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To cite this article: Laura Bernardi, Grégoire Bollmann, Gina Potarca & Jérôme Rossier (2017) Multidimensionality of Well-Being and Spillover Effects Across Life Domains: How Do Parenthood and Personality Affect Changes in Domain-Specific Satisfaction?, Research in Human Development, 14:1, 26-51, DOI: [10.1080/15427609.2016.1268893](https://doi.org/10.1080/15427609.2016.1268893)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15427609.2016.1268893>



Published online: 01 Feb 2017.



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# Multidimensionality of Well-Being and Spillover Effects Across Life Domains: How Do Parenthood and Personality Affect Changes in Domain-Specific Satisfaction?

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Whether having children improves our well-being is a long-standing topic of debate. Demographic and sociological research has investigated changes in individuals' overall well-being and partnership satisfaction when they become parents. However, little is known about how becoming parent may produce vulnerability—observable as an enduring decrease in well-being—in life domains that are strongly interdependent with the family domain, such as work and leisure. Linking life-course and personality psychology perspectives, the authors examine the trajectories of subjective well-being—measured as satisfaction with life, work, and leisure—3 years before and 3 years after the transition to parenthood. The authors particularly focus on the moderating effects of gender and personality. Using data from the German Socio-Economic Panel (1984–2013) and multilevel growth curve modeling, the authors show strong gender-based vulnerability in how people react to parenthood. Although men display a nonlinear pathway of decreasing life satisfaction and a stable trajectory of job satisfaction, women experience more changes in their satisfaction with work and more dramatic decreases in leisure satisfaction. Contrary to most of our expectations, the moderating effects of personality were modest. Extraversion influenced the trajectories of work satisfaction, whereas neuroticism and conscientiousness affected the pathway of leisure satisfaction for women only. This article shows that the transition to parenthood influences well-being trajectories in specific domains, and this influence differs between women and men.

## INTRODUCTION

Lives are multidimensional pathways made of multiple domain-specific but interdependent trajectories that are related to either family, employment, physical and mental health, or psychological development (Elder, 1995). Critical life events simultaneously affect multiple life domains. Because interdependencies play out over time, to empirically capture them, time is a crucial element that must be included when modeling the effect of critical events across life domains. One promising research avenue in this direction involves examining the positive and negative spillover effects between trajectories. *Spillover effects* refer to the impact that actions, events, and transitions in one life domain (e.g., family) have on other domains (e.g., work or leisure). Such effects can be captured by observing how a critical event produces changes in multiple trajectories of domain-specific well-being.

Major life events and transitions are recognized for their potential to create temporary and sometimes long-lasting disruptions in people's baseline levels of subjective well-being (Lucas, 2005, 2007a; Luhmann, Hofmann, Eid, & Lucas, 2012). In many cases, with time, adaptation processes may compensate for occasional disruptions, as well-being eventually returns to its initial level (Luhmann et al., 2012). However, well-being levels that do not rebound and sustained decreases in well-being indicate that individual resources are insufficient to adapt to changes and that the specific transition makes individuals vulnerable. In other words, latent vulnerability becomes manifest vulnerability when, as a consequence of a critical life transition, resources prove insufficient and such transitions produce observable continuous decreases in well-being (Spini, Bernardi, & Oris, this issue). The analysis of well-being trajectories during critical life transitions is thus an important tool with which to study vulnerability.

Among the life-course transitions that have been shown to substantially affect subjective well-being and general life satisfaction, the transition to parenthood has been widely studied (e.g., Anusic, Yap, & Lucas, 2014; Georgellis, Lange, & Tabvuma, 2012). The birth of a first child constitutes a major event in people's lives and is a transformative experience, marking a change in the new parents' social roles. Research suggests that the well-being and the quality of the experience of new mothers and fathers is an important determinant of further fertility plans (Margolis & Myrskylä, 2015; Newman, 2008) and that new mothers are often unprepared for the heavy demands of childrearing (Presser, 2001). Despite such evidence, research has given limited attention to the ways in which the transition to parenthood triggers not only changes in general subjective well-being (e.g., Myrskylä & Margolis, 2014) but also changes in satisfaction with other important life domains, such as work and leisure (for an exception that only examines job satisfaction, see Georgellis et al., 2012). In addition, given that expectations and practices related to childrearing are unequally distributed according to gender in many contexts (Milkie, Bianchi, Mattingly, & Robinson, 2002), it is surprising that only a few studies have systematically addressed gender differences in pre- and postchildbirth satisfaction levels in other life domains. Exceptions are two studies on the effects of the transition to parenthood on the couple's relationship quality (Keizer, Dykstra, & Poortman, 2010; Keizer & Schenk, 2012), based on panel data analyses. These studies find that partnership satisfaction takes the *U-shaped* form during the transition to parenthood, for men and women in the United Kingdom and more so for women in The Netherlands.

In addition, potential moderators of the relationship between the birth of a first child and the evolution of people's satisfaction with different life domains remain largely understudied. Psychological dispositions, such as personality, are major factors underlying the relative stability of subjective well-being over time (Diener & Lucas, 1999), and, in some circumstances, they may even have a stronger and longer-lasting impact than life events (Pocnet et al., 2016). One way that personality influences people's well-being is through its impact on how a person construes a new situation, adapts to it, and acts as an agent (McAdams, 2013; McCrae & Costa, 2008). Agency, a central principle of the life-course framework, is the individual's capacity to influence circumstances and his or her biography, including long-term patterns of well-being (Shanahan, Hill, Roberts, Eccles, & Friedman, 2014). Personality traits have a documented impact on agency and on the ways in which people adapt to changing circumstances or life events (Lent & Brown, 2013; Shanahan et al., 2014). Although recent evidence has shown that personality may affect the ways in which individuals adjust to parenthood and its consequences, whether personality moderates the impact of major life events and transitions on trajectories of life, job, or leisure satisfaction remains unknown (Boyce, Wood, & Brown, 2010; Yap, Anusic, & Lucas, 2012).

The article stems from the crucial need for empirical studies of spillovers across life domains and their moderators to understand how individual well-being is produced, whether it evolves over time, and how. From a life course perspective, we investigate multiple forms of well-being over time during the transition to parenthood. Specifically, we engage in an original empirical analysis that examines the effects of the transition to parenthood on the levels of and variations in general life satisfaction and satisfaction in relation to the specific life domains of work and leisure. These constructs are vital for understanding how people experience and reflect on multiple aspects of their lives. As opposed to the factual changes that a given transition triggers (e.g., changes in work hours after becoming a parent), subjective measures of well-being are ideal for capturing differential mental adjustments to life transitions.

We use panel data from the German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP) to reconstruct yearly changes in life, work, and leisure satisfaction over a 7-year window surrounding the birth of a first child (i.e., starting 3 years before and ending 3 years after the child's birth). Our analysis contributes to the emerging interdisciplinary literature that has only very recently started gathering evidence concerning the interaction between personality and life events and its effect of well-being (Hitlin & Johnson, 2015; Shanahan et al., 2014). We make a substantive contribution to family and life-course research by providing new insights on the consequences of a life-changing transition, such as parenthood, on multidimensional well-being over a 7-year period. In addition, we examine how the heterogeneity of well-being trajectories relates to the gender and personality of the parents. To the best of our knowledge, such moderation by personality has been unexplored in the literature, particularly with a large panel data sample.

