Patterns of subjective well-being (dis-)advantages in Belarus: the intersectionality of partnership, parenthood, gender, and migration

Abstract

Belarus has been subjected to an extensive social change due to the transition from socialist planned economy to the market economy in 1990s. Belarus' subsequent socioeconomic and political stagnation has created a unique environment in which family plays a significant role in providing well-being. Using the intersectionality approach, the paper focuses on the associations, marriage, partnership, childbearing and categories of (dis-)advantage (gender and early life migration) have with subjective well-being. We use Generations and Gender Survey 2020 data for Belarus and run ordinal logistic regressions with interaction terms between respective family statuses, migration experience and gender to estimate their connection to subjective well-being outcomes (life satisfaction, depression and loneliness). Our findings suggest that a combination of family factors and categories of (dis-)advantage are linked to subjective well-being outcomes more significantly than separate determinants. We also find that migrant women's subjective well-being is sensitive to family statuses and educational gradient.

1. Introduction

Belarus can be portrayed as a country of relatively low happiness. Indeed, Belarus and many other Eastern European countries score poorly in the World Happiness Report (Helliwell et al. 2020). The socialist rule that had dominated the region for a large part of the 20th century had raised goals to bring economic development, education, health, and equality up to the Western standards and beyond. Countries in the region had industrialised rapidly, reduced mortality, and inequality as well as bolstered education. Yet living standards of Eastern Europeans remained below those of Northwest Europe and North America. The wave of unprecedented economic and societal changes flooded Eastern Europe after the dissolution of the USSR in 1991. The transformation was fundamental in terms of replacing state socialist regimes with political and economic institutions of capitalism such as free elections and adoption of market economies (Thornton and Philipov 2009). These elements can be seen as the root cause of other social changes that followed (Frejka 2008). For Eastern European elites as well as for many ordinary people Western Europe has provided a political, economic, and social reference point of modern and developed societies that needs to be achieved at home (Krasnodębski 2003).

Institutional and societal mechanisms contextualise not only economic development, but happiness as well. Institutions and policies heavily contribute to individual subjective-wellbeing. For instance, accessible health services, transportation, quality food, and housing are linked to mental health (Lynch et al. 2000; Heflin and Iceland 2009). Inequality makes people less happy and places them at a higher risk of developing mental illness. Access to material goods and public services including healthcare is not necessarily universal or equally available either. More generally, the way resources are distributed is socially determined, it

may affect certain social or ethnic groups more than others and have severe effects on their health status (Marmot 2005).

It is important to note that not all Central and Eastern European countries have approached Western Europe as a blue-print for societal development. Democracy and individual rights have been rejected in some parts of the region like Russia and Belarus (Thornton and Philipov 2009). In this paper we investigate the intersectionality between partnership, parenthood, gender, and migration and its link to subjective well-being in Belarus. Belarus provides a complex case study. After the dissolution of the USSR in 1991, the population of Belarus shrank in the first decades of its independence reaching 9.5 million inhabitants in 2019 (Avdeev et al. 2011; United Nations 2020). Belarus is often called the only remaining authoritarian regime in Europe ranking 150th out of 167 countries in the Democracy Index 2019 (Economist Intelligence Unit 2020). Its president Alexander Lukashenko has been in power since 1994, his rule has been characterised by gradually eroded civil rights and a clamp-down on free and independent press (Reporters Without Borders 2020). Furthermore, Belarus has experienced limited economic growth since the country's establishment. Initially, economic downfall affected the country during its transition from planned economy to market economy from 1991 to 1995 which was followed by a financial and economic crisis in Russia that spilled over to Belarus in the end of the 20th century (World Trade Organisation 2020). The Great Recession has hit Belarus hard resulting in a lasting economic contraction. In 2019, the GDP per capita of Belarus has amounted to $6,663 making it one of the poorest countries in Europe (World Bank 2020). In turn, marginal economic expansion has resulted in limited public sector funding. For instance, Belarus' total expenditure on health as percentage of the GDP constituted only 5.7%[1] as contrasted to 9.9% average in the EU[2] (World Health

[1] 2014
[2] 2016

Organisation 2020; Eurostat 2020). Other social factors such as income inequality are considerable between urban and rural areas (Mazol 2016). The richest districts are clustered around the capital and few other urban centres. Lastly, the healthcare system in Belarus has preserved characteristics of its Soviet predecessor (Richardson et al. 2013). Among other things this means limited resources allocated through both staff and facilities not excluding wellbeing and mental health (Petrea and Haggenburg 2014). The country has also experienced decreasing fertility rates. From the close to replacement rate in late 1980s Belarus has hit low fertility in in the 1990s. In 2019, the total fertility rate has reached 1.71 and is expected to fluctuate around 1.7 in the foreseeable future (United Nations 2019a, United Nations 2019b). The low fertility is strongly associated with the family model followed in the country. A small family with a single child has become a norm in the Belarusian society (Perelli-Harris 2005; Amialchuk et al. 2014). Although single parenthood and cohabitation have gained more acceptance, marriage has remained the dominant pathway to family formation (Tikhonova 2004; Thornton and Philipov 2009).

Having acknowledged the importance of institutional and individual determinants of well-being, Belarus provides a unique opportunity to explore the link between partnership, parenthood, and well-being. Virtually an outlier in the context of globally rich and democratic Europe, Belarus marries institutional backwardness at macro level and individual reliance on family at micro level. Previous studies have investigated differences in well-being effects from marriage, cohabitation, and parenthood, but only did so by looking at linear relationships between the cause and outcome. The literature has predominantly agreed that there exists a positive association between marriage and well-being (Carr and Springer 2010; Chen and van Ours 2018). The findings are more blurred among the studies examining the link between cohabitation and well-being (Wright and Brown 2017; Kohn and Averett 2014). In a similar spirit, childbearing has been found to either contribute to a higher individual well-being

(Aassve et al. 2012; Myrskylä and Margolis 2014) or reduce it (Hansen 2012). To the best of our knowledge, we are the first to apply intersectionality approach to investigate the association between family formation and subjective well-being. The intersectionality approach acknowledges that the categories and concepts used in analytical work are socially constructed and can mutually interact and modify each other (Sigle 2016). Therefore, the association between partnership, marriage, parenthood, and subjective well-being is not assumed to have additive nature where each individual family formation event either increases or reduces subjective well-being. The association is seen holistically and recognises that privilege and penalty can be experienced simultaneously divorcing from binary thinking which places groups in opposition (e.g. women versus men, married versus non-married, parents versus childless etc.) (Hankivsky 2012). The approach draws attention at multidimensional reality of human lives and permits seeing determinants of well-being as an interaction.

Our study exploits the first wave of Generation and Gender Survey 2020 data on life-course, family formation, and subjective well-being measures. The data allows us to investigate different patterns of life-course by looking at cohabitation, marriage, and childbearing as wee as its links to subjective well-being.

2. Conceptual background

2.1. Happiness and subjective well-being in life-course

In the scholarly literature, happiness has often been seen in terms of subjective well-being. Subjective well-being comprises components like life satisfaction, high levels of positive hedonic affect, and low levels of negative affect. These three components of subjective well-being are a result of a cognitive evaluation of individual's life and accumulation of positive and negative emotions and experiences over time (Diener et al.,1999; Diener et al., 2010). In

the life-course individuals strive to achieve higher levels of subjective well-being (Huinink and Kohli 2014). Subjective well-being has physical-material, psychological, and social dimensions which can be manifested through health and economic welfare, emotional gratification, social approval, and others (Lindenberg 2001).

Many of these aspects relevant to (long term) subjective well-being are defined early in life-course (Galambos et al. 2020). The principle primarily applies to education. Individuals start accumulating education very early in life and experience the outcomes throughout their life. Educated individuals are more likely to be satisfied with their life (del Mar Salinas-Jiménez et al. 2011; Ilies et al. 2019) and less depressed (Ross and Mirowsky 2006). Indeed, education operates as a substantial enhancer of life quality. Lower education is associated to higher chances of depression and anxiety while higher education provides individuals with better mental health and more happiness (Andrews et al. 2001; Bjelland et al. 2008).

A considerable body of research has looked at the connection between marriage and subjective well-being (Nelson-Coffey 2018). The studies have listed several benefits that married partners obtain from the relationship among which are sexual and emotional intimacy, companionship, and day-to-day interaction which also helps to cope with stress (Kamp Dush and Amato 2005; Umberson et al. 2010). Moreover, in marriage partner provided recognition may offer some meaning in life (Umberson et al. 2010). There is evidence that cohabitation and marriage are linked to different levels of subjective well-being. Couples may invest different levels of tangible and intangible capital (Michael 2004) in different types of partnership (Nock 1995), and thus the subjective well-being arising from cohabitation and marriage may be different. Family formation has considerable benefits for adult subjective-wellbeing. Families provide essential social support to develop and share emotionally straining aspects of life. It is know that married people have more life satisfaction and better mental health than divorcees or singles (Uecker 2012). Marriage provides socioeconomic and

relationship stability which translates to psychological benefits. Married people feel more grounded and enjoy social approval which makes it a safe setting to have children, especially in more conservative contexts.

