Family Matters:

A Multisystem Investigation of Children's Subjective Well-being

Dissertation

zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades Doktor der Sozialwissenschaften (Dr. rer. soc.),

genehmigt durch die Fakultät für Humanwissenschaften der Otto-von-Guericke-Universität Magdeburg

von Stephanie Heß, M.Sc. geb. am 23. Juli 1991 in Hameln Gutachter: Prof. Dr. Jan Delhey

Gutachter: Prof. Dr. Matthias Pollmann-Schult

Eingereicht am: 08. November 2023

Verteidigung der Dissertation am: 07. März 2024

Publications

This cumulative dissertation is based on four articles which in the following are referred to as paper 1 (Chapter 5), paper 2 (Chapter 6), paper 3 (Chapter 7), and paper 4 (Chapter 8).

Paper 1:

Hess, Stephanie & Pollmann-Schult, Matthias. Parental Depressiveness and Children's Emotional Problems.

Currently under review.

Paper 2:

Hess, S. (2021). Effects of Inter-Parental Conflict on Children's Social Well-Being and the Mediation Role of Parenting Behavior. *Applied Research in Quality of Life*, 17 (4), 2059-2085. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11482-021-10022-y

This is an open access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons CC BY license, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited. Copyright © 2021, The Author(s).

Paper 3:

Hess, S., Pollmann-Schult, M. (2020). Associations between Mothers' Work-Family Conflict and Children's Psychological Well-being: The Mediating Role of Mothers' Parenting Behavior. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 29 (6), 1561-1571. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-019-01669-1

Reprinted by permission from Copyright Clearance Center's RightsLink®: Springer, Journal of Child and Family Studies, Hess, S. & Pollmann-Schult, M. (2020). Associations between Mothers' Work-Family Conflict and Children's Psychological Well-being: The Mediating Role of Mothers' Parenting Behavior, Copyright ©2019, Springer Science Business Media B.V., part of Springer Nature.

Paper 4:

Hess, S. (2023). The Impact of Cultural Values on the Association Between Family Relations and Children's Life Satisfaction. A Comparison Across 39 Countries *Currently under review*.

Table P1.Summary of journal characteristics and author contributions

•	Paper 1 (Ch. 5)	Paper 2 (Ch. 6)	Paper 3 (Ch. 7)	Paper 4 (Ch.8)
Idea	SH	SH	SH MPS	SH
Theory & Literature Review	SH	SH	SH	SH
Methods & Data analysis	SH	SH	SH	SH
Writing the manuscript	SH MPS	SH	SH MPS	SH
Contribution SH	80	100	75	100
First Author	SH	SH	SH	SH
Status	Under review	Published	Published	Under review
Journal		Applied Research in Quality of Life	Journal of Child and Family studies	
Five-year impact factor 2022	1.3	3.4	2.8	2.7

Note: $SH = Stephanie\ He\beta;\ MPS = Matthias\ Pollmann-Schult.$

Content

1 Introduction	1
2 Conceptual framework	7
2.1 Dimensions of children's well-being	7
2.2 Measuring children's well-being	
2.3 Children's well-being and their environment	13
2.4 Intergenerational transmission of subjective well-being	16
2.5 Parenting behaviour as underlying mechanism	19
2.6 Synthesis of the theoretical model	21
3 A review of the empirical literature on child well-being and parents' lives	22
3.1 Identification process: Applying the PRISMA framework	22
3.2 Descriptive analysis of the included articles	24
3.3 Results	26
Parent–child relationships	26
Parent-parent relationships	
Parents' physical health, mental health, and subjective well-being	
Parents' working conditions	
3.4 Research gaps	33
4 Research design	36
4.1 Data	36
German Family Panel (pairfam)	36
International Survey of Child Well-Being (ISCWeB)	
4.2 Operationalising children's subjective well-being	
Psychological and social well-being	
Overall evaluation of subjective well-being	
4.3 Operationalising the parent-child relationship	
4.4 Objectives and approaches of the four papers	46
5 Comparing Parent and Child reports – Parents' depressiveness	51
Abstract	
Introduction	
Background and Hypotheses	
Methods	
Data and Sample	
Measures	
Data Analysis	
Results	
Effect of Parents' Depressiveness on Children	
Group Comparisons by Gender and Age	
Comparison of Mother, Father, and Child Reports	
Conclusion	65

6 Mesosystem – Inter-parental conflict	68
Abstract	68
Introduction	69
Theoretical Framework and Literature Review	69
Methods	74
Data	74
Participants	74
Measures	75
Analytical Strategy	77
Results	81
Inter-Parental Conflict and Parenting Behavior	81
Inter-Parental Conflict and Children's Social Well-Being	82
Mediation Analyses	
Additional Analyses	86
Discussion	87
7 Franciston Moule family conflict	01
7 Exosystem – Work-family conflict	
Abstract	
Methods	
Participants	
Measures	
Data Analysis	
Results	
Discussion	104
8 Macrosystem – Cultural values	107
Abstract	107
Introduction	
Theoretical Framework and Literature Review	
The impact of collectivism vs. individualism on children's subjective well-being	
Individual-level association between family relations and children's well-being	
The moderating effect of cultural values on the association between family relations a	nd
subjective well-being	
Data and Methods	113
Data	
Measures	114
Analytical strategy	
Results	
Children's subjective well-being and family relations in collectivist and individualistic s	
The association between family relations and children's life satisfaction	
The moderating role of collectivism	
Discussion	
9 Discussion	125
Research Implications	129
Policy Implications	131
Limitations	133
Future Research Directions	134
Practical Implications	137
References	139
Data Sources	167
Appendix	168

Tables

Table P1.Summary of journal characteristics and author contributions
Table 1. Overview of all articles and articles that use child-reported measures in the literature review by topic
Table 2. Number of observations per sample category in the pairfam data (in %)39
Table 3. Sample overview ISCWeB
Table 4. Item description and dimensions of the Strength and Difficulties Questionnaire. Child wording
Table 5. Wording of child- and parent-reported parenting behaviour
Table 6. Overview of the empirical papers
Table 7. Sample characteristics for parents and children ($N = 1,586$; 6,454 observations).56
Table 8. Predictors of changes in SDQ for children – Fixed-Effects regressions (n= 1,586; 6,454 observations)
Table 9. Predictors of changes in emotional problems for boys and girls – Fixed effects regression
Table 10. Predictors of changes in emotional problems for children and adolescents – fixed effects regression
Table 11. Summary of effect sizes for the association between parents' depressiveness and children's emotional problems
Table 12. Inter-rater reliability for children's, mothers' and fathers' reports of children's emotional problems
Table 13. Sample Characteristics of Children and Parents
Table 14. Predictors of Mothers' Parenting Behavior (Fixed-Effects Regression, N=4,016 Observations)
Table 15. Predictors of Children's Prosocial Behavior and Peer Problems (Fixed-Effects Regression, N=4,016 Observations)
Table 16. Indirect Effects Predicting the Effect of Inter-Parental Conflict Through Parenting Behavior on Children's Social Well-Being (N = 4,016 Observations)
Table 17. Sample characteristics for mothers and children ($N = 1,781$ observations) 96
Table 18. Predictors of harsh parenting for mothers
Table 19. Predictors of children's emotional and conduct problems (Pooled OLS Regression)
Table 20. Indirect Effects predicting the effect of harsh parenting on SDQ ($N = 1,781$). 103
Table 21. Descriptive statistics for the pooled country sample
Table 22. Weighted means of overall life satisfaction and family relations by country (n=129,018)
Table 23. Single-country regressions of children's subjective well-being on family relations.
Table 24. Multilevel regression of life satisfaction on level 1 and level 3 variables 120
Table A1. Item description and dimensions of emotional problems from the Strength and Difficulties Questionnaire. Parent wording

Table A2. Cronbach's Alpha Reliability Coefficient for Family Relations in the Is Data	
Table A3. Multilevel regression of life satisfaction on level 1 and level 3 indicators in quadratic IDV term.	\mathcal{C}

Figures

Figure 1. Dimensions of subjective well-being	8
Figure 2. Application of ecological systems theory	15
Figure 3. Synthesis of the theoretical arguments from EST, SLT, and ESH	21
Figure 4. PRISMA flowchart	23
Figure 5. Total number of included articles and number of articles using child report	ts 24
Figure 6. pairfam sample development	38
Figure 7. Overview of the research design	49
Figure 8. Country-level correlations	117
Figure 9. The marginal effects of family relations on life satisfaction at different leading to the cultural value climate	
Figure 10. Results with Regard to the Theoretical Model	128

Abbreviations

			T
AL	Albania	INED	Institut national d'études démographiques
b	b-Coefficient (Regression)	ISCWeB	International Survey of Children's Well-Being
BE	Belgium	IT	Italy
BMFSFJ	Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth	KR	South Korea
BR	Brazil	LK	Sri Lanka
CA	Canada	MAR	Missing values at random
CBCL	Child Behavior Checklist	Max	Maximum
CDM	Covariate-dependent Missingness	MCAR	Missing completely at random
CL	Chile	Min	Minimum
CO	Colombia	MT	Malta
COVID-19	Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2	MY	Malaysia
DDH	Depression distortion hypothesis	NA	Namibia
DE	Germany	NO	Norway
Destatis	Federal Statistical Office (Germany)	NP	Nepal
DFG	German Research Foundation	OECD	Organisation for Economic Co- operation and Development
DZ	Algeria	OLS	Ordinary Least Squares
EE	Estonia	pairfam	Panel Analysis of Intimate Relationships and Family Dynamics
ES	Spain	PL	Poland
ESH ¹	Emotional security hypothesis	PRISMA	Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta- Analyses
EST	Ecological systems theory	RO	Romania
ET	Ethiopia	RU	Russia
EU	European Union	RW	Rwanda
FFCWS	Future of Families and Child Wellbeing Study	SD	Standard Deviation
FI	Finland	SDQ	Strength and difficulties questionnaire
FR	France	SLT	Social learning theory
GB	UK	TR	Turkey
GR	Greece	TW	Taiwan
H	Hypothesis	UG	Uganda
нк	Hong Kong	UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
HR	Croatia	UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
HU	Hungary	US	USA
ID	Indonesia	VN	Vietnam
IDV	Individualism versus Collectivism Index	WHO	World Health Organization
IL	Israel	WVS	World Values Survey
IN	India	ZA	South Africa
-	•		***

¹ Note: Due to a reviewer's demands, emotional security hypothesis has been referred to as emotional security theory and has consequently been abbreviated with EST in Chapter 6.

1 Introduction

In 2022, one in four minors in Germany and the EU were at risk of poverty or social exclusion (Eurostat, 2023c). Worldwide, 16% of children in the world live in extreme poverty (Salmeron Gomez et al., 2023). According to the World Health Organization (WHO), 23% of children in the European region are subject to physical abuse, 29% to psychological abuse (Dimitrova-Stull, 2014), and domestic violence has been estimated to have increased by up to 60% during the COVID-19 pandemic (Mahase, 2020). To date, there is no systematic cross-national tracking of mental illness in parents, but individual studies show that between 10% and 20% of children in Europe grow up with at least one mentally ill parent (Abel et al., 2019; Plass-Christl et al., 2017; van Santvoort et al., 2014). With single parenthood steadily increasing (Eurostat, 2023b) and joint custody still being a rather rare phenomenon (Nieuwenhuis, 2020), about one in six minors in Germany and the EU grow up in a single-parent household – the living arrangement in which negative childhood experiences are most prevalent (Nieuwenhuis, 2020; Sándor et al., 2019). With the COVID-19 pandemic outbreak in December 2019, children were confronted with an existential threat unknown to younger generations and with loneliness caused by COVID-19 containment measures. As a result, mental disorders are globally on the rise, in particular among the youngest (United Nations Department of Economic Social Affairs, 2022, p. 31). Germany registered an increase in anxiety disorders, depression, and social phobia among children and adolescents that have resulted in an increasing number of young people being admitted to psychiatric facilities (Destatis, 2023c; IMA, 2023; Ravens-Sieberer et al., 2022; Schlack et al., 2023). While research has documented thoroughly the harmful effects of poverty (for an overview, see Lever et al., 2005), divorce (Luhmann et al., 2012), single-parenthood (Nomaguchi & Milkie, 2020), mental problems (e.g. Keyes, 2006; Li et al., 2023), living with a depressed partner (Idstad et al., 2010; Merrill, 2022; Radfar et al., 2014) and living in violent homes (e.g. Bernardo & Estrellado, 2017; Franc et al., 2011; Poutiainen & Holma, 2013) on the subjective well-being of adults, the effect of adverse life events for children's subjective well-being is vastly underexplored, especially from their own perspective. To date, it remains widely unknown how children weather adverse situations that are not caused by their own decisions and experiences but by those of their parents.

The study of well-being is an emerging frontier in child development research but has long been studied through an adult lens (Woodhead, 2009, p. 53). Only since the beginning of the twenty-first century has research started to recognize children as active agents and valuable sources of information with regard to their lives and to acknowledge children's own views (Ben-Arieh, 2005, 2008a; Woodhead, 2009). Research on *subjective* well-being has only recently begun to incorporate children's self-reported outcomes

regarding their quality of life. These comprise, inter alia, various subdimensions of children's subjective well-being, such as psychological and social well-being but also their overall judgement of life satisfaction. This trend is predominantly driven by research from anglophone countries, particularly the US. However, there are a multitude of reasons why governments all over the globe should be interested in researching children's subjective well-being. First, subjective well-being is positively related to human capital development: happy and emotionally well-adjusted children tend to be more engaged and motivated in their education (Gilman & Huebner, 2006; Tabbodi et al., 2015), which contributes to a more skilled and knowledgeable workforce in the future. Ultimately, engaged and happy students will be more likely to boost economic productivity and, in the long run, contribute to economic growth and stability (Rossi, 2020). Secondly, high levels of subjective well-being are related to better physical health (Gilman & Huebner, 2003; Huebner, 1991; Schuchard et al., 2022): happy and less stressed children often grow up to be happy and healthy adults (George, 2013). This can reduce the long-term costs in the healthcare systems and contribute, again, to a more productive workforce (Swift, 2011). Finally, social cohesion benefits from happy children: they are more likely to develop positive social relationships, empathy, and social skills (Llamas-Díaz et al., 2022). This can, in turn, lead to reduced conflict, improved community cohesion, and a more harmonious society (Becchetti et al., 2013; Delhey & Dragolov, 2016).

Children have long been treated as incompetent, incomplete individuals whose freedoms and rights are determined by adults (Graf, 2015, p. 21; Višak, 2015, p. 43). For a long time, they have been defined as becomings rather than beings, as individuals that are merely developing (Qvortrup, 2005, p. 5). Following this argument, childhood would be reduced to a mere stage of preparation for finally joining the adult population and becoming full members of society (Sen, 2003). Including children's own assessment in subjective wellbeing research seems, however, increasingly necessary with regard to the fast-changing developments in modern societies. With modernization and individualization processes taking place all over the globe (see, for example, Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1994; Inglehart, 1977; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005), childhood has become a many-faced phenomenon in the twenty-first century. It has been recognized as a distinct, culturally varying stage of life that is not as uniform as it used to be in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Instead of the predefined, strongly socially structured life stage, childhood has evolved to become a phenomenon that comprises a wide range of individual life chances and possibilities that enable a vast number of different life courses (Arnett, 2002, p. 307). Especially in Western societies, freedom and autonomy are steadily increasing, enabling children and adolescents to – theoretically – freely develop their self-conception, their values and beliefs, and set their own life goals. This freedom, in turn, gives children and adolescents manifold opportunities

and possibilities to maximize their own subjective well-being (Andresen et al., 2012; Trommsdorff, 2012).

Nonetheless, children's lives and well-being cannot be separated from the role of their caregivers.² Children are vastly dependent on their parents providing resources that range from basic needs, such as shelter and safety (Steckermeier, 2019), economic and time resources (Li et al., 2014; Thomson et al., 1994), to emotional support, care, and nurture (Dunst et al., 2021; Pinquart, 2017; Schleider & Weisz, 2017). Children's lives are strongly intertwined with their parents' until they are of legal age and pursue gainful employment. This interrelatedness between children and parents has far-reaching consequences. Research suggests that the resources that children are equipped with by their parents during their early years determine children's life chances and whole life courses. Parents play a significant part, for example, in their children's early age acquisition of human, social, and psychological capital, which impacts children's future life courses (Liu & Lachman, 2019; Mazzonna, 2014). Likewise, the social bond between parents and their children has longlasting consequences for children's well-being in later life: a good, loving parent-child relationship has beneficial effects on quality of life in adulthood (Chen et al., 2019), whereas negative parent-child experiences such as abuse or childhood trauma (Maschi et al., 2013) have long-lasting damaging effects. Moreover, parents have an immense impact on the formation of their children's behaviour (Bandura, 1977; Schatzki, 1996). Primary socialization – the act of endowing children with the knowledge on how to function in their social group or society, relevant behaviour, and social scripts – is seen as one of the basic functions of families (Parsons, 1956). Primary socialization thus has life-long effects on individual functioning and well-being (Putney & Bengtson, 2002; Schatzki, 1996). Children acquire these competences from their parents and their experience in (early) childhood, which consequently and inevitably impacts their judgement of their own lives throughout the whole life course. These experiences are among the main determining factors that define the standards against which they compare their current lives, which ultimately results in either satisfaction or dissatisfaction (Bandura, 1977, p. 139; Schatzki, 1996, p. 13). To summarize, an individual's childhood – the parent–child relationship in particular – has a vast impact on their whole life. Understanding the determinants and mechanisms behind the parent-child link in the formation of children's subjective well-being would provide broad possibilities to increase subjective well-being in childhood and adolescence and, in this, throughout the life course of individuals.

² Although the term 'caregivers' can refer to adults other than parents such as other relatives, foster parents or residential care workers, this thesis focuses exclusively on the role of parents because they are the most common primary caregivers to children.

Against this background, this dissertation aims to examine how children's subjective well-being is influenced by experiences in parents' lives and to identify the underlying mechanisms that enable intergenerational transfer processes of subjective well-being. I draw on two theories that emphasize the role of children's environment for the formation of their subjective well-being: ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1979, 1986, 1992; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998) and social learning theory (Bandura, 1969, 1977).

Ecological systems theory suggests that children's development is influenced by different interrelated systems that surround them: most directly their immediate environment (microsystem); interactions between other individuals in children's microsystems (mesosystem); external environments where children do not actively participate (exosystem); and, finally, the culture and society they are embedded in (macrosystem). Thus, understanding the interactions within and between these systems is crucial for ensuring the well-being and healthy development of children. Building on ecological systems theory, I conduct a multisystem investigation into the parent-related determinants of children's subjective well-being. In the fulfilment of Research Goal 1, investigating whether children's self-reported subjective well-being is impacted by a parents' adverse experiences in different ecological systems, I examine how children's subjective well-being may suffer due to a permissive or conflictive parent-child relationship (microsystem), and how they might be further exacerbated by interparental conflicts (mesosystem) or work-family conflicts (exosystem). To realize Research Goal 2, exploring whether the importance of family relations for children's self-reported subjective well-being varies across countries and with cultural context, I additionally explore how parent-child relations (microsystem) vary in their significance for children's subjective well-being across different cultures (macrosystem).

Complementing ecological systems theory with social learning theory aids in explaining *how* parents' behaviour and experiences directly influence children's behaviour and well-being: children are thought to acquire behaviours, attitudes, and beliefs through observation, imitation, and interaction with their social environment, the parents in particular. In order to address *Research Goal 3*, examining the intergenerational transmission process of psychological and social well-being, I first investigate whether more frequent sentiments of depressiveness in mothers and fathers spill over and cause more emotional problems in their children. In a second step, I explore whether more frequent conflicts between parents spill over to children's relations with peers.

