al., 2004; Crohan, 1996).

Research on childrearing and relationship quality among European couples is more limited, but has found negative associations between childrearing and relationship quality, both longitudinally across the transition to parenthood (Keizer, Dykstra, & Poortman, 2010 [the Netherlands]; Keizer & Schenk, 2012 [Britain]; Lorensen, Wilson, & White, 2004 [Norway]) and in comparisons between parents and non-parents (Wiik, Bernhardt, & Noack, 2009 [Sweden and Norway]). Because relationship quality generally declines over time regardless of whether couples become parents, these studies typically include a comparable group of childless individuals (e.g., Keizer & Schenk, 2012; Lawrence et al., 2008) or control for relationship duration (e.g., Keizer et al., 2010; Wiik et al., 2009). This study is among the first to examine country-specific childrearing disparities in relationship quality, both generally and outside of WEIRD countries.

Childrearing and Work–Family Conflict

Work-to-family and family-to-work spillover are types of work–family conflict, which is broadly defined as perceived strain resulting from the tension between individuals' resources (e.g., time, energy) and work and non-work demands (Kossek, Pichler, Meece, & Barratt, 2008; Moen & Chesley, 2008). Whereas work-to-family spillover refers to the influence of work on one's family or personal life, family-to-work spillover refers to the influence of one's personal life or family on work (Mesmer-Magnus & Viswesvaran, 2004). Whereas some researchers examine them as two separate (but correlated) constructs (e.g., Byron, 2005), others collapse them as a single construct (e.g., Crompton & Lyonette, 2006).

Previous research has found that parents (relative to non-parents) and individuals living with children (relative to those not living with children) reported more work–family conflict, regardless of whether it is examined as one (Crompton & Lyonette, 2006 [five WEIRD countries]; Ollo-López & Goñi-Legaz, 2015 [17 WEIRD and semi-WEIRD countries]; Voydanoff, 1988 [United States]) or two (Byron, 2005 [United States and Canada]) constructs. These effects have been shown to be larger when children are young (Russell, O’Connell, McGinnity, 2009 [Ireland]). However, childrearing disparities in work–family conflict may not be consistent across countries and cultures: in a cross-national study of managers, correlations between the *number* of children and work–family conflict were positive in English-speaking countries (i.e., Australia, Canada, England, New Zealand, and the United States), negative in Asia (i.e., China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan), and non-significant in Latin America (i.e., Argentina, Brazil, Columbia, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru, and Uruguay; Spector et al., 2004). This finding that the nature of the association between the number of children and work–family conflict depends on the country context suggests that childrearing may only be detrimental to well-being in WEIRD countries and provides support for examining variability across WEIRD groups of countries.

Childrearing and Depressive Symptoms

Existing research on childrearing disparities in depressive symptomatology is mixed. Studies comparing American parents and non-parents finds mixed results for depressive symptoms (Evenson & Simon, 2005; Nelson, Kushlev, English, Dunn, & Lyubomirsky, 2013; Nomaguchi & Milkie, 2003). Specifically, relative to non-parents,

some studies have found that American parents living with children reported more depressive symptoms (for cohabiting but not married individuals; Brown, 2000) or no difference in depressive symptoms (Umberson & Gove, 1989; see McLanahan & Adams, 1987 for a review). Previous research finds mixed results for comparisons between parents and non-parents depending on respondent gender and the female partners' employment status (e.g., Gove & Geerken, 1977). Studies examining changes in depressive symptoms across the transition to parenthood find mixed results (e.g., Ceballo, Lansford, Abbey, & Stewart, 2004; Simpson, Rholes, Campbell, Tran, & Wilson, 2003; Sirignano & Lachman, 1985). Given that most people do raise children at some point in their lives, it may be that childrearing disparities in depressive symptoms are conditional on a myriad of other contextual factors. Lending support to this idea, Van de Velde, Bracke, and Levecque (2010) examined depression in 23 countries, including 10 non-WEIRD (i.e., Bulgaria, Russia), semi-WEIRD (i.e., Hungary, Poland), and WEIRD (i.e., Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Norway, Sweden) countries from the present study. Pooled across all 23 countries, Van de Velde et al. found no differences between people with and without young children (younger than 12 years old) in the home, regardless of gender. Though they did find support for the impact of socioeconomic (i.e., income, employment, education) and family (i.e., marital status, living with partner, living with young children) moderators in the association between childrearing and depression, the authors did not examine these associations within individual countries. Thus, their work did not indicate the extent to which there were childrearing, gender, nor childrearing by gender disparities within any particular country.

Nevertheless, there is some evidence to suggest that the link between childrearing and depressive symptoms is moderated by gender (and perhaps country). First, a German community study examined differences between individuals living with and without children (of their own) in the home and gender differences in the odds of reporting clinical mental disorders (Helbig, Lampert, Klose, & Jacobi, 2006). In addition to finding that living with children and being male were associated with lower odds of being diagnosed with a mental disorder or clinical depression, Helbig et al. found that the magnitude of the difference between individuals with and without children in the home in the likelihood of being diagnosed with a mental disorder was smaller for women than for men. A second study found that relative to not living with children of one's own, living with biological children (of their own) was negatively associated with depressive mood for Finnish fathers yet positively associated with depressive mood for Finnish mothers (Savolainen et al., 2001).

Childrearing and Social Integration

Social integration refers to individuals' sense of connectedness to a group of friends or a social network. As this construct is measured using a measure of loneliness, social integration may also be understood as the absence of loneliness. Thus, I review below both research on social loneliness and integration. As with depressive symptomatology, research on childrearing and social integration (or the inverse of loneliness) is mixed. A cross-national study found no effects of parenting on a single-item measure of loneliness in most WEIRD countries (e.g., Belgium, France, Norway, Sweden); however, the author did find parents to be more lonely than non-parents (and

thus less socially integrated) in West Germany and Italy (Stack, 1998). Gender may also play a role: the same study found that fathers reported significantly less loneliness than did mothers. Longitudinal research over the transition to parenthood is also mixed, with some studies finding increased integration (Nomaguchi & Milkie, 2003) and others finding no difference (Keizer et al., 2010). Specifically, Nomaguchi and Milkie (2003) found that Americans who became parents (regardless of marital status and gender) reported higher levels of social integration than their childless counterparts. In contrast, Keizer et al. (2010) found no differences among Dutch women and men who became parents relative to their childless counterparts. Similarly, Stack's (1998) cross-national study (including WEIRD countries, Belgium, France, Germany, Norway, and Sweden and semi-WEIRD Italy) found that fathers reported significantly less loneliness than did mothers.

The Role of Gender in Links between Childrearing and Well-Being

Not only were there established differences in well-being between men and women (typically favoring men), but also previous research suggests that these disparities may be exacerbated following the transition to parenthood (Aneshensel, Frerichs, & Clark, 1981; Bebbington et al., 1998; Helbig et al., 2006; Stack, 1998). Given that women are often primary caregivers for children and the potential for spillover, gender differences in well-being are important for both child and adult well-being. When there are childrearing disparities in well-being, research in the United States (e.g., Nomaguchi & Milkie, 2003; Twenge et al., 2003) and Europe (e.g., Aassve et al., 2012) suggests that the relationship is typically stronger for women than men. Relative to men, women

(especially mothers and other childrearing women) may report lower well-being because the burdens of maintaining relationships and raising children often make more demands of women and may take a greater toll on other aspects of women's lives (e.g., work, friendships). The transition when a child is added to the home may be particularly detrimental for women's reports of well-being because, relative to fathers, mothers spend more time caring for children, mothers experience time spent with children to be more stressful and less favorable, and mothers are more likely to experience the decline or loss of the work role (Connelly & Kimmel, 2014; Keizer et al., 2010; MacDonald, Phipps, & Lethbridge, 2005). Given the gendered nature of parenting and established gender disparities in depression (Piccinelli & Wilkinson, 2000; Van de Velde et al., 2010), relationship quality (Jackson, Miller, Oka, & Henry, 2014), and work–family conflict (Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992; Notten, Grunow, & Verbakel, 2017), the present study examines gender disparities in well-being and childrearing disparities adjusted for gender.

(Why) do Childrearing Disparities Vary across Countries and WEIRD Groups?

Though much of the existing research on childrearing and well-being implicitly suggests that raising children affects well-being similarly across countries, there is reason to expect variability across countries and WEIRD groups. Given variability in the link between childrearing and well-being even among WEIRD countries, there is reason to expect even more variability when a more diverse range of countries are examined. For example, the link between childrearing and well-being may vary based on country or WEIRD group characteristics, such as (a) the baseline standard of living, wherein

individuals with a higher standard of living may have less to gain and more to lose from the presence of children than those with a lower standard of living; (b) real or perceived social, cultural, and/or religious pressure to have children, which may prompt individuals who prefer no or fewer children to have (more) children; (c) the social construction of gender or other aspects of identity, in which benefits of social roles may outweigh potential childrearing disparities; (d) the stage of the demographic transition (e.g., children may be more valuable in societies with lower birth and death rates than in societies with higher birth and death rates); and (e) the welfare state and policy supports (or lack thereof) for families with minor children. Because these macro-level characteristics are likely to be correlated and difficult to disentangle, I do not review the role of each of these factors in explaining the link between childrearing and well-being. Therefore, first, I review studies that examine variability across countries and, second, studies that examine variability across groups of countries.

Though many cross-national studies neglect to elucidate specific country effects (e.g., Stanca, 2012, who examined childrearing disparities in life satisfaction and happiness pooled across 94 predominantly non-WEIRD countries representing 90% of the world population, but did not examine specific country or group comparisons), other research points to variability in links between childrearing, gender, and well-being across countries. For example, Glass et al.'s (2016) study of 22 predominantly European countries found variability in the association between childrearing, gender, and well-being; specifically, she and her colleagues found large benefits of living with children in Hungary, Norway, and Sweden; modest benefits in France and Russia; modest costs in

Belgium, Germany, and the Czech Republic; and a large cost in Poland (Glass et al., 2016). In a second study, Van de Velde and colleagues (2010) found variability in gender disparities in depression across countries. Specifically, whereas the pooled model found that women reported significantly more depression than men, the magnitude of gender disparities in depression varied across countries and were even non-significant in three of 23 countries. Taken together, though it is not entirely clear how disparities in well-being will vary across countries, there is likely to be variability.

Though there are no studies to date that examine differences in links between childrearing and well-being based on the extent to which countries may be classified as WEIRD, there are several studies that examine differences between groups of countries based on country-level characteristics, such as region and/or welfare state regimes. For example, as discussed above, whereas the number of children was positively associated with work–family conflict in (WEIRD) English-speaking countries, the association was negative in (non-WEIRD) Asia and non-significant in (non-WEIRD) Latin America (Spector et al., 2004). A second cross-national study of 19 European countries examined the difference between parents and non-parents across welfare state regimes.

Specifically, relative to parents in WEIRD social democratic countries (e.g., Norway and Sweden), both mothers and fathers reported significantly less happiness in WEIRD conservative (e.g., Austria, Belgium, France, and Germany), WEIRD liberal (e.g., the United Kingdom), and semi- and non-WEIRD Eastern European (e.g., Bulgaria and Poland) groups (Aassve et al., 2012). In addition, this effect was stronger for women than for men, lending support to the notion that country context may interact with both

childrearing and gender. Similarly, some scholars have argued that the link between childrearing and well-being is shaped by the extent to which families perceive financial strain (Stack, 1998; Stanca, 2012), which in turn, may be felt more strongly by women and in countries with a smaller social welfare safety net. For example, in Russia, access to 140 days of fully paid maternity leave, extended parental leave, and a cash payment of \$11,000 (to be spend on housing, education, or retirement; Mikucka, 2016) may minimize the financial burdens of childrearing and effects on well-being. Taken together, it is important to test assumptions about the universality of childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities in well-being by examining variability across WEIRD, semi-WEIRD, and non-WEIRD groups.

The Present Study

The goals of this study are to examine and compare (a) childrearing disparities in well-being between individuals with and without minor children in the home (accounting for gender disparities), (b) the extent to which childrearing disparities are amplified (or mitigated) for women relative to men (i.e., childrearing by gender disparities), and (c) differences in childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities in well-being between and among non-WEIRD, semi-WEIRD, and WEIRD groups. Six dimensions of well-being are examined: relationship satisfaction, relationship disagreement, work-to-family spillover, family-to-work spillover, depressive symptoms, and social integration. This study addresses four research questions:

Research Question 1: To what extent are childrearing disparities in well-being significant within countries? Specifically, within countries, how do individuals

with and without minor children in the home compare across aspects of well-being? How do these within-country childrearing disparities in well-being compare across countries?

Research Question 2: To what extent are gender disparities in well-being significant within countries? Specifically, within countries, how do men and women compare across aspects of well-being? How do these within-country gender disparities in well-being compare across countries?

Research Question 3: To what extent are childrearing disparities in well-being amplified (or mitigated) for women relative to men (i.e., childrearing by gender disparities)? How do childrearing by gender disparities compare (in magnitude and direction) across countries?

Research Question 4: Are childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities in aspects of well-being significant within WEIRD (i.e., Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Norway, and Sweden), semi-WEIRD (i.e., the Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, and Poland), and non-WEIRD (i.e., Bulgaria, Georgia, Romania, and Russia) groups? How do these disparities compare between WEIRD and either semi-WEIRD or non-WEIRD groups?

Drawing on data from 15 countries from the Generations and Gender Survey, substantive analyses used to address these questions consist of (a) ordinary least squares regression models to estimate the statistical significance of disparities across outcomes within each country, (b) fixed-effects regression models to examine the patterning and

relative magnitude of disparities within countries, (c) fixed-effects regression models to examine disparities pooled within non-WEIRD, semi-WEIRD, and WEIRD groups of countries, and (d) fixed-effects regression models to test whether disparities differed significantly between WEIRD and either non-WEIRD or semi-WEIRD groups. The following control variables were included based on previous research linking these sociodemographic characteristics with both childrearing status and well-being outcomes: age, relationship duration, marital status, and (except in work-to-family and family-to-work spillover models) employment status (e.g., Glass et al., 2016; Keizer et al., 2010; Spector et al., 2004; Stanca, 2012).