Parenthood is a phenomenon that usually takes place relatively early in life-course. However, having children in younger ages is associated to a lower life satisfaction and consequential mental health loss. Parenthood brings about a strain to balance family and work lives for young parents. Yet, in later ages parents may benefit from children's gratitude and experience a sense of meaning arising from parenthood that can be linked to higher life satisfaction and lower depression chances (Evenson and Simon 2005). In general, fertility can be approached as an instrument for increasing subjective-wellbeing (Huinink and Kohli 2014).

The association between family formation and well-being could originate from the link partnership and childbearing have with happiness. Though, the positive association could arise due to selection where content individuals are more likely to form a partnership (Stutzer and Frey 2006) and have children (Kim and Hicks 2016). There are several reasons the relationship exists. First, partnerships offer production complementarity benefits in terms of labour specialisation and division (Becker 1974; Becker 1981). Partnered individuals can share effort in remunerated labour, housework, and childrearing. Second, partnerships allow individuals to use resources jointly, making it easier to invest into children (Lundberg and Pollak 2015). Third, partnerships and parenthood expand social relationships. Together with immediate social benefits received from a partner and children, individuals obtain support from a partner's social network (Kamp Dush and Amato 2005). Largely, relationships, whether in parenthood or partnership, are vital to feeling affection and social approval, therefore they contribute to subjective well-being (Tomasello 2009).

Studies looking at subjective well-being in Eastern Europe have found that being married or having a partner has a stronger negative association to depressive feelings in Eastern

Europe than in Western Europe (Moor and Komter 2012.). This is strongly related to the "kinship culture" in Eastern Europe that relies on family for welfare provision (Viazzo 2010). In connection, Eastern European countries childlessness and having one compared with two children have been found to be associated with more depressive symptoms (Grundy et al. 2019). For example in Russia, parenthood has been estimated to have a positive contribution to life satisfaction that remains present through the life-course (Mikucka 2016).

2.2.Gendered differences

There are multiple studies that have explored the gendered differences of the link between marriage, cohabitation, parenthood, and subjective well-being. Some evidence suggests that men and women seem to be affected similarly by marital statuses and transitions (Williams 2003; Kalmijn 2017). However, the connection between marriage and subjective well-being is nuanced. Previous work has proposed that marriage delivers greater social recognition and support for men, thus improving their subjective well-being (Ross et al. 1990). For women marriage could provide higher economic standards and legal protection that translates into a sense of safety that is important when raising children (Waite 1995). Women are also more likely to feel satisfaction deriving from the wedding than men (Berrignton et al. 2015).

There is no conclusive evidence whether marriage and cohabitation provide analogous well-being outcomes for all genders (Perelli-Harris et al. 2019). In some cases, married and cohabiting men obtain similar well-being benefits in comparison to dating and single men, however no well-being gains are observed among women of different partnership statuses (Wright and Brown 2017). Among older married women the depressive tendencies are identical to cohabiting women and men, but the tendencies are more pronounced than those of married men (Brown et al. 2005). Among young adults marriage equally benefits both men and

women, however cohabitation adds to women's well-being only (Mernitz and Kamp Dush 2016). The well-being difference between marriage and cohabitation may hold because the former is often seen as a trial for marriage. Cohabiting partners may invest less in their relationship than married couples (Michael 2004; Soons et al. 2009). Also, cohabitation is more often disrupted and has lower expected stability than marriage. Thus the dissolution of cohabitation may affect well-being less than divorce (Kamp Dush 2013).

Evidence suggests that gendered differences exist in parenthood and subjective well-being. Parenthood is more strongly associated with greater well-being for fathers than for mothers (Kohler et al. 2005; Keizer et al. 2010). These differences develop together with parity. Although both women and men benefit from having children, men receive more satisfaction to have a second and third child (Pollmann-Schult 2014). Nevertheless, in some settings fathers have been found to be happier than childless men, but mothers' happiness does not change in comparison to women without children (Neslon et al. 2013). One explanation for these disparities arises from the difference of interaction fathers and mothers have with their children (Nelson-Coffey 2018). Women spend more time with their children, including the time they spend taking care of the children alone whilst fathers are more likely to play with their children (Musick et al. 2016). In terms of parental well-being, play has been associated to the highest levels of well-being; in comparison basic childcare and solo parenting are linked to low levels of well-being (Musick et al. 2016). Other work provides an alternative path to explaining mothers' lower levels of well-being. Mothers have been found to experience a more intense sense of guilt when combining labour enrolment and childrearing which in turn reduces their subjective well-being (Borelli et al. 2017).

In Eastern Europe, gendered differences with respect to the association between family formation and subjective well-being have also been identified. It has been established that living in a society with traditional gender beliefs that characterise Eastern Europe benefits

female happiness to be married. However, cohabitation implies negative association to happiness for women. These associations do not hold for men (Lee and Ono 2012). In general, mothers in Eastern Europe have been found less happy than in Western Europe (Aassve et al. 2012). In particular, some results suggest a positive contribution to subjective well-being of mothers by the birth of a first child in Poland. For men, this association is weaker and likely temporary as it declines with age of the child (Baranowska and Matysiak 2011).

2.3.Well-being of migrants

International and internal migration is an age-selective phenomenon. The propensity to migrate usually peaks at young adult ages then declines with age occasionally increasing among children and at the age of retirement (Bernard et al., 2014). Selection into migration is highly connected to life-course transitions. Leaving education and joining the labour force (Kulu and Billari 2004), union formation (Mulder and Wagner 1993), and childbirth (Kulu 2008) are closely linked to migration . These life-course events are concentrated in young age which in turn make migration a young age event.

Migration decision making is often linked to labour mobility. In this strand of literature cost-benefit approach to migration dominates. Migrants are thought to move in order to maximise their income which is directly linked to well-being (van Ham 2002). In families, migration decision-making is connected to opportunity costs for both partners. Partners evaluate potentially unequal gains and losses to see whether the joint outcome benefits the family before making a decision to move (Cooke 2008). Another approach to migration treats the phenomenon as a determinant of well-being. Although the literature exploring the connection between well-being and migration is arguably limited in size, it makes a clear contribution. Migration is a stressful event and people migrate for multiple reasons. Most

individuals experience a temporary increase in their quality of life and happiness through changing their place of residence (Nowok et al. 2013). Due to its complexity, migration affects many domains of life regardless the moving motivation and these effects can be either positive or negative. It is agreed that migrant-local happiness gap exists even if migration occurs in the same country (Aksel et al. 2007; Cheng et al. 2014).

There are many reasons why individuals and families decide to migrate, however the desire for better life connects them all. The studies looking at the link between early life migration and well-being focus on educational outcomes and emotional well-being. Early childhood migration especially can be associated to long-term outcomes. In migrant families motherly support and fatherly involvement in children's lives are significant to educational attainment (Hagan et al. 1996). Having experienced migration at an earlier age may also be an indication of parents' attempt to improve the well-being of the family.

In Eastern Europe, particularly in the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States such as Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine international migration is a relatively recent phenomenon. Lately, migration has been associated to higher happiness for Eastern European migrants. For instance international migrants from Russia have been found to be happier than stayers (Bartram 2013). On the other hand, internal migration has been present for decades and date back to the Soviet era. Internal migration in the USSR had largely remained undocumented due to a tendency to have a residential registration in a place different from the actual residence which was connected to public mistrust towards authorities (Arel 2002). Although it is challenging to extrapolate what practical implications discrepancy between actual and legal residency had for a Soviet citizen, it is difficult to imply the consequences were null.

2.4. Intersectionality approach to subjective well-being in Belarus

Intersectionality is a concept that developed in response to overly simplistic portrayal of women and their real life experiences in the Anglo-Saxon social science tradition. Intersectionality brought the subjectivity of women who live at the intersections of gender, race, class, and sexual orientation constructed discrimination to the attention of researchers (Hancock 2007). The primary idea of this focus is inclusion of previously ignored and excluded populations into existing analytical frameworks in social sciences. For example in life-course studies intersectionality allows for a holistic examination of differences in motherhood and employment through the lens of ethnic differential. Sigle-Rushton and Perrons (2006) have shown that employment rates of mothers with young children in ethnic communities are different across educational groups. Intersectionality also acknowledges the co-existence of the wider social and economic context and individual level heterogeneity within any specific setting (Bose 2012). Social scientists and policy makers have recognised the importance of race, ethnicity, class, income, education, ability, age, sexual orientation, migration status as well as geography and increasingly treat these categories as determinants of structural disadvantage (Hankivsky 2012). Intersectionality divorces from single-category analyses that focus on gender, race or class exclusively and moves to consider simultaneous interactions between different aspect of socially constructed identity and systems of oppression (Hankivsky et al. 2009). This approach does not estimate the additive impact of gender, race, and other binary variables as the sum of separate influences, but seeks to show the multidimensionality of human life and takes into account social processes at both micro and macro levels (Dhamoon and Hankivsky 2011). Research that applied intersectionality in the context of Eastern Europe is limited in number. Yet the existing work has predominantly focused on the transition to

market based economies and gender equality in the region (Krizsan 2012; Krizsan and Zentai 2012).