I further aim to clarify the underlying mechanism that transfers adverse experiences on the meso- and exosystem – as described above – to children's subjective well-being. Because neither ecological systems theory nor social learning theory suggest concrete mechanisms that enable intergenerational transmission, I use emotional security hypothesis

(Davies & Cummings, 1994), spillover hypothesis (Krishnakumar & Buehler, 2000; Staines, 1980; Williams & Alliger, 1994) and compensation hypothesis (Engfer, 1988; Erel & Burman, 1995; Katrijn et al., 2017; Kouros et al., 2014; Staines, 1980). These help to explicate how children's subjective well-being is indirectly impacted by adverse experiences in parents' lives due to parenting behaviour. Emotional security hypothesis suggests that adverse experiences in parents' lives impact children's subjective well-being via parenting behaviour that impacts children's feelings of emotional (in)security. This transfer can either be determined by a spillover process, where negative parenting behaviour translates negative experiences in parents' lives to negative parenting behaviour and ultimately to lower levels of child well-being, or by a compensation process, where negative experiences are prevented from impacting child well-being because parents aim to compensate for these adverse experiences via more positive parenting behaviour. To address Research Goal 4, determining whether parenting behaviour is the underlying link between children's subjective well-being and interparental conflict and work-family conflict, I test whether children's social and psychological well-being are affected due to either negative or positive parenting behaviour.

To date, literature that addresses children's subjective well-being mainly relies on parents' reports of children's well-being and their own behaviour. This is problematic because the current state of knowledge might be severely skewed by social desirability and mood bias (e.g. Booth et al., 2023; Gartstein et al., 2009; Seiffge-Krenke & Kollmar, 1998; White-Koning et al., 2007). To fill this gap, I use child reports in order to generate novel insights into the formation of children's subjective well-being. In order to evaluate the necessity of incorporating children's self-reported subjective well-being, this dissertation investigates the differences between parents' and children's reports on children's emotional problems and provides in-depth inter-rater comparisons.

This paper-based dissertation is structured as follows: Chapter 2 presents the conceptual framework. I first conceptualize the dimensions of children's well-being and outline the most important factors that need to be considered when measuring children's subjective well-being. I then proceed by presenting the theoretical framework: I outline Urie Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory, Albert Bandura's social learning theory, the emotional security hypothesis as well as the spillover hypothesis and compensation hypothesis. I conclude Chapter 2 by presenting a model of mechanisms that synthesizes the theoretical framework. In Chapter 3, I present a systematic literature review on the interrelation between parents' lives and children's subjective well-being. From this literature review, I derive research desiderata that will be addressed in Chapters 5 to 8. Chapter 4 outlines the research design, including the description of the German Family Panel and the International Survey of Child Well-Being, the operationalization of social, psychological,

and global subjective well-being and the parent—child relationship. I then describe how the theoretical model is tested empirically and provide a paper-by-paper explanation of the overall analytic strategy. Chapter 4 summarizes the four papers that together form the core of this dissertation. Each of these four papers will then constitute one chapter – Chapters 5 to 8. Concluding this thesis, Chapter 9 summarizes the key findings, outlines implications for research, policymakers, and practitioners, and discusses future research directions.

2 Conceptual framework

This chapter specifies the conceptual framework of this dissertation. In the following, I outline how children's subjective well-being is conceptualised and how it can be measured. I further provide theoretical arguments why a secure parent—child relationship and parenting behaviour outweigh the effect of parental role conflicts on children's subjective well-being, why it is necessary to consider the effect of cultural values when examining the association between parent—child relationships and children's well-being, and why parents' behaviour and well-being are of particular interest to the formation of children's behaviour and subjective well-being. This chapter is concluded by providing a theoretical model that synthesises the theoretical arguments and summarises the presumed underlying mechanisms that transmit parents' experiences to children's subjective well-being and that are tested in this dissertation.

2.1 Dimensions of children's well-being

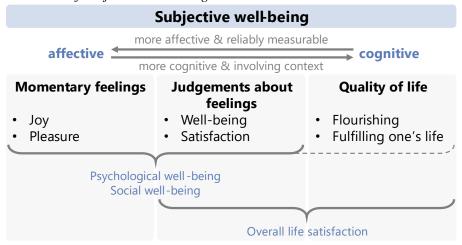
For a long time, child well-being has mainly been investigated through an adult lens, focusing on objective indicators of children's quality of life (Ben-Arieh, 2008a). In the wake of the social indicators movement (see, for example, Land, 1983) and rapidly changing family environments and family structures in nearly every world region (Kuijsten, 1995; Lesthaeghe, 2015), researchers from a broad variety of disciplines, including sociology, psychology, and social work, have stressed the necessity to complement this adult-focused approach by incorporating children's own perspective on their lives and well-being (Ben-Arieh, 2005, 2008a, 2008b). Because child well-being is a complex, multidimensional construct, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child provides an overview of the most important well-being dimensions for children that need to be addressed by researchers, policymakers, and practitioners (Lee, 2009; UNICEF, 1989):

❖ Objective components: physical health (e.g., immunisation rates, prevalence of malnutrition, infant mortality rate, or overall physical development); safety and protection (e.g., accessibility of safe environments or protection from exploitation or prevalence of child abuse or exposure to violence); economic well-being (e.g., poverty rates, income inequality or societal income levels, and individual level access to food, clothes, or other basic needs items); education (e.g., school enrolment rates, school attendance rates, literacy and numeracy levels, or access to quality education or individual learning outcomes such as math grades); family, school, and community environment (e.g., community support systems or community cohesion or family structure and stability, social embeddedness, parental, and teacher or peer support).

❖ Subjective components: subjective, social, and emotional well-being (e.g., mental health, emotional resilience, social relationships, and overall life satisfaction).

This dissertation is solely concerned with the subjective component of children's well-being. Generally, subjective well-being is used as an umbrella term to describe 'a broad category of phenomena that includes people's emotional responses, domain satisfactions³, and overall judgements of life satisfaction' (Diener et al., 1999, p. 277). Subjective well-being is thought to encompass two distinct components: affective well-being and cognitive well-being. Figure 1 displays the characteristics of the subjective well-being components and exemplary measurements of the respective components. Additionally, it displays the classification of the subjective well-being dimensions that will be disentangled within this subchapter because they are of particular interest in this dissertation.

Figure 1. Dimensions of subjective well-being



Note: Figure is based on Nettle (2005, p. 18) and amended with examples used in this dissertation.

The affective component of well-being in the left box in Figure 1 refers to a mainly hedonic evaluation of life. This includes the frequency and intensity of positive feelings and emotions as well as the absence of negative emotions (Eid & Diener, 2004; Luhmann et al., 2012). Affective well-being first and foremost encompasses momentary feelings such as joy or pleasure. Besides this affective component, subjective well-being has a *cognitive* component (right box in Figure 1), which refers to an evaluation of life that is based on how individuals judge the life they lead compared to the life they envision for themselves. In other words, cognitive well-being refers to the extent to which individuals feel their current

3 (77)

³ The term life domain satisfaction refers to an individual's satisfaction with specific life domains such as their jobs, family life, education, or standard of living. They are thought to be closely related to an individual's overall life satisfaction but conceptually ambiguous, as there is no agreed upon set of most relevant or most determining life domain satisfactions, and subjective well-being researchers have not agreed upon whether the satisfaction with specific life domains impacts overall life satisfaction or vice versa (Cummins, 1996; Delhey, 2014). Thus, the concept of life domain satisfaction was exempted from further consideration within this conceptual framework.

life matches their expectations (Diener, 1984). In essence, cognitive subjective well-being refers to a mainly comparative, context-based evaluation of their current state of life that is free from emotions. Reliably measuring cognitive subjective well-being thus requires rather complex measurement techniques in order to ensure that individuals judge their lives fully unemotionally; an example would be the well-known Cantril ladder of life (Cantril, 1965; Levin & Currie, 2014). In contrast, affective well-being is thought to be easier to measure because individuals are generally fully capable of evaluating their own current feelings and sentiments. Consequently, measures of affective well-being are assumed to provide generally more reliable measurements compared to measurements of cognitive subjective well-being (Nettle, 2005, p. 18). Finally, there is a large number of concepts that comprise affective as well as cognitive components of subjective well-being because they are broader, context-sensitive judgements about individuals' feelings (middle box in Figure 1).

This dissertation makes use of an array of different self-evaluations of children's subjective well-being: overall life satisfaction as well as psychological and social well-being. The classification of these concepts is far from distinct, as the blue assignments in Figure 1 illustrate. The concept of overall life satisfaction refers to an overall evaluation of individuals' lives and, more specifically, the 'degree to which an individual judges the overall quality of his/her own life-as-a-whole favorably' (Veenhoven, 1984, p. 22). It thus encompasses a strong cognitive component but also includes some (semi-)affective aspects of subjective well-being because it is influenced by an individual's psychological, emotional, and social state (Diener, 1998; Diener et al., 2002, 2003; Nettle, 2005; Veenhoven, 2012). Nonetheless, overall life satisfaction was shown to be a stable overall judgement of the lives individuals lead and can be classified as primarily belonging to the cognitive component of subjective well-being. Overall life satisfaction is one of the most commonly used measurements of subjective well-being in adult populations and belongs to the few (mostly) agreed upon conceptualisations of subjective well-being.

The conceptualisations of psychological well-being and social well-being are less clear-cut and less agreed upon. Both concepts could be seen as special cases because they are hybrid types encompassing affective as well as cognitive components. Starting with *psychological well-being*, the conceptualisation varies greatly, with each concept referring to differing lists of components that include various characteristics. Even though the term psychological well-being is ambiguous, most conceptualisations comprise a number of core aspects (Huppert, 2014): having sufficient mental health, regularly experiencing feelings of joyfulness and enjoyment (i.e., hedonia), having sufficient fulfilment and meaning in life (i.e., eudaimonia), and having healthy emotional regulation and coping mechanisms (Delle Fave, 2014; Gross & Muñoz, 1995; Ryan & Deci, 2001; Ryff, 1995; Ryff & Singer, 2010). Thus, the concept of psychological well-being inarguably encompasses more cognitive

components (sufficient mental health) as well as more affective components (all remaining). Therefore, the concept of psychological well-being spans across all three boxes in Figure 1, even though it is mainly comprised of the affective component.

The second special case concept, *social well-being*, is tightly and directly linked to psychological well-being. Social well-being is commonly conceptualised as covering individuals' social capital and social participation, as well as their feelings of belonging (International Health Conference, 2002; Ruehlman & Wolchik, 1988). Additionally, social well-being refers to a behavioural component: individuals' positive as well as negative behaviours towards significant others, such as their family members, friends, relatives, and acquaintances (Cicognani, 2014; Larson, 1993). Again, the concept refers to factors that are of a more cognitive nature (social capital and participation), as well as factors that are more affective (feelings of belonging), and spans across all three boxes in Figure 1.

All the aforementioned conceptual considerations on subjective well-being are based on observations and theoretical arguments for *adult populations*. Child research is far from drawing upon a homogenous set of variables and constructs that are considered to measure 'children's subjective well-being' — a standardised, well-established conceptualisation and measurement strategy remains to be agreed upon. In sum, the concept of subjective well-being is a multidimensional construct with overlapping properties and ideas. Consequently, it is necessary to address and examine various (sub-)dimensions of subjective well-being to comprehensively analyse the consequences of parents' experiences for children's subjective well-being. Hence, paper 1 and paper 3 investigate children's psychological well-being with a primary interest in children's emotional and behavioural problems; paper 2 explores children's social well-being, focusing particularly on their prosocial behaviour and their peer problems; and paper 4 examines children's overall life satisfaction. The next section explores the possibilities and pitfalls of measuring children's subjective well-being from their own perspective that were of particular relevance to this dissertation.

2.2 Measuring children's well-being

Child indicators aim to monitor trends over time, compare populations or subpopulations, and guide or monitor the implementation of policies and programmes that promote the well-being of children (Ben-Arieh, 2008a). Just as indicators to assess adults' lives, child indicators comprise quantitative measuring methods (e.g., surveys) as well as qualitative assessments (e.g., interviews and observations). To date, there are no widely agreed upon measurements of children's subjective well-being. Yet, the child indicators movement has suggested and provided a number of child-adjusted scales in recent years (Ben-Arieh, 2005, 2008a; Casas & Rees, 2015). The call for a systematic, uniform measurement and monitoring strategy for children's subjective well-being has been repeated

by UNICEF more recently (Chandy et al., 2021). Due to this lack of clear-cut measures, this sub-section elaborates on relevant considerations when aiming to measure children's subjective well-being.

Evidently, it is necessary to capture *children's own* personal experiences, feelings, and perceptions of subjective well-being (Ben-Arieh, 2005, 2008a). Since subjective wellbeing is inherently subjective and varies from person to person, it is important to utilise appropriate methods and measures to gather information directly from the children themselves. Because children are still developing their vocabulary and their reflectivity, and because they undergo rapid, successive developmental stages, it is essential to consider their age, developmental stage, as well as their cultural background when designing questionnaires aimed at this target group (Borgers et al., 2000; Rees, 2017, p. 10). To this end, child well-being researchers developed a number of different survey techniques that are based on well-established techniques for adult populations. Quantitative approaches mostly rely on self-reported measures in questionnaires that often use rating scales. These scales are specifically designed for children and use child- or adolescent-appropriate language (Holaday & Turner-Henson, 1989; Hox & Borgers, 2001). To measure life satisfaction or happiness, questionnaires usually provide scales for children that either have a small numerical range with clear scale point labels or visual scales such as emoticon scales to ensure proper understanding and, in turn, reliable and utilisable measures of child well-being (González-Carrasco et al., 2015; Shields et al., 2003).

Children are generally able to express their own experiences and feelings when ageappropriate questionnaire techniques are employed. In early childhood (6–8 years), children typically develop the ability to provide more detailed information about their own emotions and well-being. At this age, they are able to answer simple questions on small-range rating scales as well as visual emotion scales to indicate their emotions, levels of happiness, or satisfaction (Borgers et al., 2000; Lobe et al., 2008; Suls & Sanders, 1982). In middle childhood (9–11 years), children's language and cognitive abilities already significantly improved, enabling them to provide more nuanced assessment of their emotions and wellbeing, for example in terms of slightly larger scales. At this age, children are also beginning to develop the ability to reflect on their own experiences and compare their own well-being to that of other individuals (Borgers et al., 2000; de Leeuw et al., 2004; Suls & Sanders, 1982). Finally, when entering adolescence (12 years and older), children generally have reached a sufficient level of self-reflection and abstract thinking to engage in in-depth discussions about their well-being and to express their emotions and overall life satisfaction on the well-known 10- or 11-point Likert scales that are also used in adult populations. At this developmental stage, adolescents are generally able to fully participate in surveys and interviews and to provide comprehensive insights into their subjective well-being (Borgers et al., 2000; de Leeuw et al., 2004; Lobe et al., 2008; Rees, 2017, p. 21).

Additionally, it has to be mentioned that doing research on children and adolescents is subject to strict ethical considerations and has to strictly follow informed consent protocols. These are in order to ensure and protect the privacy of children and adolescents who participate in scientific research projects, since they are considered to be particularly vulnerable. Generally, it is not possible to question, interview, observe, or survey children in any way without parents' or guardians' as well as the children's consent (Rees, 2017, p. 14).

Because children's lives are vastly determined by their caregivers or parents, their well-being cannot be examined without considering dependencies within the family environment.4 Children can be considered incomplete agents, that is, having limited autonomy and agency in their lives (e.g., Graf & Schweiger, 2015). Thus, it is certainly not possible to yield a thorough picture of their well-being without considering their parents, who are able to describe and determine their children's living conditions in more detailed and overarching interrelations. However, as can be seen from the conceptualisation of subjective well-being, children's subjective well-being is something that is inherent to themselves and can only be assessed through self-reported measures (Diener, 1994; Noll, 1989). Thus, it is vital to rely on children's self-reports when researching their subjective well-being and *complementarily* implement parents' reports. To do justice to the complex interrelations between parents' lives and children's subjective well-being, this dissertation takes a multi-informant approach: I use child-reported outcome measures on children's psychological, social, and overall life satisfaction and happiness while simultaneously making use of parent reports on the parent-side determinants of children's well-being. In paper 1, I compare the association between parent-reported depressiveness on parents' as well as children's self-reports of children's emotional well-being. Paper 3 employs mothers' reports of their work–family conflicts and mother-reported parenting behaviour to determine the effect of these determinants on child-reported psychological well-being. In contrast, papers 2 and 4 are entirely based on the child perspective and solely rely on child-reported measures of inter-parental conflict frequency, parenting behaviour, and family climate, as well as child-reported social and overall well-being. This approach enables a synoptic analysis of the parent-child interrelatedness (see Chapter 4 for an in-depth description of the analytical strategy).

.

⁴ Children are, of course, also dependent on adults in other environments, such as the school setting or their neighbourhood. However, research has shown the family setting to be the most influential and crucial setting for children's well-being (e.g., Dew & Huebner, 1994; Gilman & Huebner, 2003).

Moving on from the conceptualisation of children's subjective well-being, the next sub-sections outline theoretical approaches and frameworks that describe and specify the relationships between adverse experiences in parents' lives and various dimensions of children's subjective well-being.

2.3 Children's well-being and their environment

The first main research goal of this dissertation is to unveil whether adverse experiences in parents' lives, and in this sense children's environments, shape children's self-perceived subjective well-being, the second research goal is to explore whether the importance of family relations for children's self-reported subjective well-being varies across countries and with cultural context. Suitable considerations regarding the link between an individual's environment and his or her development can be found in one of the most cited and most utilised theories in child development and well-being research, Urie Bronfenbrenner's (1979) Ecology of Human Development, which is also referred to as ecological systems theory (short: EST). EST emphasises the complex, dynamic, and multisystemic nature of human development and highlights the importance of considering the interrelations of different social systems as well as their influences on children. Because the EST framework originates from developmental psychology, all theoretical arguments were originally concerned with children's development. Within the EST framework, development is defined as 'a lasting change in the way in which a person perceives and deals with his environment' (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 3). Modern developmental psychology extends Bronfenbrenner's definition of child development to comprise 'the growth and development, that is, [...] the physical, cognitive, emotional and social changes an individual experiences from infancy through to adolescence' (Levin, 2011, p. 337). Accordingly, a close relationship between child development and subjective well-being seems evident and should consequently follow similar formative processes. I thus argue that the suggested relations and mechanisms also apply to children's subjective well-being.

EST considers five distinct but interrelated systems that influence children's development (see Figure 2): the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem.⁵ First, the *microsystem* refers to the child's immediate environment. It encompasses direct, fact-to-face interactions between the child and significant other

⁵ The chronosystem captures the historical time a child lives in as well as how the child and his or her environment changes over time (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 28; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2007). This includes the child's own life events and transitions (e.g., parental divorce or transition between childhood and adolescence) as well as socio-historical events (such as the COVID-19 pandemic). The chronosystem is the only system that has not explicitly been addressed in this dissertation, as I refrained from taking an explicit life course perspective on children's subjective well-being.

individuals: family members, peers, and other adults, such as teachers or sports coaches (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 22). The interactions in the microsystem are the most influential for child development, especially in parent—child dyads. Affectivity and trust within the family microsystem are especially beneficial for child development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 218), whereas dysfunctional microsystemic relationships, such as child abuse, harm child development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, pp. 241-242). To apply this idea to children's subjective well-being, I focus on direct parent—child interactions and investigate the consequences of mothers' and fathers' negative and positive parenting behaviour for children's subjective well-being.