## Well-Being, Spillover Effects Across Life Domains, and the Life Course

Life satisfaction represents the cognitive aspect of subjective well-being (Diener, 1984). Theories of subjective well-being hold that global life satisfaction is an aggregate measure of satisfaction in various life domains (e.g., Schimmack, 2008), such as satisfaction with work or leisure activities (Diener, Scollon, & Lucas, 2003). Subjective well-being is relatively

stable when considered over the entire life span (Diener, Lucas, & Scollon, 2006). However, longitudinal analyses of individuals' life-satisfaction trajectories show that levels vary due to the major life events that they experience, such as changes in their marital status, bereavement, childbirth, unemployment, or disability (Lucas, 2007b; Lucas, Clark, Georgellis, & Diener, 2004; Myrskylä & Margolis, 2014).

Because life-course trajectories are interdependent, the intersection between life domains is likely to take many forms. In line with existing definitions of the concept of process (Spector & Meier, 2014), we conceive of "spillovers as processes" that link two life domains over time. Spillover processes can take the form of resources generated or drained by one life domain that facilitate or hinder another life domain and subsequently influence subjective well-being (e.g., Knecht, Wiese, & Freund, 2016; Spini et al., this issue).

Spillover effects between the work and family spheres have received considerable attention (e.g., the role of nonstandard work schedules on family well-being studied by Davis, Goodman, Pirretti, & Almeida, 2008; the impact of work satisfaction on couple satisfaction in Liu & Cheung, 2015). Much research on the work–life balance shows that individuals' workplace stressors are likely to spill over into their private sphere and lead to conflicts between the two life domains (e.g., Bakker & Demerouti, 2013; Michel, Kotrba, Mitchelson, Clark, & Baltes, 2010). However, most research in this field is cross-sectional (Amstad, Meier, Fasel, Elfering, & Semmer, 2011) or based on observation periods of 1 year or less (Knecht et al., 2016; Nohe, Meier, Sonntag, & Michel, 2015). Longer observation periods are necessary to grasp possible patterns of adaptation following specific major life events.

### Parenthood and Subjective Well-Being

The literature has extensively studied the specific mix of rewards and stresses involved in the transition to parenthood and their short- and long-term effects on parental subjective well-being (Umberson, Pudrovska, & Reczek, 2010). The overall effect of the transition to parenthood on parental well-being remains ambiguous. Some research has concluded that it is positive (Aassve, Goisis, & Sironi, 2012; Herbst & Ifcher, 2012), as parents seem to enjoy increases in life satisfaction and self-esteem (Hansen, Slagsvold, & Moum, 2009) and in the social and psychological resources available to them (Nomaguchi & Milkie, 2003). By contrast, other research has suggested that negative consequences predominate, as parenthood creates opportunities for conflict due to the redefinition of roles within the couple and in other life spheres (Alesina, Di Tella, & MacCulloch, 2004). Parenthood may mean the restriction of freedom due to the newborn's care and needs, which may produce sexual dissatisfaction if the child absorbs most of his/her parent's energy and attention—intimacy levels in the couple are decreased by the new presence—and may also be a source of financial strain (Twenge, Campbell, & Foster, 2003). Studies that control for the self-selective effects of happiness and well-being on parenthood conclude that, despite happy couples being more likely to have children, once they become parents, their well-being decreases (Myrskylä & Margolis, 2014; Parr, 2010). Overall well-being is a synthetic measurement of well-being across different life domains, which may hide different spillover effects, depending on the kind of well-being trajectories considered. Given the life changes produced by parenthood and the child's intensive care needs in his or her first months (or

even years), the birth of the first child likely influences parents' satisfaction with work, leisure, and the quality of their relationship. Although satisfaction with the couple's relationship seems to rebound for both partners after an initial decrease around childbirth (Keizer & Schenk, 2012), changes in satisfaction with work and leisure are likely to last longer, as they may relate to durable changes in work and leisure activities.

The changes associated with parenthood are likely to differ between men and women. Parenthood most often necessitates several rearrangements in the allocation of time and resources, and parents, particularly mothers in countries with limited extrafamilial childcare arrangements, adapt their employment schedules or leisure habits to meet their childcare responsibilities (Hynes & Clarkberg, 2005; Sanchez & Thomson, 1997). Future parents, particularly expectant mothers, develop and negotiate their (future) parental role and identity in various life domains (e.g., Little, Major, Hinojosa, & Nelson, 2015). With rising female employment and a shift from single- to dual-income households, many neo-parent families opt to share childcare responsibilities. They can do so by working nonstandard hours and alternating to provide childcare time (Pagnan, Lero, & MacDermid Wadsworth, 2011; Presser, 1995), particularly when childcare is not easily outsourced (Bünning & Pollmann-Schult, 2016; Carriero, Ghysels, & Van Klaveren, 2009). However, more women than men continue to prioritize their family role over their work role, even though a similar proportion of men and women attach importance to their family and work roles (Cinamon & Rich, 2002). This is the case in Germany, the context of this study, where mothers take on a higher proportion of parenting responsibilities (Rossier, Brachet, & Salles, 2011). As a consequence, women's endorsement of their (future) parental role and its related consequences might affect their well-being in general, at work and at leisure differently than men. Parental strain, time and financial stresses, and depression are observed, especially among mothers (Evenson & Simon, 2005), and these negative effects persist for a number of years (e.g., Buddelmeyer, Hamermesh, & Wooden, 2015).

Even without focusing on the period surrounding maternity, women are more likely than men to report that their family life interferes with their work life (Byron, 2005). This combined role emotionally exhausts women more than men (Reichl, Leiter, & Spinath, 2014), and this higher psychological distress has been attributed to the greater importance that they attach to their parental role compared with men (Simon, 1992). In addition, at work, visible signs of pregnancy might expose women to discrimination (Hebl, King, Glick, Singletary, & Kazama, 2007) and influence their decision to conceal or disclose their expectant status and their somatic symptoms (King & Botsford, 2009). Such potential discrimination might be one reason that, retrospectively, women appear to report lower job satisfaction during and after pregnancy than before it (Brown, Ferrara, & Schley, 2002). Women also show more somatic symptoms than men as consequence of conflicts and the difficult integration of family, work, and leisure activities (Freund, Knecht, & Wiese, 2014). Gender differences also emerge in the ways in which preparenthood levels of activity in work and leisure translate into well-being costs after the birth of the child. Men lose well-being if they frequently participated in leisure prior to parenthood, and women experience diminished increases in well-being when they combine leisure activities with working long hours before motherhood (Roeters, Mandemakers, & Voorpostel, 2016).

## The Moderating Role of Personality

Personality traits are consistent patterns of thoughts, feelings, motives, and behaviors that a person exhibits across situations (Fleeson & Gallagher, 2009). Substantial agreement exists among personality psychologists that the five-factor model allows the parsimonious and adequate mapping of personality traits in a variety of different contexts (McCrae & Allik, 2002). These five personality dimensions are neuroticism (i.e., negative emotionality and emotional instability), agreeableness (i.e., altruism and cooperation), conscientiousness (i.e., self-control, self-discipline, and organization), extraversion (i.e., sociability, assertiveness, and positive emotionality), and openness (i.e., imagination, intellectual curiosity, and aesthetic appreciation). Although an individual's personality gradually evolves a bit over the life course (Roberts, Walton, & Viechtbauer, 2006), it is partly inherited (e.g., Jang, McCrae, Angleitner, Riemann, & Livesley, 1998) and shows relative stability over time (e.g., Costa, Herbst, McCrae, & Siegler, 2000).