Previously we have reviewed the literature examining the differentials in partnership, parenthood, educational, migratory statuses, and gender with respect to subjective well-being. These categories have been widely used in applications of intersectionality approach in social sciences. In addition, institutional setting as well as geo-political location have been admitted to merit consideration when looking at the patterns of disadvantage (Sigle 2016). Although Belarus does not have all the categories, namely race, that are weighed when applying the intersectionality approach, a large proportion of population in Belarus has experienced migration at a point in their lives (Belstat 2020). For the purpose of this research, migration and gender will be treated as the main categories of disadvantage. Overall, Belarus serves as an excellent case study to analyse the complexity of early life course events, their consequential (dis-)advantages, and the link to subjective well-being.

3. Data, measures, and analytical strategy

We are among the first to make use of the Generations and Gender Survey 2020 (GGS2020), which is part of the Generations and Gender Program (GGP). The GGS is a panel survey of an 18-79 year-old resident population, which is held in a number of European countries. It aims to survey nationally representative samples of the population. The GGS have information on the most important societal aspects of demographic choices in contemporary, developed societies, focusing on the processes of childbearing, partnership dynamics, home leaving, and retirement. GGS2020 has been carried out in Belarus in 2017 following face-to-face interview procedure to generate a sample of 9994 respondents. We limit our sample to the respondents aged 18 to 61 (working age population) to focus the analysis on the part of the population that

is more prone to partnership formation, childbearing or childrearing and may experience different subjective well-being outcomes due to these factors as well as their gender and migratory status.

There are three focal outcomes that we use to measure subjective well-being. We use life satisfaction (coded 0=not at all satisfied; 10 = completely satisfied), the short form of the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CES-D-SF) (coded 0 = no depressive symptoms if CES-D-SF≤ 6; 1=depressive symptoms if CES-D-SF>6), and the loneliness index constructed from the six-item De Jong Gierveld Loneliness Scale (coded 0=no loneliness; 6=severe loneliness) (Radloff 1977; Cole et al. 2004; Gierveld and Tilburg 2006).

We include standard control variables to address unobserved heterogeneity that are age (in years), gender (coded 1=male; 0=female), migratory status (0= always lived in the same region of Belarus; 1=moved to another region of Belarus before age 15), and religious affiliation (orthodox or catholic).

We also control for household size, total household net monthly income (range in the Belarusian ruble), and subjective health (1=very good; 5=very bad) that are important contextual variables of well-being (Diener et al. 1993; Steptoe et al. 2015). We use highest education achieved to see the differences in subjective well-being across socio-economic segments (Witter et al. 1984; Michalos 2008). The highest education achieved is measured in ISCED 2011 and is specified as low (early childhood, primary and lower secondary education), middle (upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education), and higher (bachelor, master and doctoral degrees or equivalent).

Finally, we also use interaction terms that capture the intersectionality between family status (cohabiting, but not married and married), the number of children, and the categories of disadvantage (gender and migratory status) (Hankivsky et al. 2009; Choo and Ferree 2010). Descriptive statistics for all measures are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics

Variable	N	Mean/Percent	St. Dev	Min	Max
Life satisfaction	7,866	7.641	1.786	0	10
Depression scale (CES-D-SF)	7,941	0.406	0.491	0	1
Loneliness index	7,919	3.028	0.842	0	6
Age	7,941	39.787	12.286	18	61
Age^2	7,941	1733.961	998.095	324	3721
Gender (1 = female)	7,941	0.527	0.499	0	1
Migrant (1=moved to another region of Belarus before age 15)	7,941	0.184	0.388	0	1
Orthodox	7,941	0.806	0.395	0	1
Catholic	7,941	0.064	0.245	0	1
Household size	7,941	2.838	1.348	1	12
Total household net monthly income (range)	5,632	4.375	1.802	1	8
Highest education achieved					
Low	1,742	0.219	0.413	0	1
Middle	3,524	0.443	0.496	0	1
Higher	2,675	0.336	0.472	0	1
Cohabiting	909	0.529	0.499	0	1
Married	5,524	0.835	0.37	0	1
Number of children	7,941	1.245	1.04	0	12
Cohabiting X Migrant	909	0.118	0.323	0	1
Cohabiting X Gender	909	0.248	0.432	0	1
Cohabiting X Migrant X Gender	909	0.0517	0.221	0	1
Married X Migrant	5,524	0.154	0.361	0	1
Married X Gender	5,524	0.403	0.49	0	1
Married X Migrant X Gender	5,524	0.074	0.262	0	1
Number of children X Migrant	7,941	0.232	0.664	0	8
Number of children X Gender	7,941	0.509	0.889	0	9
Number of children X Migrant X Gender	7,941	0.084	0.4	0	5
Migrant X Gender	7,941	0.079	0.271	0	1

To study how the explanatory variables affect our three measures of subjective well-being, we fit ordinal logistic regressions to the GGS2020 data. As the dependent variables are categorical, ordinal logistic regressions are preferred to logistic regressions or OLS estimation. We demonstrate exponentiated coefficients in the form of Odds Ratios, presenting the likelihood of a respective subjective well-being measure in relation to covariates. Each estimation is performed controlling for region fixed effects.

4. Results

4.1. Descriptive results

Table 2 reports the average subjective well-being measure scores (life satisfaction, depressive symptoms, and loneliness) across family statuses and categories of disadvantage. From the descriptive results we can see that there exists a difference between different forms of partnership (in union and married) and having children as well as between the categories of (dis-)advantage that refer to either migration experience or gender.

In terms of life satisfaction marriage indicates a higher level of life satisfaction for both migrants and women. The picture is a bit more mixed for people in union. Individuals who stayed in the region of their origin and live with their partners show more life satisfaction in comparison to both migrants and people who are not in union. However, women who cohabit are by far the most satisfied with their lives in comparison to non-cohabiters. Being a parent seems to only contribute to migrant life satisfaction, yet childless stayers and women are as much or even more satisfied with their lives.

Depressive symptoms are most prevalent among migrants and women. These symptoms are more pronounced for women, especially cohabiting women. Interestingly cohabiting women show stronger depressive symptoms than single, non-married women. The

highest average depressive symptom score is that of childless women. Childless migrants even if the most depressed in comparison to other family types, are less depressed than childless women. Single non-married migrants are less depressed than migrants living in a union. Most often, loneliness seems to be an attribute of men and people with migratory experience. The highest score on the loneliness scale has been indicated by childless migrants and men. In these two categories, the least lonely appear to be non-married migrants and men, while migrants and men in union are in the middle.

Having looked at the average scores of subjective well-being measures analysed in this paper, it is possible to say that patterns of disadvantage may exist within the measures i.e. migrants and men are consistently worse off in terms of loneliness while women and migrants suffer more from depression. These patterns vary when family and parenthood statuses are involved. However, the patterns are more mixed in terms of life satisfaction as there is no immediate indication of consistent disadvantage between migrants and stayers yet men seem to be satisfied with their life the least no matter their family status.

Table 2: Average subjective well-being measure scores across family statuses and categories of (dis-)advantage

Life satisfaction					
		Migrant	Stayer	Female	Male
		Yes	**No**	**Yes**	**No**
Cohabiting	**Yes**	7.484127	7.69	7.761733	7.506024
Cohabiting	**No**	7.56962	7.645604	7.631356	7.63285
Married	**Yes**	7.861498	7.839004	7.89903	7.787536
Married	**No**	7.517073	7.668848	7.701754	7.563596
Children	**Yes**	7.577447	7.559214	7.549219	7.583778
Children	**No**	7.453027	7.57677	7.604449	7.516196

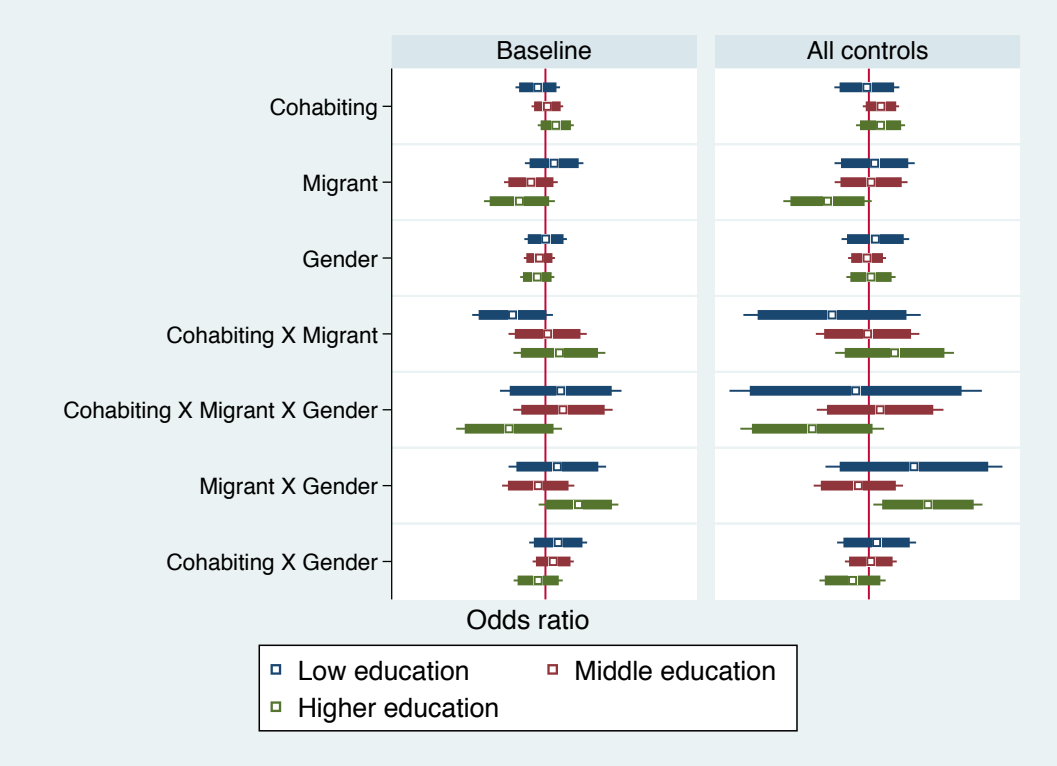
Depression scale (CES-D-SF)					
		Migrant	Stayer	Female	Male
		Yes	**No**	**Yes**	**No**
Cohabiting	**Yes**	0.484375	0.4243176	0.5107143	0.3585657
Cohabiting	**No**	0.4320988	0.4383562	0.4683544	0.4019139
Married	**Yes**	0.4008621	0.3444068	0.4119318	0.2993861
Married	**No**	0.4641148	0.4309896	0.4912959	0.3782609
Children	**Yes**	0.4524248	0.4100683	0.4775017	0.333223
Children	**No**	0.5030801	0.444004	0.5272206	0.4039781