The second system is the *mesosystem*, which consists of relationships and interactions between individuals who belong to the child's microsystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 25). These interactions between others influence children indirectly via events and experiences of these individuals that, in turn, impact the direct child setting. A prominent example for the mesosystem is inter-parental conflict. Among others, EST classifies the parents' relationship with each other as mesosystem. Inter-parental conflicts, for example, exert a substantial negative effect on child development because the conflict indirectly impacts the parent—child interaction, even though children do not directly participate in their parents' face-to-face argument (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 212). Following these considerations, I explore the effect of inter-parental conflict on children's subjective well-being.

Third, the *exosystem* encompasses all social structures in which children do not actively participate themselves but that nonetheless shape their direct circumstances. Similar to the mesosystem, the exosystem exerts an indirect impact on the child by altering the micro- and mesosystem by determining children's daily experiences and shaping their life chances as well as available resources in the family setting (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 25). Maternal working conditions, for example, influence mothers' time resources and can cause inter-role conflicts. Experiencing work–family conflicts (inter-role conflicts that result from conflicting demands of being a mother and being an employee; see Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985) assumedly evokes distress, negative mood, and an overall more stressful home environment for the child, which ultimately impacts child development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 242). Consequently, work–family conflicts should likewise influence children's subjective well-being negatively.

Finally, the *macrosystem* refers to the broader cultural, social, economic, and political contexts of children's lives. It includes overarching characteristics of societies such as societal values, laws, and cultural beliefs (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 26). Because societal circumstances shape the individual set of values, norms, and opportunities available within the micro-, meso-, and exosystem, the impact of the macrosystem on children is of a rather

indirect nature but significant nevertheless. This dissertation puts a special emphasis on the cultural value climate children are brought up in: societal collectivism and individualism (Hofstede, 1984). Collectivism describes the extent to which individuals see themselves as part of an (in-)group or collective. In collectivist societies, individuals define themselves mainly by the norms and duties of those collectives. Individualism, in contrast, describes the extent to which individuals in a society prioritise their own goals rather than the goal of a collective. These societal self-conceptions have major consequences for individuals' social settings: while members of collectivist societies are tightly knit into their in-groups and have few social contacts with out-groups, the social setting in individualist societies is characterised by rather loosely knit relationships and quantitatively more social contacts with out-group members (Triandis, 1995, p. 2). Following the theoretical arguments proposed in EST, I pose the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Adverse experiences in parents' lives (i.e., parents' conflicts with each other as well as work–family conflicts) relate to children's subjective well-being.

Hypothesis 2: Cultural values impact the extent to which children's subjective well-being is associated with parent—child interactions.

Figure 2 summarises the relationships and influence paths described in EST. It further classifies the parent and society characteristics that are considered in Chapters 5 to 8.

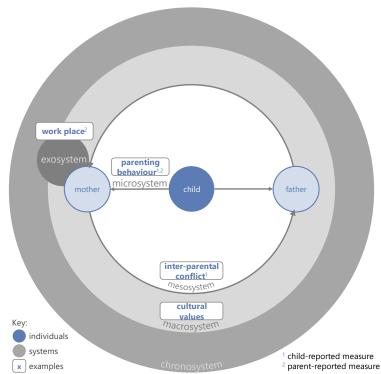


Figure 2. Application of ecological systems theory

EST is especially suitable to describe the multisystemic and complex interrelations between children's environments and their development and subjective well-being. However, the framework does not provide suggestions on the concrete mechanisms linking the different systems to children's development that can be reliably tested using survey data. Because the third and fourth research goals of this dissertation are to clarify the underlying mechanisms of the associations between parents' life worlds and children's subjective well-being, I additionally draw upon arguments from Albert Bandura's (1969, 1977) social learning theory (SLT) (see Chapter 2.4) in order to provide specific theoretical mechanisms that describe the intergenerational transmission of psychological and social well-being. Additionally, I derive theoretical arguments from the emotional security hypothesis (see Chapter 2.5) that specify the spillover mechanism from parents' adverse experiences in the meso- and exosystem to children's well-being via mothers' and fathers' parenting behaviour.

2.4 Intergenerational transmission of subjective well-being

Albert Bandura's (1969, 1977) SLT is an especially suitable theoretical framework to investigate the intergenerational transmission of behaviour because it describes a number of processes that lead to children imitating their parents' behaviour. From a sociological point of view, subjective well-being can be understood as social practice (Schatzki, 1996, p. 131). Social practices are defined as a 'temporally unfolding and spatially dispersed nexus of doings and sayings' (Schatzki, 1996, p. 89). This explicitly includes the verbal as well as bodily expression of an individual's experiences, sentiments, and feelings — in short, their behaviours (Schatzki, 1996, pp. 70-71). Individuals acquire the ability to express current conditions of their lives, such as their subjective well-being, through being exposed to others' doings and sayings. Consequently, learning a specific, socially required and accepted script of behaviour depends on other individuals. This idea is reflected in SLT by the concept of observational learning. It refers to the assumption that children⁶ learn through direct experiences and through observing the behaviour of other individuals and the consequences that result from these individuals' actions. Hence, children are able to acquire new skills, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours through observing other individuals. This process consists of four stages (Bandura, 1977, p. 23): First, children are required to pay attention to the behaviours and consequences of these behaviours executed by their role models to be able to imitate them (Bandura, 1977, p. 24). Otherwise, the observational learning process cannot be initiated. Second, children need to be able to remember the observed behaviours at later

⁶ SLT suggests that *all* individuals learn from observation. This observational learning behaviour can be found in children, teenagers, adults, and the elderly alike, but it is most strongly pronounced in toddlers, children, and adolescents because individuals are most formative in these developmental stages. Behaviour that has been acquired in earlier life stages is most deeply ingrained and the most strongly internalised.

points in time to be imitated because the social learning process is not immediate; children will take some time until they imitate observed behaviour (Bandura, 1977, pp. 25-27). Third, children need to be physically and mentally able to reproduce the observed behaviour; behaviours that are outside of the child's physical and mental skill set cannot be reproduced (Bandura, 1977, pp. 27-28). Fourth, children need to be motivated to imitate or repeat certain observed behaviours. They can either be motivated through rewards or demotivated through punishment. Thus, individuals who interact with children can enforce or prevent certain behaviours. Children will only repeat and internalise behaviours if the expected reward for an action is higher than the expected costs (Bandura, 1969, 1977, pp. 28-29, 36). In this regard, SLT is in line with behaviourist learning theories such as classical conditioning (cf. Bitterman, 2006) and operant conditioning (Skinner, 1963).

Similar to EST, SLT suggests that the social learning process is influenced by the environment(s) children are being raised in. According to SLT, there is a bi-directional relationship between child behaviour and child environment which is referred to as reciprocal determinism (Bandura, 1977, p. 9): child behaviours are considerably formed and influenced by personal factors (e.g., their own emotions, beliefs, and thoughts) and by environmental factors (e.g., parental reward and punishment practices or social norms, similar to the notion of micro- and macrosystems in EST). Simultaneously, children's behaviour will impact their environment, triggering the motivation mechanism described above: adverse behaviour can cause certain punishing behaviour, whereas desired behaviours elicit rewarding parenting behaviours (Bandura, 1977, pp. 36-39, 118-121). For example, children who display socially adverse practices such as behavioural problems or poor peer behaviour will face harsher parenting behaviour. Moreover, parents will adjust their parenting behaviour, including rewards and punishments, to the age and developmental stage of the child. More mature children will be increasingly socially sanctioned for undesired behaviours, while younger children will be treated more leniently (Bandura, 1977, p. 43). In sum, children need to cognitively be able to perform observational learning and in this sense be old enough and in a developmental state that allows these processes to unfold. Further, toddlers and preschool-aged children are likely treated differently than school-aged children and adolescents. For these reasons, this dissertation only includes children who are at least at school age and adolescents who fit the required developmental state. Consequently, I refrain from investigating children under the age of 7 years and children with mental disabilities.

SLT further specifies a formative process called *modelling*. Modelling refers to the fact that children are most likely to imitate the behaviour of so-called role models (Bandura, 1969, 1977, p. 22). Generally, these role models are individuals who regularly interact with the child. Children are more likely to adapt the behaviour of role models to whom they are

emotionally close and whom they perceive as similar to themselves; according to SLT, gender is a crucial factor with regard to these similarities. Children identify role models in a variety of social settings (Bandura, 1977, p. 44): while younger children's role models are mainly caregivers, parents, or close family members, the supply of potential other role models from non-family settings increases with increasing child age throughout adolescence. Children are most likely to imitate the behaviour of immediate role models whom they have direct contact with, such as teachers, peers, or sports coaches. However, it is also possible that children adapt behaviours of more abstract role models, such as characters on children's TV or celebrities and influencers they admire. The type of role model determines the observational learning process: the closer the relationship to the role model, the more efficiently the observational learning process evolves. Consequently, even though the bandwidth of potential role models becomes wider with increasing child age, parents remain the most prominent, most immediate role models in their children's lives and, in turn, stimulate the strongest social learning processes. Following this consideration, I argue that children's behaviour — and thus their expression of their own subjective well-being — is significantly influenced and shaped by their parents' subjective well-being and related behaviours.

Children learn through witnessing, and imitating their parents' behaviour has profound implications with regard to the intergenerational transmission of subjective wellbeing: children of parents with high levels of subjective well-being acquire a specific set of social practices that is not available to children of parents with low levels of subjective wellbeing and vice versa. Children of anxious or depressed parents are, for example, likely to adapt certain behaviours and might, in turn, express their emotional well-being differently than children from families with non-depressed parents (Bandura, 1977, pp. 65, 79-83; Schatzki, 1996, p. 131). Children from families that regularly communicate negative emotions might evaluate their own psychological well-being more critically compared to children from families that never communicate negative emotions because they adapted a different evaluation standard from their parents (Bandura, 1977, p. 134). The same is true for children's social well-being. Verbal aggression is a common example for the social learning process and modelling (Bandura, 1977, pp. 59-67, 85-87). Children from highfrequency-conflict families are likely to adapt conflictive behaviour as social practice and display it more often in other social settings than children from families that barely ever fight. This could result in differing evaluations of social well-being of children from highconflict families compared to their counterparts from low-conflict families because the evaluative standard is, again, judged against standards that were shaped by the parents' behaviour (Bandura, 1977, p. 134, 139). Following these elaborations, I propose the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 3: Children's observations of parents' mental problems and social conflicts result in an intergenerational transmission process of psychological and social well-being.

2.5 Parenting behaviour as underlying mechanism

The second research goal of this dissertation is to unveil potential underlying mechanisms that transfer parents' experiences from the parents' relationship (EST: mesosystem) and their work places (EST: exosystem) onto children's subjective well-being. The emotional security hypothesis (ESH) (Davies & Cummings, 1994) provides suitable arguments with regard to this aim. Originally departing from seeking to explain how marital conflicts affect children's emotional well-being, ESH provides a thorough description of the mechanisms and interrelations between parent-child attachment and children's emotional well-being (Davies & Cummings, 1994). ESH suggests that children's emotional security, that is, a secure parent—child attachment, is a crucial predictor of their emotional and overall well-being. The concept of *emotional security* refers to children's subjective perceptions of safety, trust, and comfort within the parent-child relationship. Emotional security thus expresses — inter alia — the child's perception of positive parenting practices, such as parents' emotional availability, responsiveness, and supportiveness when feeling distressed or threatened (Davies & Cummings, 1994; Saunders et al., 2015). Children develop a sense of emotional security that serves as the foundation for their socio-emotional development, impacting, for example, their emotional regulation and social skills when the parent-child attachment is secure. In contrast, children are prone to feel emotional insecurity when exposed to adverse parenting practices, such as inconsistent or unresponsive parenting behaviour (Davies & Cummings, 1994). Emotional insecurity can eventually result in emotional problems, disturbed emotional regulation, or peer problems. ESH describes the harmful cascade when children's emotional security is inhibited (Davies & Cummings, 1994; Davies et al., 2016a, 2016b): children generally aim to satisfy their innate need for emotional security in the relationships with their primary attachment figures, usually their parents or caregivers. When parents experience adversities such as emotional strain or conflict, this causes an adverse family climate. These unfavourable conditions in the family environment endanger the child's goal of feeling secure, and the child's feelings of emotional security are harmed. This feeling of emotional insecurity is ultimately reflected in deteriorating child well-being.

These general theoretical arguments of ESH can be extended through two related concepts: the spillover hypothesis and the compensation hypothesis (Engfer, 1988; Krishnakumar & Buehler, 2000; Staines, 1980). Similar to ESH, these concepts seek to explain the relationship between adverse experiences in parents' lives and child outcomes.

However, instead of focusing on adversaries in the family environment, these hypotheses focus on the effects of parents' broader living circumstances on the parent—child relationship. The *spillover hypothesis* proposes that experiences (e.g., conflicts and stress) in one life domain (e.g., work places) can spill over and impact parents' behaviour and functioning in other life domains (e.g., family). More precisely, conflicts experienced in non-family environments are likely to cause deteriorating well-being, negative emotions, increased irritability, or exhaustion in parents. These adverse experiences impair the parent—child interaction and increase negative parenting practices that result in adverse child outcomes (Krishnakumar & Buehler, 2000; Staines, 1980; Williams & Alliger, 1994). In contrast, the *compensation hypothesis* proposes that parents — instead of transferring negative experiences from one domain to the other — try to compensate for deficiencies and conflicts caused by non-child-related domains by investing more (time) resources and effort in the family domain, aiming to compensate for the negative impact on their children's lives (Engfer, 1988; Erel & Burman, 1995; Katrijn et al., 2017; Kouros et al., 2014; Staines, 1980).

Put in contrast, the spillover hypothesis suggests that negative experiences and emotions are transferred between parents' life domains, while the compensation hypothesis suggests parents employ coping mechanisms to dampen negative consequences for their children. Consequently, it is possible either that adverse experiences are followed by increased negative parenting behaviour in parents, for example in forms of a more negative communication style and less emotional warmth towards the child (spillover), or that they are followed by buffering effects in the form of an especially positive communication style and more affection (compensation). Based on these considerations, I test two opposing hypotheses concerning the consequences of adverse experiences in parents' lives for the parent—child relationship and children's subjective well-being:

Hypothesis 4a: Children's subjective well-being is harmed by adverse experiences in parents' lives because they spill over and increase negative communication and decrease emotional warmth towards the child.

Hypothesis 4b: Children's subjective well-being is not harmed by adverse experiences in parents' lives because parents try to compensate by decreasing negative communication and increasing emotional warmth towards the child.

2.6 Synthesis of the theoretical model

Figure 3. Synthesis of the theoretical arguments from EST, SLT, and ESH

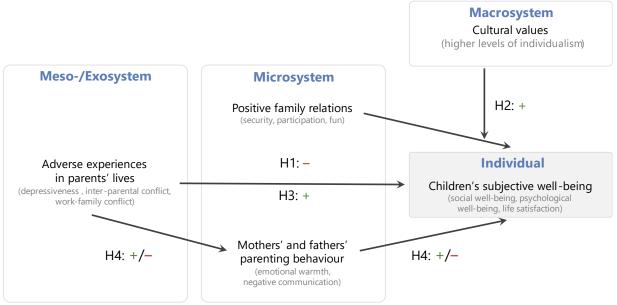


Figure 3 visualises the theoretical model and hypothesis of this dissertation that synthesises arguments from SLT, EST, and ESH (including the spillover and compensation hypotheses). When considering all the proposed mechanisms in this chapter, the following overreaching mechanisms that shape children's subjective well-being can be derived:

- (1) Children are impacted by their parents' behaviour and experiences in particular. Parents serve as the most important role models to children and provide emotional security. Thus, parents' behaviour promotes or harms children's subjective well-being.
- (2) Adverse experiences in parents' lives do not exert a direct negative impact on children's subjective well-being. Instead, these experiences influence children's subjective well-being indirectly by causing parents to change their parenting behaviour resulting from strain and stress. This behaviour change constitutes the underlying mechanism: negative experiences in parents' lives are either transmitted to children's subjective well-being via harsher, less warm parenting practices or compensated for via less harsh, warmer parenting practices.
- (3) The magnitude of the effect of positive family relations on children's subjective well-being varies according to the societal context they live in. Cultural values affect the extent to which children benefit from favourable family climates.

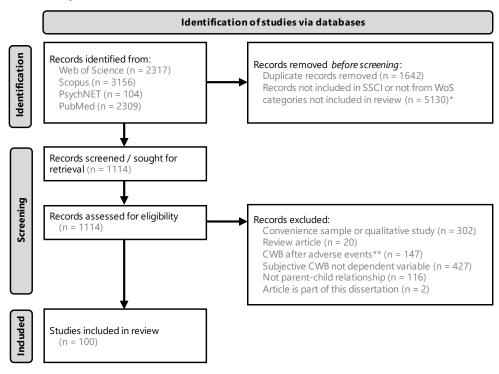
3 A review of the empirical literature on child well-being and parents' lives

This chapter provides a comprehensive overview of the quantitative empirical body of literature on the interrelation between parents' lives and children's subjective well-being. I first describe the identification and screening strategy that was used to gather relevant articles and then proceed with a description of the included body of literature with regard to the development of research interest in children's subjective well-being, the measure of child well-being, sample sizes, and countries of origin. I then present the consequences of the parent—child relationship, parent—parent relationship, parents' well-being (subjective, physical, and mental), and parents' working conditions for children's subjective well-being. The review concludes by outlining the research gaps addressed in this dissertation.

3.1 Identification process: Applying the PRISMA framework

The subsequent systematic literature review uses the identification process proposed by the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) 2020 statement (Page et al., 2021). Using the search string 'child* well*' OR 'child* life satisfaction' parent*', I derived articles from the literature databases Web of Science, Scopus, PsychNET, and PubMed on 31 December 2022. To be included in the literature review, the article had to be published in a journal that was (a) listed in the Social Science Citation Index and (b) in the Web of Science categories of family studies, sociology, social work, social sciences, social issues, and social psychology. Journal articles that were derived from Scopus, PsychNET, or PubMed were also reduced to journals that fit into the enumerated categories after retrieval. Additionally, all articles had to include at least one of the quantitative keywords 'Data'; 'Survey'; 'Panel'; 'Sample'; 'correl*'; 'assoc*'; 'regress*'; 'respondent'; 'participant', or 'analys*' in the abstract, title, or keywords to identify quantitative research articles. This procedure reduced the initial body of 7,884 articles to 2,754 articles. Finally, I cross-referenced the World Happiness Databank to supplement potentially missing articles; no further articles were identified. The exact number of included and excluded articles can be seen in the PRISMA flowchart in Figure 4.