Integrating personality and self-regulatory perspectives on people's management and satisfaction with their multiple life domains (McCrae & Costa, 2008; Rossier, 2015; Wayne, Michel, & Matthews, 2016), recent theorizing has suggested that personality dimensions contribute to subjective well-being through their multiple and complex relationships with people's affect, cognitions, and regulatory efforts. When modeling the impact of life events on domain-specific well-being, personality dimensions are theoretically relevant in at least three ways.

First, interindividual personality differences might directly and indirectly influence people's satisfaction with specific life domains because of their different exposure to and interpretations of the resources and constraints surrounding their personal goals. Personality is linked to broad temperamental tendencies, which subject individuals to more or less positive and negative cognitions, affect, and experiences. These temperamental tendencies have an important and systematic impact on individuals' average level of life, job, and leisure satisfaction (Judge, Heller, & Mount, 2002; Kesavayuth, Rosenman, & Zikos, 2016; Steel, Schmidt, & Shultz, 2008). For instance, neuroticism is the dimension that best predicts interference between one's family and work, followed by conscientiousness and agreeableness (Allen et al., 2012).

Second, personality affects anticipatory and reactive regulatory efforts in the face of challenges such as those involved in major life course transitions or in conflicting demands across life domains (McCrae & Costa, 2008; Shanahan et al., 2014). Personality differences and related regulatory and coping skills might allow people to increase or protect their satisfaction with these domains (Matthews, Wayne, & Ford, 2014). Neuroticism, conscientiousness, and (to a lesser extent) extraversion predict people's self-regulatory efforts and goal-directed motivation (e.g., McCrae & Löckenhoff, 2010). For example, over time, conscientious individuals are more likely to act in ways that allow them to complete tasks, whereas extraverted individuals pursue goals to connect with others (McCabe & Fleeson, 2016). Neurotic individuals adopt more avoidance coping strategies (Paulson & Leuty, 2016), whereas conscientious individuals show more behavioral coping strategies. In turn, behavioral coping strategies alleviate conflicts between life domains (Baltes, Zhdanova, & Clark, 2011).

Third, personality partially influences individuals' temporal orientation (Hitlin & Elder, 2007). A recent study on the relationship between personality and well-being investigates the role of past time perspective on the association between personality traits and life satisfaction, concluding that "at



least some, if not most, of the association between an individual's disposition and their life satisfaction may be due to how they relate their personal and social experiences to time" (Zhang & Howell, 2011, p. 1265). Actors' temporal orientations are shaped by situational exigencies, with some situations calling for extensive focus on the present and others requiring an extended temporal orientation. Agency is exerted differently depending on the actor's salient time horizon. Parenthood and the care associated with it admittedly demand a reorganization of resources (temporary or permanent) throughout life. Across the transition to parenthood and the net of other resources, personality characteristics, which encourage the pursuit of long-term goals over immediate goals, such as conscientiousness, may produce different satisfaction trajectories than personality characteristics, which sustain highly emotional reactions and short-term satisfaction, such as neuroticism. Individuals with high levels of neuroticism, or low levels of extraversion or conscientiousness (i.e., those who do have different regulatory and coping strategies) are less effective in adjusting to conflict between life domains with regard to work-related outcomes and well-being (e.g., Dijkstra, Van Dierendonck, Evers, & De Dreu, 2005; Kinnunen, Vermulst, Gerris, & Makikangas, 2003; Witt & Carlson, 2006). Concerning parents, personality may have an impact on how effectively couples use dyadic coping skills to manage interpersonal stressors related to parenthood (e.g., child misbehavior and care-induced marital conflict; Lee-Baggle, Preece, & DeLongis, 2005). Overall, such evidence suggests an examination of the trajectories of well-being in and around the transition to parenthood as a function of personality dimensions. In particular, given their proven relevance for adjustment processes, we examine three particular dimensions in this article: neuroticism, extraversion, and conscientiousness.

Despite these potential effects of personality on well-being around major life-course transitions, longitudinal research on satisfaction with life, work, and leisure around the transition to parenthood is still very scarce and inconclusive. With respect to life satisfaction, Yap et al. (2012) found that, among the five dimensions of personality, only openness changes the average levels of life satisfaction in the year of the child's birth. However, this effect failed to be replicated in a different sample (Anusic et al., 2014). One explanation for such scarce evidence might be that life satisfaction already evolves before childbirth (Myrskylä & Margolis, 2014) and not only in the year of the birth. In addition, failing to account for gender differences in changes with life satisfaction might be another explanation for such inconclusive findings (for an exception, see Clark, Diener, Georgellis, & Lucas, 2008). The literature on the trajectories of domain-specific satisfaction is even scarcer. We could not identify any study that investigated the role of personality in the evolution of job or leisure satisfaction around childbirth. To the best of our knowledge, no study investigated the role of personality in the evolution of job or leisure satisfaction around childbirth, with the exception of Georgellis and colleagues (2012), who found that, in the United Kingdom, the birth of the first child has a larger negative impact on trajectories of job satisfaction for women than for men. Yet this study does not take the moderation played by personality into account.

### Spillovers Between Work, Family, and Leisure and the Moderating Role Played by Personality

We expect that the transition to parenthood, which may start some time before birth in the planning or acknowledgement of a pregnancy, has an impact on parents' life, job, and leisure satisfaction and that this effect changes over time, varies across gender, and is moderated by



personality. Regarding life satisfaction, we expect a nonlinear trend in its evolution such that, compared with a baseline level (i.e., 3 years before childbirth), life satisfaction will increase around childbirth (i.e., the year of childbirth or a year after), and decrease to its baseline level afterwards (i.e., 3 years after childbirth) (Hypothesis 1a). Parents may indeed be emotionally rewarded by the presence of their offspring in the short term, but, in the longer run, stresses related to childcare and role changes may reduce satisfaction. Regarding job and leisure satisfaction, with parenthood, parents adapt work and leisure time to care needs. We thus also expect nonlinear trends in their evolution. On average, the transition to parenthood will negatively affect job satisfaction—at least in the first two or three years after the arrival of the first child—although no difference between the baseline level and childbirth year is expected (Hypothesis 1b). Previous research defined *leisure time* as time not spent on paid work, unpaid work, or self-care (Bittman & Wajcman, 2000). Leisure seems to be primarily a life domain that facilitates functioning in the life domains of work and family. Leisure is an activity that allows recreation and recovery from work and family-related responsibilities (e.g., Fritz & Sonnentag, 2005). Engaging in leisure activities helps parents detach from other stressors and preoccupations and allows them to replenish their stock of resources (Newman, Tay, & Diener, 2014). Given that both parents are likely to experience a substantive reduction in their leisure time or in their degree of flexibility to enjoy leisure time (Claxton & Perry-Jenkins, 2008), we expect that satisfaction in this domain decreases for both men and women, at least temporarily, around the transition to parenthood (Hypothesis 1c).