CHAPTER III

METHODS

Data

Individual-level data were drawn from the first wave of the Generations and Gender Survey (GGS), which includes self-report data from non-institutionalized individuals (not couples) in 19 countries (United Nations, 2005). The present study will focus on data collected in primarily the mid- to late-2000s in Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, France, Georgia, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Romania, Russia, and Sweden.

Eligible participants were adults aged 18-79 residing within study countries. In some countries, individuals were also required to speak the national language. Using a multistage sampling design, national lists were first broken down into population units and then a specified number of individuals were randomly selected to be contacted from each unit. Participants were representative of countries' non-institutionalized populations across demographic characteristics and study variables (United Nations, 2005).

Interviews were piloted with small samples in each country prior to the launch of the larger study. Eligible individuals were initially sent a customized letter inviting them to participate; if they did not respond, interviewers attempted multiple cold contacts on different days and at different times (i.e., 10 phone calls or three in-person attempts). If individuals could not be contacted or declined participation, interviewers attempted to

recruit individuals with similar demographic characteristics. To minimize distractions and potential bias, individuals were encouraged to schedule the interview at a time when there would be no one else at home.

Interviewers were trained in general interviewing techniques, methods to improve response rates and confidentiality, and in the modes of data collection. Following each interview, interviewers reported on the perceived accuracy of the data (e.g., atmosphere during interview, problems of understanding). With respondents' permission, select interviews were randomly recorded and evaluated to assess the quality of interviewers' work. In addition, interviewers were surveyed about operating procedures and attitudes and attended regular refresher sessions throughout phases of data collection. Interviewers were paid for training, travel expenses, and per interview. To account for variations in literacy, increase retention, and reduce missing data due to participant error, surveys were read aloud in an interview format (Holbrook, Green, & Krosnick, 2003). Across countries, interviews took approximately 70 minutes to complete.

Procedure

Average Wave 1 response rates (62%) are acceptable for analysis (Babbie, 2007) and comparable with other cross-national studies, such as the Survey of Health, Aging and Retirement in Europe (55%) and the European Union Survey of Income and Living Conditions (73%; Schröder, 2008). Across all 15 countries, the total sample size was 166,071. This sample was restricted to individuals who were (a) co-residing with a partner and (b) younger than age 55. Individuals in households where the presence of children could not be determined or those in which the youngest residential children were

18 years of age or older were dropped from the sample. These restrictions resulted in an analytic sample of 61,248 respondents, of which 76.4% had minor children present in the home. Within countries, this ranged from 67.8% in the Czech Republic to 91.4% in Georgia. See Table 1 for characteristics of the GGS data, including years of data collection, response rates, the full and analytic sample sizes, and means and standard deviations for each dependent variable by country. Unadjusted means based on childrearing status, gender, and the four combinations of childrearing status by gender are available in Table B1 in Appendix B.

Analyses were conducted using Stata MP 14.2. Multiple imputation using Stata's chained equations procedure was used to account for missing data on the six dependent variables and three of the control variables (i.e., relationship duration, employment status, marital status).

Measures

Relationship satisfaction. *Relationship satisfaction* was measured as participants' responses to a single item about individuals' satisfaction with their relationship with their partner. Participants responded using an 11-point scale ranging from 0 ("not at all satisfied") to 10 ("completely satisfied"). Higher scores indicated higher levels of relationship satisfaction.

Relationship disagreement. *Relationship disagreement* refers to individuals' perceived frequency of disagreement with their partner. This variable was measured based on disagreement over the last year across seven domains: household chores, money, use of leisure time, sex, relations with friends, relations with parents and in-laws,

and drinking alcohol. Two items about child-raising issues and having children were dropped. Given variability in countries' scales, items were collapsed into a three-point scale which was coded as follows: 0 ("never" or "seldom"), 1 ("sometimes"), and 2 ("frequently" or "very frequently"). Average scores were calculated for participants with higher scores indicating higher levels of disagreement.

Work-to-family and family-to-work spillover. Work-to-family and family-to-work spillover were measured using participants' reports on their experiences in the last three months across four items developed by Sang, Ison, and Dainty (2008). This study distinguishes between *work-to-family spillover* and *family-to-work spillover*. Work-to-family spillover subscale items were: "I have come home from work too tired to do the chores that need to be done" and "It has been difficult for me to fulfill my family responsibilities because of the amount of time I spend on my job" ($r = .65$). Family-to-work spillover subscale items were: "I have arrived at work too tired to function well because of the household work I had done" and "I have found it difficult to concentrate at work because of my family responsibilities" ($r = .60$). The items had four response categories: never, once or twice a month, several times a month, and several times a week. Scores for each subscale were calculated by averaging the scores for each set of two items. Higher scores indicated higher levels of family-to-work and work-to-family spillover.

Depressive symptoms. *Depressive symptoms* are assessed based on participants' reports on their experiences in the last week across six items from the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D; Radloff, 1977), including "I felt

depressed,” “I felt sad,” and “I thought my life had been a failure.” Participants used a four-point scale ranging from 0 (“seldom or never”) to 3 (“most of the time”). Another item from the measure (“I had crying spells”) was not included given well-documented gender differences on this variable (e.g., Carleton et al., 2013). Higher scores indicated more depressive symptoms.

Social integration. *Social integration* was measured using participants’ reports on their current life experiences across three positive items based on the scale developed by De Jong-Gierveld and Kamphuis (1985). Items were: “There are plenty of people that I can lean on in case of trouble,” “There are many people that I can count on completely,” and “There are enough people that I feel close to.” The items had three response categories: yes, more or less, and no. Responses of “yes” or “more or less” were coded as 1 and “no” responses were coded as 0. Sum scores were calculated for participant with higher scores indicating higher levels of social integration.

Childrearing status. *Childrearing status* was coded as 0 (no children younger than 18 living in the home) or 1 (one or more children younger than 18 living in the home). As shown in Table 1, the percentage of participants with children living in the home ranged from 67.8% in the Czech Republic to 91.4% in Georgia. Thirty-three percent of those coded as 0 were parents relative to 99.9% of those coded as 1. However, among the latter group of 46,771 participants living with one or more minor children, it is important to note that not all were parents to the coresidential children. Most of these participants were living with exclusively biological children: 88.3% lived in households with children from only the current partnership, 2.87% from a former partnership,

and 2.3% from a combination of current and former partnerships. In addition, 4.7% lived with both one or more biological (minor) children and one or more other minor children. An additional 0.2% were exclusively adoptive parents, 0.1% were exclusively foster parents, 0.8% were exclusively stepparents, 0.1% were exclusively (great) grandparents (without the presence of the adult children), and 0.6% other minor child.

Gender. *Gender* was coded 0 (man) or 1 (woman). As shown in Table 1, the percentage of female participants ranged from 45.9% in Romania to 62.7% in Austria and the percentage of childrearing female participants ranged from 34.5% in Lithuania to 49.3% in Georgia.

WEIRD group membership. Countries were classified based on the extent to which they are Western (based on Henrich et al., 2010), educated (i.e., mean divided by expected years of schooling; United Nations, 2013), industrialized (i.e., infrastructure quality; World Bank, 2016b), rich (i.e., GDP per capita; World Bank, 2015), democratic (Democracy Index; Economist Intelligence Unit, 2015), and represented in international social science datasets (i.e., European Social Survey; Health, Ageing, and Retirement in Europe; European Survey of Income and Living Conditions; International Social Survey Program on Family and Gender Roles; and the World Values Survey). Based on these six indicators, I estimated a WEIRD index from which countries were divided into three groups based on natural breaks in the index score (see Table B2 in Appendix B). Specifically, I classified four countries (i.e., Bulgaria, Georgia, Romania, and Russia) with high negative values (index scores ranging from -7.59 to -5.96) as non-WEIRD, five countries (i.e., the Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, and Poland) with values

near 0 (index scores ranging from -1.14 to 0.00) as semi-WEIRD, and six countries (i.e., Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Norway, and Sweden) with high positive values (index scores ranging from 3.24 to 7.21) as WEIRD. The number of individuals and countries within each group for each outcome are shown in Table 4.

Covariates. At the micro-level, all models control for age, and each respondent's employment status, marital status, and relationship duration. *Age* was coded continuously based on respondents' reports. *Respondents' employment status* was coded as 0 (not employed) or 1 (employed). *Relationship duration* was coded continuously as the years since the start of the relationship. *Marital status* was coded as 0 (not legally married, including cohabitators) or 1 (legally married).

Analytic Strategy

Fixed-effects regression models were the primary analysis used to address the research questions in the present study. Fixed-effects models, which are most commonly used in panel data analysis to exclude all between-person variability, are useful for this cross-national, cross-sectional study because they control for all country-level heterogeneity and allow the examination of country-level differences by modeling cross-level interaction effects (Möhring, 2012). A limitation of this approach is that the coefficients and significance levels produced in these models reflect not group differences in well-being (e.g., between childrearing and non-childrearing individuals) within each country, but instead (a) the difference in well-being in only the reference group (i.e., Sweden or the WEIRD group) and (b) the size of the disparity within a given comparison group relative to the disparity in the reference group. To calculate

significance levels within countries, I estimated separate ordinary least squares regression models for each country by outcome combination (except for Sweden), as discussed in Bryan and Jenkins (2015).

Four series of analyses were used to answer the research questions. The first three research questions address the strength and patterning of within-country disparities in childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities across well-being outcomes. First, I estimated 67 ordinary least squares regression models to estimate the statistical significance of disparities across each well-being outcome and country combination, excluding the reference group, Sweden. (Because the following set of models provide significance levels for Sweden, it was unnecessary to estimate ordinary least squares models for Sweden.) In addition to control variables, these models included childrearing status, gender, and the interaction of these factors. Next, I estimated six fixed-effects regression models to examine the patterning and relative magnitude of disparities within countries. Each model corresponded to a single well-being outcome and included childrearing status, gender, country indicators, and all combinations of these factors, in addition to control variables. Whereas the main effects of childrearing and gender and their interaction corresponded to disparities in Sweden, each interaction with a given country indicator corresponded to the size of a given disparity relative to the corresponding disparity in Sweden. For example, if the coefficient for childrearing status (i.e., Sweden's childrearing disparity) for depressive symptoms was 1.00, one would conclude that Swedish individuals living with children scored one point higher on depressive symptoms than Swedish individuals not living with children; then, if a

coefficient for the interaction between the country indicator for Austria and childrearing status was 0.50, one would add these values to determine that the childrearing disparity in depression in Austria was 1.5, indicating that Austrian individuals living with children reported one-and-a-half points higher on depressive symptoms than Austrian individuals not living with children.

To address the fourth research question about variability among country groups, I estimated (a) 12 fixed-effects regression models to examine disparities pooled within non-WEIRD, semi-WEIRD, and WEIRD groups of countries and (b) six fixed-effects models to test whether disparities differed significantly between WEIRD and either non-WEIRD or semi-WEIRD countries. The steps outlined in the previous paragraph were repeated, but with a focus on WEIRD group membership as opposed to specific countries. Specifically, (in addition to controls) the WEIRD group indicator, childrearing status, gender, and all possible interactions of these three indicators were added to the models.

Individuals living with children, women, and women living with children were treated as reference groups. Specifically, positive childrearing disparities indicated that childrearing individuals (i.e., individuals with minor children in the home) reported higher levels on an outcome than individuals without minor children in the home and negative childrearing disparities indicated that childrearing individuals reported lower levels on an outcome than individuals with children in the home. Likewise, positive gender disparities indicated that women reported higher levels on an outcome than men and negative gender disparities indicated that women reported lower levels on an

outcome than men. Childrearing by gender disparities reflect the extent to which childrearing disparities are moderated by gender within countries, or the within-country difference of (a) the difference between women living with vs. without children and (b) the difference between men living with vs. without children. As such, positive childrearing by gender disparities indicated that childrearing women reported higher levels (beyond the childrearing and gender disparities) on a given outcome than childrearing men, and negative disparities indicate that childrearing women reported lower levels on a given outcome than childrearing men.

For ease of comparison across outcomes, childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities in Figures 1 and 2 reflect standardized values adjusted for control variables, including age, relationship duration, marital status, and employment status (excluding both work–family conflict models, which only include employed individuals and thus do not control for employment status). Whereas results displayed in figures are standardized, results displayed in the tables are unstandardized to enable interpretation of effects on the scale that corresponds to a given outcome. Findings are presented starting with childrearing disparities followed by gender and childrearing by gender disparities. Results for control variables are available in Tables 3 and 5, though they are not discussed in text.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Preliminary Findings

Pairwise bivariate correlations among study outcome variables ranged from small ($r = .04, p < .001$) to medium ($r = -.43, p < .001$). Six preliminary fixed-effects models (results not shown) for each outcome were estimated including all variables and the childrearing by gender interaction, but excluding country interaction effects to generate pooled within-country variation. All significance levels in this paragraph are significant at $p < .001$ unless otherwise specified. Based on these models, relative to individuals without children, individuals with children reported lower relationship satisfaction ($b = -0.17$) and more relationship disagreement ($b = 0.04$), work-to-family spillover ($b = 0.09$), and family-to-work spillover ($b = 0.06$). Childrearing disparities were not significant for depressive symptoms nor social integration. In these preliminary models, most gender disparities were significant: Relative to men, women reported significantly lower relationship satisfaction ($b = -0.25$) and more depressive symptoms ($b = 0.79$), work-to-family spillover ($b = 0.06$), and family-to-work spillover ($b = 0.06$). Gender disparities were not significant for relationship disagreement nor social integration. Among individuals living with minor children, compared to men, women reported significantly less relationship satisfaction ($b = -0.15$) and work-to-family spillover ($b = -0.08, p < .01$), fewer depressive symptoms ($b = -0.18$), and more family-to-work spillover ($b = 0.08$).