Loneliness scale					
		Migrant	Stayer	Female	Male
		Yes	**No**	**Yes**	**No**
Cohabiting	**Yes**	3.0625	2.952854	2.975	2.984064
Cohabiting	**No**	3.139241	3.008264	2.949153	3.126214
Married	**Yes**	2.991334	2.95017	2.929106	2.988776
Married	**No**	3.091787	2.979112	2.963178	3.04814
Children	**Yes**	3.054938	3.019829	3.019295	3.039496
Children	**No**	3.1875	3.096374	3.087416	3.13292

4.2. Life satisfaction

In Figure 1 (Table A-1 in Appendix) the estimation of life satisfaction of the cohabiting across different levels of education is presented. Importantly, having controlled for confounding factors, we can identify that the interaction between having a migratory experience and being a woman suggests a lower likelihood of life satisfaction among highly educated individuals.

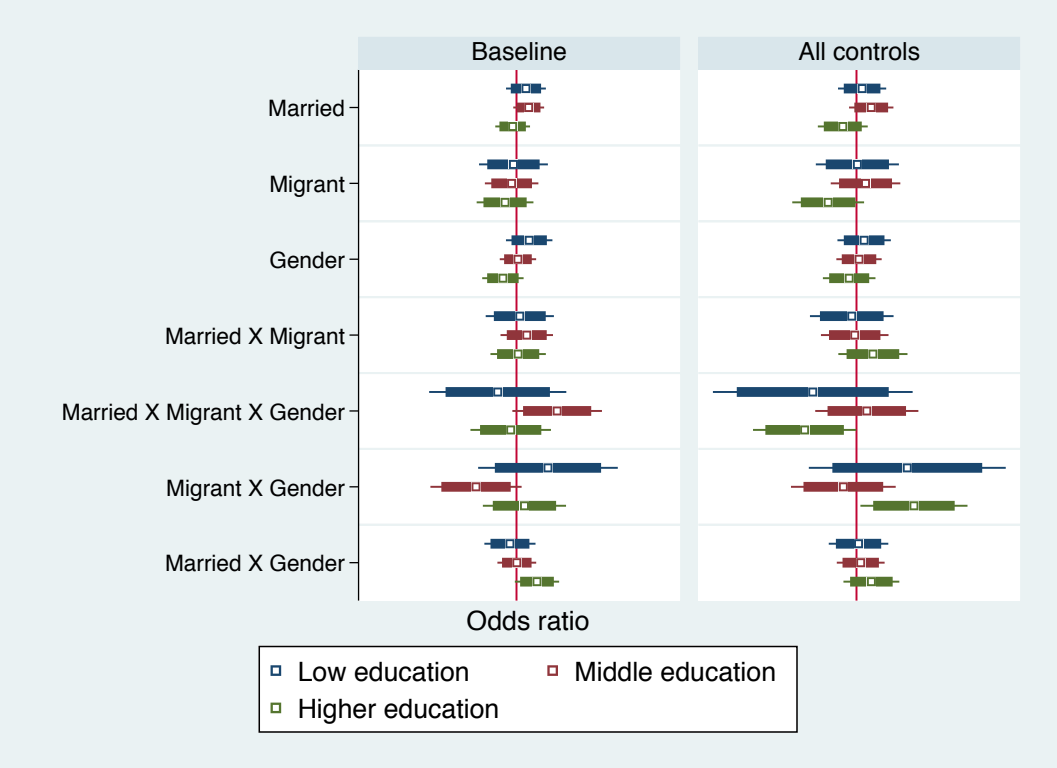
Figure 1: Estimation of life satisfaction of the cohabiting across different levels of education



Note: Ordered logistic regression, estimates are presented with 90%, 95%, 99% confidence intervals.

The baseline estimation in Figure 2 (Table A-2 in Appendix) reports significant associations between marriage and higher levels of life satisfaction for individuals with middle and higher education. A positive association to life satisfaction holds for women with a medium level of education who are married and had experienced migration in the past. On the other hand, highly educated married women with migration experience are less likely to be satisfied with their lives. This association holds robust to the inclusion of all controls.

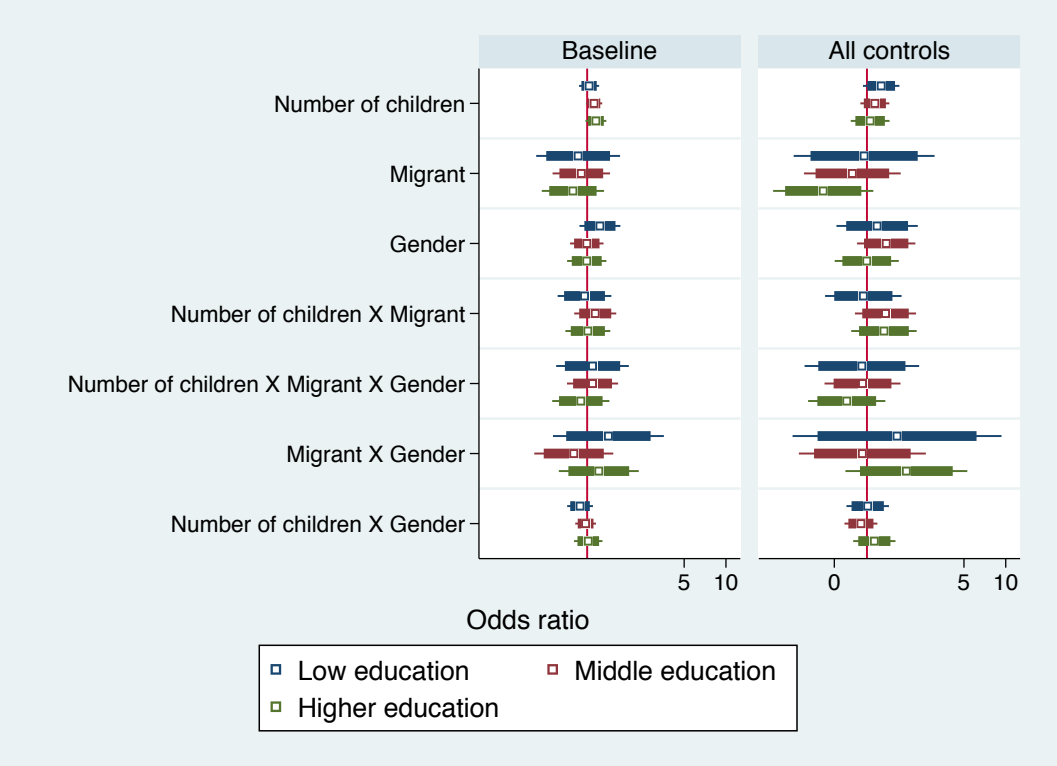
Figure 2: Estimation of life satisfaction of the married across different levels of education



Note: Ordered logistic regression, estimates are presented with 90%, 95%, 99% confidence intervals.

Figure 3 (Table A-3 in Appendix) shows the estimation of life satisfaction of parents across different levels of education. In the baseline model, the number of children is associated to overall higher life satisfaction for the medium and highly educated. The interaction term between the number of children and migration shows a positive association to life satisfaction for the highly educated when all confounding factors are accounted for.