Figure 4. PRISMA flowchart



^{*} Journal not listed in Social Science Citation Index, journal not in Web of Science categories family studies, sociology, social work, social sciences, social issues or social psychology or articles did not include selected quantitative key words

After removing duplicates (n=1,642), a total number of 1,114 articles remained for screening using a set of exclusion criteria. I only included quantitative research articles based on a population-based samples. Remarkably, more than one fourth (27.1%) of the body of literature relied on non-representative samples (e.g., convenience, quota, or Amazon Mechanical Turk samples); another 8.0% were qualitative studies. Moreover, 331 articles (29.8%) only examined parenting behaviour, parents' characteristics, or objective child outcomes, such as children's physical health, cognitive development, or academic skills. These articles were excluded due to not meeting the criterion of addressing any of the subjective components of child well-being. An additional 25.9% concerned child well-being in unstable living conditions, that is, incarceration of parents (3.3% of all exclusions), child well-being after divorce or union dissolution (5.6% of all exclusions), and child well-being in institutionalised settings such as foster homes (5.6% of all exclusions). Additionally, 116 articles were excluded from further examination because they did not concern the effects of the parent—child relationship, family climate, parenting behaviour, or parent—child interactions (11.4% of all exclusions) on children's subjective well-being. Finally, 20 review

^{**} includes parental separation, incarceration, living in non-family settings

⁷ Only one exception to this criterion was made. Studies that rely on data from the International Survey of Children's Well-Being (ISCWeB) are included in this literature review because the ISCWeB is the only cross-national dataset available to the broader scientific research community that specifically focuses on measuring and monitoring children's subjective well-being.

articles were excluded from this literature review. The final number of articles to be reviewed is 100.

3.2 Descriptive analysis of the included articles

Figure 5 shows the *number of articles* included in this literature review by year: the earliest article was published in 1998, but research interest remained rather low until 2012. From that year on, the number of published articles increased steadily and peaked shortly after the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2021. This development already points towards an increased scientific interest in children's subjective well-being in the recent decade. The vast majority of the articles rely on parent-reported child outcomes (n=75), whereas only about a third (n=32) makes use of children's self-reports.⁸ Among these, 10 articles incorporate parent- and child-reported measures of the children's subjective well-being.

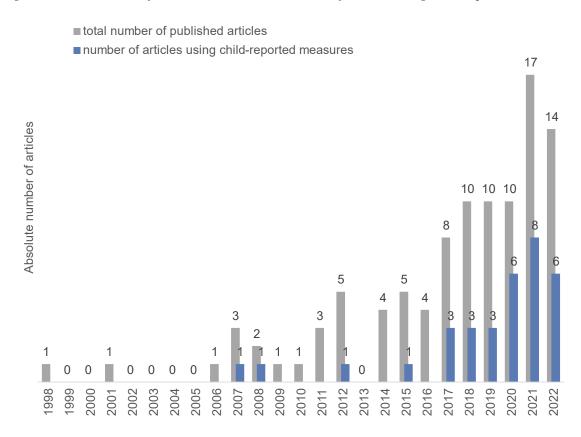


Figure 5. Total number of included articles and number of articles using child reports

The most commonly studied *child outcomes* are externalising problems (n=56) and internalising problems (n=57). Externalising problems include antisocial behaviour that violates social norms and can be either undirected or targeted at other individuals (Kauten & Barry, 2020). Articles in this group explicitly measure children's externalising problems,

⁸ Articles that make use of child-reported measures are marked with an asterisk in section 3.3.

such as the corresponding dimensions from the Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL; Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1991) or the Strength and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ; Goodman, 1997) or study outcomes such as children's aggressive behaviour, hyperactivity, or conduct problems. Internalising behaviour, in contrast, can be defined as problem behaviour that is directed inward, including mental problems, fearfulness, anxiety, worrying, and withdrawal (Hansen & Jordan, 2020). Consequently, articles that used the respective dimensions of the CBCL, SDQ, or other measures of mental or emotional problems are included in the internalising problems category. Children's externalising and internalising problems are commonly studied together; 44 articles include both dimensions of children's problem behaviour. Other dependent variables like children's peer relations (n=14) and life satisfaction and happiness (n=14) have received significantly less attention.

With regard to *determinants* of children's subjective well-being, the parent–child relationship was by far the most commonly addressed (n=61): 33 articles investigate the effect of positive parenting behaviour and experiences, and 41 articles examine the effect of negative parenting behaviour and experiences; 13 of these articles address both positive and negative parenting. Less commonly studied are parents' well-being (n=36), the inter-parental relationship (n=17), and parents' working conditions (n=10). The results in Chapter 3.3 are presented along these parent-related determinants.

The sample sizes employed in the quantitative empirical studies vary greatly: the minimum sample size is 190 children, and the maximum is 56,831 children. It has to be noted that 59 of the 100 studies included rely on one specific dataset: The Future of Families and Child Wellbeing Study (FFCWS). Other data sources are the International Survey of Child Well-Being (n=7), the UK Millennium Cohort Study, the British Household Panel (n=3), the National Survey of Families and Households (USA, n=3), the National Study of Child and Adolescent Well-being (USA), the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (USA), the Longitudinal Study of Australian Children, the China Family Panel Studies, and the German Family Panel (n=2 each). One paper each employed data from the US-American data sources National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, National Survey of Child and Adolescent Well-Being, the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study, The Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Survey, the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth (Canada), New Families in the Netherlands, The Singapore Longitudinal Early Development Study, and the German Socio-Economic Panel. Thus, it is not surprising that the results described in this literature review are heavily culturally biased towards Western, especially Anglophone, countries: 71 articles are based on data from the United States; six studies used data from the United Kingdom; three studies each are based on data from Australia and Germany; two articles each use data from Canada, China, the Netherlands, and South Korea; one article each is

based on Brazilian and Singaporean children; and seven studies follow a comparative approach and use cross-national data.

From these descriptive findings, the first four key takeaways arise:

- (1) More than half of the studies are based on parents' assessment of children's subjective well-being; it remains an open question whether these results hold true for children's self-reports.
- (2) The vast body of literature consists of studies that concern children's externalising and internalising problem behaviour. Children's social well-being and life satisfaction, in contrast, remain underexplored.
- (3) The majority of the studies are based on specific sub-samples from the FFCWS with a focus on financially disadvantaged families. Thus, the literature refers to a very specific population in the US context. Whether these findings hold true for children who are not living in a disadvantaged, low-income family and who are socialised and nurtured in a different cultural context remains to be investigated.
- (4) Finally, cross-national comparisons of the relationship between parents' live worlds and child well-being are scarce. Only 6 of the 100 studies employed cross-national data.

3.3 Results

Parent-child relationships

Parenting experiences, parenting practices, and parent—child relationships are by far the most researched predictors of child well-being. First and foremost, the studies in this literature review provide overwhelming evidence for a detrimental effect of *negative* parenting practices and experiences on children's subjective well-being. Physical child abuse (Jones et al., 2022*; Schneider, 2020) and maltreatment (Choi et al., 2019b; Hunt et al., 2017; Zhang et al., 2022*), especially corporal punishment, such as spanking, were repeatedly associated with higher levels of internalising and externalising child problems (Castillo et al., 2020; Gromoske & Maguire-Jack, 2012; Keyser et al., 2017; Ma et al., 2018; Petts & Kysar-Moon, 2012), irrespective of the frequency of the physical punishment (Ma, 2016). Maternal spanking was shown to be especially closely related to children's high levels of aggression, whereas paternal spanking is not predictive of aggressive behaviour in children (Lee et al., 2015). Corporal punishment has further been linked to children's peer problems, as it predicted bullying behaviour (Turns & Sibley, 2018) and the chance of being a bullying victim (Yoon et al., 2021). Beyond physical maltreatment, emotional maltreatment and emotional abuse have been related to internalising, externalising, and peer

problems of children (Chen & Lee, 2021; Jones et al., 2022*; Pei et al., 2022; Yildirim & Roopnarine, 2015).

Non-physical, punitive, and harsh parenting practices are detrimental to children's as well as adolescents' problem behaviour (Black, 2022; Flannery et al., 2023; Fomby & Musick, 2018; Kim et al., 2018; Shelleby, 2018); only one study found no significant relationship between harsh parenting of immigrant mothers and their children's externalising behaviour (Saasa et al., 2021). Harsh parenting has further been linked to negative affect (Pearce-Morris & King, 2012) and lower subjective well-being and happiness (Rees & Bradshaw, 2018*; Yerkes et al., 2021*). Another paper found reports on child maltreatment to be congruent across parent and child reports in whether maltreatment occurred at all. However, the type of reported maltreatment differed significantly. Aggressive behaviour in children was much better predicted by parent-reported maltreatment, whereas children's internalising problems were better predicted by child-reported maltreatment. This finding hints at potential reporting biases when it comes to the interrelation between adverse parenting behaviour and children's well-being (Zhang et al., 2022*).

Further, a *fragile parent*—*child relationship* and insecure attachment were associated with higher levels of externalising problems (Keyser et al., 2017) and worse social skills (Hong et al., 2022*). Finally, the literature identified parenting stress as a crucial risk factor for short- and long-term internalising and externalising child problems (Delany-Brumsey et al., 2014; Flannery et al., 2023; Lee & Schoppe-Sullivan, 2017; Li et al., 2020*), children's happiness (Jahng & Kim, 2022*), and children's social well-being; that is, parenting stress is related to less prosocial behaviour (Streit & Davis, 2022) and poorer social skills (Kim & Lee, 2021; Su-Russell & Russell, 2021*). This association has been found to be particularly strong when parenting stress occurs within the first year of a child's life (Berger et al., 2008), when paternal involvement is low (Kim et al., 2018), and in economically disadvantages families (Kim et al., 2019). Furthermore, evidence indicates that child care instability and repeated use of emergency or backup child care arrangements were associated with higher levels of internalising and externalising child problems (Pilarz & Hill, 2017). Only Bos et al. (2018) did not find significant associations between the parent—child relationship and children's problem behaviour.

In contrast, *positive parenting practices and experiences* (Newland et al., 2015*; Pearce-Morris & King, 2012; Shelleby, 2018), high co-parenting quality (Marchand-Reilly & Yaure, 2019), parental engagement and involvement (Artis, 2007; Fagan & Wildfeuer, 2022; Fomby & Musick, 2018; Gold et al., 2020; Wu & Qi, 2020*), parental warmth (Artis, 2007; Ma et al., 2018; Ma & Klein, 2018; Richter et al., 2022*), emotional support, and cognitive stimulation (Fomby & Musick, 2018) have been linked to lower levels of internalising and externalising problems, as well as better social skills, higher levels of

overall child well-being, and positive affect. Additionally, parents adapt to being parents and learn to co-parent more efficiently over time and thus report fewer behavioural problems in their children over time (Choi et al., 2019a). Enjoyable and frequent parent-child activities (Goisis, 2015; Lietz et al., 2020; Liu & Merritt, 2021) are also linked to better child wellbeing. For example, language-based bedtime routines (e.g., reading a book or singing together) are related to less internalising behaviour and aggression (Hale et al., 2011). Experiencing positive parenting practices during childhood is linked to fewer externalising problems in late childhood and adolescence (Awada & Shelleby, 2021*; Clark et al., 2019; Flannery et al., 2023). Evidence suggests gendered effects because fathers' involvement has been identified as a significant predictor of boys' but not girls' externalising behaviours (Marchand-Reilly & Yaure, 2019). Additionally, shared parent-child time is generally beneficial for children: regularly reading to the child and playing with one's child is associated with less problem behaviour (Goisis, 2015). Time spent with co-residing and nonresiding fathers is associated with fewer internalising and externalising problems (Gold et al., 2020) and better mental health (Roeters & van Houdt, 2019), whereas shared motherchild time seems to be less influential and only contributes to fewer externalising problems but is not significantly related to internalising problems (Fomby & Musick, 2018). Moreover, an overall good home environment (Newland et al., 2015*), positive family relationships (Bacter et al., 2021*; Lietz et al., 2020*; Newland et al., 2015*), and betterquality parent-child relationships (dos Santos et al., 2019; Lee, 2018*; Rees & Bradshaw, 2018*) have been shown to benefit children's emotional and mental health, life satisfaction, and peer relationships (Lee, 2018*). It is, however, necessary to note that socio-demographic factors, such as child gender, maternal race, and poverty status, shape the magnitude of the beneficial effects of positive parenting and family routines on child well-being (Liu & Merritt, 2021).

The findings on beneficial effects of positive family relations on children's subjective well-being from single-country studies are supported by six studies that took a *cross-national perspective*. Using data from the second wave of the International Survey of Children's Well-Being (ISCWeB), Bacter et al. (2021*) show that a good family climate indicated, for example, by having a good time with the family and being cared for by the parents, is positively associated to children's positive affect in 18 countries around the globe. Using the same data, Dinisman et al. (2017*) show that children from two-parent families are happier with their family relationships: they are more satisfied with their families, state more often to have a good time with their families, feel safer at home, feel more listened to, and report more often to be treated fairly by their parents compared to children living in one-parent homes. Finally, the authors find that children in two-parent families are more satisfied with their lives. This family—well-being link is further confirmed by Parkes et al. (2019*),

who used data from the UK Millennium Cohort Study and the US Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study to show that effective co-parenting strategies and parenting practices exert similar effects on children's externalising problems in both countries. These findings are in line with the results of two further studies, again based on wave two of the ISCWeB data. Kim and Main (2017*) provide evidence for a uniform, positive effect of children's family satisfaction on children's subjective well-being in the UK and South Korea; Nahkur and Kutsar (2019*) show that child-reported poor parenting, measured as seldom having a good time in the family and seldom feeling safe at home, is associated with lower mental well-being in 9 out of 14 countries. Rees et al. (2017*) provide evidence for Argentina, South Africa, South Korea, and Romania. This study indicates that children from rural and urban areas in these four countries barely differ with regard to family satisfaction, overall life satisfaction, positive affect, and psychological well-being.

Finally, parenting stress and parenting practices have been identified as a powerful mediator. First, parenting stress was shown to mediate the effect of food and housing insecurity on adolescent anxiety and depression (Hatem et al., 2020*), the negative effects of living in a chaotic neighbourhood (Pei et al., 2019), the effect of household as well as neighbourhood poverty (Kim et al., 2019), high maternal work schedule inflexibility (Pilarz, 2021), and child care insecurity (Pilarz & Hill, 2017). Second, positive parenting behaviour was shown to partially mediate the effect of parenting stress on children's externalising problems (Flannery et al., 2023). Bedtime soothing has been shown to mediate the association between maternal parenting stress and children's happiness (Jahng & Kim, 2022*) as well as the negative effect of inter-parental conflict on girls' internalising, externalising, and peer problems (Vandewater & Lansford, 1998). In contrast, negative parenting practices mediated the positive effect of inter-parental support on externalising problems (Parkes et al., 2019*), the effect of maternal depression on internalising and externalising problems (Turney, 2012), the effect of parents' work-related stress and neighbourhood collective efficacy on externalising problems (Castillo et al., 2020), the effect of mothers' witnessing community violence on child internalising problems (Chen & Lee, 2021), and even the effect of mothers experiencing community violence themselves on children's internalising and externalising problems (Zhang & Eamon, 2011). Fourth, successful co-parenting behaviour was identified as the mediator between maternal personal and psychological resources and child behaviour problems because it prevents harsh parenting behaviour (Choi & Becher, 2019). Only two studies found no mediating effect of patenting behaviour: the effects of low collective efficacy (Ma, 2016) and financial hardship (Saasa et al., 2021) on children's externalising and internalising problems were not mediated by parenting behaviour. Finally, there is some evidence that mothers' parenting behaviour is a stronger mediator than fathers' (Parkes et al., 2019*).

Parent-parent relationships

Besides the parent—child relationship, the parents' relationship to each other has been identified as a crucial factor for children's well-being. High interparental relationship quality, especially in terms of inter-parental supportiveness (Black, 2022; Goldberg & Carlson, 2014; Marchand-Reilly & Yaure, 2019; Parkes et al., 2019*), was repeatedly associated with fewer internalising or externalising problems of children. The results obtained by Ratcliffe et al. (2016) suggest that positive inter-parental relationship quality is positively associated with parenting behaviour, which, in turn, benefits child well-being, but only with regard to mothers' behaviour. Negative relationship behaviour such as exposure to partner violence (Casanueva et al., 2010; Huang et al., 2021*; Juan et al., 2020; Nicholson & Ha, 2022) or conflict between parents (Pearce-Morris & King, 2012; Petts & Knoester, 2007*; Vandewater & Lansford, 1998) is a strong predictor for internalising and externalising behaviour, peer problems, and lower levels of global subjective well-being. Marchand-Reilly and Yaure (2019) provide evidence for gendered effects on the child side; that is, parents' relationship quality is related to boys' but not girls' problem behaviour.

Parents' physical health, mental health, and subjective well-being

Parents' well-being was identified as another determinant of child well-being. Low levels of parental *physical well-being* were associated with lower life satisfaction of their children (Rees & Bradshaw, 2018*), and low levels of maternal health were associated with higher levels of internalising and externalising problems (Hardie & Turney, 2017). Finally, research suggests that parents' physical health acts as a mediator within the relationship between family stress and children's internalising problems (Quinn et al., 2014).

Not surprising, the literature review unveiled parental mental health as a crucial predictor for child well-being. Multiple studies provide evidence for a significant effect of parents' mental problems on children's subjective well-being (Powdthavee & Vignoles, 2008*) and children's mental health (De Luca et al., 2020*). *Mothers' mental problems*, depression in particular, have been associated with more externalising and internalising problems (Hunt et al., 2017; Keyser et al., 2017; Ma & Klein, 2018; Shelleby, 2018; Yeung & Li, 2022; Zhang & Han, 2021*) in two-parent as well as one-parent families (Carlson & Corcoran, 2001), worse psychological well-being (Dow-Fleisner et al., 2021*; Livings, 2021*), more peer problems (Perales et al., 2016), poorer overall social skills (Kim & Lee, 2021), and worse self-control (Jones et al., 2022*) of children. Maternal mental health problems further limit children's flourishing and school engagement (Uddin et al., 2021). Moreover, levels of depression and chronicity (Turney, 2012) as well as temporal proximity of maternal depression (Turney, 2011) are among the most important predictors of children's problems. The detrimental effect of maternal depression is particularly high for children in

vulnerable families (Perales et al., 2016), children of substance-abusing parents (Osborne & Berger, 2009), those in low social capital neighbourhoods (Delany-Brumsey et al., 2014) and older children (Marçal, 2021). The negative effects of maternal depression on children's well-being are further shown not to be buffered by socioeconomic advantages (Turney, 2011). With regard to child gender, evidence is ambiguous: While some studies find stronger effects of maternal mental health problems for boys (Powdthavee & Vignoles, 2008*; Turney, 2011), one other study finds stronger effects on girls (Livings, 2021*). Canadian evidence points out that maternal age matters within this association: depression of teenage mothers had a particularly strong effect on children's externalising and internalising problems, whereas the association dissolves with increasing maternal age (Kim et al., 2018).

Fathers' mental problems have received less attention but were related to children's externalising problems (Ayer et al., 2016; Osborne & Berger, 2009) and life satisfaction (Henderson et al., 2015). Especially postnatal distress in fathers seems to have long-lasting negative effects on child outcomes, as it predicts hostile and cold parenting practices that influence children's behavioural problems over and above the effects of concurrent paternal and maternal mental health problems (Giallo et al., 2014). One investigation that took maternal and paternal mental health into account found that fathers' mental health was a stronger predictor for child well-being than maternal mental health (Powdthavee & Vignoles, 2008*). While maternal depression and child problem behaviour seem to be linked bidirectionally to each other (Thompson & Henrich, 2022; Zhang & Mersky, 2022), this is not the case for paternal depression (Thompson & Henrich, 2022). Further, mothers' and fathers' depression do not seem to be intertwined bidirectionally (Thompson & Henrich, 2022). Another study contradicts the latter finding and shows that child well-being and paternal distress level are bidirectionally influenced in a negative intergenerational transmission process, where fathers' distress negatively affects their children's life satisfaction, which, in turn, increases paternal distress levels (Powdthavee & Vignoles, 2008*).