Childrearing by gender disparities were not significant for relationship disagreement nor social integration.

Childrearing, Gender, and Childrearing by Gender Disparities in Well-Being across Countries

The first three research questions address the direction, magnitude, and rank of within-country disparities in childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities in across six well-being outcomes. With 14 countries (excluding Sweden because it is the reference group) and six outcomes, 84 regression models were possible; however, not all outcomes were assessed in all countries. Thus, 67 ordinary least squares regression models were estimated to assess whether childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities in well-being differed significantly within each country. In addition to control variables, each model included main effects for childrearing and gender and a childrearing by gender interaction (see Table 2). Each row in Table 2 reflects the results of one country-specific ordinary least squares regression model; coefficients and *p* values reflect disparities and their corresponding significance within each country.

Next, to examine the patterning of within-country disparities in well-being across countries and outcomes, I estimated six fixed-effects regression models, which included all main effects and combinations of country by childrearing by gender interactions (in addition to control variables). Disparities displayed in Figure 1 (standardized) and Table 3 (unstandardized) represent country slopes and were calculated by summing the main effect or childrearing by gender interaction coefficients of the reference country (i.e., Sweden) and the corresponding interaction term (i.e., country by childrearing, country by

gender, childrearing by gender, country by childrearing by gender). In Table 3, each column reflects the results of one fixed-effects model. Because the statistical significance of within-country disparities relative to the within-country disparity in Sweden was not relevant to the present study, significance levels for these disparities were omitted from Table 3.

Combined childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities in Figure 1 are ranked by the absolute value of the size of the combined disparities, indicating (from top to bottom) the countries where childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities within countries explain the most variation on each well-being outcome. Figure 1 integrates results from the fixed-effects and ordinary least squares regression models. Specifically, Figure 1 shows childrearing (blue), gender (orange), and childrearing by gender (green) disparities in each outcome by country based on the fixed-effects results from Table 3. Whether a given disparity is significant ($p < .01$) is based on results from the ordinary least squares regression model results in Table 2 (results from Sweden are drawn from Table 3). Significance is indicated in the figure by whether a given bar is filled in with the corresponding color. For example, the filled orange bar on the row line for relationship satisfaction indicates a significant gender disparity in relationship satisfaction between women and men in Russia. Because it is negative, one can infer that women reported lower relationship satisfaction than men. Given that values are standardized across variables (and control variables are accounted for), it is possible to visually compare the size of disparities by type of disparity (i.e., childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender) and the size of disparities across outcomes.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that these disparities reflect only *within-country* variability on well-being outcomes, not the absolute level of a given outcome within a country. In other words, these findings do not indicate differences between countries in average well-being, but instead indicate the size of disparities within countries relative to the size of disparities in other countries.

Below, I discuss the results presented in Tables 2 and 3 and Figure 1. I begin with a general description of the trend in all disparities across countries as shown in Figure 1. Then I draw on the results of the ordinary least squares models shown in Table 2 to specify which within-country disparities are significant. Next, I discuss the relative size of disparities and rankings based on the results of the fixed-effects models shown in Table 3 and Figure 1.

Relationship satisfaction. Descriptively, most childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities in relationship satisfaction were negative. The combined childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities in relationship satisfaction were largest in Russia, Lithuania, and Sweden, and smallest in Austria, Norway, and Belgium. Ranked from largest to smallest, childrearing disparities in relationship satisfaction were statistically significant in Sweden, Lithuania, Germany, and Norway (see Figure 1). Specifically, within these four countries, childrearing individuals reported significantly lower relationship satisfaction than individuals without children in the home. From largest to smallest, gender disparities in relationship satisfaction were statistically significant in Russia, Lithuania, France, and Poland, indicating that women in

these countries reported significantly less relationship satisfaction than men. None of the childrearing by gender disparities in relationship satisfaction were significant.

Relationship disagreement. Descriptively, childrearing disparities were mostly positive and both gender and childrearing by gender disparities were mixed. The combined childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities in relationship disagreement were largest in Italy, Lithuania, and Russia, and smallest in Austria, Georgia, and France (see Figure 1). From largest to smallest, childrearing disparities in disagreement were statistically significant in Norway, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Germany, and Romania (see Figure 1 and Table 2). None of the gender disparities in relationship disagreement were significant. Only in Italy was there a significant childrearing by gender disparity, which indicated that Italian childrearing women reported significantly more relationship disagreement than Italian childrearing men.

Work-to-family spillover. Descriptively, childrearing and gender disparities in work-to-family spillover were generally positive, and childrearing by gender disparities were mostly negative. The combined childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities in work-to-family spillover were largest in the Czech Republic, Georgia, and Lithuania, and smallest in Sweden, Belgium, and Poland (see Figure 1). Two childrearing disparities were significant; specifically, Czech and Romanian childrearing individuals in reported significantly more work-to-family spillover than individuals without children (see Table 2). Neither gender nor childrearing by gender disparities in work-to-family spillover were significant.

Family-to-work spillover. Descriptively, most childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities in family-to-work spillover were positive. The combined childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities in family-to-work spillover were largest in Lithuania, Russia, and Georgia, and smallest in France, Austria, and Romania (see Figure 1). Only in Sweden was the childrearing disparity significant, indicating that Swedish childrearing individuals reported more family-to-work spillover than individuals without children in the home (see Table 2). Gender disparities were significant in (from largest to smallest) Russia, Lithuania, and Bulgaria, indicating that women in these countries reported significantly more family-to-work spillover than men. The only significant childrearing by gender disparity was found for Poland, indicating that Polish childrearing women reported significantly more family-to-work spillover than Polish childrearing men.

Depressive symptoms. Descriptively, gender disparities were positive, and both childrearing and childrearing by gender disparities were mixed. The combined childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities in depressive symptoms were largest in France, Sweden, and Norway, and smallest in Romania, Lithuania, and Belgium (see Figure 1). None of the childrearing disparities in depressive symptoms were significant. By contrast, gender disparities were statistically significant and positive in all countries except for Georgia, indicating that women reported significantly more depressive symptoms than men in nearly all countries (i.e., France, Bulgaria, Sweden, Russia, Norway, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Lithuania, and Romania). Childrearing by gender disparities were significant in two countries; specifically, relative to

childrearing men, Swedish and Norwegian childrearing women reported significantly *fewer* depressive symptoms.

Social integration. Descriptively, childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities in social integration were mixed. The combined childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities in social integration were largest in Sweden, Bulgaria, and Austria, and smallest in Romania, Georgia, and Russia (see Figure 1). There was only one significant childrearing disparity; specifically, Austrian childrearing individuals reported significantly less social integration than individuals not living with children (see Table 2). The gender disparity was significant and positive in Norway, indicating that Norwegian women reported significantly more social integration than men. One childrearing by gender disparity in social integration was significant; specifically, relative to Swedish childrearing men, Swedish childrearing women reported significantly more social integration.

Summary. Despite descriptive trends across most outcomes suggesting that childrearing individuals and women fare worse relative to individuals without children and men, childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities were modest. For relationship satisfaction, I found that (a) Swedish, Lithuanian, German, and Norwegian childrearing individuals reported less relationship satisfaction than corresponding individuals without children and (b) Russian, Lithuanian, French, and Polish women reported significantly less relationship satisfaction than men in those countries. For relationship disagreement, I found that (a) Norwegian, Lithuanian, Bulgarian, Hungarian, German, and Romanian childrearing individuals reported significantly more relationship

disagreement than individuals without children and (b) childrearing women in Italy reported significantly more relationship disagreement than childrearing men. For work-to-family spillover, I found that Czech and Romanian childrearing individuals reported significantly more work-to-family spillover than their counterparts without children. For family-to-work spillover, I found that (a) Swedish childrearing individuals reported significantly more family-to-work spillover than individuals without children, (b) Russian, Lithuanian, and Bulgarian women reported significantly more family-to-work spillover than their male counterparts, and (c) Polish childrearing women reported significantly more family-to-work spillover than childrearing men. For depressive symptoms, I found that (a) French, Bulgarian, Swedish, Russian, Norwegian, Belgian, Czech, Lithuanian, and Romanian women reported significantly more depressive symptoms than their male counterparts and (b) Swedish and Norwegian childrearing women reported significantly fewer depressive symptoms than childrearing men. For social integration, I found that (a) Austrian childrearing individuals reported significantly less social integration than individuals without children, (b) Norwegian women reported significantly more social integration than men, and (c) Swedish childrearing women reported significantly more social integration than Swedish childrearing men.

Disparities in Sweden were disproportionately large, with childrearing disparities indicating worse outcomes for childrearing individuals (i.e., lower relationship satisfaction and higher family-to-work spillover), a gender disparity indicating a worse outcome for women (i.e., more depressive symptoms), and childrearing by gender disparities indicating a modest reversal of the gender disparities in depressive symptoms

and social integration for childrearing women relative to childrearing men. Gender disparities in Russia were particularly notable, with Russian women reporting significantly less relationship satisfaction and significantly more family-to-work spillover and depressive symptoms.

Whereas childrearing by gender disparities amplified the childrearing and gender disparities for family-to-work spillover in Poland, the remaining childrearing by gender disparities indicated mixed results. First, within Italy, childrearing women reported significantly more relationship disagreement than childrearing men. Second, despite positive (non-significant) childrearing and (significant) gender disparities, Swedish and Norwegian childrearing women reported fewer depressive symptoms than childrearing men. Third, Swedish childrearing women reported significantly more social integration than childrearing men.

Variability in Disparities between WEIRD, Semi-WEIRD, and Non-WEIRD

Groups of Countries

The fourth research question addressed differences in childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities in six well-being outcomes within and between WEIRD (i.e., Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Norway, and Sweden), semi-WEIRD (i.e., the Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, and Poland), and non-WEIRD (i.e., Bulgaria, Georgia, Romania, and Russia) groups of countries.

As in the fixed-effects models described above, only within-country variation is examined in the models. To examine whether disparities differed significantly within non-WEIRD, semi-WEIRD, and WEIRD groups, I estimated 12 fixed-effects models

(one for each group and outcome combination, excluding the WEIRD group for which significance levels are available in Table 5), which included main effects for childrearing and gender and childrearing by gender interactions (in addition to control variables; see Table 4). Next, to test whether within-group disparities differed significantly between WEIRD and both non-WEIRD or semi-WEIRD groups, I estimated six fixed-effects regression models, which included main effects for childrearing and gender and all combinations of WEIRD group by childrearing by gender interactions (in addition to control variables). In other words, instead of interacting study variables with the country indicator variable as in the previous section, in these models, I interacted study variables with WEIRD group (i.e., WEIRD, semi-WEIRD, and non-WEIRD).

Each row in Table 4 corresponds to one group-specific fixed-effects regression model; coefficients and p values reflect disparities and their corresponding significance within each WEIRD group. Disparities displayed in Figure 2 and Table 5 were calculated by summing the main effect or childrearing by gender interaction coefficients for the reference group (i.e., WEIRD group) and the corresponding interaction term (i.e., group by childrearing, group by gender, group by childrearing by gender). Because I am interested in how semi-WEIRD and non-WEIRD groups compare to the WEIRD group, significance levels are included in Table 5 and discussed below. Specifically, whereas p values for the WEIRD group reflects the within-group significance levels, p values for the semi-WEIRD and non-WEIRD groups (indicated in parentheses) reflect significance levels relative to the WEIRD group.

Combined childrearing (darkest shade), gender (intermediate shade), and childrearing by gender (lightest shade) disparities are shown in Figure 2 are sorted by WEIRD group and outcome. Figure 2 integrates results from Tables 4 and 5. Specifically, Figure 2 shows disparities in each outcome by country based on the fixed-effects results from Table 5. Whether a given disparity is significant ($p < .01$) is based on results from the group-specific fixed effects results in Table 4. As with Figure 1, significance is indicated by whether a disparity bar is filled in. For example, the filled medium-orange bar on the first line for relationship satisfaction indicates a significant gender disparity in relationship satisfaction between women and men in the WEIRD group. Because it is negative, one can infer that women reported less relationship satisfaction than men in the WEIRD group. A significant difference relative to the corresponding disparity in the WEIRD group is indicated by the dotted pattern on the bar representing the semi- or non-WEIRD group disparity.

As shown in Figure 2, descriptive trends in childrearing disparities across outcomes generally followed similar patterns for WEIRD, semi-WEIRD, and non-WEIRD groups. Across groups, relative to individuals without minor children in the home, childrearing individuals generally reported lower relationship satisfaction, and more relationship disagreement, work-to-family spillover, and family-to-work spillover.

Relationship satisfaction. Childrearing disparities in relationship satisfaction were significant within semi-WEIRD and WEIRD groups, indicating that childrearing individuals within these groups reported significantly less relationship satisfaction than individuals without children in the home. The childrearing disparity in relationship

satisfaction within the non-WEIRD group was not significantly significant (see Table 4). The childrearing disparities in relationship satisfaction between the WEIRD group and the other two groups were not significantly different. Gender disparities in relationship satisfaction were significant within all three groups, indicating that women reported significantly less relationship satisfaction than men across groups. This gender difference was significantly larger (more negative) in the non-WEIRD group than in the WEIRD group, indicating women (relative to men) in the non-WEIRD group reported significantly lower relationship satisfaction than women (relative to men) in the WEIRD group (see Table 5). The gender disparity in the semi-WEIRD group relative to the gender disparity in the WEIRD group was not significant. Childrearing by gender disparities were not significant in any group, nor were there significant differences in childrearing by gender disparities between country groups.