Figure 3: Estimation of life satisfaction of parents across different levels of education

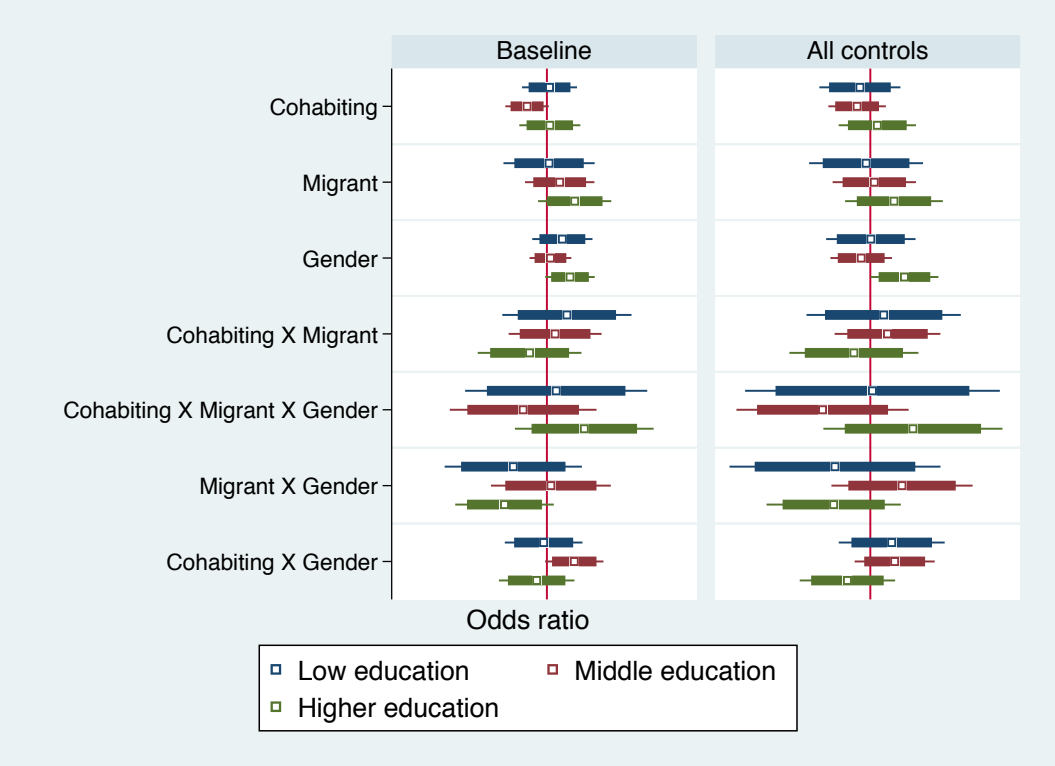


Note: Ordered logistic regression, estimates are presented with 90%, 95%, 99% confidence intervals.

4.3.Depressive symptoms

Figure 4 (Table A-4 in Appendix) outlines the estimation results of depressive symptoms of the cohabiting across different levels of education. The baseline model suggests cohabiting women with middle education are more likely to be depressed. Yet, women who had migrated before are not as likely to experience depression. These findings hold only for the baseline estimation.

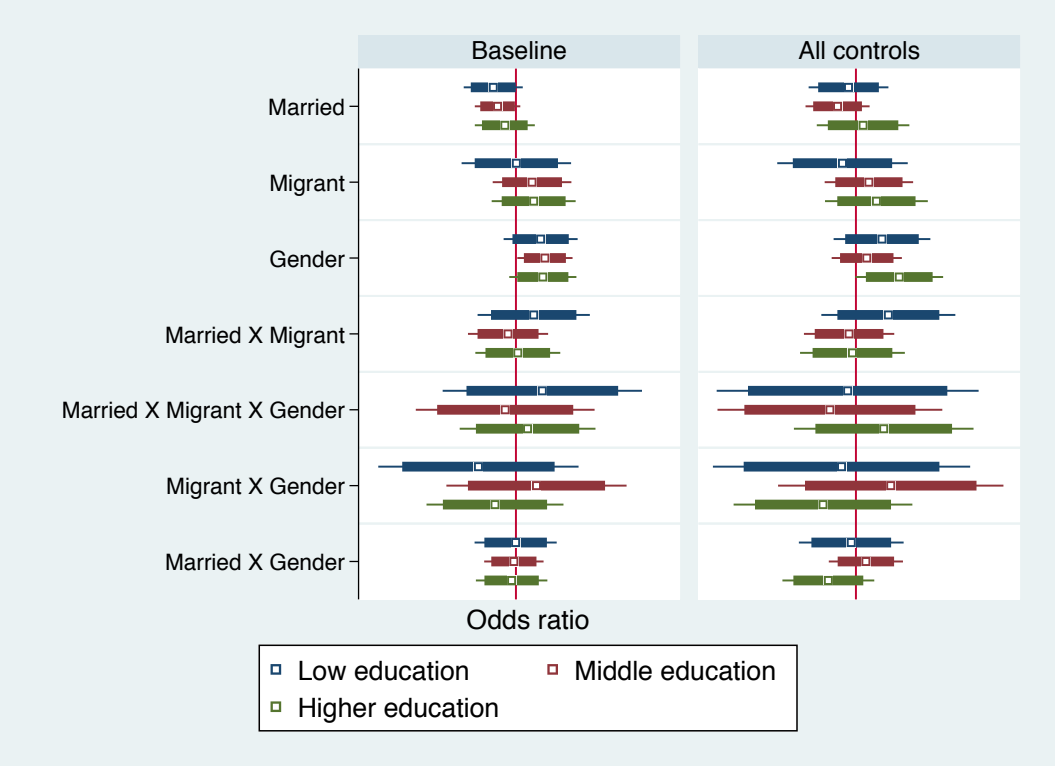
Figure 4: Estimation of depressive symptoms of the cohabiting across different levels of education



Note: Ordered logistic regression, estimates are presented with 90%, 95%, 99% confidence intervals.

In Figure 5 (Table A-5 in Appendix) we display the results of the estimation of depressive symptoms of the married across different levels of education. We find that marriage can be linked to a lower likelihood of depression for the low and medium educated. In addition, higher educated women have higher chances to develop depressive symptoms when all controls are accounted for.

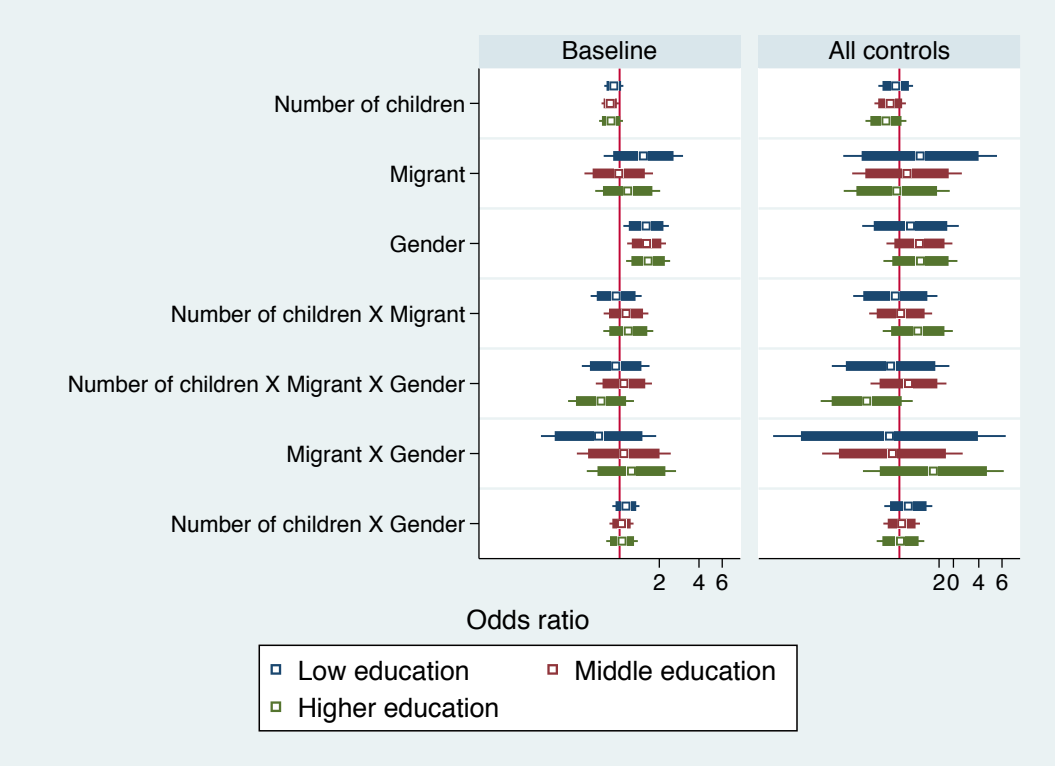
Figure 5: Estimation of depressive symptoms of the married across different levels of education



Note: Ordered logistic regression, estimates are presented with 90%, 95%, 99% confidence intervals.

Figure 6 (Table A-6 in Appendix) reports the estimation of depressive symptoms of parents across different levels of education. In the baseline, being a woman is linked to higher chances of depressive symptoms for all levels of education. However, the association disappears once all the controls are taken into account. The intersection between the number of children, migration status and gender indicates that women with more children and migration experience who are highly educated are less likely to have depressive symptoms.