Moreover, given the different average roles of mothers and fathers in early care and parental roles (e.g., Laflamme, Pomerleau, & Malcuit, 2002), we may expect differential effects on life, work, and leisure satisfaction by gender. Mothers reduce working time and withdraw from work-related responsibilities or from the labor market temporarily more often than fathers do. This is particularly the case in contexts such as Germany, the empirical case study for this article, where maternal full-time employment is hindered by a widespread practice of maternal childcare, combined with the limited use of formal childcare arrangements for children younger than age 3 years (European Commission, 2009). Similarly, mothers' leisure time is often interrupted by household chores and childcare, whereas fathers tend to enjoy continuous—and thus possibly more satisfying—spells of leisure time (Bittman & Wajcman, 2000). Hence, mothers might be more affected than men in terms of changes in their satisfaction with life (Hypothesis 2a), job (Hypothesis 2b), and leisure (Hypothesis 2c). The temporary increase in life satisfaction and decrease in work and leisure satisfaction should be more pronounced in women than in men.

We expect gender differences in job satisfaction to also hold independently of the number of hours devoted to work and leisure time as a consequence of parenthood. In a context with gender norms that identify mothers as the primary caregivers and fathers as the primary providers, each parent may perceive his/her use of time very differently. For instance, at an equal rate of employment, mothers may feel that they are not attending to one of their primary responsibilities, i.e., their careers.

Lastly, given that the dimensions of personality that are most often linked with subjective life satisfaction are neuroticism, extraversion, and conscientiousness (Steel et al., 2008) and that these dimensions are also linked to the self-regulatory and coping strategies mentioned above, we expect these personality dimensions to moderate the trends mentioned thus far. No data are available that would suggest that the direct impact of personality traits on well-being would

differ across gender. However, considering that the implications of parenthood may be quite different for women and men due to the inequalities in the childrearing practices, the moderating impact of personality could differ across gender. Women who are more involved than men in directly caring for their newborn child might benefit more in terms of general well-being from self-regulatory and coping strategies associated with low neuroticism (Hypothesis 3a) and high extraversion (Hypothesis 3b). Considering work (Hypothesis 3c) and leisure satisfaction (Hypothesis 3d), conscientiousness might be an important dimension to consider, as it is associated with the planning and organizational abilities that underlie the ability to manage several parallel activities, such as family duties, work, and leisure activities.

## METHOD

### Data

We use data from 30 waves (1984–2013) of the SOEP (Wagner, Frick, & Schupp, 2007). One of the longest running panels, the SOEP was initiated in 1984, with the East German states joining in 1991. The panel includes reliable measures for the examination of yearly changes in general, work and leisure-related well-being before and after childbirth as well as for the key moderators in this study (i.e., personality traits). Having a high response rate (Schoeni, Stafford, McGonagle, & Andreski, 2013) and a relatively low level of attrition compared with other panel sources (Lipps, 2009), the SOEP has a very large sample size, which enables us to perform analyses across multiple population subgroups. We only select respondents with at least three waves of participation, for whom the first birth occurred during the participation/observation window (i.e., 1984–2013), who were between age 17 and 53 years upon entering the panel, and who participated in the panel before and after the first childbirth.<sup>1</sup> After the removal of 84 cases with missing within-subject observations (i.e., no observations recorded during any sampling year) on the variables of interest, the final analytical sample includes 4,246 respondents. For models estimating changes in work-related well-being only, the sample is restricted to respondents who remained employed (either full-time or part-time) during the observation period (3,875 respondents) to avoid potential bias due to individuals dropping out of the labor market. When running analyses including personality, the samples are trimmed based on the number of cases with available information on personality (see each table for the exact figures of the sample used for each set of estimations).

### Measurements

The SOEP provides annual data on well-being. We consider general, work, and leisure-related well-being by examining measures of life, job, and leisure satisfaction, respectively. All three constructs are measured on an identical 11-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 0 (*completely dissatisfied*) to 10 (*completely satisfied*). The item that measures life satisfaction is as follows: “How satisfied are you with your life, all things considered?” This measure is commonly used in

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<sup>1</sup> In cases in which the partner continues to live in the same household as the respondent and is thus also interviewed, we use data on both partners.

studies on adaptation to life events to capture subjective well-being (Luhmann et al., 2012). To assess job satisfaction, respondents have to answer the following question: “How satisfied are you with your job?” Finally, leisure satisfaction is captured with the following item: “How satisfied are you with your leisure time?”

Information on the birth of the first biological child is available for women and (since 2001) for men. Therefore, we estimated the timing of the first childbirth mainly by examining yearly changes in the total number of biological births and the number of children in the household and then double-check by comparing our estimations with the exact information on the year of the first childbirth, when available. To examine how the three kinds of satisfaction vary not only at the time of childbirth but also 3 years before and 3 years after the transition to parenthood, we computed time to and since first childbirth, ranging from  $-3$  and  $3$ .<sup>2</sup> The linear coefficient for time then represents the linear trajectory of general, work and leisure related well-being at year 0, namely, the childbirth year (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003).

All three constructs of personality inserted in the model (neuroticism, extraversion, and conscientiousness) were measured on a validated 3-item scale (Hahn, Gottschling, & Spinath, 2012). Personality was measured twice during the entire panel (i.e., in 2005 and 2009). For respondents who remained in the panel long enough to be surveyed twice, we considered the first measurement only.

Time-varying controls include *hours spent on the job or in training* during a workday, *hours spent on hobbies or other leisure activities* during a workday,<sup>3</sup> education (1 less than high school, 2 high school, 3 more than high school), marital status (1 married, 2 single, 3 widowed, 4 divorced, 5 separated), age (categories: 1 17–25, 2 26–30, 3 31–35, 4 36–40, 5 41–45, 6 46–50, 7 51–58), *survey period* (1 1984–1988, 2 1989–1993, 3 1994–1998, 4 1999–2003, 5 2004–2008, 6 2009–2013), satisfaction with health<sup>4</sup> (a 11-point scale, ranging from 0 *completely dissatisfied* to 10 *completely satisfied*), second birth occurrence within 3 years after the first childbirth (dummy), and region (1 West Germany, 2 East Germany). Table 1 shows information on missing data in connection to all relevant measures (i.e., column “% Missing”). We notice that the nonresponse rate is low for most variables, except for personality, with 19% of the information missing. This missing information likely results from these items only being measured only twice during the panel. Nonetheless, the selectivity of personality nonresponses is generally low (Dehne & Schupp, 2007).

## Analytical Approach

To study intra-individual change in general, work-related, and leisure-related satisfaction measures, we estimated multilevel linear growth-curve models (Mitchell, 2012), treating time to and since the first childbirth as a continuous predictor. This method enabled us to uncover changes in satisfaction related to the anticipation of, initial reaction to, and longer-term adaptation to the

<sup>2</sup> We thus have seven time periods: ( $-3$ ) 3 years before (reference period), ( $-2$ ) 2 years before, ( $-1$ ) 1 year before, (0) year of childbirth, (1) 1 year after, (2) 2 years after, and (3) 3 years after childbirth.

<sup>3</sup> Respondents did not receive any specific indications regarding what leisure activities entail.

<sup>4</sup> We use *satisfaction with health* rather than *self-rated health*, given the high level of missing information for the latter (26.02%).