Relationship disagreement. Childrearing disparities in relationship disagreement were significant within all three groups, indicating that childrearing individuals reported significantly more relationship disagreement than individuals without children in the home across groups (see Tables 4 and 5). The childrearing disparity in relationship disagreement did not differ between the WEIRD group and either the non-WEIRD nor semi-WEIRD groups. Though gender disparities in relationship disagreement were not significant within the WEIRD and semi-WEIRD groups, the gender disparity was significant for the non-WEIRD group, indicating that within the non-WEIRD group, women reported significantly more relationship disagreement than men. Gender disparities did not differ significantly between the WEIRD group and either

semi-WEIRD or non-WEIRD groups. Childrearing by gender disparities in relationship disagreement were not significant within country groups, nor between the WEIRD group and either semi-WEIRD or non-WEIRD groups. This indicated that childrearing women in these groups did not experience more or less conflict than childrearing men, nor were there significant differences in relationship disagreement for childrearing women between WEIRD and either semi-WEIRD or non-WEIRD groups.

Work-to-family spillover. Childrearing disparities in work-to-family spillover were significant for both the semi-WEIRD and non-WEIRD groups, indicating that for these groups, employed childrearing individuals reported significantly more work-to-family spillover than employed individuals without children in the home (see Table 4). Childrearing disparities did not differ significantly between the WEIRD group and either semi-WEIRD nor non-WEIRD groups. Neither gender nor childrearing by gender disparities in work-to-family spillover were significant for any group, nor were there differences between these disparities for the WEIRD group relative to semi-WEIRD nor non-WEIRD groups.

Family-to-work spillover. Childrearing disparities in family-to-work spillover were significant within semi-WEIRD and WEIRD groups (but not in the non-WEIRD group), indicating that childrearing individuals within these groups reported more family-to-work spillover than individuals without children in the home (see Tables 4 and 5). The childrearing disparity in family-to-work spillover did not differ between the WEIRD group and either the non-WEIRD nor semi-WEIRD groups. Gender disparities were significant in non-WEIRD and semi-WEIRD groups, indicating that women in these non-

WEIRD and semi-WEIRD groups reported more family-to-work spillover than men. Relative to the (non-significant) gender disparity in family-to-work spillover within the WEIRD group, the gender disparity in family-to-work spillover were significantly larger in the non-WEIRD group (see Table 5). This indicated that women (relative to men) in the non-WEIRD group reported significantly more family-to-work spillover than women (relative to men) in the WEIRD group. The childrearing by gender disparity was significant in only the WEIRD group, indicating that childrearing women reported more family-to-work spillover than childrearing men in this group. The childrearing by gender disparities were not significant in the non-WEIRD nor semi-WEIRD groups. Childrearing by gender disparities did not differ between the WEIRD and either semi-WEIRD or non-WEIRD groups.

Depressive symptoms. There were no significant childrearing disparities in depressive symptoms, nor did childrearing disparities differ significantly between the WEIRD and either of the other groups. Gender disparities in depressive symptoms were significant in all three groups such that women reported more depressive symptoms than men (see Table 4). Gender disparities in the WEIRD relative to either non-WEIRD nor semi-WEIRD groups were not statistically significant. The significant childrearing by gender disparity in the WEIRD group indicates that, although women reported more depressive symptoms than men, this effect was reduced for childrearing women. Childrearing by gender disparities were not significant in either the non-WEIRD nor semi-WEIRD groups, nor did they differ significantly from the WEIRD group.

Social integration. The childrearing disparity in social integration was significant within the WEIRD group, indicating that childrearing individuals within this group reported significantly less social integration than individuals not living with children. Childrearing disparities were non-significant in the other two groups (see Table 4 and 5), though the semi-WEIRD group was significantly different from the WEIRD group. Neither gender disparities nor childrearing by gender disparities were significant for social integration, nor were there significant differences between these disparities in the WEIRD group and either the non- or semi-WEIRD groups.

Summary. For relationship satisfaction, I found that (a) in the WEIRD and semi-WEIRD groups, childrearing individuals reported significantly less relationship satisfaction than individuals not living with minor children; and (b) in all country groups, women reported significantly less relationship satisfaction than men, though this disparity was significantly larger in the non-WEIRD group relative to the WEIRD group. For relationship disagreement, (a) in all country groups, childrearing individuals reported more disagreement than individuals not living with minor children and (b) within the non-WEIRD group, women reported significantly more relationship disagreement than men. For work-to-family spillover, within the non-WEIRD and semi-WEIRD groups, childrearing individuals reported significantly more work-to-family spillover than individuals not living with minor children. For family-to-work spillover, (a) within the semi-WEIRD and WEIRD groups, childrearing individuals reported significantly more family-to-work spillover than individuals not living with minor children; (b) within the non-WEIRD and semi-WEIRD groups, women reported significantly more family-to-

work spillover than men, and the gender difference in the non-WEIRD group was significantly larger than in the WEIRD group; and (c) among childrearing individuals in the WEIRD group, women reported significantly more family-to-work spillover than men. For depressive symptoms, (a) in all country groups, women reported significantly more depressive symptoms than men and (b) among childrearing individuals in the WEIRD group, women reported significantly fewer depressive symptoms than men. For social integration, childrearing individuals in the WEIRD group reported significantly less social integration than individuals not living with children and childrearing disparities in the semi-WEIRD and WEIRD groups were significantly different.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The present study explored childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities across six aspects of well-being (i.e., relationship satisfaction, relationship disagreement, work-to-family spillover, family-to-work spillover, depressive symptoms, and social integration) among partnered individuals in 15 countries. As opposed to comparing differences in the levels of well-being *between* countries and groups, I used ordinary least squares and fixed-effects regression models to examine and compare *within*-country and *within*-group (i.e., non-WEIRD, semi-WEIRD, and WEIRD) variability in childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities. Differences in well-being based on childrearing status and/or gender have important implications for the mental health of children and adults, partnership stability, social and gender inequality, and fertility within countries. Variability across countries and indicators of well-being highlighted the importance of (a) examining multiple positive and negative indicators of well-being (e.g., Keizer et al., 2010) and (b) challenging implicit assumptions that findings would be consistent across countries despite key contextual differences between countries (e.g., Henrich et al., 2010). Below, I review the research questions, how questions were addressed, and key findings, followed by limitations and future directions.

Childrearing Disparities in Well-Being across Countries and Outcomes

The first research question addressed the extent to which childrearing disparities were significant within countries and how childrearing disparities compared across countries and outcomes. Childrearing disparities in well-being outcomes were not significant in most countries, though significant childrearing disparities were more prevalent for relationship satisfaction and disagreement than the other outcomes. Nevertheless, consistent with previous research (e.g., Ollo-López & Goñi-Legaz, 2015; Twenge et al., 2003), childrearing was negatively associated with well-being across five outcomes. Specifically, childrearing was associated with (a) lower relationship satisfaction in Sweden, Germany, Lithuania, and Norway; (b) lower social integration in Austria; (c) more relationship disagreement in Norway, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Germany, and Romania; (d) more work-to-family spillover in the Czech Republic and Romania; and (e) more family-to-work spillover in Sweden.

Gender Disparities in Well-Being across Countries and Outcomes

The second research question concerned the extent to which gender disparities were significant within countries and how gender disparities compared across countries and outcomes. Gender disparities were most noticeable for depressive symptoms, relationship satisfaction, and family-to-work spillover. With one exception, and consistent with previous research (e.g., Jackson et al., 2014; Keizer et al., 2010; Stack, 1998; Twenge et al., 2003; Van de Velde et al., 2010), women reported less well-being than men across three outcomes. Specifically, relative to men, women reported (a) lower relationship satisfaction in Russia, Lithuania, France, and Poland; (b) more family-to-

work spillover in Russia, Lithuania, and Bulgaria; (c) more depressive symptoms in France, Bulgaria, Sweden, Russia, the Czech Republic, Belgium, Norway, Lithuania, and Romania; and (d) more social integration in Norway.

Childrearing by Gender Disparities in Well-Being across Countries and Outcomes

The third research question examined the extent to which childrearing disparities in well-being are amplified or mitigated for women relative to men and how these childrearing by gender disparities compare across countries. Two significant childrearing by gender disparities were associated with more negative outcomes and three with more positive outcomes for childrearing women. First, relative to childrearing disparities for men on these outcomes, childrearing disparities were significantly larger for Italian women's relationship disagreement and Polish women's family-to-work spillover. These findings may reflect a mismatch between individuals' preferences or needs, cultural or religious attitudes, and/or policies in these Catholic countries. Indeed, welfare state reforms in Italy have been difficult to implement given resistance to change, budget restraints (particularly since the financial crisis in 2008), the gendered division of labor, and a male breadwinner-female homemaker ideology (Gianesini, 2013). For families living with children, the lack of policy supports may exacerbate women's reported disagreement. Indeed, were Italian data available for more than one outcome, this finding may have been paralleled across other outcomes. In addition to similar cultural preferences for a gendered division of labor, socialism in Poland historically meant full employment for women, yet the more recent erosion of childcare supports, lengthy maternity leave, and discrimination against women in the workplace (Kotowska,

Józwiak, Matysiak, & Baranowska, 2008) lend support to the finding that Polish women with minor children at home may struggle to feel effective at work.

Second, though Swedish and Norwegian women reported more depressive symptoms than their male counterparts, these negative effects were smaller for women living with minor children. Third, among individuals living with children in Sweden, women reported significantly more social integration than men. These protective effects for childrearing women's depression in Sweden and Norway and social integration in Sweden may reflect the benefits of these countries' generous family policies. These findings parallel previous research, which found that parents in social democratic countries, including Sweden and Norway, reported more happiness than parents in other countries (Aassve et al., 2012).

Variability in Disparities by WEIRD Group Membership

The fourth research question examined the extent to which childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities were significant within WEIRD, semi-WEIRD, and non-WEIRD groups and how disparities in the WEIRD group compared to disparities in the other two groups. Gender and childrearing disparities largely followed established patterns highlighted in previous research (e.g., Jackson et al., 2014; Keizer et al., 2010; Stack, 1998; Twenge et al., 2003; Van de Velde et al., 2010). Across all three groups, (a) women reported less relationship satisfaction and more depressive symptoms than men and (b) childrearing individuals reported more relationship disagreement than individuals not living with minor children. Disparities for the semi-WEIRD group appeared more similar to the WEIRD group for relationship satisfaction and family-to-work spillover,

and more similar to the non-WEIRD group for work-to-family spillover and depressive symptoms.

The only two childrearing by gender disparities were found for the WEIRD group; within this group, the effects of living with children for family-to-work spillover and depressive symptoms were larger for women than for men. However, whereas childrearing women appeared to experience a protective effect for depression, the detrimental effect of childrearing for family-to-work spillover was amplified for women. Had earlier studies in primarily WEIRD countries which documented the detrimental effects of raising children (e.g., McLanahan & Adams, 1987) and/or being a woman (e.g., Van de Velde et al., 2010) for depressive symptoms also examined interactions between childrearing and gender disparities within countries or groups, they may have found a comparable protective effect wherein despite women reporting significantly more depressive symptoms than men (and childrearing individuals reporting non-significantly more depressive symptoms), childrearing women's reports of depressive symptoms were buffered. It may be that WEIRD countries are more likely to have childrearing disparities, but also more likely to have advanced welfare states in place, which protect women with children from depression, but at the expense of women's efficacy at work. Together, these findings point to variability in the ways in which childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities shape well-being across groups. Finally, the prevalence and size of gender disparities in the non-WEIRD group relative to (non-significant) childrearing disparities and relative to the WEIRD group underscore the extent to which gender shapes well-being within the non-WEIRD group. Though

aspiring to gender equality in *behavior* in non-WEIRD countries may not be desired, it may be worthwhile for governments to consider contextually-appropriate strategies for narrowing gender inequities in well-being.

Summary of Key Findings

Findings from this study point to several conclusions. First, childrearing is *not* universally detrimental to well-being across dimensions of well-being, countries, and country groups. Nevertheless, in countries where childrearing and childrearing by gender disparities were prevalent, it would be worthwhile to examine strategies for narrowing these inequalities. Second, though there was variability in disparities among countries and country groups, no single country nor country group emerged as the “best” or “worst” across all well-being outcomes, suggesting that the study countries may have different strengths and challenges in supporting different dimensions of well-being. Third, the relative importance of childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender varied across countries and country groups, which underscores the importance of examining variability within countries and groups. For example, whereas childrearing status (individually and in combination with gender) appeared to be more salient for well-being in the WEIRD group (especially for Germany, Norway, and Sweden), gender appeared to be more salient for well-being in the non-WEIRD group (particularly for Bulgaria, Romania, and Russia). The semi-WEIRD group (typified by Lithuania) seemed to fall somewhere in between the other groups. Fourth, childrearing disparities were most noticeable for relationship satisfaction and disagreement, which suggests that children may take a greater toll on the partner relationship than other life domains (e.g., work,

health, friendships). These effects were concentrated entirely in countries in WEIRD and semi-WEIRD groups, which may reflect Western idealization of romantic love, that individuals with higher standards of living have further to fall following the birth of a child, and/or that the relevance of these conceptualizations vary across countries.

Childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities in well-being have important implications for the mental health of children and adults, partnership stability, social and gender inequality, and fertility. However, the relative importance of the different types of disparities may reflect different social forces within countries; for example, whereas childrearing and childrearing by gender disparities in well-being may be limited to periods in the life course in which children are present in the home, gender disparities in well-being may be persistent across the life course. To the extent that women continue to be primary caregivers for children (e.g., Sayer, 2005) and parents' mental health affects children's well-being (e.g., NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, 2001), governments aiming to promote the well-being of children should be concerned about minimizing childrearing and childrearing by gender disparities in well-being. Further, given concerns about declines in partnership stability and fertility and that women are often more likely to initiate pregnancy (Bauer & Kneip, 2014) and divorce (Kalmijn & Poortman, 2006), it would be worthwhile for governments to minimize disparities in well-being. Finally, to the extent that these disparities in well-being spill over into other domains (e.g., work, education), these disparities may exacerbate existing social and gender inequalities.