Figure 6: Estimation of depressive symptoms of parents across different levels of education

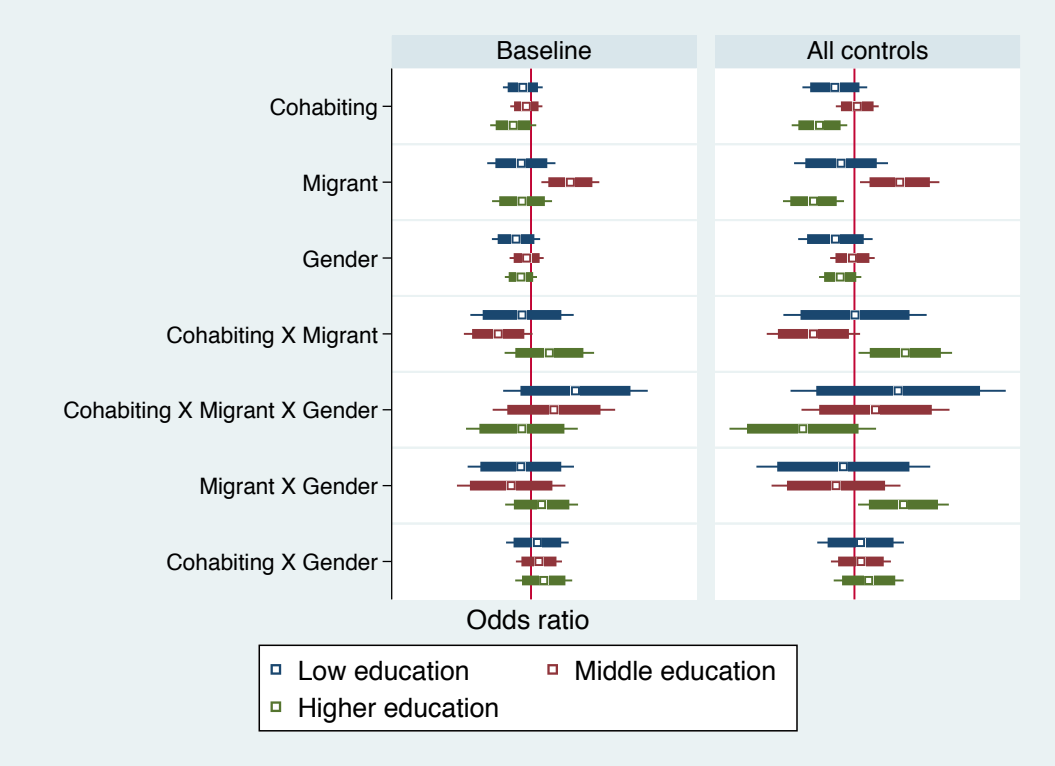


Note: Ordered logistic regression, estimates are presented with 90%, 95%, 99% confidence intervals.

4.4.Loneliness

Figure 7 (Table A-7 in Appendix) suggests that having experienced migration is associated to higher chances of loneliness. When all controls are included, being in a union is associated to a lower likelihood of loneliness for the highly educated. At the intersection of union, migration experience and gender, highly educated women with a migratory background who cohabit are less likely to be lonely. Also highly educated women who experienced migration are less prone to loneliness.

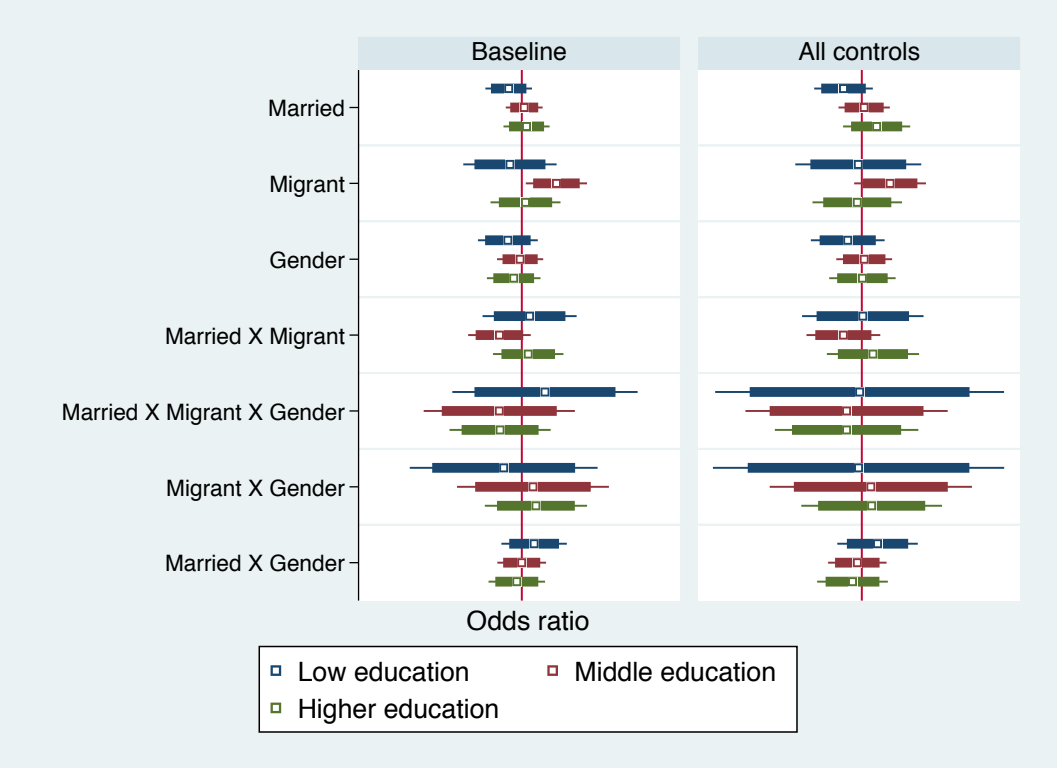
Figure 7: Estimation of loneliness of the cohabiting across different levels of education



Note: Ordered logistic regression, estimates are presented with 90%, 95%, 99% confidence intervals.

We find no evidence to claim presence of intersectionality between marriage, migration, and gender in relation to loneliness (Figure 8, Table A-8 in Appendix).

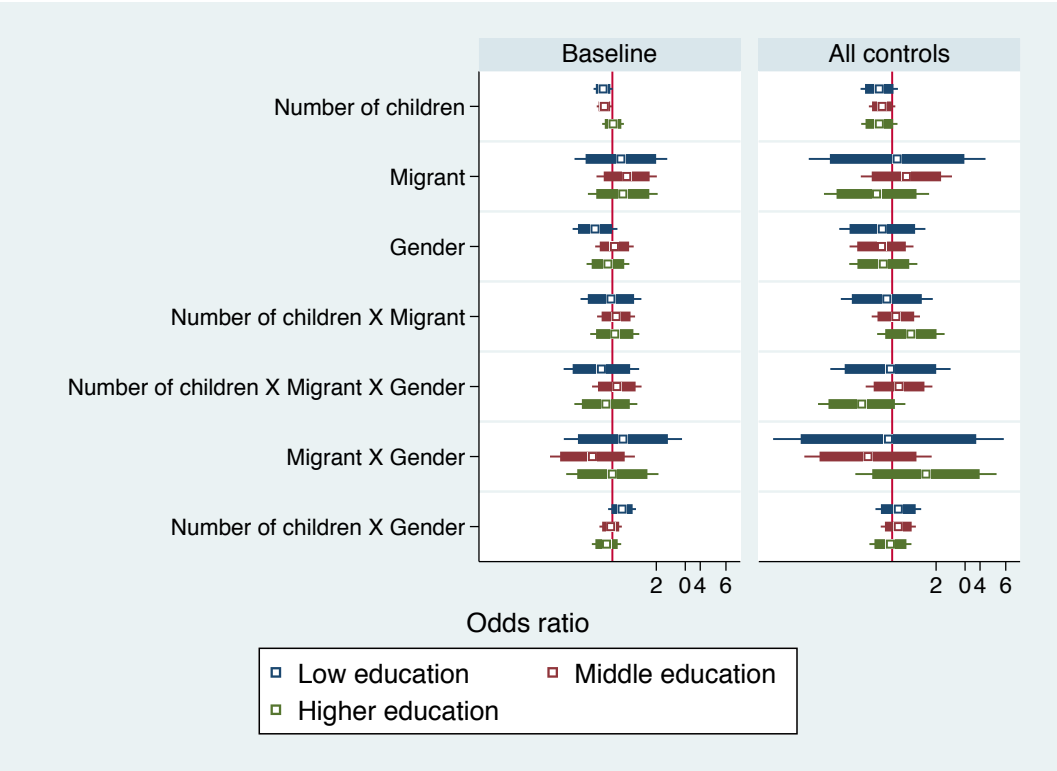
Figure 8: Estimation of loneliness of the married across different levels of education



Note: Ordered logistic regression, estimates are presented with 90%, 95%, 99% confidence intervals.

Figure 9 (Table A.9 in Appendix) shows the estimation results for the number of children in relation to loneliness. The model with all controls provides a picture for the highly educated. First, highly educated individuals with children are less likely to experience loneliness. Second, highly educated women who experienced migration and have children are less likely to be lonely.

Figure 9: Estimation of loneliness of parents across different levels of education



Note: Ordered logistic regression, estimates are presented with 90%, 95%, 99% confidence intervals.

Family formation events, gender, and migration experience matter in connection to subjective well-being. In terms of life satisfaction, cohabiting highly educated women with a migrant background are more likely to be satisfied with their lives. We also find that marriage suggests a higher likelihood of life satisfaction, especially for people with middle education. Our results suggest that depressive symptoms are less likely to be found among people with middle or higher levels of education. Gender plays a role in this association as well because women are more likely to be depressed. Loneliness happens to follow more diverse patterns amongst the educational groups. For example, cohabiting women who had experienced migration in their childhood and have higher education are less likely to be lonely. The association holds for highly educated mothers with a migratory experience too. Women with higher education who migrated in their childhood and currently live with a partner are less likely to feel lonely. In general, different forms of partnership and family formation interact

with the categories of (dis-)advantage (gender and migration experience) and are associated to subjective well-being measures such as life satisfaction, depressive symptoms, and loneliness.