TABLE 1  
Descriptive Statistics for the Variables Used in the Analyses of Life, Job, and Leisure Satisfaction

<i>Variables</i>	<i>%M (SD)</i>		<i>% Missing<sup>a</sup></i>
Dependent variables			
Life satisfaction (range 0–10)	7.53	(1.59)	0.36
Job satisfaction (range 0–10)	7.23	(1.95)	1.96
Leisure satisfaction (range 0–10)	6.51	(2.25)	0.69
Independent variables			
Personality dimensions			
Neuroticism (range 1–7)	3.82	(1.19)	18.92
Extraversion (range 1–7)	4.88	(1.13)	18.89
Conscientiousness (range 1.33–7)	5.85	(0.89)	18.89
Gender			
Men	47.41		No missing
Women	52.59		
Factual indicators			
Hours of work (range 0–24)	5.64	(4.77)	5.01
Hours of leisure (range 0–24)	1.59	(1.69)	6.97
Education			
Less than high school	20.25		
High school	57.43		
More than high school	22.32		
Age (range 18–60)	29.83	(6.26)	No missing
Marital status			
Married	71.81		0.17
Single	24.35		
Widowed	0.12		
Divorced	2.66		
Separated	1.06		
Satisfaction with health (range 0–10)	7.66	(1.83)	0.24
Second birth	1.70		No missing
Region			
West Germany	82.17		No missing
East Germany	17.83		
<i>N</i>	4,246		

*Note.* All figures related to dependent and independent time-varying factors correspond to the values measured for the year of the first childbirth. <sup>a</sup>The percentage of missing within-subject observations for each variable. For job satisfaction, the missingness is evaluated with reference to the subsample of continuously employed respondents (i.e.,  $N = 3,875$ ).

*Source:* GSOEP, 1984–2013, version 30.

transition to parenthood. In such models, time is treated as Level 1, and the respondent is treated as Level 2. Similarly, characteristics that change over time are considered Level 1 predictors, whereas time-invariant factors are treated as Level 2 variables. A random slope of time is also added. The multilevel design accounts for the nonindependence of observations among time points for each person (Snijders & Bosker, 2012) and accommodates unbalanced panel designs or missing within-subject observations (Bliese & Ployhart, 2002). The method is particularly proficient in handling missing data and allowing for a varying number of participation waves (Singer & Willett, 2003), meaning that not every respondent has to have participated in all seven

waves that correspond to all relevant time points. In our sample, 27.51% of the respondents have seven waves of participations; 29.51% have six waves; and the rest have fewer than six but at least three waves.

To investigate potential nonlinear patterns of change over time, we tested for the quadratic and cubic effects of time, but we only reported models with significant polynomial growth functions.<sup>5</sup> To determine whether gender and personality dimensions affect the pathways of well-being before and after the first childbirth differently, we included cross-level interactions between our key covariates and linear and non-linear time effects. We assumed that the well-being trajectories started at various points and could change at different rates. Finally, all the models were fitted using the *xtmixed* command in Stata 14.

## RESULTS

We first report some descriptive statistics of the variables used in our analysis. [Table 1](#) indicates that the sample has slightly more women than men. At the time of the first childbirth, 22.62% of the respondents have attained an educational degree higher than a high school diploma, whereas more than one half (57.43%) have a high school education. At the moment of transitioning into parenthood, the respondents are, on average, 29.83 years old; they work, on average, 5.64 hours a day<sup>6</sup>; and they report spending, on average, 1.59 hours on leisure activities per day. More than two thirds (71.81%) are married, whereas 24.35% are not married (further inspection shows that two thirds of the latter have a cohabiting partner). Additionally, compared with the norms provided by Dehne and Schupp (2007), our respondents present a very small difference in neuroticism and extraversion, respectively (both  $d_s < |0.2|$ ), and no difference in conscientiousness. This finding suggests that our respondents' personalities closely correspond to what is found in the general German population.

Next, we present our multivariate results in three steps. First, we show the linear and nonlinear trends in life satisfaction and its interaction with gender. Here, we compared the estimated levels of women's and men's well-being in the year of childbirth with their estimated levels of well-being in the baseline and the adaptation year (3 years before and after childbirth, respectively). Then, we followed the same steps with respect to satisfaction with work and leisure. To better visualize the results, we plotted graphs of the predicted means of life, job, or leisure satisfaction based on the multilevel growth curve models, which included interactions between time and gender ([Figure 1](#)). Third, we presented additional analyses for the personality interactions, focusing on significant results. Personality dimensions were centered before exploring the form of the interactions, and the maxima and minima of the trajectories were computed at the means and  $\pm 1.5$  standard deviations (*SD*) of the personality dimensions (Cohen et al., 2003).

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<sup>5</sup> Cubic terms proved significant only in the model predicting leisure satisfaction (reported in [Table 2](#)).

<sup>6</sup> Supplementary investigations reveal that the mean score is 8.81 for men, whereas it is 2.56 for women. Women are more likely to have part-time work or no work.

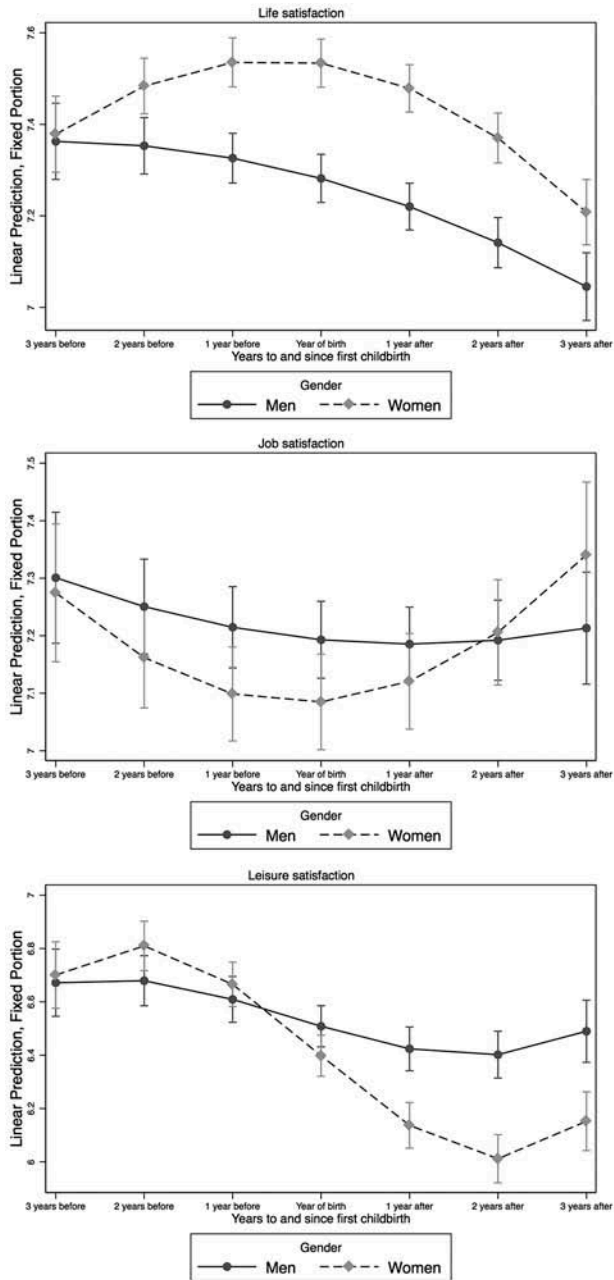


FIGURE 1 Predicted life, work, and leisure satisfaction trajectories before and after the first childbirth (95% confidence interval), by gender. *Source:* The SOEP and the authors' calculations based on models in Table 2.