The *absence* of disparities in well-being may be indicative of countries in which policies effectively minimize dissonance between individuals' childrearing preferences and societal demands. For example, there were no significant disparities of any kind in Georgia. The consistency between the presence of strong Eastern Orthodox emphasizing the importance of family (particularly motherhood; Dollahite, 2016), collective agreement of a majority of the population (65%) that preschool-age children fare better when mothers do not work (National Democratic Institute, 2014), and access to six fully-paid months of maternity leave and 18 months of unpaid leave (World Bank, 2016c) may minimize childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities in well-being. Further, there were surprisingly few disparities in well-being in historically Catholic WEIRD countries (e.g., Austria, Belgium, and France). Excluding gender disparities in depressive symptoms, only the Austrian childrearing disparity in social integration and the French gender disparity in relationship satisfaction were significant. These countries typify the "general family support" family policy regime, which prioritizes high levels of cash and tax benefits to subsidize families in which women stay home to care for children over the equality-oriented approach of expanding access to childcare (for a review, see Hengstebeck, Helms, and Crosby, 2016). Thus, it may be that individuals in these countries experience less dissonance between their preferred enactment of childrearing and gender roles, cultural expectations, and (with government assistance) their ability to their financial needs, thus minimizing the likelihood of childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities in well-being.

This study expands previous research about disparities *within countries* between individuals with and without children in the home, women and men, and how the childrearing disparity varies compares between men and women. Had I stopped at the preliminary analyses (which did not include country by disparity interaction terms), not only would I have falsely implied that disparities were significant across countries for most outcomes, but also, I would have failed to identify significant within-country disparities. For example, whereas the preliminary models pooled across countries found significant childrearing disparities in relationship satisfaction, disagreement, work-to-family spillover, and family-to-work spillover, childrearing disparities in these outcomes were only statistically significant in four of 14, six of 14, two of 11, and one of 11 countries, respectively. Likewise, whereas none of the childrearing by gender disparities were significant in the preliminary pooled models for any outcome, I found five significant childrearing by gender disparities. This pooled approach is particularly concerning in cases when scholars conduct cross-national analyses of mostly WEIRD countries, and generalize their results to the one or two semi- and non-WEIRD countries included in their study (e.g., Van de Velde et al., 2010). Nevertheless, it should not be assumed that within-country patterns will be the same even within WEIRD, semi-WEIRD, or non-WEIRD groups of countries. For example, historically Catholic WEIRD countries look different than Nordic WEIRD countries. Taken together, it is important for cross-national research to explicate variability within countries and contextualize findings.

Limitations and Future Directions

Despite the strengths of this study, it is not without limitations. First, the analysis relies on comparing individuals living with and without minor children in the home and not the same individuals before and after children enter and/or leave the home. As such, this study cannot make inferences about the causal effect of living with children and it would be beneficial for future research to examine causal changes in well-being as children transition in and out of the home. Second, the present study did not examine family contextual characteristics among those with children that may explain variability in aspects of well-being (e.g., number of children, age of child[ren], relationship between parents and children, hours spent with children, time use with children, whether children are in school, financial strain) and family resources (e.g., education, income, access to and use of childcare services). Though examining the characteristics that moderate childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities within countries would be helpful to move the field forward, the present study nevertheless makes an important contribution because it may be more useful for policies and programs (particularly in Europe) to target households where children are present regardless of family characteristics. In other words, though an examination of financial strain may facilitate a better understanding of the link between childrearing and well-being, it is unlikely that families who report higher levels of financial strain would receive any more support than otherwise identical families who report lower levels of financial strain. Future research should examine potential moderators in this link and sensitivity analyses to test the extent to which these results hold under different conditions (e.g., if parents with non-residential

adult children are dropped from the non-childrearing group, among only non-biological children, among individuals with only younger or older children in the home). Third, without a solid literature base on semi- and non-WEIRD countries, it is possible that crucial control variables were missing and/or that the measures used in this study (which were developed and validated in WEIRD countries) are less meaningful in other countries. Nevertheless, because this study examined within-country differences as opposed to comparing absolute levels on a given outcome, invariance is less of a concern. Fourth, this study did not include the United States. Given that so much of the existing research on parenting and childrearing is based on American samples, it would be worthwhile to replicate this study using another dataset that includes the United States to assess whether the United States is simply an outlier in the large negative effects of parenting, or whether these effects are amplified by the limitations of other studies (e.g., examining one single-item outcome).

A fifth limitation was the number of countries. With only 10-14 countries on any given outcome and limited power to include sufficient country-level control variables, the use of multilevel (or mixed-effects) models was questionable (see Bryan & Jenkins, 2016; Maas & Hox, 2005; Meuleman & Billet, 2009; Moineddin, Matheson, & Glazier, 2007). Two implications of this limitation are (a) the inability to estimate the statistical significance of within-country disparities within one model per outcome variable and (b) the inability to examine variability in within-country disparities based on country characteristics (e.g., family policies). As such, I estimated the statistical significance of within-country differences using ordinary least squares regressions corresponding to each

country by outcome combination (except for the reference group). Though an appropriate technique (Bryan & Jenkins, 2016), estimating so many models nevertheless increased the risk of Type II error, or finding a significant effect where there was none. Nevertheless, I minimized some of this risk by only interpreting effects significant at $p < .01$. Future research should replicate this study and examine country differences using a dataset with more study countries. In future work, it would also be beneficial to examine control variables by country (e.g., does employment status operate differently across countries and/or does taking country differences into account change the nature of the disparities in well-being?) and variations in disparities between countries based on a continuous WEIRD index.

Finally, given the present study's support for earlier work suggesting that being a woman and/or raising children may be risk factors for well-being in some countries across certain aspects of well-being, it would be worthwhile for future research to examine in greater depth what mechanisms might explain the lack of disparities and the presence of protective for at-risk groups (e.g., women living with children). Nevertheless, even when men fare worse than women (e.g., Norwegian men reported less social integration than women) or childrearing individuals fare better than individuals not living with children, additional research is needed to better understand how to promote equality in well-being outcomes.

Conclusion

The present study examined childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities in six aspects of well-being among co-residing partnered individuals across 15

countries and variations in these disparities between non-WEIRD, semi-WEIRD, and WEIRD groups of countries. Though my results challenge the idea that childrearing is universally costly to well-being, some findings did indicate disparities between individuals with and without children in the home, women and men, and added burdens for childrearing women's well-being. Childrearing, gender, and childrearing by gender disparities in well-being have important implications for the (mental) health of children and adults, partnership stability, social and gender inequality, and fertility.

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APPENDIX A
TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1

Generations and Gender Survey (GGS) Sample Characteristics

	Month/Year of Data Collection	Resp. Rate (%)	GGS <i>N</i>	Analytic Sample ^a <i>N</i>	% Child (C)	% Women (W)	% W with C	<i>M (SD)</i> of Well-Being Outcomes by Country					
								Relationship Satisfaction	Relationship Disagree.	Work-to-Family Spillover	Family-to-Work Spillover	Depressive Symptoms	Social Integration
AUS	09/08–02/09	61	5,000	2,970	73.9	62.7	47.8	9.28(1.28)	0.21(0.25)	1.79(0.83)	1.19(0.47)		2.85(0.50)
BEL	02/08–05/10	42	7,163	2,636	74.3	54.3	40.4	8.79(1.23)	0.25(0.30)	1.97(0.89)	1.25(0.52)	1.50(2.65)	2.72(0.65)
BUL	11/04–01/05	78	12,858	5,152	85.5	60.0	51.6	8.69(1.69)	0.17(0.28)	2.35(1.00)	1.33(0.62)	1.60(2.63)	2.46(0.97)
CZE	02/05–09/05	42	10,006	3,085	67.8	53.0	37.0	8.58(1.78)	0.23(0.32)	2.26(0.89)	1.39(0.62)	1.88(2.68)	2.65(0.77)
FRA	09/05–12/05	68	10,079	3,648	70.9	57.4	39.5	8.53(1.38)	0.27(0.30)	2.02(0.90)	1.27(0.52)	1.82(3.01)	2.66(0.70)
GEO	03/06–05/06	85	10,000	3,807	91.4	54.1	49.3	8.67(1.57)	0.14(0.23)	2.39(1.12)	1.31(0.62)	1.94(2.41)	2.54(0.76)
GER	02/05–05/05	62	10,017	3,561	69.2	60.0	43.1	8.82(1.49)	0.21(0.29)				2.82(0.55)
HUN	11/04–01/05	68	13,540	4,664	74.6	55.0	40.4	8.68(1.68)	0.40(0.30)				
ITL	11/03–01/04	–	9,570	3,566	81.5	52.9	42.3		0.38(0.41)				
LIT	04/06–12/06	56	10,036	3,452	73.0	45.9	34.5	8.28(1.64)	0.35(0.40)	2.31(0.96)	1.43(0.69)	1.81(2.46)	2.59(0.79)
NOR	01/07–09/08	61	14,880	6,065	74.9	52.3	38.5	8.77(1.42)	0.39(0.35)			1.62(2.64)	2.80(0.55)
POL	10/10–02/11	–	19,987	6,348	77.9	56.6	44.3	8.90(1.67)		2.16(0.90)	1.36(0.60)		2.83(0.53)
ROM	11/05–12/05	86	11,986	4,489	76.8	49.2	37.4	8.93(1.28)	0.25(0.33)	2.19(0.90)	1.27(0.50)	1.85(2.27)	2.65(0.76)
RUS	06/04–06/08	48	11,261	4,147	77.7	57.4	44.7	8.11(2.16)	0.35(0.39)	2.55(1.01)	1.55(0.79)	2.11(2.66)	2.67(0.70)
SWE	04/12–04/13	55	9,688	3,658	69.1	53.5	37.0	8.34(1.86)	0.33(0.36)	2.22(0.85)	1.37(0.59)	2.23(2.91)	2.67(0.72)
Scale Range	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0–10	0–2	1–4	1–4	0–18	0–3
<i>M(SD)</i>	–	62 (14)	1,107 (3,442)	4,083 (1,082)	76.4 (42.3)	54.9 (49.8)	42.1 (49.4)	8.69(1.63)	0.29(0.34)	2.21(0.95)	1.34(0.61)	1.12(2.23)	2.32(1.10)
<i>n</i>	–	–	166,071	61,248	–	–	–	54,946	53,536	29,688	29,666	37,103	51,659
imputed <i>n</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	57,682	54,900	31,313	31,313	40,139	53,018

^aThe analytic sample size is the sample of partnered, co-resident individuals with or without children in the home younger than 55, excluding those whose youngest residential children or grandchildren are 18+ years old.

Table 2

Unstandardized Childrearing (C), Gender (G), and Childrearing by Gender (CxG) Disparities from 67 Ordinary Least Squares Regression Models by Country

	<i>Constant</i>	C Disparities		G Disparities		CxG Disparities	
		<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>p</i>
<i>Relationship Satisfaction</i>							
AUS	10.10	-0.14(0.09)	.104	-0.11(0.09)	.220	-0.18(0.11)	.108
BEL	9.44	-0.10(0.08)	.237	-0.08(0.10)	.409	-0.27(0.11)	.013
BUL	9.26	-0.09(0.10)	.389	-0.20(0.12)	.107	-0.22(0.13)	.096
CZE	9.49	-0.15(0.10)	.145	-0.26(0.11)	.022	0.09(0.14)	.518
FRA	9.23	-0.23(0.10)	.025	-0.33(0.10)	.002	-0.03(0.13)	.836
GEO	8.90	-0.02(0.13)	.901	-0.28(0.17)	.109	-0.20(0.18)	.256
GER	9.31	-0.30(0.09)	.000	-0.14(0.09)	.127	-0.06(0.11)	.564
HUN	9.13	-0.09(0.09)	.305	-0.16(0.10)	.100	-0.16(0.11)	.160
LIT	9.64	-0.25(0.08)	.003	-0.37(0.11)	.001	-0.27(0.12)	.028
NOR	9.58	-0.25(0.06)	.000	-0.10(0.07)	.182	-0.09(0.08)	.290
POL	9.41	-0.12(0.08)	.129	-0.28(0.09)	.002	-0.17(0.10)	.086
ROM	8.93	-0.10(0.06)	.103	-0.18(0.08)	.027	-0.14(0.09)	.103
RUS	9.24	-0.13(0.12)	.296	-0.82(0.14)	.000	-0.20(0.16)	.198
SWE							
<i>Relationship Disagreement</i>							
AUS	0.32	0.03(0.02)	.070	0.02(0.02)	.167	0.02(0.02)	.459
BEL	0.44	0.01(0.02)	.518	-0.01(0.02)	.582	0.06(0.03)	.039
BUL	0.13	0.06(0.02)	.000	0.03(0.02)	.188	-0.01(0.02)	.654
CZE	0.20	0.03(0.02)	.076	0.04(0.02)	.054	-0.02(0.02)	.500
FRA	0.43	0.02(0.02)	.236	0.04(0.02)	.019	0.01(0.02)	.798
GEO	0.13	0.02(0.02)	.254	0.01(0.03)	.716	0.03(0.03)	.201
GER	0.30	0.04(0.02)	.008	0.03(0.02)	.106	-0.04(0.02)	.061
HUN	0.50	0.05(0.02)	.003	-0.03(0.02)	.057	0.02(0.02)	.450
ITL	0.48	-0.01(0.03)	.673	-0.07(0.03)	.042	0.09(0.04)	.008
LIT	0.25	0.07(0.02)	.001	0.01(0.03)	.807	0.06(0.03)	.069
NOR	0.50	0.08(0.02)	.000	-0.01(0.02)	.566	-0.02(0.02)	.237
ROM	0.32	0.06(0.02)	.000	0.00(0.02)	.979	0.03(0.02)	.138
RUS	0.27	0.05(0.02)	.031	0.06(0.03)	.017	0.03(0.03)	.297
SWE							

Table 2

Cont.