Besides these direct effects on child well-being, parental mental health has been identified as a powerful *mediator* within a number of intergenerational transmission processes: maternal as well as paternal depression act as a transmission link between parental discrimination experiences and children's depressive symptoms (Deng & Li, 2022*); maternal mental problems partially mediate the relationship between maternal working conditions such as work schedule inflexibility (Pilarz, 2021) or non-standard working hours (Strazdins et al., 2006) and child problem behaviour. They further serve as a mediating factor in the relationships between adverse living conditions such as financial hardship and neighbourhood cohesion (Saasa et al., 2021), economic well-being (Reinbold, 2018*), food insecurity and housing instability (Hatem et al., 2020*), or receiving welfare (Osborne &

Knab, 2007) and externalising as well as internalising problems of children. Parents' mental health further mediates the association between children's (social) environment, that is, the negative effects due to family structure (Perales et al., 2016), low social support and high family stress (Quinn et al., 2014), and low levels of learning stimulation (Kim & Lee, 2021), and children's internalising problems. One cautionary remark regarding potential reporting biases by parents was made by Dow-Fleisner et al. (2021*), who note that parents who do not experience mental health problems themselves might be less likely to detect symptoms in their children, and children of non-depressed parents might be less likely to communicate mental health problems to their parents.

With regard to parents' subjective well-being, research provided empirical evidence for an intergenerational transmission of subjective well-being itself: parents' life satisfaction is positively associated with children's life satisfaction, and paternal life satisfaction was shown to be a marginally stronger predictor for all children, whereas maternal life satisfaction was especially beneficial for children with moderate to high levels of life satisfaction (Clair, 2012*).

Parents' working conditions

Moving from family internal to external determinants of children's subjective wellbeing, parents' working conditions have been identified as a crucial factor. Overall, it seems beneficial for children to have parents who are in paid work, especially when mothers make a full transition from receiving welfare to being employed (Osborne & Knab, 2007). However, this association is not univocal: while in the US maternal employment within the first year after child birth is associated with higher levels of problem behaviour in Hispanic children, this was not the case for White and Black children (Berger et al., 2008). Adverse working conditions such as high levels of work-related stress (Castillo et al., 2020), high work schedule inflexibility (Pilarz, 2021), long commuting times (Borowsky et al., 2020*), and work-family conflicts (Roeters & van Houdt, 2019) have been associated with worse child outcomes. Research on the effect of parents' non-standard working schedules (working on weekends or nightshifts) on children's problem behaviour yields somewhat diverse findings: while Li et al. (2020*) find that maternal non-standard working hours are associated with more externalising and internalising problems in a sample of German children, Castillo et al. (2020) do not find significant associations between non-standard working hours and children's externalising and internalising problem behaviour in the US. In turn, the possibility of taking paternity leave has been shown to benefit child well-being (Yeung & Li, 2022). Overall, empirical evidence suggests that the effect of parental working conditions might be transmitted onto children by altering the parent-child relationship: stressful or unregular working conditions are associated with worse parenting behaviour and poorer parent—child relationships, which ultimately leads to lower levels of well-being and more behavioural problems of children (Borowsky et al., 2020*; Castillo et al., 2020; Strazdins et al., 2006).

3.4 Research gaps

In sum, the literature identifies four relevant predictors of children's subjective wellbeing: the parent-child relationship; parents' relationship with each other; parents' physical, psychological, and subjective well-being; and parents' working conditions. Overall, empirical evidence suggests that a positive social environment — positive parent-child relationships and positive parent–parent relationships — emerged as beneficial for children's psychological, social, and overall subjective well-being, whereas a negative social environment (including harsh parenting practices and a hostile family climate) was detrimental to all child outcomes. Parenting behaviour, a good and secure parent-child relationship in particular, not only emerged as a positive direct impact but has repeatedly been identified as a powerful mediation mechanism between adverse experiences in parents' lives and their children's subjective well-being. With regard to parents' well-being, there has been special scientific interest in mothers' and fathers' mental health. Impaired mental health, depression in particular, of parents was repeatedly associated with impaired psychological and social well-being of children. Finally, the body of literature suggests that parents' being employed at all is overall beneficial for children's subjective well-being. However, children's subjective well-being suffers from adverse working conditions because they negatively impact the parent-child relationship.

Table 1. Overview of all articles and articles that use child-reported measures in the literature review by topic

	Total number of articles	Number of articles based on US samples	Number of articles using child reports
(1) Parent–child relationship	61	45 (73.7%)	16 (26.6%)
(2) Parent–parent relationship	36	28 (77.8%)	8 (22.2%)
(3) Parents' well-being	17	14 (82.4%)	4 (28.6%)
(4) Parents' workplaces	10	4 (40.0%)	2 (20.0%)

Note: Most studies were related to two or more of the parent-related categories.

This dissertation will build on the outlined state of research and address research desiderata by

- (1) addressing the effect of the most relevant parent-related predictors the parent-child relationship, parents' relationship, parents' mental problems, and parents' working conditions relying on child-reported outcomes to expand our knowledge on whether children's self-reports are congruent with the primarily parent-reported literature
- (2) using children's self-reports on a broader range of subjective well-being outcomes to provide a multi-dimensional overview of the effect of adverse experiences in parents' lives on subjective child outcomes, including not only psychological well-being but also their social and overall well-being.

As demonstrated throughout this literature review (see summary in Table 1), childreported evidence is limited. Scholars, however, are aware of the potential reporting and social desirability bias in parents' assessment of children's subjective well-being, the parentchild relationship, and parents' adverse experiences and accompanying limitations when relying exclusively on parents' reports (e.g., Black, 2022; Casanueva et al., 2010; Pilarz, 2021; Vandewater & Lansford, 1998). Indeed, research has documented notable differences between parent and child reports in various well-being outcomes, such as children's health (Waters et al., 2003), but especially in subjective well-being outcomes, such as their internalising and externalising problems (Booth et al., 2023; Koskelainen et al., 2000), quality of life (White-Koning et al., 2007), and psychological well-being (Shek, 1998). Parent-assessed child well-being is prone to be biased by the parents' own experiences and sentiments. For example, parents who experience mental problems (Gartstein et al., 2009; Richters & Pellegrini, 1989) or stress and strain (Seiffge-Krenke & Kollmar, 1998; White-Koning et al., 2007) are likely to evaluate their children's well-being more negatively due to their own negative emotions and disturbed affectivity. This bias results in a tendency to overreport child problems and underreport children's well-being (Chi & Hinshaw, 2002; Gartstein et al., 2009). These findings underline the necessity to implement children's selfreports in subjective well-being research to accurately and directly measure and monitor children's subjective well-being. Moreover, when researching adverse experiences in parents' lives (e.g., inter-parental and work-family conflicts or mental problems) and socially undesirable behaviour (e.g., harsh parenting), parent reports might additionally suffer from social desirability bias (Bornstein et al., 2015; Putnick, 2019). Hence, implementing children's reports will likely provide more reliable estimates on the mechanisms that connect parents' experiences to children's subjective well-being.

As displayed in Table 1, the body of literature further mainly consists of studies that rely on parent-reported data from the US. Thus, this dissertation will additionally expand the current state of research by

- (3) testing the associations between parents' adverse experiences in depth in an institutional context that differs from the US and Anglophone setting, namely Germany
- (4) investigating the interrelation between children's family lives and their overall life satisfaction from a cross-national perspective to unveil cultural differences in this association.

Taking an institutional setting outside the US context into consideration will expand the current body of literature, as everyday lives in US-American families differ significantly from Germans'. With regard to families' time budget, children spend significantly less time in school in Germany than in the US (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2020; OECD, 2016, 2020), and parents' working hours are fewer in Germany than in the US (OECD, 2014). Thus, German children spend more time at home with their parents and are exposed more to their parents' adverse experiences, which might result in more detrimental effects on children's subjective well-being.

Moreover, values and norms surrounding family life in the US distinctly differ from many other Western societies. The US is one of the most individualistic societies on the globe (Hofstede, 1983; Hofstede Insights, 2023) but holds on average more traditionalist values compared to other Western societies (World Values Survey, 2023). For example, fertility rates (OECD, 2023a), marriage rates, and divorce rates are higher (OECD, 2023b) than Germany's and the OECD and EU average. Mean age at first marriage, in contrast, is lower (OECD, 2023b). Additionally, values and norms surrounding family life differ remarkably. US Americans are more likely to agree that it is a parent's duty to do the best for their child even at the expense of their own well-being and value more traditional attributes such as good manners, hard work, tolerance and respect for others, religious faith, unselfishness, and obedience in children more than Germans (Halman et al., 2007). Likewise, parenting behaviour in Germany is less strict and more relaxed, as authoritative and authoritarian parenting behaviours are less common in Germany, whereas permissive parenting behaviour is more common in Germany than in the US (Doepke & Zilibotti, 2019). Due to these distinct differences, the US cannot unconditionally be seen as the ideal type of Western society with regard to the relationship between family life and the subjective wellbeing of children. To address the current lack of culturally comparative research, I finally provide a broader, cross-national perspective and compare the effect of family relations on children's subjective well-being in different cultural settings.

4 Research design

This chapter provides an overview of the data utilised in this dissertation and introduces the items that were used to operationalise children's psychological, social, and overall subjective well-being as well as the parent—child relationship. I then describe, paper by paper, how the hypotheses derived from the theoretical framework and how the identified research desiderata are transferred to a research strategy. Table 6 concludes this chapter with an overview of each paper's objectives, data, and methods.

4.1 Data

German Family Panel (pairfam)

Chapter 5, Chapter 6, and Chapter 7 are based on the German Panel Analysis of Intimate Relationships and Family Dynamics (German family panel or pairfam). Pairfam is a longitudinal panel dataset funded by the German research foundation (DFG) that enables an in-depth investigation of the research goals proposed in Chapter 1. The data provide comprehensive information on parents' and their children's lives, encompassing a wide range of family-related topics, such as inter-parental relationship quality and conflict frequency, the parent—child relationship (e.g., parenting practices), parents' mental health, as well as information on children's subjective well-being from the parents' and the children's perspective (Reim et al., 2022). Annual data collection started in 2008/2009 (wave 1) and was carried out for 14 waves until the project ended in 2021/2022 (wave 14). Pairfam respondents were transferred to the newly introduced German Family Demography Panel Study (FReDA) after the project finished (pairfam, 2023).

The pairfam sampling strategy followed a multi-cohort, multi-actor approach: information was initially retrieved from a representative sample of 12,402 randomly selected individuals — referred to as anchor persons — born in three cohorts⁹: 1971–1973, 1981–1983, and 1991–1993. The initial pairfam sampling procedure was based on a two-stage stratified sampling process that sampled respondents proportional to the 343 German municipalities (for further information, see Brüderl et al., 2022, p. 4). Data were gathered employing personal interviews (computer-assisted personal interviews and computer-assisted self-interviews) as well as written interviews (pen-and-paper interviews; see Huinink et al., 2011, pp. 92-93). Panel attrition was high in the adult data (this includes the anchor and partner data; attrition rate varies between 6.7% in wave 9 and 22.7% in wave 2;

⁹ From wave 11 onwards, an additional fourth cohort born in 2001–2003 was sampled (Brüderl et al., 2023, p. 16). However, no anchor person of this cohort had children who were at least 7 years old and are not part of the child sample in this dissertation. Thus, this cohort will not be described in detail.

see Brüderl et al., 2022, p. 38). To counteract this negative sample development, respondents were offered a monetary incentive of 10€ in waves 1–8 and 15€ in waves 9–13. Additionally, pairfam drew a refresher sample in wave 11 that was followed until wave 14 (Brüderl et al., 2022, p. 8).

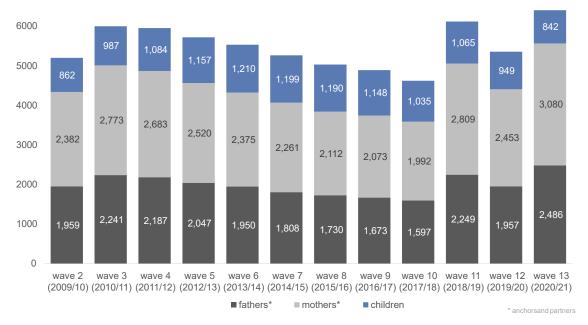
Besides data from the anchor persons, pairfam additionally collected information from the anchor person's alteri: their current partner and their children between the ages 7 and 16¹⁰ living in the anchor's household (Huinink et al., 2011, p. 93). Interviews with partners and children were conducted only after the anchor persons granted their consent. The partner interviews were implemented from wave 1 onwards, and child interviews were implemented from wave 2 onwards. Initially, pairfam only sampled the youngest eligible child in the household, including all biological, step, adopted, and foster children. From wave 3 on, all children who live in an anchor person's household were interviewed. The average interview duration of the child questionnaire amounted to approximately 15 minutes (Brüderl et al., 2022, p. 5). Participating children were incentivised with 5€ handed to them directly or to the corresponding anchor person (Brüderl et al., 2022, p. 7).

In this dissertation, all available anchor and partner data were restructured and split into mother and father samples. All relevant information from the parent data was then merged to information from the child data. Figure 6 shows the total number of participating mothers, fathers, and children per wave from wave 2 to wave 13¹¹. Overall, the size of the child sample increased steadily up until wave 12 because an increasing number of children grew into the eligible age range between 7 and 16 years as the waves progressed (see Figure 6). The sample development for anchor and parent data described above is mirrored in an overall decline of parent sample sizes between wave 3 and wave 10. This trend reversed only after the refresher sample was implemented in wave 11. In terms of absolute numbers, the child sample size remained largely unaltered by the refresher sample.

¹⁰ Initially, pairfam only sampled children aged 8 years and older; this age limit was lowered to 7 years and older in the course of the project.

¹¹ Due to the scientific use file for wave 14 being released after the final pairfam paper in this dissertation was submitted, wave 14 was not included in the sample overviews.

Figure 6. pairfam sample development



Note: unweighted distribution; own calculations.

Because all papers that are based on the pairfam data make use of at least two waves of the longitudinal data, ¹² Table 2 shows the overall distribution of the number of observations per individual across pairfam waves 2 to 13. Parents' and children's willingness to participate was generally high: about 80% of the parents and 75% of the children in the pairfam data participated at least twice in the pairfam questionnaire, and 65% of the parents and 54% of the children participated three times or more. Thus, researchers can use the longitudinal panel structure for a vast share of the relevant samples to conduct robust panel analyses. Over the 13 waves, pairfam provides 53,397 observations of 3,738 mothers and 2,518 fathers, and 15,941 observations of 3,823 children. Due to this unique data structure and the availability of children's self-reported subjective well-being and perception of their parents' behaviour, the pairfam data are particularly suitable to investigate the interrelations between adverse experiences in parents' lives, which can be derived from the parent data, and child outcomes.

¹² Because the pairfam-based papers in this dissertation were written and submitted between 2018 and 2023, the selection of waves included differs from paper to paper. The selection of waves was based on the data availability of the variables of interest. A detailed overview of all included survey waves per paper can be found in the overview in Table 6 in Chapter 4.4 and in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Table 2. Number of observations per sample category in the pairfam data (in %)

Number of observations per individual	Parents	Children ¹³
1	19.7	25.6
2	15.4	20.7
3	12.5	16.4
4	10.7	12.9
5	8.3	9.8
6	7.3	7.2
7	6.3	4.7
8	5.5	2.5
9	4.7	0.3
10	4.0	
11	2.9	
12	1.7	
_13	1.1	
n	53,397	14,941
N	3,738 mothers 2,518 fathers	3,823 children

Note: unweighted distribution; analyses include pairfam waves 2–13; own calculations.

International Survey of Child Well-Being (ISCWeB)

Paper 4 was based on the International Survey of Child Well-Being (ISCWeB). This survey project was initiated by the International Society for Child Indicators in 2009 and funded by the Jacobs Foundation (ISCWeB, 2023b). The project aims to collect representative data on multiple dimensions of children's subjective well-being and daily experiences from children's own perspective (ISCWeB, 2023a). Topic-wise, the data provide valuable insights into how children perceive and evaluate their own subjective well-being (including overall life satisfaction, overall happiness, and domain-specific satisfaction); their relationship with parents, siblings, and peers; their attitudes and behaviour towards a broad number of life domains; as well as their own perceptions of their economic circumstances and basic socio-demographic information, such as age, gender, and family structure.

The ISCWeB provides the unique opportunity to cross-nationally compare self-reported measurements of relevant aspects in children's lives (Dinisman & Rees, 2014), as the survey project was fielded in more than 30 countries from all world regions (a complete list of the participating countries per wave can be found in Table 3). The data collection was carried out by various country teams that followed a multiple stratified sampling strategy that accounted for country-specific regions, population density, and school type in order to

.

¹³ It must be noted that children cannot be surveyed more than nine times in the context of the child dataset, as the questionnaire is only applied to children and adolescents in the eligible age range. Children who outgrow the child data are invited to join the anchor data sets as step-up respondents (Brüderl et al., 2022).

achieve a representative sample of children in each of the participating countries (Rees & Main, 2015). Up until now, a total of four cross-sectional waves have been conducted. Wave 1 was fielded in 2011/2012, wave 2 in 2012/2013, and wave 3 in 2016–2019. A fourth, COVID-19 specific wave had been fielded in 2019–2022. Due to significantly differing circumstances within and between countries as well as differing interview modes, I did not include this wave in this dissertation, and it will not be described in this chapter. The ISCWeB data target children in three age groups that are constructed along the commonly known developmental states of children (see Chapter 2.2).

Data were collected in the school context via paper-based or online questionnaires. After the caregivers consented, the questionnaires were distributed by participating mainstream schools and answered in one of the school periods. This distribution strategy was chosen because the ISCWeB only targets children at ages where school attendance is mandatory. Thus, collaborating with the school yielded the best possible response rates (Rees & Main, 2015).

To ensure that the instruments are internationally comparable, the ISCWeB country teams first agreed on a common source questionnaire in English that was then translated into the respective language questionnaires, pre-tested, and, finally, re-translated into English to ensure that all questionnaires are sufficiently congruent and consistent (Dinisman & Ben-Arieh, 2016; ISCWeB, 2019). Additionally, the ISCWeB administers three different questionnaires that differ in overall length as well as scale types to ensure an age-appropriate data collection in terms of children's capabilities and the complexity of the measures used (Dinisman & Rees, 2014; ISCWeB, 2019). Table 3 provides information on the number of observations by wave and age group. Because the 8-year-olds receive a questionnaire with shortened and emoticon scales that are not comparable with the questionnaires answered by the 10- and 12-year-old samples, they have been excluded from analyses in the context of this dissertation.

Table 3. Sample overview ISCWeB

	Wave 1 ¹⁴	Wave 2	Wave 3 ¹⁵
Participating	Algeria, Brazil, Canada,	Algeria, Colombia,	Albania, Algeria,
countries	Chile, England, Israel,	England, Estonia,	Bangladesh, Belgium,
	Nepal, Romania,	Ethiopia, Germany,	Brazil, Chile, Croatia,
	Rwanda, South Africa,	Israel, Malta, Nepal,	England, Estonia,
	South Korea, Spain,	Norway, Poland,	Finland, France,
	Uganda, USA	Romania, Spain, South	Germany, Greece, Hong
		Africa, South Korea,	Kong, Hungary, India,
		Turkey	Indonesia, Israel, Italy,
			Malaysia, Malta,
			Namibia, Nepal, Norway,
			Poland, Romania,
			Russia, South Africa,
			South Korea, Spain, Sri
			Lanka, Switzerland,
			Taiwan, Wales, Vietnam
Number of countries	12/15	16/16	31/35
n 10-year-olds	15,360	18,449	42,534
n _{12-year-olds}	34,394	39,808	31,668
n total	49,754	58,257	74,202

Note: 8-year-olds excluded due to differing scales. Own calculations.