## Parenthood and Overall Well-Being

The hypotheses regarding life satisfaction expected nonlinear trends for both genders (Hypothesis 1a), albeit with more important changes for women than men (Hypothesis 2a). The trajectories of overall well-being differed for women and men, with women having higher levels of well-being than men, as shown in the results reported in the first column in [Table 2](#) and the top graph in [Figure 1](#). The results show that the quadratic term and its interaction with gender are negative and significant, suggesting that the trajectories followed inverted *U*-shapes for both genders. During the childbirth year, women reached higher levels of overall well-being than they had before birth and 3 years after birth (predicted values in [Figure 1](#), top graph).<sup>7</sup> By contrast, men had similar levels of life satisfaction 3 years before childbirth as in the year of the birth, but they displayed significantly lower levels 3 years after childbirth (predicted values in [Figure 1](#), top graph). Overall, these results indicated mixed support for Hypothesis 1a; they revealed nonlinear trends in life satisfaction, but larger decreases following childbirth than expected. Moreover, they supported Hypothesis 2a in that women observed larger changes than men.

## Parenthood and Domain-Specific Well-Being

Hypotheses 1b and 2b also expected nonlinear trends with drops in job satisfaction following childbirth (Hypothesis 1b), which would be more marked in women than in men (Hypothesis 2b). Here, the quadratic term of time for men is nonsignificant, but its interaction with gender is significant (see [Table 2](#), second column). Men's job satisfaction trajectories show no significant differences over time; they can be considered stable. By contrast, women experienced significantly lower job satisfaction in the year of the childbirth than in the 3 years prior, which then returned to its original point 3 years after childbirth. The middle graph in [Figure 1](#) depicts this trajectory and compares it with the stable job satisfaction observed for men. These results generally did not support Hypothesis 1b, as the drops observed occurred before rather than after childbirth. However, they provided support for Hypothesis 2b, as women experienced greater changes in job satisfaction than men.

Hypotheses 1c and 2c expected nonlinear trends, with drops in satisfaction with leisure time in the short term around childbirth, especially (Hypothesis 1c), which would be more important for women than men (Hypothesis 2b). The results indicated that having a cubic term and its interaction with gender in addition to the quadratic terms significantly improved the model (see [Table 2](#), third column). As seen in the bottom graph of [Figure 1](#), they suggested that women and, to a lesser extent, men report trajectories of leisure satisfaction with a maximum followed by a minimum. According to this model, women's and men's leisure time satisfaction reached its maximum 2 years before and its minimum 2 years after childbirth. Women's satisfaction with leisure time was lower in the childbirth year than before, and it continued to decrease after birth, being even lower 3 years after childbirth than the year of the birth. In comparison, men's satisfaction with leisure time was less influenced by childbirth. Similar to women, men experienced lower satisfaction with leisure time in the year of the birth compared with 3 years before. However, unlike women, their satisfaction ceased to decrease 3 years after childbirth and

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<sup>7</sup> A Bonferroni's correction was used to adjust the *p* values of these multiple pairwise comparisons. Exact values of these comparisons are available upon request.



TABLE 2  
 Estimates of Multilevel Growth Curve Models of Life Satisfaction, Work Satisfaction, and Leisure Satisfaction

	<i>Life Satisfaction</i>	<i>Job Satisfaction</i>	<i>Leisure Satisfaction</i>
Fixed effects			
Gender (reference: men)			
Women	0.252***	-0.108*	-0.110*
Time	-0.053***	-0.015	-0.101***
Quadratic: Time × Time	-0.009*	0.007	0.008
Cubic: Time × Time × Time			0.008**
Gender × Time effects interaction			
Women × Time	0.025*	0.026	-0.185***
Women × Time × Time	-0.018***	0.018*	-0.005
Women × Time × Time × Time			0.014***
Hours of work	0.023***	0.007	-0.067***
Hours of leisure	-0.016*	0.011	0.182***
Education (reference: less than high school)			
High school	0.184***	0.205***	0.134*
More than high school	0.373***	0.227***	0.114
Marital status (reference: married)			
Not married	-0.237***	-0.013	0.103**
Widowed	-0.675*	0.194	0.178
Divorced	-0.303***	-0.084	0.029
Separated	-0.655***	0.112	0.191
Age (reference: 17–25)			
26–30	0.026	0.065	-0.055
31–35	0.036	0.079	-0.028
36–40	0.023	0.179*	-0.031
41–45	-0.084	0.037	0.121
46–50	-0.052	0.162	0.225
51–63	-0.204	-0.051	0.417*
Period (reference: 1984–1988)			
1989–1993	-0.087*	-0.082	-0.315***
1994–1998	-0.097*	-0.190**	-0.336***
1999–2003	0.015	-0.141*	-0.247***
2004–2008	-0.025	-0.209**	-0.287***
2009–2013	0.067	-0.184*	-0.078
Satisfaction with health	0.258***	0.330***	0.233***
Second birth	0.061	-0.057	-0.480***
Region (reference: West Germany)			
East Germany	-0.411***	-0.263***	-0.269***
Intercept	5.206***	4.583***	5.124***
Level-two random effects			
Variance (time)	0.028 ***	0.051***	0.062***
Variance (intercept)	0.714***	1.087*	1.580***
Covariance (time, intercept)	-0.006	-0.023*	0.026*
Level-one variance			
Residual variance	1.301***	2.032***	2.684***
<i>N</i> (observations)	23,526	16,556	23,469
<i>N</i> (individuals)	4,246	3,875	4,246

Note. Unstandardized coefficients are shown.

\* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$  (two-tailed tests).

stabilized at a level similar to that in the birth year. Generally, these results provided mixed support for Hypothesis 1c and Hypothesis 2c, as nonlinear trends with short-term drops in leisure time satisfaction were observed but found to be more complex than expected and the leisure satisfaction of mothers was more affected than that of men.

### Personality Interactions

For each model, we then included cross-level interactions between time and gender effects and each dimension of personality separately. Hypotheses 3a and 3b suggested that low neuroticism and high extraversion would be more beneficial for women's trends in life satisfaction than for those of men. For life satisfaction, the interactions between gender, the quadratic terms of time, and neuroticism or extraversion were found to be nonsignificant (see Table 3); hence, Hypothesis 3a, and Hypothesis 3b were not supported. Nevertheless, extraversion interacted with gender in a way that suggested that extraversion was less important for the average levels of life satisfaction of women than for those of men. As such, if anything, these results run against Hypothesis 3b.