	<i>Constant</i>	C Disparities		G Disparities		CxG Disparities	
		<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>p</i>
<i>Work-to-Family Spillover</i>							
AUS	1.87	0.04(0.06)	.473	0.07(0.06)	.261	-0.14(0.08)	.073
BEL	2.35	0.08(0.06)	.236	0.02(0.08)	.821	0.02(0.09)	.812
BUL	2.30	0.16(0.07)	.029	0.02(0.09)	.790	-0.02(0.10)	.873
CZE	2.07	0.17(0.06)	.003	0.09(0.07)	.165	-0.19(0.08)	.019
FRA	2.26	0.01(0.06)	.806	0.11(0.06)	.082	-0.13(0.08)	.086
GEO	2.30	0.25(0.12)	.035	0.02(0.19)	.920	-0.09(0.20)	.645
LIT	2.17	0.12(0.06)	.032	0.11(0.07)	.156	-0.14(0.09)	.112
POL	2.16	0.06(0.05)	.194	-0.02(0.06)	.671	-0.04(0.06)	.558
ROM	2.12	0.14(0.05)	.007	0.04(0.07)	.514	-0.14(0.08)	.062
RUS	2.32	0.08(0.07)	.224	0.10(0.08)	.223	-0.02(0.09)	.793
SWE							
<i>Family-to-Work Spillover</i>							
AUS	1.09	0.08(0.03)	.025	-0.04(0.04)	.315	0.08(0.04)	.081
BEL	1.40	0.09(0.04)	.011	0.02(0.04)	.640	0.07(0.05)	.169
BUL	1.21	0.04(0.04)	.367	0.15(0.06)	.007	0.02(0.06)	.712
CZE	1.18	0.08(0.04)	.028	0.10(0.04)	.030	-0.03(0.05)	.637
FRA	1.27	0.05(0.03)	.157	-0.01(0.04)	.785	0.10(0.04)	.016
GEO	1.15	0.06(0.06)	.364	0.11(0.10)	.288	0.06(0.11)	.577
LIT	1.27	0.08(0.04)	.055	0.18(0.05)	.001	0.01(0.06)	.853
POL	1.33	0.07(0.03)	.024	0.00(0.04)	.921	0.15(0.04)	.000
ROM	1.21	0.06(0.03)	.038	0.07(0.04)	.073	0.06(0.04)	.166
RUS	1.47	0.01(0.05)	.863	0.18(0.06)	.005	0.07(0.07)	.336
SWE							
<i>Depressive Symptoms</i>							
BEL	2.04	0.07(0.17)	.662	0.72(0.20)	.000	0.10(0.23)	.667
BUL	1.26	0.13(0.16)	.403	0.89(0.19)	.000	-0.28(0.20)	.167
CZE	1.63	0.13(0.15)	.375	0.81(0.17)	.000	0.20(0.21)	.328
FRA	1.46	0.07(0.17)	.686	1.28(0.19)	.000	0.34(0.22)	.119
GEO	0.63	0.19(0.21)	.355	0.63(0.27)	.018	0.19(0.28)	.498
LIT	0.80	0.04(0.13)	.772	0.58(0.16)	.000	0.26(0.19)	.173
NOR	1.49	0.19(0.14)	.192	0.73(0.16)	.000	0.46(0.18)	.010
ROM	1.67	0.05(0.11)	.677	0.40(0.14)	.004	0.12(0.16)	.456
RUS	1.63	-0.15(0.15)	.310	0.87(0.17)	.000	0.12(0.20)	.551
SWE							

Table 2

Cont.

	<i>Constant</i>	C Disparities		G Disparities		CxG Disparities	
		<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>p</i>
<i>Social Integration</i>							
AUS	2.80	-0.09(0.03)	.010	0.05(0.04)	.195	0.03(0.04)	.541
BEL	2.66	-0.10(0.04)	.025	0.02(0.05)	.731	0.03(0.06)	.630
BUL	2.45	-0.14(0.06)	.013	-0.05(0.07)	.460	0.07(0.08)	.380
CZE	2.67	0.02(0.04)	.629	0.06(0.05)	.209	-0.01(0.06)	.918
FRA	2.90	-0.06(0.04)	.116	0.00(0.04)	.985	0.04(0.05)	.446
GEO	2.70	0.01(0.07)	.914	0.02(0.09)	.835	-0.01(0.09)	.938
GER	2.80	0.03(0.03)	.389	0.03(0.03)	.384	0.04(0.04)	.352
LIT	2.64	0.02(0.04)	.583	0.02(0.05)	.743	0.02(0.06)	.801
NOR	2.84	-0.02(0.02)	.462	0.08(0.03)	.006	0.00(0.03)	.891
POL	2.86	0.02(0.02)	.526	0.05(0.03)	.064	-0.02(0.03)	.624
ROM	2.68	-0.01(0.04)	.870	0.01(0.05)	.779	-0.01(0.05)	.796
RUS	2.86	0.00(0.04)	.904	-0.02(0.05)	.700	-0.02(0.05)	.663
SWE							

Note: Bolded result indicate $p < .01$. Because the Sweden is the reference group, disparities and significance levels for Sweden are available in Table 3. Constants indicate country-specific intercepts, or the baseline mean in well-being for men without children, adjusted for age of the respondent, relationship duration, marital status, and (except for both types of spillover) employment status.

Table 3

Unstandardized Childrearing (C), Gender (G), and Childrearing by Gender (CxG) Disparities from Six Fixed-Effects Regression Models by Country

Country	Relationship Satisfaction (<i>n</i> = 57,682)			Relationship Disagreement (<i>n</i> = 54,900)			Work-to-Family Spillover (<i>n</i> = 31,313)			Family-to-Work Spillover (<i>n</i> = 31,313)			Depressive Symptoms (<i>n</i> = 40,139)			Social Integration (<i>n</i> = 53,018)		
	C	G	CxG	C	G	CxG	C	G	CxG	C	G	CxG	C	G	CxG	C	G	CxG
AUS	-0.13	-0.09	-0.17	0.02	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.07	-0.15	0.05	-0.04	0.08				-0.10	0.04	0.04
BEL	-0.11	-0.05	-0.28	0.00	-0.01	0.06	0.06	0.03	0.03	0.09	0.03	0.08	0.04	0.77	0.17	-0.11	0.01	0.02
BUL	-0.07	-0.21	-0.22	0.06	0.03	-0.02	0.14	0.04	-0.02	0.02	0.16	0.01	0.02	0.94	-0.29	-0.09	-0.06	0.07
CZE	-0.18	-0.26	0.13	0.04	0.04	-0.02	0.18	0.08	-0.20	0.08	0.09	-0.03	-0.19	0.79	-0.20	0.02	0.06	0.00
FRA	-0.23	-0.33	-0.03	0.02	0.05	0.01	0.02	0.11	-0.13	0.04	-0.02	0.11	0.07	1.29	-0.33	-0.07	0.01	0.04
GEO	-0.05	-0.31	-0.24	0.03	0.01	0.03	0.24	0.04	-0.11	0.07	0.13	0.05	-0.09	0.58	-0.29	-0.01	0.00	0.02
GER	-0.29	-0.13	-0.09	0.04	0.03	-0.04									0.01	0.03	0.05	
HUN	-0.10	-0.21	-0.16	0.06	-0.03	0.01												
ITL				-0.01	-0.08	0.09												
LIT	-0.29	-0.35	-0.24	0.07	0.01	0.06	0.12	0.10	-0.14	0.10	0.18	0.01	0.03	0.55	0.21	0.01	0.02	0.02
NOR	-0.27	-0.08	-0.08	0.08	-0.01	-0.02										-0.04	0.07	0.00
POL	-0.11	-0.28	-0.17				0.07	-0.02	-0.04	0.07	0.00	0.15	0.25	0.72	-0.45	0.01	0.06	-0.01
ROM	-0.09	-0.20	-0.18	0.04	0.02	0.03	0.13	0.06	-0.16	0.05	0.07	0.05	-0.11	0.42	0.09	0.00	0.01	-0.01
RUS	-0.11	-0.81	-0.15	0.04	0.06	0.02	0.08	0.12	-0.04	0.01	0.19	0.06	-0.15	0.84	0.08	0.02	-0.01	-0.01
SWE	-0.38	-0.24	0.03	0.05	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.03	0.08	0.14	0.01	0.06	0.13	0.92	-0.60	-0.09	0.01	0.13
Age (Respondent)		-0.02			0.00			0.00			0.00			0.02			-0.01	
Employed ^a		0.08			-0.01									0.12			0.12	
Relationship Duration Married ^b		-0.01			0.00			0.00			0.00			0.00			0.00	
		0.40			-0.06			-0.06			-0.01			-0.43			0.06	
Constant		9.37			0.34			2.22			1.27			1.42			2.76	
Model <i>F</i>		44.46			15.05			2.62			15.29			49.90			11.31	

Note: For the reference group (Sweden), covariates, constants, and *F*-values, bolded result indicate $p < .01$.

^a Coded as 0 (not currently employed) or 1 (currently employed). ^b Coded as 0 (not legally married) or 1 (legally married).

Table 4

Unstandardized Childrearing (C), Gender (G), and Childrearing by Gender (CxG) Disparities from 12 Fixed-Effects Regression Models by WEIRD Group

	Constant	C Disparities		G Disparities		CxG Disparities		<i>n</i> (<i>n</i> countries)
		<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>p</i>	
<i>Relationship Satisfaction</i>								
Non-W	9.19	-0.11(0.05)	.029	-0.39(0.06)	.000	-0.16(0.07)	.017	17,595 (4)
Semi-W	9.46	-0.15(0.04)	.000	-0.28(0.05)	.000	-0.14(0.06)	.019	17,549 (4)
WEIRD								22,538 (6)
<i>Relationship Disagreement</i>								
Non-W	0.19	0.06(0.01)	.000	0.03(0.01)	.009	0.01(0.01)	.255	17,595 (4)
Semi-W	0.34	0.04(0.01)	.000	-0.01(0.01)	.510	0.03(0.01)	.028	14,767 (4)
WEIRD								22,538 (6)
<i>Work-to-Family Spillover</i>								
Non-W	2.25	0.14(0.03)	.000	0.06(0.05)	.202	-0.07(0.05)	.152	11,352 (4)
Semi-W	2.12	0.11(0.03)	.000	0.05(0.04)	.182	-0.11(0.04)	.010	9,570 (3)
WEIRD								10,391 (4)
<i>Family-to-Work Spillover</i>								
Non-W	1.26	0.04(0.02)	.085	0.13(0.03)	.000	0.05(0.03)	.120	11,352 (4)
Semi-W	1.26	0.08(0.02)	.000	0.08(0.03)	.001	0.07(0.03)	.020	9,570 (3)
WEIRD								10,391 (4)
<i>Depressive Symptoms</i>								
Non-W	1.24	-0.02(0.07)	.744	0.68(0.09)	.000	-0.06(0.10)	.547	17,591 (4)
Semi-W	1.18	-0.07(0.10)	.458	0.73(0.12)	.000	0.01(0.14)	.935	6,458 (2)
WEIRD								13,054 (4)
<i>Social Integration</i>								
Non-W	2.65	-0.04(0.02)	.080	-0.01(0.03)	.810	0.01(0.03)	.794	17,592 (4)
Semi-W	0.67	0.02(0.02)	.360	0.04(0.02)	.062	-0.01(0.03)	.868	12,807 (3)
WEIRD								21,260 (6)

Note: Bolded result indicate $p < .01$. Because WEIRD is the reference group, disparities and significance levels are available in Table 5. Constants indicate group-specific intercepts, or the baseline mean in well-being for men without children within a given group, adjusted for age of respondent, relationship duration, marital status, and (except for both types of spillover) employment status.

Table 5

Unstandardized Childrearing (C), Gender (G), and Childrearing by Gender (CxG) Disparities from Six Fixed-Effects Regression Models by WEIRD Group

		Relationship Satisfaction (<i>n</i> = 57,682)		Relationship Disagreement (<i>n</i> = 54,900)		Work-to-Family Spillover (<i>n</i> = 31,313)		Family-to-Work Spillover (<i>n</i> = 31,313)		Depressive Symptoms (<i>n</i> = 37,103)		Social Integration (<i>n</i> = 51,659)	
		Disparity	<i>p</i>	Disparity	<i>p</i>	Disparity	<i>p</i>	Disparity	<i>p</i>	Disparity	<i>p</i>	Disparity	<i>p</i>
Non-W	C	-0.10	(.012)	0.05	(.616)	0.13	(.013)	0.04	(.102)	-0.06	(.070)	-0.02	(.155)
	G	-0.40	(.001)	0.03	(.272)	0.08	(.826)	0.14	(.000)	0.70	(.050)	-0.01	(.135)
	CxG	-0.17	(.286)	0.01	(.419)	-0.08	(.492)	0.04	(.348)	-0.11	(.117)	0.02	(.566)
Semi-W	C	-0.16	(.092)	0.05	(.562)	0.12	(.033)	0.08	(.926)	-0.07	(.094)	0.01	(.008)
	G	-0.29	(.048)	-0.01	(.078)	0.05	(.807)	0.08	(.012)	0.70	(.095)	0.05	(.537)
	CxG	-0.12	(.610)	0.03	(.055)	-0.12	(.235)	0.07	(.766)	-0.02	(.073)	-0.00	(.268)
WEIRD	C	-0.25	.000	0.04	.000	0.02	.506	0.08	.000	0.14	.082	-0.06	.001
	G	-0.16	.000	0.02	.055	0.06	.093	-0.00	.879	0.95	.000	0.03	.069
	CxG	-0.08	.101	-0.01	.596	-0.04	.340	0.08	.005	-0.33	.001	0.04	.093
Age (Respondent)		-0.02	.000	-0.00	.000	-0.00	.190	0.00	.690	0.03	.000	-0.01	.000
Employed ^a		0.07	.000	-0.01	.006					-0.71	.000	0.12	.000
Relationship Duration Married ^b		-0.01	.000	0.00	.000	0.00	.234	0.00	.680	-0.00	.719	0.00	.000
Constant		9.39	.000	0.33	.000	2.22	.000	1.27	.000	1.40	.000	2.76	.000
Model <i>F</i>		145.38	.000	42.26	.000	4.49	.000	41.61	.000	122.74	.000	34.80	.000

Note: Bold indicates $p < .01$. ^a Coded as 0 (not currently employed) or 1 (currently employed). ^b Coded as 0 (not legally married) or 1 (legally married). *P* values in parentheses indicate significance levels relative to the WEIRD group.