The sample sizes and number of participating countries increased remarkably across the waves: while wave 1 was carried out by 15 countries and wave 2 by 16, wave 3 was carried out by more than double at 35 countries. In this dissertation, a time-pooled sample across all three waves was utilised, yielding a sample of 39 countries that fielded information concerning the children's perception of their family relations as well as their self-reported life satisfaction.

Because the ISCWeB is the first international survey that specifically targets the collection of *self-reported* information on children's *subjective* well-being and experiences of their everyday lives, the data enable researchers to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the factors that contribute to children's overall life satisfaction. Additionally, the cross-national structure of the ISCWeB data allows to investigate (1) the individual-level effects of family relations on children's life satisfaction, (2) country differences, and (3) the moderating role of cultural values within this association. These properties make the ISCWeB data especially well-suited to analyse the impact of cultural values on the association between children's family lives and their subjective well-being.

¹⁴ Data from Romania, South Africa, and Spain had to be excluded from the analyses due to the questionnaires not containing all relevant items.

¹⁵ Data from Bangladesh, Germany, Israel, and Switzerland had to be excluded from the analyses due to the questionnaire not containing all relevant items.

4.2 Operationalising children's subjective well-being

Psychological and social well-being

In papers 1, 2, and 3, which are based on pairfam data, children's psychological and social well-being is captured by the sub-dimensions of the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ). The SDQ is a widely used and repeatedly re-evaluated and revalidated screening tool to assess emotional and behavioural difficulties of children and adolescents between the ages of 4 and 17 years (Goodman, 1997; Klasen et al., 2003; Youth in Mind, 2012a, 2012b). Overall, the full SDQ consists of 25 items that cover the five distinct dimensions consisting of five items each:

- (1) emotional problems cover feelings of emotional distress
- (2) conduct problems measures a wide range of behavioural issues
- (3) hyperactivity consists of impulsive behaviours and attention problems
- (4) *peer problems* capture difficulties in establishing and maintaining positive relationships with peers
- (5) prosocial behaviours cover positive behaviours towards others.

The 25 items are scored on a three-point Likert scale that ranges from 0 'not true' to 2 'certainly true'. To get a sub-domain score, the ratings for each item belonging to the sub-dimension are first summed up and then divided by the number of items assessed, providing a corresponding row mean score for the respective domain (Youth in Mind, 2012a, 2012b). Table 4 shows the exact child-appropriate wording of each item provided by the SDQ, sorted by sub-domain. In this dissertation, children's psychological well-being was operationalised using emotional problems, conduct problems, and hyperactivity. These sub-domains were used in Chapter 5 and paper Chapter 7. Peer problems and prosocial behaviour were used to measure children's social well-being in Chapter 6.

The SDQ is suited for a multi-informant approach because it is designed to be administered to parents, teachers, and children alike. The questionnaire is available in adult-or child-appropriate wording versions to ensure proper comprehension by each of these groups and across various settings. It has to be noted that the comparison of parent- and child-reported measures of the SDQ shows a higher internal scale consistency for adult reporters compared to children's self-reports (e.g., Goodman et al., 2010; Van Roy et al., 2008).

Table 4. Item description and dimensions of the Strength and Difficulties Questionnaire. Child wording

wording				
		Subjective well-being		
Sub-domain	Items	dimension		
	I would rather be alone than with others.			
	I have one good friend or more.			
Peer problems	Other people at my age generally like me.	Social		
	Other children or young people pick on me or bully me.			
	I get along better with adults than with other people my age.			
	I am kind to younger children.			
Prosocial	I usually share with others.			
behaviour	I am helpful if someone is hurt, upset, or feeling ill.	Social		
ochavioar	I often offer to help others.			
	I try to be nice to other people. I care about their feelings.			
	I am nervous in new situations. I easily lose confidence.			
Emotional	I get a lot of headaches, stomach aches, or sickness.			
problems	I have many fears. I am easily scared.	Psychological		
proorems	I am often unhappy, down-hearted, or tearful.			
	I worry a lot.			
	I get very angry and often lose my temper.			
~ .	I am often accused of lying or cheating.			
Conduct	I fight a lot. I can make other people do what I want.	Psychological		
problems	I usually do as I am told.			
	I take things that are not mine from home, school, or			
	elsewhere.			
	I am restless. I cannot stay still for long.			
II	I am constantly fidgeting or squirming.	D1111		
Hyperactivity	I am easily distracted. I find it difficult to concentrate.	Psychological		
	I think before I do things.			
N. Clill	I finish the work I'm doing. My attention is good.	C . I		

Note: Child-appropriate wording. The content of the parent version is congruent, but the name of the respective child is specified. The parent wording for emotional problems can be found in Table A1 in the Appendix.

This list of items in Table 4 shows that the SDQ is not a strict measurement of subjective well-being. Instead, the instrument combines affective components of subjective well-being, such as feelings of worry, anger, and unhappiness, with behaviours such as aggression and inattentiveness. However, as described in Chapter 2.1, psychological and especially social well-being are conceptual special cases of subjective well-being, which partly also comprise behavioural aspects. Given the comparative data availability in the pairfam data and the common use in the literature (see Chapter 3), the SDQ is the best available proxy for these subjective well-being dimensions.

Overall evaluation of subjective well-being

Paper 4, based on ISCWeB data, makes use of overall evaluations of children's subjective well-being. As discussed in Chapter 2.2, children are approximately able to evaluate more complex feelings and utilise larger scales from middle childhood onwards. Thus, children's overall life satisfaction is assessed using a self-reported measure that reads

'How satisfied are you with your life as a whole?' Children rate their overall life satisfaction on a scale from 0 'not at all satisfied' to 10 'totally satisfied'. Thus, higher scores indicate higher levels of subjective well-being.

4.3 Operationalising the parent-child relationship

The parent–child relationship can be defined as 'the unique and influential relations between parents and their children' (Mihalec-Adkins, 2020). This relationship is especially shaped by mothers' and fathers' parenting behaviour. Positive parenting practices are generally associated with better parent–child relationships, whereas negative parenting practices harm the relationship (e.g., Baumrind, 1991). Thus, the parent–child relationship is operationalised as mothers' and fathers' parenting behaviour in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 (both based on pairfam data).

Pairfam provides child- as well as parent-reported parenting behaviour for both parents separately. The introduction text to the parenting style module reads 'How often does [name of parent] do the following things?' in the child questionnaire and 'How often do the following things happen between you and your daughter/son?' in the parenting questionnaire that is answered by each of the parents separately. This dissertation makes use of one positive dimension of parenting behaviour (emotional warmth) and one negative dimension (negative communication). The items that measure *emotional warmth* aim to capture parents' affirmative attention and care (Jaursch, 2003), whereas negative communication covers harsh verbal behaviour towards the child (Schwarz et al., 1997). Both parenting styles are comprised of three items that are rated on a five-point Likert scale that includes the answer options 1 'never', 2 'seldom', 3 'sometimes', 4 'often', and 5 'very often'. In Chapter 6 and Chapter 7, the scores of each dimension were summed up and then divided by the number of items answered to construct a row mean score that ranged from 1 to 5. Consequently, higher scores indicated a higher prevalence of emotional warmth or negative communication. Table 5 shows the exact wording that was administered.

Table 5. Wording of child- and parent-reported parenting behaviour

	Child wording	Parent wording
Emotional	[Name parent] shows you that	You show your child with words and
	he/she likes you.	gestures that you like him/her.
	[Name parent] tries to cheer you up	You cheer up your child when
warmth	when you are sad.	he/she is sad.
	[Name parent] praises you.	You praise your child.
	[Name parent] criticises you.	You criticise your child.
Nagativa	[Name parent] yells at you because	You yell at your child because
Negative communication	you did something wrong.	he/she did something wrong.
	[Name parent] scolds you because	You scold ¹⁶ your child because you
	he/she is angry at you.	are angry at him/her.

The parent–child relationship is, however, shaped by more factors than just parenting behaviour, especially with increasing age (Mihalec-Adkins, 2020). It further includes factors such as emotional attachment and security as well as autonomy. Thus, Chapter 8 (based on ISCWeB data) introduces a broader measurement of family relations as a more comprehensive indicator for the parent-child relationship. I construct an index that captures children's feelings of attachment, security, and autonomy within the parent-child relationship that was introduced by the question 'How much do you agree with each of these sentences?' The items read 'We have a good time together in my family', 'I feel safe at home', and 'My parent(s) listen to me and take what I say into account.' Each of these statements was rated on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 'I do not agree' to 5 'I totally agree'. Again, a row mean score was constructed so that higher values on the index indicate a better parent-child relationship. Because Chapter 8 uses a cross-national comparative approach, it was essential to find a measure that is sufficiently reliable in all countries included in the analysis. The statements listed above were the only ones that were asked in each of the countries and that provided a sufficient index reliability (in terms of the reliability coefficient Cronbach's a) in all countries studied. A detailed list of index reliability by country is provided in Table A2 in the Appendix.

¹⁶ The German item reads 'Sie beschimpfen Ihr Kind, wenn Sie wütend auf es sind'. The German verb 'beschimpfen' carries a note of the English 'to insult'.

4.4 Objectives and approaches of the four papers

In Chapter 2, I derived five hypotheses and three overarching mechanisms that describe the underlying link between parents' experiences and children's subjective well-being. These mechanisms are in line with the theoretical arguments outlined in Chapter 2 and the quantitative empirical evidence presented in Chapter 3. The systematic literature review revealed four main parent-related determinants of children's subjective well-being: the parent—child relationship, the parent—parent relationship, parents' well-being, and parents' working conditions. Likewise, it showed that the majority of the current body of literature is founded on parent-reported child outcomes from Anglophone countries. The four papers included in this dissertation aim to test

- (1) the interrelation between parents' experiences and children's subjective wellbeing using child-reported measures to fill the research gaps identified in Chapter 3
- (2) the effect of the four identified parent-related determinants on children's selfreported subjective well-being and make use of a broader variety of child outcomes, including psychological, social, and cognitive subjective well-being
- (3) the known mechanisms in a non-Anglophone setting (Germany) and additionally provide evidence for the link between the parent–child relationship and children's subjective well-being in 39 countries from a cross-national perspective.

The first paper (Chapter 5), entitled 'Parental depressiveness and children's emotional problems' (co-authored by Matthias Pollmann-Schult), is theoretically based on SLT and explores the intergenerational transmission of psychological well-being by longitudinally assessing the relationship between mothers' and fathers' depressiveness and children's psychological well-being (H3). It further aims to demonstrate the differing perception of children and parents when it comes to children's lives, with a special focus on gender-specific and age-specific transmission effects. We argue that maternal and paternal depressiveness is associated with higher levels of emotional problems in children but that this association is stronger when children's emotional problems are reported by the parents. Additionally, we argue, based on SLT, that girls are especially sensitive to maternal depressiveness, while boys are more receptive of paternal depressiveness. We additionally hypothesise that children are impacted more strongly by both parents' depressiveness compared to adolescents. Using data for 1,586 children (6,454 observations) from waves 2 to 13 of pairfam, we employ fixed-effects regressions and group comparisons to explore the differences between parent-reported and child-reported well-being for the total sample and

by child gender and age. Overall, the results indicate that parents' depressiveness is positively associated with children's emotional problems, suggesting an intergenerational transmission of psychological well-being. The group comparison models demonstrate, however, that the assessments of the three reporting agents are far from congruent: the results indicate a strong parental reporter bias. This finding is supported by an inter-rater reliability analysis. Additionally, the group comparisons unveil that a gendered transmission effect is only prevalent in male dyads, not in female ones. Finally, the age comparison reveals that maternal depressiveness is associated with children's emotional problems at all ages, whereas paternal depressiveness is not.

The second paper (Chapter 6), entitled 'Effects of inter-parental conflict on children's social well-being and the mediation role of parenting behaviour', examines the effect of inter-parental conflict frequency on children's social well-being from a longitudinal perspective. It examines the effect of increasing child-perceived inter-parental conflict frequency — proxying child-perceived parental social well-being — on children's social well-being (H1) and the intergenerational transmission of social well-being (H3), and it investigates whether the adverse effect of inter-parental conflict frequency is transmitted via mothers' and fathers' parenting behaviour (H4a and H4b). Based on theoretical arguments from SLT and ESH, I argue that increasing inter-parental conflict (the child's mesosystem) is associated with lower social well-being in children but that it is not the conflict itself but rather a negative spillover effect of the parent-parent relationship to the parent-child relationship that relates to children's social well-being. The analytical sample consists of 1,157 (n=4,016) children aged 7 to 16 who participated at least two times in pairfam between waves 8 and 12. In order to unveil the underlying mechanism that determines the longitudinal association between inter-parental conflict and children's social well-being, I employed fixed effects regressions and regression-based mediation analyses. The results suggest that increased inter-parental conflict is strongly related to increased peer problems and decreased prosocial behaviour in children and to decreased emotional warmth and increased negative communication towards the child. The results further show that increasing inter-parental conflict is indeed harmful for children's social well-being but that the association is strongly mediated by mothers' and fathers' parenting behaviour. A conflict between parents leads to less warm parenting and more negative communication — this mechanism hints at a spillover effect from parents' to children's social well-being.

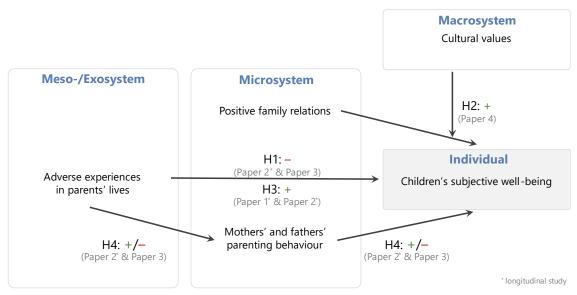
The third paper (Chapter 7), entitled 'Associations between mothers' work–family conflict and children's psychological well-being: the mediating role of mothers' parenting behavior' (co-authored by Matthias Pollmann-Schult), investigates the effect of maternal work–family conflict on children's psychological well-being (H1) and whether this relationship is mediated via mothers' parenting behaviour (H4a and H4b). The theoretical

foundation of paper 2 was derived from EST: we argue that work–family conflicts, which are located at the child's exosystem, negatively impact children's psychological well-being but that this effect is mainly due to the negative effect of maternal stress and strain that worsens mothers' parenting behaviour. We hypothesise that less maternal emotional warmth and more negative communication are the underlying link between work–family conflicts and children's psychological well-being. The analyses are based on wave 6 and wave 8 of the pairfam data, and the analytical sample is comprised of 1,279 (1,781 observations) children aged between 8 and 16 years. Pooled OLS regressions and regression-based mediation analyses reveal that work–family conflict is associated with lower psychological well-being in children and worse parenting behaviour of mothers (i.e., lower emotional warmth and more negative communication). Parenting behaviour emerged again as a powerful mediator. According to the mediation analysis, mothers who experience work–family conflict apply harsher parenting behaviour, which is the underlying mechanism that harms children's psychological well-being.

The fourth and final paper (Chapter 8), entitled 'The impact of cultural values on the association between family relations and children's life satisfaction: a comparison across 39 countries', investigates the effect of family relations on children's overall life satisfaction from a cross-national perspective. Data for this study come from three waves of the ISCWeB data that provide information of 129,018 children from 39 countries. In this paper, I investigate whether the effect of good family relations is equally beneficial for children from different country settings or whether the beneficial effect is shaped by cultural values (i.e., collectivism and individualism) on the country level (H2). The theoretical framework of this paper is based on arguments from EST and cross-cultural psychology. I argue that children from collectivist countries are more reliant on good family relations compared to children from individualistic countries because they are more strongly impacted by their primary ingroup — the family — compared to children from individualistic countries. To test this assumption, I first provide descriptive analyses that concern the overall distribution of children's subjective well-being for each country, with special emphasis on the comparison between individualistic and collectivist countries. I then proceed with pooled single-country OLS regressions to determine the effect of family relations on children's life satisfaction in each of the countries. I finally employ time-pooled multilevel regression analysis with a cross-level interaction between family relations on the individual level and the Individualism Index provided by Hofstede Insights (2023) on the country level. The results suggest that good family relations are generally beneficial for children's subjective well-being but that the effect varies remarkably between countries. The multilevel regression model contradicts initial expectations and reveals that children in collectivist countries benefit in general less from good family relations compared to their counterparts from individualistic countries.

Children from individualistic countries suffer, in contrast, especially hard from bad family relations.

Figure 7. Overview of the research design



In sum, the four papers that are part of this dissertation address each of the relevant parent-related determinants (parent—child relationship, parent—parent relationship, parental well-being, and parents' workplaces) identified in the systematic literature review. The effect of parents' adverse experiences on children's subjective well-being is tested using a wide range of subjective child outcomes that range from children's self-reported psychological and social problems to global subjective well-being. Figure 7 visualises the application of the theoretical model presented in Chapter 2 and its implementation in the overall research design of this dissertation. Table 6 additionally provides a short overview of the main objectives, subjective well-being dimension, parental adverse experience that is addressed, as well as the paper-specific research design, data, and methods for each of the four papers.

In conclusion, each of the hypotheses (bar H2) and overarching mechanisms outlined in Chapter 2 are tested using

- (1) at least two different subjective well-being dimensions
- (2) longitudinal data and modelling techniques in at least one of the papers
- (3) national and cross-national data

in order to provide novel and in-depth overall insights into the complex interrelations between parents' experiences and children's subjective well-being (see Figure 7).

Table 6. Overview of the empirical papers

	Paper 1 (Chapter 5)	Paper 2 (Chapter 6)	Paper 3 (Chapter 7)	Paper 4 (Chapter 8)		
Short title	Parents' depressiveness	Inter-parental conflict	Maternal work-family conflict	Family relations and cultural values		
Objectives	Examining whether parents' depressiveness is associated with children's emotional problems and testing whether the strength of the association between parents' depressiveness and children's emotional well-being differs according to reporter (parents vs. child)	Investigating whether the association between increased inter-parental conflict frequency and children's peer problems and prosocial behaviour is mediated by parents' emotional warmth and negative communication	Analysing the mediating effect of maternal harsh parenting behaviour on the relationship between maternal work—family conflict and children's behaviour and emotional problems	Investigating whether the effect of good family relations on children's life satisfaction is sensitive to the cultural value climate children are living in		
Well-being dimension	Psychological well-being	Social well-being	Psychological well-being	Overall subjective well-being		
Dependent variable	Emotional problems (SDQ)	Peer problems (SDQ) Prosocial behaviour (SDQ)	Conduct problems (SDQ) Hyperactivity (SDQ) Emotional problems (SDQ)	Life satisfaction		
Independent variable	Mothers' and fathers' depressiveness	Inter-parental conflict frequency	Mother's work-family conflict	Family relations		
Mediator/ moderator	Child age Child gender	Mothers' and fathers' emotional warmth and negative communication	Mothers' emotional warmth and negative communication	Individualism Index		
Data (field time)	Pairfam, waves 2–13 (2009–2021)	Pairfam, waves 8–12 (2015/16–2019/20)	Pairfam, waves 6 (2013/14) and 8 (2015/16)	ISCWeB, waves 1–3 (2016–2019)		
Sample size	1,586 children 6,454 observations	1,157 children 4,016 observations	1,279 children 1,781 observations	129,018 children 129,018 observations		
Child age	7–16 years	7–16 years	8–16 years	10–14 years		
Country	Germany	Germany	Germany	39 countries, global sample		
Methods	Longitudinal Fixed-effects panel regression Group comparisons Interrater reliability analysis	Longitudinal Fixed-effects panel regression Mediation analysis	Cross-sectional Pooled OLS regression Mediation analysis	Cross-sectional Pooled multi-level regression Moderation analysis		

5 Comparing Parent and Child reports – Parents' depressiveness

Paper 1: Parental Depressiveness and Children's Emotional Problems

Abstract

This study used panel data to examine the longitudinal effect of maternal and paternal depressiveness on children's emotional well-being. The main purpose was to examine whether the strength of this association differs depending on whether parents or children themselves assessed child emotional well-being. Based on data on 1,586 children from the German Family Panel (pairfam), our findings show much stronger associations between parental depressiveness and children's emotional problems when using parent-reported measures of emotional problems than when using child-reported measures, indicating a negative mood bias in parent reports. The findings emphasize the importance of taking children's self-reports into account when studying child well-being.