With respect to job and leisure time satisfaction, Hypotheses 3c and 3d expected that high conscientiousness would be more beneficial to women's than men's trends in satisfaction with

TABLE 3  
Estimates of Fixed Effects from Multilevel Growth Curve Models of Personality Dimensions on Life Satisfaction

	<i>Neuroticism</i>	<i>Extraversion</i>	<i>Conscientiousness</i>
Fixed effects			
Personality dimension	-0.138***	0.101***	0.075*
Gender (reference: men)			
Women	0.295***	0.208***	0.215***
Time	-0.049***	-0.049***	-0.050***
Time × Time	-0.011**	-0.009*	-0.010**
Gender × Time effects interaction			
Women × Time	0.025*	0.02	0.021
Women × Time × Time	-0.014**	-0.016**	-0.016**
Personality × Time effects interaction			
Personality dimension × Time	-0.0003	0.010	0.007
Personality dimension × Time × Time	-0.006	0.002	-0.001
Gender × Personality interaction			
Women × Personality dimension	-0.001	-0.072*	-0.045
Gender × Personality interaction × Time effects			
Women × Personality dimension × Time	-0.011	-0.005	-0.007
Women × Personality dimension × Time × Time	0.008	-0.001	0.007
Intercept	5.308***	5.300***	5.294***
<i>N</i> (observations)	19,364	19,364	19,364
<i>N</i> (individuals)	3,395	3,395	3,395
Akaike Information Criterion	65,140.29	65,218.63	65,238.49

*Note.* Unstandardized coefficients are shown.

Models control for work hours, leisure hours, education, marital status, age, period, satisfaction with health, whether a second child was born, and region, and they also include random effects of time.

\* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$  (two-tailed tests).

these life domains. However, the interaction term between gender, the quadratic terms of time, and conscientiousness were found to be nonsignificant for the prediction of job and leisure time satisfaction (see Tables 4 and 5, 3rd column); hence, Hypothesis 3c and Hypothesis 3d were not supported. Still, conscientiousness moderated the linear trend of women's leisure satisfaction. Decomposing this interaction revealed that the negative linear trend of leisure satisfaction over time was weaker for women with high levels of conscientiousness than for those with lower levels of conscientiousness. Thus, this finding might be considered to provide some marginal support for Hypothesis 3d.

Although not hypothesized, extraversion further moderated the nonlinear trends of women's and men's job satisfaction (see Table 4, second column), and neuroticism moderated the nonlinear trends of women's leisure time satisfaction (see Table 5, first column). With respect to moderation by extraversion, the estimated trajectories of job satisfaction for women and men with low, average, or high extraversion scores showed several differences with the patterns that we observed when we did not account for this personality dimension. The differences in women's job satisfaction before childbirth and in the year of childbirth could not be observed here. Moreover, 3 years after childbirth, only women with high or average levels of extraversion were more satisfied at work compared with the year of the birth. By contrast, men with low levels of extraversion experienced lower levels of job satisfaction in the birth year compared

TABLE 4  
Estimates of Fixed Effects from Multilevel Growth Curve Models of Personality Dimensions on Job Satisfaction

	<i>Neuroticism</i>	<i>Extraversion</i>	<i>Conscientiousness</i>
Fixed effects			
Personality dimension	-0.143***	0.152***	0.135***
Gender (reference: men)			
Women	-0.004	-0.082	-0.084
Time	-0.013	-0.011	-0.013
Time × Time	0.008	0.007	0.008
Gender × Time effects interaction			
Women × Time	0.039*	0.031	0.035*
Women × Time × Time	0.014	0.015	0.014
Personality × Time effects interaction			
Personality dimension × Time	-0.010	0.004	-0.016
Personality dimension × Time × Time	-0.001	-0.009*	-0.002
Gender × Personality interaction			
Women × Personality dimension	0.060	-0.144**	-0.013
Gender × Personality interaction × Time effects			
Women × Personality dimension × Time	0.002	0.009	-0.003
Women × Personality dimension × Time × Time	0.008	0.014*	0.003
Intercept	4.602***	4.607***	4.600***
<i>N</i> (observations)	13,738	13,738	13,738
<i>N</i> (individuals)	3,134	3,134	3,134
Akaike Information Criterion	53,142.81	53,154.75	53,153.59

Note. Unstandardized coefficients are shown.

Models control for work hours, leisure hours, education, marital status, age, period, satisfaction with health, whether a second child was born, and region, and they also include random effects of time.

\* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$  (two-tailed tests).

TABLE 5

Estimates of Fixed Effects from Multilevel Growth Curve Models of Personality Dimensions on Leisure Satisfaction

	<i>Neuroticism</i>	<i>Extraversion</i>	<i>Conscientiousness</i>
Fixed effects			
Personality dimension	-0.112**	0.097**	-0.041
Gender (reference: men)			
Women	-0.006	-0.085	-0.071
Time	-0.047***	-0.045***	-0.046***
Time × Time	0.007	0.008	0.008
Gender × Time effects interaction			
Women × Time	-0.086***	-0.093***	-0.091***
Women × Time × Time	-0.007	-0.006	-0.006
Personality × Time effects interaction			
Personality dimension × Time	-0.007	0.010	-0.017
Personality dimension × Time × Time	-0.006	-0.006	-0.004
Gender × Personality interaction			
Women × Personality dimension	-0.032	-0.075	0.107
Gender × Personality interaction × Time effects			
Women × Personality dimension × Time	-0.005	-0.001	0.038*
Women × Personality dimension × Time × Time	0.014*	0.005	-0.013
Intercept	5.081***	5.071***	5.045***
<i>N</i> (observations)	19,331	19,331	19,331
<i>N</i> (individuals)	3,395	3,395	3,395
Akaike Information Criterion	79,609.61	79,641.05	79,635.57

*Note.* Unstandardized coefficients are shown.

Models control for work hours, leisure hours, education, marital status, age, period, satisfaction with health, whether a second child was born, and region, and they also include random effects of time.

\* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$  (two-tailed tests).

with 3 years before. With respect to neuroticism's moderation of the nonlinear trend of women's leisure satisfaction, further analyses revealed that, compared with other women, those with low levels of neuroticism did not experience different levels of satisfaction with their leisure time 3 years before childbirth and in the year of the birth.

## CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This article contributes to the literature on the interdependencies of life course domains, spillover effects, changes in domain-specific subjective well-being, and their relationship with gendered vulnerabilities. We illustrate our case by studying the transition to parenthood, a critical transition in the family domain and a compelling case for observing spillover effects that produce vulnerability in other life domains. In particular, we examine how the transition to parenthood affects the life, work, and leisure satisfaction of women and men living in Germany. As previous research has shown, parenthood produces significant changes in life satisfaction and may prompt critical spillovers into work and leisure satisfaction. First, by distinguishing the domain-specific

trajectories of well-being across parenthood, we were able to show that the implications of parenthood spill over into various life domains and that the evolution of well-being around parenthood depends on the specific domain under consideration. If life satisfaction is a holistic subjective evaluation that includes all important life domains (Diener et al., 2003), life satisfaction remarkably develops differently from work and leisure satisfaction. As such, though the first birth might negatively affect the parent's overall life satisfaction by reducing his or her job and leisure satisfaction, it may also increase his or her satisfaction in other life domains, such as partnership satisfaction, thereby possibly creating new domains of satisfaction, including his or her satisfaction with the relationship with his or her offspring. Satisfaction in these new domains might positively compensate for decreases in job- and leisure-related well-being. Future research might examine how people weight the relative importance of specific domains, whether this weighting changes over time and/or due to critical events and transitions, and how these changes affect the subjective evaluation of their overall lives.