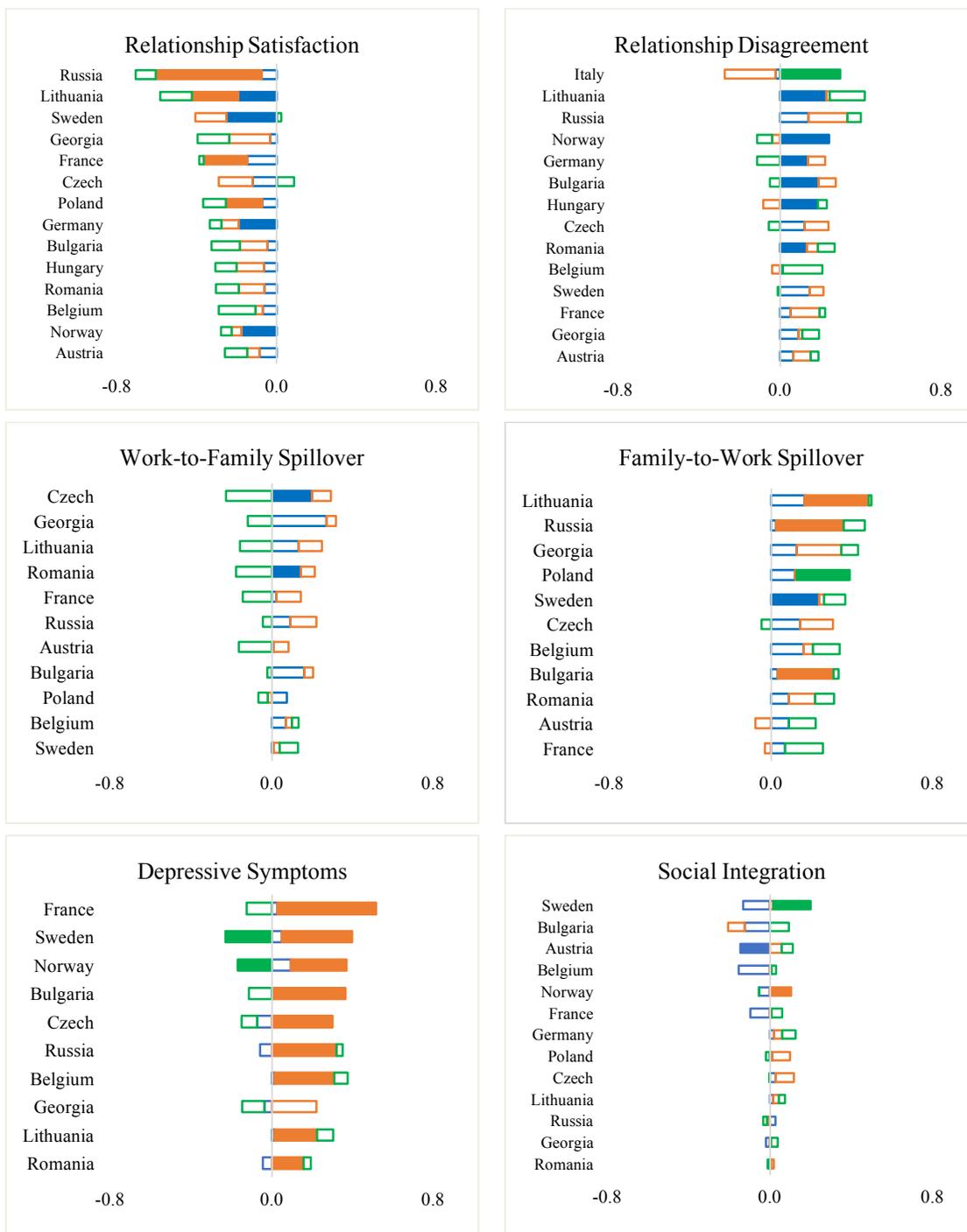


Figure 1. Standardized (Adjusted) Childrearing, Gender, and Childrearing by Gender Disparities by Country and Outcome. Countries are ranked by the absolute value of the sum of all three disparities. Childrearing disparities are depicted in blue, gender disparities in orange, and childrearing by gender disparities in green.

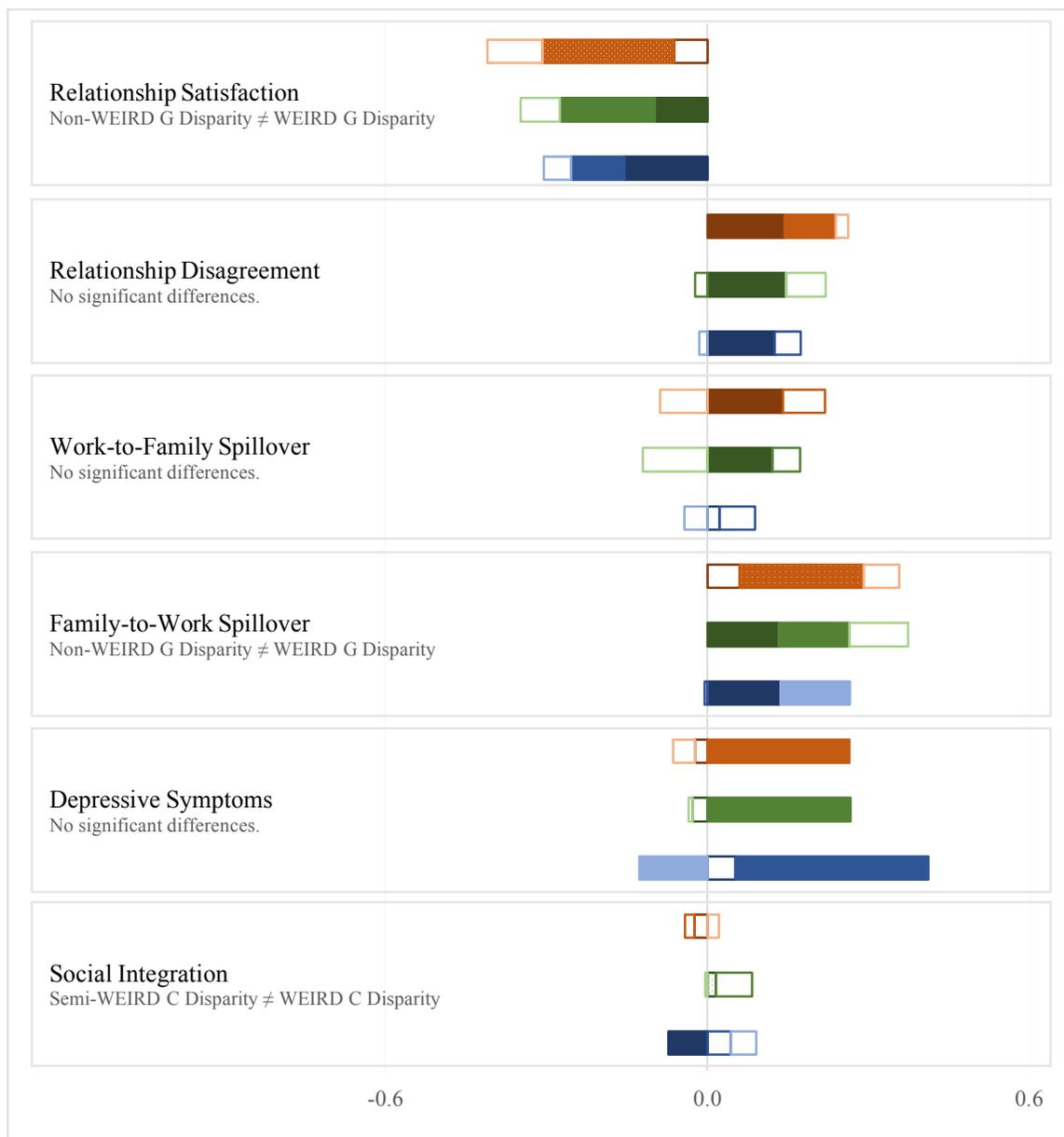


Figure 2. Standardized (Adjusted) Childrearing, Gender, and Childrearing by Gender Disparities by WEIRD Group and Outcome. Blue indicates the WEIRD group (i.e., Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Norway, and Sweden), green indicates the semi-WEIRD group (i.e., the Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, and Poland), and orange indicates the non-WEIRD group (i.e., Bulgaria, Georgia, Romania, and Russia). Childrearing disparities are shown as the darkest shade, gender disparities in the intermediate shade, and childrearing by gender disparities in the lightest shade of the corresponding colors. The dotted pattern indicates a significant difference relative to the corresponding disparity in the WEIRD group.

APPENDIX B
SUPPLEMENTAL TABLES

Table B1

Unadjusted Means by the Presence of Children and Country, Across Outcomes

	No Child (NC)	Child Present (CP)	Women	Men	Women, NC	Women, CP	Men, NC	Men, CP
<i>Relationship Satisfaction</i>								
AUS	9.44(1.07)	9.23(1.35)	9.19(1.41)	9.43(1.03)	9.41(1.10)	9.13(1.48)	9.49(1.02)	9.41(1.03)
BEL	8.93(1.24)	8.74(1.22)	8.67(1.30)	8.93(1.12)	8.90(1.15)	8.59(1.34)	8.97(1.34)	8.91(1.03)
BUL	8.74(1.67)	8.68(1.70)	8.54(1.79)	8.91(1.51)	8.65(1.74)	8.52(1.79)	8.86(1.57)	8.92(1.50)
CZE	8.58(1.80)	8.57(1.77)	8.50(1.83)	8.66(1.72)	8.45(1.90)	8.52(1.80)	8.71(1.69)	8.64(1.74)
FRA	8.64(1.36)	8.48(1.39)	8.41(1.46)	8.72(1.22)	8.52(1.42)	8.35(1.48)	8.85(1.21)	8.67(1.22)
GEO	8.78(1.57)	8.66(1.56)	8.43(1.70)	8.95(1.34)	8.61(1.72)	8.42(1.69)	8.98(1.35)	8.95(1.34)
GER	8.99(1.30)	8.75(1.56)	8.74(1.58)	8.95(1.35)	8.94(1.36)	8.67(1.65)	9.06(1.22)	8.89(1.40)
HUN	8.75(1.63)	8.66(1.70)	8.54(1.82)	8.86(1.48)	8.64(1.79)	8.50(1.82)	8.89(1.37)	8.86(1.52)
LIT	8.51(1.42)	8.19(1.71)	7.99(1.82)	8.52(1.42)	8.32(1.58)	7.88(1.89)	8.64(1.28)	8.47(1.47)
NOR	8.95(1.36)	8.71(1.43)	8.71(1.51)	8.84(1.31)	8.91(1.45)	8.64(1.52)	8.99(1.23)	8.79(1.33)
POL	8.97(1.67)	8.88(1.68)	8.71(1.81)	9.14(1.44)	8.83(1.79)	8.68(1.82)	9.16(1.47)	9.14(1.43)
ROM	8.97(1.31)	8.92(1.27)	8.76(1.44)	9.10(1.07)	8.84(1.44)	8.74(1.45)	9.11(1.14)	9.10(1.05)
RUS	8.15(2.15)	8.09(2.16)	7.70(2.36)	8.66(1.69)	7.77(2.34)	7.67(2.37)	8.65(1.75)	8.67(1.67)
SWE	8.62(1.66)	8.20(1.93)	8.28(1.88)	8.41(1.84)	8.53(1.76)	8.16(1.92)	8.74(1.49)	8.27(1.95)
<i>Relationship Disagreement</i>								
AUS	0.20(0.24)	0.21(0.25)	0.23(0.26)	0.18(0.23)	0.22(0.25)	0.23(0.26)	0.18(0.22)	0.18(0.23)
BEL	0.23(0.30)	0.26(0.30)	0.27(0.31)	0.23(0.28)	0.23(0.28)	0.28(0.32)	0.24(0.31)	0.23(0.27)
BUL	0.14(0.24)	0.18(0.29)	0.18(0.29)	0.16(0.26)	0.15(0.26)	0.19(0.30)	0.12(0.20)	0.17(0.27)
CZE	0.22(0.33)	0.24(0.31)	0.25(0.33)	0.22(0.30)	0.24(0.35)	0.25(0.32)	0.20(0.30)	0.22(0.30)
FRA	0.26(0.31)	0.27(0.29)	0.29(0.31)	0.24(0.28)	0.28(0.32)	0.30(0.31)	0.23(0.28)	0.24(0.28)
GEO	0.11(0.21)	0.15(0.23)	0.16(0.24)	0.12(0.21)	0.12(0.21)	0.17(0.25)	0.11(0.21)	0.13(0.21)
GER	0.20(0.30)	0.21(0.28)	0.21(0.29)	0.20(0.28)	0.22(0.31)	0.21(0.28)	0.19(0.28)	0.21(0.29)
HUN	0.36(0.29)	0.41(0.31)	0.39(0.30)	0.40(0.30)	0.35(0.29)	0.41(0.31)	0.37(0.29)	0.41(0.30)
ITL	0.34(0.40)	0.38(0.41)	0.38(0.41)	0.37(0.41)	0.31(0.38)	0.39(0.41)	0.38(0.42)	0.37(0.41)
LIT	0.29(0.36)	0.37(0.41)	0.38(0.42)	0.32(0.39)	0.29(0.37)	0.40(0.43)	0.28(0.35)	0.34(0.40)
NOR	0.35(0.34)	0.40(0.35)	0.38(0.35)	0.41(0.35)	0.35(0.35)	0.39(0.35)	0.36(0.33)	0.42(0.35)
ROM	0.21(0.29)	0.27(0.34)	0.28(0.35)	0.23(0.31)	0.23(0.29)	0.29(0.36)	0.20(0.29)	0.24(0.31)
RUS	0.31(0.36)	0.36(0.40)	0.38(0.41)	0.30(0.35)	0.34(0.38)	0.40(0.42)	0.28(0.33)	0.31(0.35)
SWE	0.31(0.36)	0.34(0.36)	0.35(0.37)	0.31(0.36)	0.33(0.36)	0.36(0.37)	0.29(0.36)	0.33(0.35)

Table B1

Cont.