5. Conclusion

Eastern Europe has undergone a period of tremendous societal and institutional change after the dissolution of the USSR. Many countries in the region have chosen a path of free market economy and democracy to improve the living condition of their citizens and strengthen ties with Northwest Europe and North America. In contrast, Belarus has embraced a more authoritarian approach to its statehood by preserving a strong role the government plays in the matters of economy and society. Belarus has remained a relatively poor country standing out as an outlier in the context of globally rich and democratic Europe. It provides an exceptional context to analyse the connection partnership and parenthood has with subjective well-being.

While there is some evidence certain aspects of subjective well-being are interconnected with partnership and childbearing (e.g. Aassve et al. 2012), ours is the first work to provide detailed attention to Belarus as a country that is often omitted as a research subject. To the best of our knowledge, we are also the first to apply intersectionality approach to investigate the association between family statuses, life satisfaction, depression, and loneliness. In doing so, we contribute to and extend the literature on subjective well-being in population science (e.g. Carr and Springer 2010; Myrskylä and Margolis 2014; Wright and Brown 2017) and intersectionality (e.g. Sigle-Rushton and Perrons 2006; Hankivsky et al. 2009; Dhamoon and Hankivsky 2011).

We find that intersectionality approach towards a set of family statuses and categories of (dis-)advantage, namely gender and migration experience, reveals associations between the family statuses, gender, migration experience, and subjective well-being. In addition,

educational gradient allows for a more focused evaluation of the link. Highly educated women who experienced migration and cohabit are more likely to be satisfied with their lives. Also, highly educated mothers with migratory experience are less likely to be lonely. We also find that marriage implies a higher likelihood of life satisfaction, especially for people with middle education. The results indicate that depressive symptoms are less likely to be pronounced among people with middle or higher levels of education. Gender plays a role in this association as well because women are more likely to be depressed. These findings agree with the previous studies that articulate the interconnectedness of the different domains of life such as gender, socioeconomic background, and migration status; individual characteristics such as physical health; life events such as marriage, cohabitation or parenthood; and macro factors among which are the economy, democracy, and freedom (Galambos et al. 2015; Galambos et al. 2020; Helliwell et al. 2020).

Our study is not without limitations. First, the nature of the data limits the conclusions that can be drawn. No causality can be established between the dependent variables and covariates. Subjective well-being may be endogenous to partnership and parenthood decisions and vice versa (e.g. Luhman et al. 2013). Second, the validity of our regression models should be interpreted with caution. Methodological hazards such as reverse causality and endogeneity only allows for an interpretation that incorporates the direction and association between the variables rather than causal links. Third, our migration variable is indicative. It captures the individual experience of migration between the regions in Belarus before age 15, however the intensity and timing of migration cannot be elaborated as there is no information that would allow us to know the actual age at migration or length of stay at the migration origin or destination.

Despite these limitations this study provides evidence that different forms of partnership and family formation interact with the categories of (dis-)advantage (gender and migration experience) and are associated to subjective well-being measures such as life satisfaction, depressive symptoms, and loneliness. Educational gradient is an important stratification tool that structures the associations between the outcomes and covariates. Overall we find that the subjective well-being is a spectrum that is sensitive to many aspects of personal and social life that often work in combination. Partnership, marriage, and children can be seen as important contributing factors to individual well-being. Other social forces such as gender and migration status are at play too when assessing life satisfaction, depression, and loneliness. The future studies can use the intersectionality approach to subjective well-being and family formation in a winder set of Eastern European countries.

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Appendix

Table A-1: Life satisfaction of the cohabiting across different levels of education

	Baseline			All controls		
	Lower education	Medium education	Higher education	Lower education	Medium education	Higher education
In union	-0.297	0.074	0.399	-0.078	0.467	0.452
	(0.336)	(0.312)	(0.355)	(0.641)	(0.358)	(0.484)
Cohabiting X Migrant	-1.273	0.084	0.54	-1.425	-0.05	0.994
	(0.797)	(0.772)	(0.907)	(1.751)	(1.022)	(1.173)
Cohabiting X Gender	-0.492	0.3	-0.281	0.298	0.075	-0.631
	(0.572)	(0.406)	(0.485)	(0.780)	(0.512)	(0.653)
Cohabiting X Migrant X Gender	0.591	0.676	-1.406	-0.511	0.435	-2.192
	(1.20)	(0.981)	(1.044)	(2.492)	(1.251)	(1.419)
Migrant X Gender	0.46	-0.279	1.279	1.744	-0.407	2.285**
	(0.964)	(0.713)	(0.787)	(1.748)	(0.882)	(1.077)
Gender (1 = female)	0.007	-0.234	-0.315	0.251	-0.069	0.081
	(0.420)	(0.307)	(0.337)	(0.668)	(0.374)	(0.485)
Migrant	0.336	-0.563	-1.007	0.222	0.085	-1.6*
	(0.577)	(0.530)	(0.700)	(0.791)	(0.720)	(0.872)
Region Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socio-Demographic Controls	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	220	380	301	149	257	202
Prob > F	0.1592	0.4874	0.3944	0.0072	0.0000	0.0229

Ordered logistic regression, robust standard errors in parentheses

*p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01

Table A-2: Life satisfaction of the married across different levels of education

	Baseline			All controls		
	Lower education	Medium education	Higher education	Lower education	Medium education	Higher education
Married	0.261	0.338**	-0.106	0.155	0.408*	-0.379
	(0.214)	(0.166)	(0.187)	(0.259)	(0.238)	(0.268)
Married X Migrant	0.091	0.284	0.045	-0.131	-0.049	0.455
	(0.367)	(0.282)	(0.298)	(0.450)	(0.363)	(0.372)
Married X Gender	-0.181	0.008	0.568**	0.056	0.116	0.413
	(0.275)	(0.208)	(0.238)	(0.320)	(0.257)	(0.301)
Married X Migrant X Gender	-0.52	1.127**	-0.161	-1.212	0.286	-1.439**
	(0.738)	(0.482)	(0.433)	(1.075)	(0.555)	(0.555)
Migrant X Gender	0.872	-1.122**	0.22	1.409	-0.364	1.593**
	(0.752)	(0.212)	(0.447)	(1.060)	(0.564)	(0.576)
Gender (1 = female)	0.352	0.04	-0.377*	0.212	0.07	-0.202
	(0.250)	(0.195)	(0.222)	(0.287)	(0.244)	(0.283)
Migrant	-0.084	-0.134	-0.317	0.024	0.25	-0.785**
	(0.370)	(0.288)	(0.305)	(0.447)	(0.374)	(0.386)
Region Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socio-Demographic Controls	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1,009	2,479	1,977	737	1,847	1,453
Prob > F	0.0855	0.0000	0.0001	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000

Ordered logistic regression, robust standard errors in parentheses

*p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01

Table A-3: Life satisfaction of parents across different levels of education

	Baseline			All controls		
	Lower education	Medium education	Higher education	Lower education	Medium education	Higher education
Number of children	0.031	0.114**	0.144**	0.236**	0.131	0.052
	(0.064)	(0.052)	(0.067)	(0.117)	(0.093)	(0.124)
Number of children X Migrant	-0.043	0.133	0.011	-0.059	0.307	0.282
	(0.172)	0.099	(0.144)	(0.246)	(0.196)	(0.210)
Number of children X Gender	-0.118	-0.026	0.018	0.012	-0.1	0.122
	(0.082)	(0.066)	(0.091)	(0.136)	(0.106)	(0.136)
Number of children X Migrant X Gender	0.088	0.089	-0.105	-0.084	-0.073	-0.335
	(0.233)	(0.160)	(0.184)	(0.368)	(0.224)	(0.248)
Migrant X Gender	0.352	-0.222	0.192	0.499	-0.076	0.653*
	(0.357)	(0.269)	(0.257)	(0.667)	(0.408)	(0.392)
Gender (1 = female)	0.211	-0.006	-0.006	0.168	0.319*	-0.003
	(0.131)	(0.107)	(0.126)	(0.261)	(0.187)	(0.206)
Migrant	-0.149	-0.097	-0.236	-0.047	-0.242	-0.725**
	(0.270)	(0.185)	(0.200)	(0.453)	(0.311)	(0.322)
Region Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socio-Demographic Controls	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1,724	3,489	2,653	737	1,847	1,453
Prob > F	0.0053	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000

Ordered logistic regression, robust standard errors in parentheses

*p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01

Table A-4: Depressive symptoms of the cohabiting across different levels of education