Second, we found that men and women are not equal with regard to the development of domain specific well-being trajectories around the birth of their first child. We observed a marked difference between men's and women's trajectories of life, work, and leisure satisfaction, in terms of different baseline levels and the shape of changes over time. Likely related to unequal caring roles and the division of tasks in Germany, changes induced by the birth of a first child produce different outcomes for men and women. It will be extremely interesting to determine whether the younger cohorts in the following waves of the SOEP will display fewer gender effects as a consequence of recent reforms that favor work-family reconciliation. The presence of gender-specific moderation may explain the mixed results in the previous literature on the personality's role in the impact of major life events on well-being (Anusic et al., 2014; Boyce & Wood, 2011). We suspect that previous research on how personality affects the evolution of well-being around the time of major life events, particularly childbirth, might have failed to be conclusive because it overlooked gender differences. The consistent differences found in this study supports continued consideration of the way in which gender influences the impact of transition to parenthood on various life domains. They point to the need for more research on the different types of opportunities and constraints that men and women face around the transition to parenthood.

Third, despite findings that run contrary to our expectations, we found that, within gender, personality only marginally affects how individuals maintain, recuperate, or lose their well-being in specific life domains during the years surrounding parenthood. Although our hypotheses regarding specific traits were mostly not supported (with perhaps the exception of the role of conscientiousness on women's job satisfaction), we uncovered extraversion's unpredicted moderation of job satisfaction. Overall, we have to concede that our findings on personality are not any more conclusive than those of previous research. The set of factual controls that we included (e.g., number of hours spent on the job, number of hours spent on leisure activities) may explain these inconclusive findings. Factual changes constitute coping behaviors that may, in turn, depend on personality traits. Personality may differentially affect the selection of coping strategies adopted by men and women in adjusting to resource demands during parenthood. Future research should consider coping and regulation processes rather than simply incorporating underlying personality traits, which are supposed to have an indirect impact on the development of well-being (e.g., Wiese & Heidemeier, 2012; Wiese & Ritter, 2012).

The empirical analyses of this study are not without limitations. One such limitation is that no information about the couple's satisfaction before and after the transition to parenthood was available, and social support is known to be an important factor that influences resilience to stressors (e.g., Fagan & Lee, 2013). We found important gender differences in life satisfaction, with women experiencing temporary changes in life satisfaction and men experiencing a decrease when compared with the baseline (3 years before). This difference may relate to the shape of the satisfaction curve in other life domains that we could not model with the SOEP data (satisfaction with the partnership, for instance) and that may contribute to the subjective report of overall satisfaction. For instance, Keizer and Schenk (2012) found a dramatic effect of fatherhood on satisfaction with one's partnership in The Netherlands. Possibly a longer time window than the 3 years after birth considered here would have also revealed an inversion of this trend for men, as the literature shows that marital satisfaction rebounds sometime after the birth (Keizer et al., 2010). Lastly, by focusing on the change in well-being across the transition period rather than on absolute levels of well-being, we consciously trade predictive power against an accurate focus on the ways in which parenthood and objective changes in work and leisure time influence well-being in multiple domains.

Despite such limitations, our analyses contribute to family, life course, and vulnerability research in substantive ways. First, we provide new insights into the consequences of parenthood on parental well-being by modeling spillover across life domains and over time. Our results attest to the persistent consequences of spillover effects from one life domain (family) to others (work and leisure), suggesting that some life events (in our case, childbirth) and probably the social and gendered context surrounding them require very different adaptation efforts from men and women. Parenthood puts a higher strain on women's work and leisure satisfaction than on that of men, making the former more vulnerable—at least during the first three years after parenthood (even though women eventually recover to baseline levels of job satisfaction 3 years after the birth). Although the interdependence of life domains is well known, research rarely addresses it with a truly longitudinal design that can disentangle the reciprocal influences of various domains. The literature has only just begun to examine theoretical and methodological issues related to the timing of spillover and their effects (Nohe et al., 2015). Our results are encouraging and call for further research that goes beyond interdependence as the mutual effect of one trajectory on another. One major challenge for future research involves examining the relationship between the duration of spillover effects themselves and the life-course stage in which specific spillover effects are most likely to be produced.

Second, we provide new insights into the consequences over time of life-changing events and transitions, such as childbirth, on parents' well-being. Previous research has overwhelmingly focused on changes in life satisfaction and well-being during the first year of parenthood. Very little research has investigated the duration of such changes and their development over a longer period of time, especially when focusing on domain-specific satisfaction with work and leisure time. Although well-being is known to be influenced by major life events, most life events are recognized to have a moderate and transitory impact on well-being (Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith, 1999). Our model distinguishes between short- and longer-term time scale effects (up to 3 years), making it possible to test the durability of spillover effects over time. Persistent decreases in well-being may be important indicators of the disadvantage of moving from latent to manifest vulnerability (Spini et al., this issue) when the resources available to the individual during a critical life transition are insufficient to face and adapt to the change-induced stresses. Our results also highlight that, for men and women, changes in life satisfaction already occur before the child's

birth, and work satisfaction thereafter follows different trajectories for men and women. A related challenge for future research concerns exploring how these trajectories of subjective well-being influence the subjective and physical well-being of parents in later life-course stages. The cumulative effects of changes in health behaviors (for instance, those related to decreased time for and satisfaction with leisure) and the sustained decrease in subjective well-being may manifest themselves as health deficits well after the time of the transition to parenthood.

Third, we contribute to the literature by explaining how the heterogeneity in well-being trajectories and differential vulnerability relate to individuals' demographics and personalities. In the case of parenthood, the gender and, to a much lesser extent, personality of parents partially explains the impact of parenthood on life satisfaction trajectories. The literature is ambivalent about whether life satisfaction is stable over time or varies along with changes in the life course (Pocnet et al., 2016). Our work shows that, when we analyze a specific major life event rather than the aggregation of a heterogeneous set of events, and when we examine changes before and after the event with a truly longitudinal approach, we observe quite systematic changes in well-being. Future research may explore the ways in which the link between parenthood and multiple well-being changes over time and explicitly model period and cohort differences in the effects of parenthood on mental health in specific life domains.

The results of the article reach beyond the specialized literature and are potentially relevant for public interventions that seek to promote parental health. The transition to parenthood demands adaptation and has important effects on well-being. Although recent studies recognize that parenting stress is greater in some groups than in others, we lack a solid understanding of the various domains for which parenthood affects well-being. In this article, we show that the strains and benefits of parenthood are not distributed equally—between mothers and fathers. Such results suggest that men and women differ in terms of their perceptions, the timing of their reactions, and possibly the nature of the challenges and opportunities that the first child represents for other life domains. These findings have wide implications for future research and practice. Such conclusions also show that multidisciplinary collaboration in examining life-course multidimensionality and spillover effects is crucial for understanding the determinants of social inequalities and vulnerabilities in well-being.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We are indebted to the LIVES colleagues who commented on earlier versions of the article and to the anonymous RHD reviewers who helped us to improve it. This publication benefited from the support of the Swiss National Centre of Competence in Research LIVES – Overcoming vulnerability: Life course perspectives, which is financed by the Swiss National Science Foundation (grant number: 51NF40-160590). The authors are grateful to the Swiss National Science Foundation for its financial assistance.

## FUNDING

This publication benefited from the support of the Swiss National Centre of Competence in Research LIVES – Overcoming Vulnerability: Life Course Perspective, which is funded by the



Swiss National Science Foundation. The authors are grateful to the Swiss National Science Foundation for its financial assistance.

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