	No Child (NC)	Child Present (CP)	Women	Men	Women, NC	Women, CP	Men, NC	Men, CP
<i>Work-to-Family Spillover</i>								
AUS	1.86(0.88)	1.77(0.81)	1.78(0.84)	1.81(0.83)	1.90(0.88)	1.73(0.81)	1.83(0.87)	1.81(0.81)
BEL	1.92(0.87)	1.98(0.89)	1.99(0.87)	1.94(0.90)	1.94(0.87)	2.01(0.87)	1.91(0.87)	1.95(0.91)
BUL	2.24(1.00)	2.36(0.99)	2.36(1.01)	2.33(0.97)	2.25(1.02)	2.37(1.01)	2.22(0.98)	2.35(0.97)
CZE	2.21(0.91)	2.28(0.88)	2.22(0.86)	2.28(0.91)	2.25(0.88)	2.21(0.85)	2.17(0.92)	2.33(0.90)
FRA	2.06(0.91)	2.00(0.89)	2.03(0.88)	2.01(0.92)	2.11(0.90)	1.99(0.87)	2.00(0.92)	2.01(0.92)
GEO	2.21(1.15)	2.41(1.11)	2.36(1.12)	2.41(1.12)	2.24(1.13)	2.37(1.12)	2.20(1.17)	2.43(1.11)
LIT	2.27(0.96)	2.32(0.97)	2.30(0.97)	2.31(0.96)	2.33(0.99)	2.29(0.96)	2.24(0.94)	2.34(0.97)
POL	2.13(0.93)	2.17(0.89)	2.14(0.89)	2.18(0.91)	2.13(0.90)	2.14(0.88)	2.14(0.96)	2.19(0.90)
ROM	2.14(0.88)	2.21(0.91)	2.16(0.89)	2.22(0.91)	2.18(0.87)	2.15(0.89)	2.12(0.89)	2.24(0.92)
RUS	2.51(1.02)	2.55(1.01)	2.59(1.00)	2.50(1.02)	2.56(1.02)	2.59(0.99)	2.45(1.03)	2.51(1.02)
SWE	2.20(0.82)	2.23(0.87)	2.28(0.88)	2.14(0.81)	2.21(0.83)	2.31(0.90)	2.17(0.81)	2.13(0.81)
<i>Family-to-Work Spillover</i>								
AUS	1.13(0.40)	1.21(0.49)	1.19(0.46)	1.18(0.47)	1.11(0.33)	1.23(0.50)	1.15(0.48)	1.19(0.47)
BEL	1.16(0.39)	1.28(0.55)	1.29(0.56)	1.21(0.47)	1.17(0.39)	1.33(0.60)	1.14(0.39)	1.23(0.49)
BUL	1.31(0.58)	1.33(0.62)	1.41(0.68)	1.23(0.51)	1.38(0.65)	1.41(0.68)	1.22(0.49)	1.24(0.52)
CZE	1.35(0.60)	1.41(0.62)	1.43(0.64)	1.36(0.60)	1.40(0.66)	1.44(0.63)	1.30(0.55)	1.38(0.62)
FRA	1.21(0.46)	1.30(0.54)	1.30(0.54)	1.24(0.49)	1.20(0.44)	1.34(0.58)	1.22(0.48)	1.25(0.50)
GEO	1.23(0.52)	1.31(0.63)	1.42(0.70)	1.25(0.57)	1.31(0.55)	1.43(0.71)	1.19(0.51)	1.26(0.57)
LIT	1.35(0.64)	1.45(0.70)	1.54(0.75)	1.35(0.64)	1.47(0.72)	1.57(0.75)	1.28(0.58)	1.38(0.66)
POL	1.25(0.50)	1.39(0.62)	1.42(0.64)	1.30(0.56)	1.25(0.48)	1.47(0.67)	1.25(0.52)	1.31(0.57)
ROM	1.22(0.45)	1.29(0.52)	1.34(0.55)	1.23(0.47)	1.26(0.50)	1.37(0.57)	1.19(0.42)	1.24(0.48)
RUS	1.52(0.78)	1.56(0.79)	1.67(0.84)	1.43(0.71)	1.61(0.82)	1.68(0.84)	1.42(0.73)	1.43(0.71)
SWE	1.24(0.49)	1.43(0.62)	1.37(0.60)	1.37(0.58)	1.22(0.47)	1.45(0.64)	1.25(0.51)	1.41(0.60)
<i>Depressive Symptoms</i>								
BEL	1.47(2.67)	1.51(2.65)	1.95(3.03)	0.97(1.99)	1.86(3.03)	1.98(3.03)	1.01(2.07)	0.95(1.96)
BUL	1.83(2.86)	1.57(2.59)	1.89(2.83)	1.19(2.23)	2.27(3.23)	1.82(2.76)	1.27(2.19)	1.17(2.24)
CZE	2.12(2.91)	1.76(2.56)	2.25(2.86)	1.46(2.39)	2.54(3.17)	2.12(2.71)	1.70(2.56)	1.34(2.29)
FRA	2.02(3.12)	1.74(2.96)	2.32(3.34)	1.15(2.35)	2.55(3.39)	2.22(3.31)	1.19(2.43)	1.14(2.32)
GEO	2.26(2.75)	1.90(2.38)	2.18(2.54)	1.65(2.22)	2.64(2.71)	2.14(2.52)	1.80(2.73)	1.63(2.16)
LIT	1.80(2.49)	1.81(2.45)	2.24(2.68)	1.44(2.19)	2.15(2.73)	2.28(2.66)	1.55(2.27)	1.39(2.16)
NOR	1.72(2.64)	1.58(2.64)	1.81(2.75)	1.36(2.46)	2.02(2.83)	1.73(2.72)	1.27(2.24)	1.39(2.52)
ROM	2.03(2.44)	1.80(2.22)	2.19(2.40)	1.53(2.09)	2.31(2.37)	2.15(2.41)	1.73(2.49)	1.48(1.96)
RUS	2.34(2.79)	2.05(2.62)	2.55(2.91)	1.53(2.14)	2.74(2.93)	2.49(2.91)	1.82(2.50)	1.45(2.02)
SWE	2.46(3.15)	2.13(2.79)	2.47(2.96)	1.90(2.80)	2.83(3.37)	2.29(2.73)	1.90(2.70)	1.90(2.85)

Table B1

Cont.

	No Child (NC)	Child Present (CP)	Women	Men	Women, NC	Women, CP	Men, NC	Men, CP
<i>Social Integration</i>								
AUS	2.91(0.38)	2.83(0.54)	2.87(0.47)	2.83(0.55)	2.93(0.35)	2.85(0.50)	2.89(0.42)	2.80(0.60)
BEL	2.79(0.60)	2.70(0.67)	2.73(0.66)	2.72(0.65)	2.78(0.62)	2.71(0.67)	2.79(0.58)	2.69(0.67)
BUL	2.48(0.93)	2.46(0.97)	2.46(0.97)	2.46(0.96)	2.45(0.94)	2.46(0.97)	2.52(0.91)	2.45(0.97)
CZE	2.62(0.79)	2.66(0.76)	2.67(0.75)	2.62(0.78)	2.65(0.77)	2.68(0.74)	2.59(0.81)	2.64(0.77)
FRA	2.68(0.67)	2.65(0.71)	2.67(0.69)	2.64(0.71)	2.68(0.68)	2.66(0.70)	2.68(0.67)	2.63(0.72)
GEO	2.53(0.82)	2.54(0.76)	2.54(0.76)	2.54(0.77)	2.51(0.83)	2.55(0.75)	2.54(0.79)	2.54(0.77)
GER	2.78(0.63)	2.84(0.51)	2.84(0.54)	2.80(0.58)	2.80(0.65)	2.86(0.49)	2.77(0.62)	2.81(0.55)
LIT	2.56(0.82)	2.61(0.78)	2.61(0.78)	2.58(0.79)	2.57(0.83)	2.62(0.76)	2.55(0.81)	2.59(0.79)
NOR	2.81(0.53)	2.79(0.55)	2.83(0.50)	2.76(0.59)	2.85(0.47)	2.82(0.51)	2.77(0.58)	2.76(0.60)
POL	2.81(0.58)	2.84(0.52)	2.84(0.52)	2.81(0.55)	2.84(0.57)	2.85(0.50)	2.79(0.59)	2.82(0.54)
ROM	2.63(0.79)	2.66(0.75)	2.64(0.76)	2.66(0.76)	2.63(0.79)	2.65(0.75)	2.64(0.79)	2.67(0.75)
RUS	2.64(0.75)	2.68(0.68)	2.66(0.71)	2.69(0.68)	2.63(0.76)	2.66(0.70)	2.65(0.74)	2.70(0.67)
SWE	2.68(0.70)	2.67(0.73)	2.71(0.67)	2.62(0.79)	2.69(0.69)	2.73(0.66)	2.67(0.73)	2.60(0.81)

Table B2

Countries Ranked by WEIRD Index

	Western ^a		Educated ^b		Industrialized ^c		Rich ^d		Democratic ^e		Survey Representation (%) ^f		WEIRD Index ^g	WEIRD Groups
	Unstd.	Std.	Unstd.	Std.	Unstd.	Std.	Unstd.	Std.	Unstd.	Std.	Unstd.	Std.		
GEO	No	-0.79	0.77	-0.95	2.17	-1.78	3.97	-1.12	0.58	-0.91	0.20	-2.04	-7.59	Non-W
RUS	No	-0.79	0.78	-0.76	2.43	-1.43	11.14	-0.82	0.26	-2.73	0.60	-0.38	-6.90	Non-W
BUL	No	-0.79	0.75	-1.38	2.35	-1.54	7.61	-0.96	0.64	-0.54	0.40	-1.21	-6.42	Non-W
ROM	No	-0.79	0.75	-1.41	2.88	-0.81	9.54	-0.88	0.58	-0.86	0.40	-1.21	-5.96	Non-W
HUN	No	-0.79	0.80	-0.25	3.48	0.02	14.52	-0.67	0.75	0.09	0.80	0.46	-1.14	Semi-W
ITL	No	-0.79	0.79	-0.56	3.79	0.44	33.89	0.15	0.77	0.24	0.60	-0.38	-0.89	Semi-W
LIT	No	-0.79	0.88	1.21	3.57	0.14	15.35	-0.64	0.72	-0.07	0.60	-0.38	-0.52	Semi-W
POL	No	-0.79	0.82	0.16	3.17	-0.41	14.66	-0.67	0.73	-0.02	1.00	1.29	-0.44	Semi-W
CZE	No	-0.79	0.87	1.00	3.36	-0.15	21.22	-0.39	0.71	-0.13	0.80	0.46	0.00	Semi-W
FRA	Yes	1.18	0.82	-0.03	4.01	0.75	41.70	0.48	0.80	0.40	0.80	0.46	3.24	WEIRD
AUS	Yes	1.18	0.79	-0.46	4.08	0.84	47.60	0.73	0.86	0.76	0.80	0.46	3.51	WEIRD
BEL	Yes	1.18	0.81	-0.10	4.05	0.80	45.18	0.62	0.83	0.59	0.80	0.46	3.55	WEIRD
SWE	Yes	1.18	0.83	0.27	4.27	1.10	55.16	1.05	0.91	1.03	1.00	1.29	5.92	WEIRD
GER	Yes	1.18	0.88	1.37	4.44	1.34	45.26	0.63	0.87	0.79	1.00	1.29	6.60	WEIRD
NOR	Yes	1.18	0.91	1.89	3.95	0.66	89.59	2.50	0.97	1.35	0.60	-0.38	7.21	WEIRD
World			0.62		2.75		12.98		0.50					
<i>M(SD)</i>			(0.17)		(0.72)		(17.72)		(0.23)					

^a Based on Henrich et al.'s (2010) description of "Western." Coded 0 = "No," 1 = "Yes."

^b Mean years divided by expected years of schooling (United Nations, 2013)

^c Infrastructure quality (World Bank, 2016b)

^d GDP per capita (in thousands; World Bank, 2015)

^e Democracy Index (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2015)

^f Participant rate in five frequently-cited social science international datasets: European Social Survey (Wave 8, 2016), Survey of Health, Ageing, Retirement in Europe (Wave 5, 2016), European Survey of Income and Living Conditions (2011), International Social Survey Program on Family and Gender Roles (2012), World Values Survey (Wave 6, 2010-2014)

^g The WEIRD Index was calculated as the sum of the six standardized columns.