Introduction

Parents' mental health is a crucial predictor of children's emotional well-being. Numerous studies have found associations between parental depression and a broad range of issues in children and adolescents, including emotional and behavioural problems, developmental impairments, and even depression in children themselves (e.g., Flouri et al., 2019; Gutierrez-Galve et al., 2015; Shelton & Harold, 2008).

Despite much recent research in this area, various aspects of the association between parental depression and child problems remain underexplored. The first major blind spot is the role of paternal depression. Many earlier studies focused on depression in mothers only (e.g., Flouri et al., 2017; Pawlby et al., 2009; Sutter-Dallay et al., 2011), even though theoretical arguments postulate distinct negative effects of paternal depression on children's behaviour and well-being. The few studies that have taken paternal depression into account suggest that paternal depression has its own distinct effect on children's emotional problems (Fletcher et al., 2011; Sweeney & MacBeth, 2016). Several studies have also stressed that the omission of paternal depression severely limited their analyses and have called for the inclusion of fathers in future research (e.g., Alsmeier & Schulz, 2020; Luoma et al., 2001).

The second research gap arises from the focus of many previous studies on U.S. contexts and data (e.g., Conroy et al., 2012; Flouri et al., 2019; Turney, 2011). It is still unknown whether findings from these studies hold for countries with different cultural, political, and social contexts. Moreover, many existing studies were based on cross-sectional data (e.g., Korhonen et al., 2012; Nadeem et al., 2018; Ringoot et al., 2015), rendering them prone to bias due to unobserved heterogeneity: Unobserved individual-level and family-level factors (such as past traumatic experiences and genetic predispositions) can affect children's problems and parents' mental health alike, confounding the association between parental depression and child problems.

Finally, the vast majority of previous studies relied on parental assessments of child well-being (e.g., Brennan et al., 2000; Kiernan & Huerta, 2008; Nadeem et al., 2018). This approach is also prone to producing biased results: Parents' assessments are likely to be influenced by their own sentiments (Gartstein et al., 2009; Seiffge-Krenke & Kollmar, 1998; Waters et al., 2003). Several studies have noted that the absence of children's self-reports constitutes a limitation of their own research or have highlighted this as a direction for future research (Barker et al., 2012; Gutierrez-Galve et al., 2015; Kvalevaag et al., 2013; Nikolaou, 2017).

To address these research gaps, the present study addresses two distinct research questions. The first of these, 'Do changes in mothers' and fathers' depression affect changes in children's emotional problems?' (RQ1), provides longitudinal evidence from a non-

Anglophone country—Germany—while shedding light on the effects of depressiveness in both parents instead of focusing on one parent. The second research question, 'Are the effects of changes in parents' depressiveness on changes in children's emotional problems congruent across parents' and children's reports?' (RQ2), adds children's own perceptions to the picture. By comparing the effect of parental depressiveness on fathers', mothers', and children's assessments of child emotional problems, this study seeks to detect potential reporting bias.

Background and Hypotheses

Several theoretical frameworks have been developed to elucidate the causal mechanisms underlying the effect of parental depression on child well-being. Emotional security theory (EST), proposed by Davies and Cummings (1994), posits that negative feelings within the family environment can trigger a cascade of negative events. Children generally pursue the goal of feeling emotionally safe and secure in their home. When they are repeatedly exposed to emotional strain and other negative feelings (such as parental depressiveness, conflicts, or, more generally, a living environment characterized by negative moods and feelings), this goal is at risk. This, in turn, poses a severe threat to children's mental health. EST refers to the social transmission mechanism identified by previous research (Goodman, 2020). Children of depressed parents are more often exposed to social risk factors such as family dysfunction and to higher levels of inter-parental conflict than children of non-depressed parents (e.g., Herwig et al., 2004; Kim & Wickrama, 2022; Schudlich et al., 2019). Depressiveness in parents leads to adverse parenting practices (e.g., less warm and involved parenting, more aggressive and emotionally unresponsive behaviour), increased parenting difficulties, negative affect toward family members, and overall negative social behaviour (e.g., Ferro & Boyle, 2015; Mustillo et al., 2011; Suldo & Huebner, 2004). These consequences of parental depression decrease child well-being (Downey & Coyne, 1990; Goodman, 2020; Goodman & Gotlib, 1999). Hence, our first hypothesis reads, 'Depressiveness in mothers and fathers is associated with emotional problems in their children' (H1).

The effect of parental depression on child well-being may be sensitive to parents' and children's gender. Social learning theory (SLT; Bandura, 1969) suggests that children and adolescents acquire certain personality traits and behaviours through observing and interacting with role models with whom they have frequent contact. As these role models are often gender-specific, SLT assumes that transmission effects in same-sex dyads (mother-to-daughter and father-to-son) are stronger than those in opposite-sex dyads. Existing studies, however, provide mixed evidence of intergenerational transmission within same-sex dyads: While some studies provide evidence that the intergenerational transmission of well-being is particularly strong in same-sex dyads (e.g., Andreas et al., 2018; Mastellou &

Tantaros, 2022; Windle & Windle, 2012), others report no gender-specific effects (e.g., Korhonen et al., 2012; Maselko et al., 2016; Pizeta et al., 2018). Hence, we aim to provide further insights into potential gender-specific transmission processes by testing the hypothesis 'Maternal depressiveness has a stronger association with girls' emotional problems than with boys' emotional problems, and paternal depressiveness has a stronger association with boys' emotional problems than with girls' emotional problems' (H2).

SLT further suggests that parents' behaviour affects the well-being of younger children more than that of older children, because younger children spend significantly more time with their parents than older children and adolescents, who have a broader variety of other role models, such as teachers and sports coaches (Bandura, 1969, 1977; Larson & Verma, 1999). We therefore hypothesized that 'Parental depressiveness is more strongly associated with emotional problems in younger children than in adolescents' (H3).

Finally, the estimated effect of parental depression on child emotional problems may be sensitive to the reporter of child well-being. The depression-distortion hypothesis (DDH; Gartstein et al., 2009; Richters & Pellegrini, 1989) assumes that negative emotions and disturbed affectivity among depressed parents influence parental perceptions of child behaviour and well-being, yielding a negative bias in parents' reports due to their own negative feelings and moods. Consequently, depressed parents may evaluate their children more critically or negatively than non-depressed parents and may tend to overreport child problems (Chi & Hinshaw, 2002; Gartstein et al., 2009). We therefore assume that the strength of the association between parental depressiveness and child emotional problems will differ depending on whether emotional well-being is based on self-reported indicators or parent-reported indicators. Our final hypothesis reads as 'Parental depressiveness is more strongly associated with parent's reports of children's emotional problems than with children's self-reports of their emotional problems' (H4).

Methods

Data and Sample

We used data from the German Panel Analysis of Intimate Relationships and Family Dynamics (pairfam) to analyse the intergenerational transmission effect of parental depressiveness. Pairfam is a nationally representative longitudinal survey that has been conducted annually since 2008 (Huinink et al., 2011) and is funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). Pairfam has a unique multi-actor design providing data not only on a main respondent (the so-called anchor person) but also on their current partner and children. The survey does not target a specific child but collects data on all children living in the anchor's household. This design allows for innovative analyses of intergenerational

transmission processes that are part of a broad variety of sociological and psychological phenomena. The unit of analysis in the present study was children and adolescents aged 7 to 16 years (mean: 11.11 years). As not all relevant information was collected in wave 1 of the pairfam survey, we restricted our analysis to data from waves 2 to 13; hence, our observation period covers thirteen years (2009–2021). We restricted the analysis to children in two-parent families because family and child well-being in single-parent families is influenced by different factors than in two-parent families (Augustijn, 2022; Loter et al., 2019). The analytical sample encompasses 1,586 children (6,454 observations) who were interviewed at least twice within the observation period. The sample is comprised of 53% boys and 47% girls (see Table 7). In total, 427 children participated in the survey twice, 329 children three times, 229 children four times, 216 children five times, 162 children six times, 139 children seven times, and 84 children eight times.

Table 7. Sample characteristics for parents and children (N = 1,586; 6,454 *observations)*

Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Parent characteristics				
Maternal depressiveness	1.70	0.48	1	4
Paternal depressiveness	1.64	0.43	1	4
Age (mother)	40.36	4.46	24	66
Age (father)	42.99	5.06	24	71
Marital status				
not married, cohabitating	0.08			
married, cohabitating	0.92			
Educational level (mother)				
lower	0.06			
intermediate	0.60			
upper	0.34			
Educational level (father)				
lower	0.20			
intermediate	0.42			
upper	0.37			
Occupation status (mother)				
not employed	0.18			
full-time	0.21			
part-time	0.56			
overtime (> 44 hours per week)	0.06			
Occupation status (father)				
not employed	0.00			
full-time	0.49			
part-time	0.04			
overwork (> 44 hours per week)	0.47			
Child characteristics				
Emotional problems (mother report)	0.34	0.38	0	2
Emotional problems (father report)	0.34	0.36	0	2
Emotional problems (child report)	0.48	0.38	0	2
Age of child	11.11	2.14	7	16
Child gender				
Boy	0.53			
Girl	0.47			
Number of children	~			
1 child	0.13			
2 children	0.53			
3 children or more	0.34			

^a Cut-off score of 28 points or higher on the STDS-T scale, at least one observation.

Measures

Children's emotional problems. Children's emotional problems were assessed using items from the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ) developed by Goodman (1997). The original SDQ covers five domains: emotional problems, conduct problems, peer problems, hyperactivity, and prosocial behaviour. Each domain is measured using five items that are rated on a scale from 0 (not true) to 2 (certainly true). Pairfam uses the German version of the SDQ that was translated in 1997 and has since been evaluated and validated multiple times (Klasen et al., 2000). Two different versions of the questionnaire were administered, one for parents and one for children. The wording of the childappropriate items is modified slightly to ensure proper understanding (Youth in Mind, 2012a). The final measure for emotional problems was the row mean score of the items (child version): 'I am nervous in new situations. I easily lose confidence', 'I get a lot of headaches, stomach-aches, or sickness', 'I have many fears, I am easily scared', 'I am often unhappy, down-hearted or tearful', and 'I worry a lot'. Higher scores indicated higher levels of emotional problems. We constructed separate scores for mothers', fathers', and children's assessments. The emotional problems dimension ranged from 0 to a maximum of 2 (see Table 7). Children's self-assessments showed a higher prevalence of emotional problems (child mean: 0.48) than the assessments given by their mothers and fathers (both mean: 0.34).

The Cronbach's alpha scores for children's assessments of their emotional problems were smaller than the scores for the respective parental assessments. This outcome is in line with previous research (Goodman et al., 2010), showing that the reliability of the SDQ scores reported by children ($\alpha = 0.64$) is usually slightly lower than that of the SDQ scores reported by parents ($\alpha_{mother} = 0.73$, $\alpha_{father} = 0.70$).

Maternal and paternal depressiveness. Pairfam uses the trait version of the State-Trait Depression Scale (STDS-T) to assess parental depressiveness ($\alpha_{\text{mother}} = 0.90$, $\alpha_{\text{father}} = 0.87$). This screening instrument measures depressive symptoms and depressive experiences in non-clinical samples (Lehr et al., 2008). The respondents were asked to rate the items 'My mood is melancholy', 'I feel good', 'I am calm and composed', 'I am happy', 'I am depressed', 'I am sad', 'I am in desperation', 'My mood is gloomy', 'I feel secure', and 'I enjoy life' on a scale from 1 (*almost never*), to 4 (*almost always*). We reversed all positive items and created row mean scores for mothers and fathers. Thus, higher scores on the scale indicated a higher level of depressiveness. For both mothers and fathers, the depressive symptoms scale ranged from 1 to 4, with a mean of 1.70 for mothers and 1.64 for fathers (see Table 7).

Covariates. All regression models controlled for a variety of child and parent characteristics (see Table 7). *Child characteristics* included child age, gender, and the

number of children living in the household at the time of the interview. *Parent characteristics* included parents' marital status, working hours, and educational levels. To control for maternal and paternal educational levels, we used a measure that is based on the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED-97): Parents with no completed secondary education or with lower secondary education (levels 0-2a) were classified as parents with a 'low educational level'; parents who had completed upper secondary education (levels 2b-4) were classified as having an 'intermediate educational level'; and parents who had completed tertiary education (levels 5-6) were classified as having a 'high educational level'.

Data Analysis

To test the association between parental depressive symptoms and children's emotional problems, we employed fixed effects (FE) regression with cluster-robust standard errors on the household level to correct for possible heteroscedasticity and serial correlation within clusters. FE regression uses within-subject information to yield the regression parameters (Allison, 2009; Firebaugh et al., 2013) by regressing changes in the outcome variable (here: children's emotional problems) on changes in the predictor variables (here: parental depressiveness). Because the FE estimator depends solely on intra-individual variation, FE regression models have two principal advantages over the cross-sectional regression modelling that has often been used in previous studies on parents' depressive symptoms: First, they eliminate unobserved time-invariant heterogeneity (such as personality traits and family characteristics) that might predict both parental depressiveness and child emotional problems. Second, by modelling changes in child problems rather than levels of child problems, FE regression reduces bias due to persistent reporting errors, such as the tendency to over- or underreport child problems. Because FE regression uses only intra-individual variation, it is not possible to estimate the impact of time-invariant variables (e.g., gender) on the outcome variable. Thus, Hypotheses 2 and 3 were tested using group comparison: To test the effect of child gender (H2) and child age (H3), we estimated the FE regression models (a) for girls and boys and (b) for younger children (age 7-10 years) as well as adolescents (age 11-16 years). To assess gender-specific intergenerational transmission (H2), we focused on children's self-reports and compared the effect of maternal (paternal) depressiveness on girls' self-reported emotional problems to the effect of maternal (paternal) depressiveness on boys' self-reported emotional problems. We then proceeded in the same manner for the age comparison. To test the age-specific relationships between parents' depression and children's emotional problems, we again focused on child reports. We compared the association between maternal (paternal) depressiveness and younger children's emotional problems to the association between maternal (paternal) depressiveness and adolescents' emotional problems. Finally, to test the depression-distortion hypothesis—that is, the reporting bias (H4)—we evaluated whether the strength of the association between parental depressiveness and child emotional problems is sensitive to the choice of the informant (mother, father, child) used to measure emotional problems. Finally, we estimated Cohen's and Fleiss' kappa (κ) to determine inter-rater reliability between children's and parents' reports.

Results

Effect of Parents' Depressiveness on Children

Table 8 displays the association between changes in parents' depressiveness and changes in children's emotional problems for the full sample of children. The regression results showed that changes in maternal depressiveness were positively associated with changes in child emotional problems independent of the reporter (mother: b=0.067, p<0.001; fathers: b=0.053, p<0.01; child: b=0.038, p<0.05). Hence, an increase in maternal depressiveness was accompanied by an increase in children's emotional problems. A different picture emerged with regard to paternal depressiveness: Here, the only statistically significant association was between paternal depressiveness and father-reported emotional problems (b=0.044, p<0.05).

Table 8. Predictors of changes in SDQ for children – Fixed-Effects regressions (n= 1,586; 6,454 observations)

	Model 1a		Mod	el 1b	Model 1c	
	mother	report	father	report	child	report
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Maternal depressiveness	0.067***	0.017	0.053**	0.017	0.038*	0.017
Paternal depressiveness	0.004	0.019	0.044^{*}	0.019	0.019	0.020
Age of child	-0.014***	0.002	-0.011***	0.002	-0.019***	0.003
Number of children in household ^a						
2 children	-0.002	0.041	-0.001	0.036	0.052	0.037
3 children or more	0.055	0.052	-0.016	0.045	0.112^{*}	0.046
Educational level (mother) ^b						
Lower	-0.096	0.109	0.016	0.100	0.036	0.062
upper	-0.053	0.078	-0.039	0.052	0.007	0.066
Educational level (father) ^c						
lower	-0.041	0.061	-0.041	0.092	0.112	0.107
upper	0.034	0.064	0.048	0.054	-0.007	0.088
Marital status: not married	-0.009	0.050	-0.039	0.039	0.118^{*}	0.052
Employment status (mother) ^d						
not employed	-0.011	0.017	-0.019	0.018	-0.009	0.022
full-time	-0.026	0.017	-0.009	0.017	0.004	0.020
overtime (> 44 hours weekly)	-0.024	0.024	0.004	0.026	0.054	0.032
Employment status (father) ^e						
not employed	0.101	0.088	-0.066	0.106	-0.051	0.100
full-time	0.009	0.029	0.000	0.032	-0.025	0.032
overtime (> 44 hours weekly)	0.011	0.029	-0.010	0.033	-0.042	0.033
Quartile of household income f						
low medium	-0.017	0.017	0.009	0.018	-0.011	0.020
high medium	-0.013	0.021	-0.006	0.022	-0.034	0.025
highest	-0.028	0.025	-0.023	0.026	-0.050	0.031
R ²	0.028		0.032		0.023	

Note: *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001. Standard errors clustered at household level. ^a Ref.: 1 child. ^{b, c} Ref.: intermediate. ^{d, e} Ref.: Employed part-time. ^f Ref.: lowest.

Group Comparisons by Gender and Age

Table 9 shows the relationship between parents' depressiveness and children's emotional problems by child gender (boys: Model 2c; girls: Model 2f). Overall, we did not find clear evidence of same-sex intergenerational transmission in female dyads: Maternal depressiveness was not more strongly related to emotional problems reported by girls than to emotional problems reported by boys. We did, however, find empirical evidence of same-sex intergenerational transmission for paternal depressiveness: Paternal depressiveness was significantly related to increasing emotional problems in boys, but not significantly related to emotional problems in girls.

Table 10 shows the results for the age group comparison (children aged 7 to 10: Model 3c; adolescents aged 11 to 17: Model 3f). The effect of maternal depressiveness on child-reported emotional problems did not differ between children (b=0.063, p<0.05) and adolescents (b=0.073, p<0.05), and neither did the effect of paternal depressiveness (children: b=0.050, p<0.05; adolescents: b=0.041, p<0.05).

In conclusion, the group comparison by child gender provides mixed evidence for our hypothesis that intergenerational transmission is stronger in same-sex than in opposite-sex dyads. The initial assumption holds true for male dyads but not female dyads. Further, our hypothesis that parental depressiveness is more strongly associated with emotional problems in younger children than with emotional problems in adolescents is not supported by the group comparison. Overall, the group comparisons indicate that changes in maternal depressiveness were significantly related to children's emotional problems independent of gender and age, while this was not the case for paternal depressiveness.