	Baseline			All controls		
	Lower education	Medium education	Higher education	Lower education	Medium education	Higher education
In union	0.11	-0.835**	0.123	-0.439	-0.557	0.294
	(0.449)	(0.355)	(0.499)	(0.662)	(0.470)	(0.631)
Cohabiting X Migrant	0.842	0.345	-0.728	0.562	0.723	-0.691
	(1.056)	(0.760)	(0.848)	(1.260)	(0.864)	(1.055)
Cohabiting X Gender	-0.137	1.153**	-0.431	0.9	1.025	-0.964
	(0.634)	(0.477)	(0.617)	(0.866)	(0.654)	(0.779)
Cohabiting X Migrant X Gender	0.39	-1	1.575	0.089	-2.012	1.793
	(1.488)	(1.199)	(1.133)	(2.082)	(1.407)	(1.464)
Migrant X Gender	-1.416	0.167	-1.785**	-1.488	1.335	-1.543
	(1.121)	(0.979)	(0.806)	(1.725)	(1.154)	(1.097)
Gender (1 = female)	0.651	0.149	0.973**	0.02	-0.384	1.437**
	(0.492)	(0.341)	(0.404)	(0.730)	(0.503)	(0.555)
Migrant	0.09	0.538	1.169*	-0.178	0.166	0.996
	(0.745)	(0.567)	(0.598)	(0.931)	(0.166)	(0.798)
Region Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socio-Demographic Controls	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	220	386	303	149	260	202
Prob > F	0.5674	0.028	0.3329	0.6884	0.1126	0.5839

Ordered logistic regression, robust standard errors in parentheses

*p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01

Table A-5: Depressive symptoms of the married across different levels of education

	Baseline			All controls		
	Lower education	Medium education	Higher education	Lower education	Medium education	Higher education
Married	-0.453**	-0.367**	-0.222	-0.147	-0.367	0.143
	(0.008)	(0.176)	(0.232)	(0.309)	(0.248)	(0.359)
Married X Migrant	0.355	-0.157	0.037	0.648	-0.136	-0.069
	(0.435)	(0.311)	(0.329)	(0.520)	(0.350)	(0.406)
Married X Gender	-0.005	-0.04	-0.085	-0.093	0.199	-0.551
	(0.318)	(0.230)	(0.277)	(0.406)	(0.287)	(0.356)
Married X Migrant X Gender	0.527	-0.214	0.232	-0.165	-0.52	0.555
	(0.773)	(0.693)	(0.526)	(1.016)	(0.872)	(0.697)
Migrant X Gender	-0.75	0.411	-0.418	-0.287	0.696	-0.658
	(0.777)	(0.699)	(0.531)	(0.998)	(0.874)	(0.693)
Gender (1 = female)	0.493*	0.579***	0.538**	0.521	0.216	0.866**
	(0.287)	(0.214)	(0.260)	(0.375)	(0.272)	(0.340)
Migrant	0.008	0.322	0.354	-0.268	0.259	0.409
	(0.424)	(0.305)	(0.325)	(0.506)	(0.343)	(0.399)
Region Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socio-Demographic Controls	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1,020	2,508	1,996	741	1,860	1,463
Prob > F	0.0017	0.0000	0.0003	0.001	0.0000	0.0007

Ordered logistic regression, robust standard errors in parentheses

*p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01

Table A-6: Depressive symptoms of parents across different levels of education

	Baseline			All controls		
	Lower education	Medium education	Higher education	Lower education	Medium education	Higher education
Number of children	-0.1	-0.163***	-0.149*	-0.064	-0.16	-0.234*
	(0.064)	(0.058)	(0.080)	(0.117)	(0.106)	(0.138)
Number of children X Migrant	-0.06	0.112	0.151	-0.07	0.022	0.321
	(0.172)	(0.151)	(0.169)	(0.285)	(0.213)	(0.237)
Number of children X Gender	0.109	0.033	0.042	0.155	0.039	0.019
	(0.091)	(0.081)	(0.107)	(0.162)	(0.124)	(0.161)
Number of children X Migrant X Gender	-0.068	0.074	-0.324	-0.153	0.158	-0.570*
	(0.229)	(0.190)	(0.223)	(0.398)	(0.257)	(0.311)
Migrant X Gender	-0.367	0.073	0.206	-0.173	-0.121	0.593
	(.0.390)	(0.318)	(0.302)	(0.788)	(0.476)	(0.477)
Gender (1 = female)	0.463***	0.47***	0.498***	0.194	0.35	0.367
	(0.154)	(0.131)	(0.149)	(0.327)	(0.223)	(0.250)
Migrant	0.414	-0.015	0.141	0.362	0.133	-0.046
	(0.268)	(0.232)	(0.220)	(0.520)	(0.371)	(0.359)
Region Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socio-Demographic Controls	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1,742	3,524	2,675	741	1,860	1,463
Prob > F	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0018	0.0000	0.0001

Ordered logistic regression, robust standard errors in parentheses

*p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01

Table A-7: Loneliness of the cohabiting across different levels of education

	Baseline			All controls		
	Lower education	Medium education	Higher education	Lower education	Medium education	Higher education
Cohabiting	-0.399	-0.228	-0.866**	-0.955	0.137	-1.702***
	(0.375)	(0.304)	(0.435)	(0.612)	(0.405)	(0.524)
Cohabiting X Migrant	-0.437	-1.597**	0.893	0.027	-1.997**	2.477***
	(0.976)	(0.648)	(0.845)	(1.354)	(0.882)	(0.883)
Cohabiting X Gender	0.309	0.385	0.618	0.298	0.316	0.692
	(0.591)	(0.435)	(0.538)	(0.819)	(0.566)	(0.660)
Cohabiting X Migrant X Gender	2.164	1.114	-0.443	2.127	1.025	-2.51*
	(01.366)	(1.157)	(1.056)	(2.034)	(1.398)	(1.385)
Migrant X Gender	-0.496	-0.966	0.515	-0.541	-0.896	2.386***
	(1.004)	(1.024)	(0.689)	(1.642)	(1.218)	(0.858)
Gender (1 = female)	-0.729	-0.212	-0.491	-0.926	-0.097	-0.694*
	(0.456)	(0.322)	(0.303)	(0.703)	(0.421)	(0.399)
Migrant	-0.471	1.914***	-0.436	-0.652	2.204***	-1.994***
	(0.644)	(0.547)	(0.567)	(0.888)	(0.750)	(0.576)
Region Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socio-Demographic Controls	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	219	384	302	149	260	202
Prob > F	0.1801	0.0062	0.5351	0.1375	0.0000	0.0015

Ordered logistic regression, robust standard errors in parentheses
*p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01

Table A-8: Loneliness of the married across different levels of education

	Baseline			All controls		
	Lower education	Medium education	Higher education	Lower education	Medium education	Higher education
Married	-0.309	0.056	0.111	-0.431	0.055	0.35
	(0.213)	(0.168)	(0.211)	(0.268)	(0.235)	(0.307)
Married X Migrant	0.184	-0.528*	0.151	0.024	-0.435	0.263
	(0.431)	(0.286)	(0.322)	(0.557)	(0.338)	(0.422)
Married X Gender	0.291	-0.002	-0.118	0.371	-0.105	-0.219
	(0.299)	(0.223)	(0.259)	(0.369)	(0.268)	(0.324)
Married X Migrant X Gender	0.547	-0.532	-0.512	-0.051	-0.359	-0.359
	(0.849)	(0.693)	(0.463)	(1.324)	(0.927)	(0.658)
Migrant X Gender	-0.428	0.264	0.333	-0.076	0.213	0.232
	(0.861)	(0.696)	(0.468)	(1.335)	(0.927)	(0.645)
Gender (1 = female)	-0.329	-0.039	-0.191	-0.332	0.057	0.014
	(0.274)	(0.211)	(0.245)	(0.338)	(0.255)	(0.304)
Migrant	-0.28	0.817	0.087	-0.083	0.668**	-0.106
	(0.427)	(0.280)	(0.320)	(0.577)	(0.329)	(0.410)
Region Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socio-Demographic Controls	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1,018	2,500	1,991	741	1,860	1,461
Prob > F	0.001	0.0000	0.0000	0.001	0.0000	0.0001

Ordered logistic regression, robust standard errors in parentheses

*p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01

Table A-9: Loneliness of parents across different levels of education

	Baseline			All controls		
	Lower education	Medium education	Higher education	Lower education	Medium education	Higher education
Number of children	0.006	-0.126***	0.01	-0.203*	-0.158*	-0.202*
	(0.063)	(0.046)	(0.066)	(0.114)	(0.080)	(0.111)
Number of children X Migrant	-0.022	0.058	0.037	-0.084	0.058	0.295
	(0.186)	(0.116)	(0.150)	(0.281)	(0.145)	(0.206)
Number of children X Gender	0.152*	-0.027	-0.092	0.097	0.096	-0.027
	(0.085)	(0.068)	(0.089)	(0.140)	(0.107)	(0.128)
Number of children X Migrant X Gender	-0.172	0.069	-0.102	-0.026	0.108	-0.48*
	(0.231)	(0.151)	(0.192)	(0.368)	(0.204)	(0.267)
Migrant X Gender	0.166	-0.314	-0.006	-0.058	-0.38	0.533
	(0.361)	(0.259)	(0.282)	(0.706)	(0.389)	(0.432)
Gender (1 = female)	-0.273**	0.032	-0.069	-0.155	-0.167	-0.139
	(0.137)	(0.118)	(0.130)	(0.263)	(0.195)	(0.208)
Migrant	0.134**	0.225	0.164	0.078	0.224	-0.246
	(0.058)	(0.184)	(0.213)	(0.541)	(0.279)	(0.321)
Region Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socio-Demographic Controls	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1,739	3,514	2,666	741	1,860	1,461
Prob > F	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0001	0.0000	0.0000

Ordered logistic regression, robust standard errors in parentheses

*p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01