Table 9. Predictors of changes in emotional problems for boys and girls – Fixed effects regression

	Boys (3,432 observations)							Girls (3,022 observations)				
	Model 2a Model 2b				Mo	odel 2c	Mo	Model 2d mother report		Model 2e father report		odel 2f
	mother report		father report		chile	child report						child report
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Maternal depressiveness	0.121***	0.020	0.086***	0.017	0.070^{***}	0.016	0.150***	0.020	0.086^{***}	0.019	0.067***	0.020
Paternal depressiveness	0.050^{**}	0.019	0.107^{***}	0.020	0.052^{**}	0.018	0.025	0.021	0.082^{***}	0.023	0.031	0.024
Age of child	-0.016***	0.003	-0.011***	0.003	-0.035***	0.003	-0.008^*	0.003	-0.010**	0.003	0.002	0.004
Number of children in												
household ^a												
2 children	-0.015	0.027	0.023	0.024	0.017	0.026	-0.057	0.035	-0.052	0.031	0.014	0.036
3 children or more	-0.024	0.032	-0.014	0.028	0.059^{*}	0.029	-0.025	0.038	-0.051	0.035	0.047	0.038
Educational level (mother) ^b												
lower	-0.010	0.044	0.081	0.044	0.031	0.039	-0.021	0.051	-0.016	0.045	0.007	0.049
upper	-0.035	0.025	-0.039	0.022	-0.034	0.022	-0.039	0.028	-0.034	0.026	-0.014	0.029
Educational level (father) ^c												
lower	0.001	0.029	-0.023	0.028	0.018	0.028	0.045	0.030	0.048	0.029	0.051	0.033
upper	-0.021	0.026	-0.036	0.024	-0.046*	0.023	-0.014	0.026	0.017	0.027	-0.045	0.029
Marital status: not married	-0.009	0.037	0.010	0.032	-0.029	0.032	-0.01	0.029	0.000	0.032	0.027	0.042
Employment status (mother)	i											
not employed	0.024	0.019	0.032	0.021	0.074^{***}	0.022	-0.015	0.022	-0.027	0.021	-0.043	0.023
full-time	-0.032	0.019	-0.011	0.019	0.011	0.019	-0.008	0.018	-0.017	0.019	0.019	0.024
Overtime	-0.047	0.026	-0.014	0.032	0.085^{*}	0.036	-0.009	0.029	-0.018	0.027	0.033	0.037
(> 44 hours weekly)	-0.047	0.026	-0.014	0.032	0.083	0.030	-0.009	0.029	-0.018	0.027	0.033	0.037
Employment status (father) ^e												
not employed	0.169	0.097	0.089	0.118	0.022	0.105	0.012	0.125	-0.263*	0.127	-0.132	0.134
full-time	0.002	0.034	0.025	0.033	-0.065	0.035	-0.028	0.028	-0.050	0.039	0.043	0.027
overtime	-0.009	0.035	0.023	0.035	-0.084*	0.035	-0.003	0.028	-0.050	0.039	0.030	0.027
(> 44 hours weekly)	-0.009	0.055	0.023	0.055	-0.084	0.055	-0.003	0.028	-0.030	0.039	0.030	0.027
Quartile of household income												
f												
low medium	-0.022	0.020	0.023	0.021	0.008	0.020	-0.004	0.019	-0.008	0.020	-0.038	0.023
high medium	-0.046*	0.022	-0.009	0.021	-0.035	0.020	0.023	0.023	-0.009	0.025	-0.019	0.029
highest	-0.032	0.025	-0.001	0.025	-0.011	0.026	-0.022	0.025	-0.029	0.029	-0.045	0.032
R ²	0.102		0.100		0.091		0.094		0.064		0.031	

Note: *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001. Standard errors clustered at household level. ^a Ref.: 1 child. ^{b, c} Ref.: intermediate. ^{d, e} Ref.: Employed part-time. ^f Ref.: lowest.

Table 10. Predictors of changes in emotional problems for children and adolescents – fixed effects regression

	Children (2,801 observations)						Adolescen	Adolescents (3,653 observations)				
	Model 3a mother report		Model 3b father repo	ort	Model 3c child repor	t			Model 3e father repo	Model 3e father report		t
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Maternal depressiveness	0.146***	0.020	0.081***	0.018	0.063***	0.019	0.143***	0.019	0.096***	0.016	0.073***	0.016
Paternal depressiveness	0.034	0.019	0.118***	0.021	0.050^{*}	0.022	0.079^{***}	0.019	0.106^{***}	0.020	0.041^{*}	0.019
Age of child	0.004	0.006	0.005	0.007	-0.035***	0.007	-0.022***	0.004	-0.019***	0.004	-0.001	0.004
Number of children in												
household ^a												
2 children	-0.058	0.030	-0.060*	0.028	-0.009	0.030	-0.017	0.024	0.025	0.022	0.045	0.025
3 children or more	-0.060	0.033	-0.089**	0.031	0.028	0.034	-0.017	0.027	0.003	0.025	0.076^{**}	0.028
Educational level (mother) ^b												
lower	-0.017	0.045	0.042	0.045	0.008	0.047	-0.020	0.039	0.025	0.039	0.008	0.038
upper	-0.034	0.022	-0.036	0.021	-0.046*	0.022	-0.020	0.023	-0.024	0.022	0.004	0.022
Educational level (father) ^c												
lower	0.038	0.029	0.057^{*}	0.027	0.077^{**}	0.028	0.009	0.026	-0.015	0.024	0.003	0.025
upper	-0.023	0.024	-0.013	0.022	-0.049*	0.023	-0.004	0.023	-0.014	0.021	-0.037	0.022
Marital status: not married	-0.015	0.032	0.006	0.032	-0.027	0.033	0.010	0.030	0.025	0.029	-0.017	0.03
Employment status (mother)	i											
not employed	0.004	0.023	-0.002	0.021	0.012	0.023	0.018	0.021	0.023	0.019	0.027	0.021
full-time	-0.017	0.021	-0.013	0.020	0.013	0.022	-0.017	0.016	-0.003	0.017	0.029	0.019
overtime	-0.041	0.035	-0.053	0.031	-0.011	0.041	-0.022	0.025	-0.003	0.027	0.111***	0.028
(> 44 hours weekly)	-0.041	0.033	-0.033	0.031	-0.011	0.041	-0.022	0.023	-0.003	0.027	0.111	0.028
Employment status (father) ^e												
not employed	0.279^{*}	0.124	0.207	0.148	0.054	0.106	0.002	0.069	-0.211	0.117	-0.114	0.114
full-time	-0.037	0.038	0.007	0.039	-0.032	0.034	0.001	0.031	-0.009	0.031	-0.004	0.031
overtime	-0.023	0.039	0.032	0.041	-0.062	0.035	0.011	0.031	-0.021	0.032	-0.004	0.031
(> 44 hours weekly)		0.057	0.032	0.041	0.002	0.033	0.011	0.031	0.021	0.032	0.004	0.031
Quartile of household income	;											
low medium	-0.001	0.020	0.012	0.019	-0.033	0.023	-0.015	0.019	0.024	0.022	0.004	0.019
high medium	0.004	0.023	-0.011	0.023	-0.041	0.024	-0.022	0.021	0.007	0.022	-0.023	0.022
highest	-0.017	0.027	-0.010	0.026	-0.027	0.027	-0.042	0.023	0.001	0.025	-0.032	0.025
R ²	0.095	0.027	0.085	0.020	0.056	0.027	0.105	0.023	0.077	0.022	0.035	3.025

Note: *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001. Standard errors clustered at household level. ^a Ref.: 1 child. ^{b, c} Ref.: intermediate. ^{d, e} Ref.: Employed part-time. ^f Ref.: lowest.

Comparison of Mother, Father, and Child Reports

Table 11. Summary of effect sizes for the association between parents' depressiveness and children's emotional problems

emononal problems			
	Emotional problems	Emotional problems	Emotional problems
	reported by mother	reported by father	reported by child
Maternal depressiveness			
Total sample	medium	medium	weak
Boys	strong	medium	medium
Girls	strong	medium	medium
Children (7-10 years old)	strong	medium	medium
Adolescents (11-17 years old)	strong	medium	medium
Paternal depressiveness			
Total sample	n.s.	medium	n.s.
Boys	medium	strong	medium.
Girls	n.s.	medium	n.s.
Children (7-10 years old)	n.s.	strong	medium
Adolescents (11-17 years old)	medium	strong	weak

Note: strong: b>0.1; medium; 0.1 < b < 0.05; weak: b < 0.05; n.s. coefficient not statistically significant.

Table 11 shows the summary of effect sizes for the association between parents' depressiveness and children's problems derived from Models 1a-3f. This table illustrates the three key findings of our study. First, it appears that maternal depressiveness has a stronger association with children's emotional problems than paternal depressiveness. Second, maternal depressiveness affects boys to a similar degree as girls, and paternal depressiveness appears to have a stronger effect on emotional problems in boys than in girls. Third, parental depressiveness is more closely aligned with parents' reports of their children's emotional problems than with children's self-reports of their own emotional problems. This pattern reveals a strong reporting bias. Finally, the associations between parental depressiveness and child-reported emotional problems are of a roughly similar size to the association between one parent's depressiveness and the other parent's report of emotional problems.

Table 12. Inter-rater reliability for children's, mothers' and fathers' reports of children's emotional problems

	Kappa	
child vs. mother vs. father ^a	0.24	***
child vs. mother ^b	0.22	***
child vs. father b	0.19	***
mother vs. father b	0.36	***

Note: Mean score was rounded to full numbers before estimating kappa. ^a Fleiss' kappa; ^b Cohen's kappa.

Our finding that the association between parental depressiveness and child emotional problems is highly sensitive to the person who reports the children's emotional problems is also reflected by the inter-rater reliability coefficients Cohen's kappa κ and Fleiss' kappa

(Table 12). The kappa statistics in the sample at hand are generally low—at κ < .39, the interrater reliability between the three raters can be considered low to fair in general (Landis & Koch, 1977; McHugh, 2012). Overall, we find a chance-corrected agreement in one out of four families (24%) and a higher inter-rater agreement between mothers and fathers (36%). Yet, when comparing parents' reports to their children's, the inter-rater agreement is substantially lower at 22% between mothers and children, and at just 19%, or less than a fifth, between fathers and children.

Parents tend to underestimate their children's emotional problems: About half of the mothers (51%) and fathers (50%) reported lower levels of child emotional problems than their children, and roughly a quarter of the mothers and fathers reported higher levels of child emotional problems than their children. The relatively weak inter-rater reliability between children and parents provides further evidence of substantial differences between parent and child evaluations of children's emotional problems.

Conclusion

The current study aimed to deepen our understanding of the association between parents' depressive symptoms and children's emotional problems. To achieve this aim, we (1) examined the effect of changes in maternal and paternal depressiveness on children's emotional problems from a longitudinal perspective, (2) analysed differences in this relationship for girls vs. boys and younger children vs. adolescents, and (3) examined whether there are differences between parents' evaluations of children and children's own self-evaluations.

Overall, our findings are consistent with emotional security theory (Davies & Cummings, 1994) and earlier studies that found associations between parental depression and child problems using retrospective and cross-sectional study designs (e.g., Elgar et al., 2007; Hanington et al., 2010; Reeb et al., 2015). Our longitudinal regression analysis performed with the full sample of children supported our first hypothesis: Increases in parental depressiveness are associated with increases in emotional problems in children. Notably, this association is stronger for changes in maternal depressiveness than for changes in paternal depressiveness. We additionally analysed gender- and age-specific effects of changes in parental depressiveness, aiming to test assumptions relating to more specific mechanisms of the intergenerational transmission of well-being from social learning theory (Bandura, 1969, 1977). In sum, our results indicate that changes in maternal depressiveness are related to changes in both boys' and girls' emotional problems but that changes in paternal depressiveness are only related to changes in boys' emotional problems. Hence, we do not find clear evidence supporting the hypothesized gender-specific intergenerational transmission of depressiveness (H2). These findings support evidence from previous studies

that have cast doubt on the gender-specific intergenerational transmission of well-being (e.g., Korhonen et al., 2012; Maselko et al., 2016; Pizeta et al., 2018). Based on SLT, we further hypothesized that parental depressiveness has a stronger effect on emotional problems in younger children than in adolescents (H3). We did not find clear empirical evidence supporting this assumption, as effect sizes are very similar across both age groups. In conclusion, our findings suggest that maternal depressiveness contributes more to children's emotional problems than paternal depressiveness. This might be due to mothers still being the primary caretakers in German families (Steinbach & Schulz, 2021), which results in children and adolescents spending more time with their mothers than with their fathers.

The key finding of this study is that the association between parental depressiveness and children's emotional problems was much stronger when children's emotional problems were assessed by parents (especially by mothers) and weaker when children assessed their emotional problems themselves. We find a consistent pattern of effect sizes across all analyses, indicating that changes in parental depression are particularly closely related to changes in parental reports on children's emotional problems (see also Table 11): The links between changes in maternal depressive symptoms and mother-reported changes in child problems as well as the link between changes in paternal depressive symptoms and changes in father-reported emotional problems were consistently stronger than the links between changes in parental depressiveness and changes in children's self-assessed emotional problems. This finding supports the assumption of the depression distortion hypothesis, that is, parents' assessments of their children's emotional well-being are affected by their own state of psychological well-being (Gartstein et al., 2009; Richters & Pellegrini, 1989). Our findings support the notion that parents with impaired mental health tend to overreport children's emotional problems (e.g., Najman et al., 2001; O'Brien et al., 1997; Ringoot et al., 2015). Overall, our results underscore the necessity of considering children's self-reports instead of relying on parents' reports about their children's well-being. The detrimental impact of parental depressive symptoms is apparently less pronounced than mothers and fathers think.

This study is not without limitations. First, we only investigated the effects of changes in parental depressiveness. Due to the nature of the panel regression analysis used in our study, we were not able to evaluate how chronic depression in parents affect children's emotional problems. Examining the effects of chronic and severe depression in parents from a longitudinal perspective would produce valuable insights into habituation effects and coping mechanisms. Second, parents' depressiveness was assessed through a self-reported measure, not a medical diagnosis. Future longitudinal research examining whether the effect

of diagnosed depression is congruent with the results of the present study could enrich the body of literature.

Nonetheless, this study emphasizes the need to incorporate children's own evaluations of their lives and well-being by showing that parent reports overestimate the impact of their own mental health on their children's well-being. This underscores the importance of incorporating children's own views in a complementary—not supplementary—manner when researching the well-being of children.

6 Mesosystem - Inter-parental conflict

Paper 2: Effects of Inter-Parental Conflict on Children's Social Well-Being and the Mediation Role of Parenting Behavior

Abstract

Inter-parental conflicts can have devastating effects on children's well-being and social behavior. This study explores the association between an increased frequency of inter-parental conflict and peer problems and prosocial behavior in children, and whether parents' emotional warmth and negative communication with their children mediates this association. Data for a total of 1,157 children between the ages of 7 and 16 (4,016 observations) was drawn from the eighth to the twelfth waves of the German Family Panel so as to perform fixed-effects regressions and mediation analyses. The analyses reveal that increased inter-parental conflict is strongly related to decreased emotional warmth and increased negative communication in parents, and to increased peer problems and decreased prosocial behavior in children. The results also suggest that the association between inter-parental conflict and children's social well-being is mediated by the parenting behavior of mothers and fathers, indicating that increased inter-parental conflict leads to less warm parenting and more negative communication in parents, which ultimately reduces children's social well-being.

Introduction

Arguments and conflicts are an inevitable part of family life, and inter-parental conflicts are one of the most prominent, parent-driven factors that negatively influence the home environments of children and adolescents (e.g., Brock & Kochanska, 2016; Brummert Lennings & Bussey, 2017; Hosokawa & Katsura, 2017; Troxel & Matthews, 2004; Vandewater & Lansford, 1998). Conflicts between parents have been identified repeatedly in the literature as crucial risk factors for children's mental health, behavioral and emotional problems, and social behavior (e.g., Auersperg et al., 2019; Davies et al., 2016a; McCoy et al., 2009; O'Hara et al., 2019). The literature proposes a multitude of mechanisms to account for this association, which can be grouped into direct and indirect effects. In the former category, inter-parental conflict has been shown to influence children's well-being directly by impairing their feeling of security within the family system, and weakening parent—child attachment (Brock & Kochanska, 2016; Davies & Cummings, 1994; Davies et al., 2016a). As an indirect effect, inter-parental conflict can severely interfere with parenting behavior, which can, in turn, lead to increased problems for children (e.g., Coln et al., 2013; Hosokawa & Katsura, 2017; McCoy et al., 2009).

The current study explores whether, and if so to what extent, changes in child-perceived inter-parental conflict frequency have an effect on changes in children's social well-being from a longitudinal perspective. It aims to test whether this effect is mediated by the parenting behavior of mothers and fathers, and seeks to answer two research questions: (1) Is an increase in child perceived interparental conflict frequency associated with worse social well-being, that is, with increases in peer problems and decreases in prosocial behavior in children? and (2) Is the association between an increasing frequency of inter-parental conflict and decreasing social well-being in children mediated by changes in the warmth and negative communication of mothers and fathers towards the child?

By examining changes in the frequency of inter-parental conflict rather than levels of inter-parental conflict, this study seeks to build on and expand the current body of literature by acknowledging that conflict frequency is not constant over time. Inter-parental conflict is likely to become more common when disagreements arise, or in difficult phases of family life. Most importantly, children may react differently to increasing inter-parental conflict than to constant levels, as it alters the overall conditions at the family level.

Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

The theoretical basis for this study was derived from two different theoretical frameworks that explain the transmission effects of parental behavior on children's behavior and well-being. First, the *social learning theory* (SLT) proposed by Bandura (1969) was used to derive a theoretical explanation for the effect of changes in interparental conflict

frequency on changes in children's social well-being. The SLT suggests that individuals acquire certain personality traits and their (social) behavior through frequent interaction with a number of role models – children and adolescents are influenced by their parents' behavior in particular (Bandura, 1969; Bandura & Walters, 1977). It is thus likely that children who observe frequent inter-parental conflict in their home perceive frequent conflict as an acceptable social behavior and imitate their parents' interaction at school, thus having more frequent conflicts with their peers. Following this argumentation, the first hypothesis tested in this study is.

H1: Increases in child-perceived inter-parental conflict frequency have a negative impact on children's social well-being. Children who report increasing inter-parental conflict frequency report increases in peer problems and decreases in their prosocial behavior.

Secondly, I derived arguments from the emotional security theory (EST) proposed by Davies and Cummings (1994) to explain the mediating effect of mothers' and fathers' parenting behavior. The EST offers a useful theoretical framework to explain the intersection between parental conflict behavior and children's well-being because it suggests a cascade of negative effects on family members. According to the theory, children generally pursue a goal of feeling safe and secure in their family environment, however, when they are (repeatedly) exposed to inter-parental conflict that is accompanied by negative behavior between parents, such as hostility, violence, and unresolved problems, this goal is at risk. The toxic family environment that evolves from inter-parental conflict thus threatens children's mental health and well-being. The theoretical arguments proposed by the EST can be extended through the *spillover hypothesis* and the *compensation hypothesis* (e.g., Engfer, 1988; Krishnakumar & Buehler, 2000). Both hypotheses refer to the context of parent-child relationships and suggest that the interactions of parents, parental mood, affect, and behavior can directly interfere with child outcomes. The spillover hypothesis proposes that interparental conflict causes negative emotions in parents, which in turn increases negative parent—child interactions such as scolding, criticizing, shouting, and arguing. This ultimately leads to adverse child outcomes (Krishnakumar & Buehler, 2000). The current study thus tests the hypothesis:

H2: Increasing frequency of inter-parental conflict has a negative effect on the parenting practices of mothers' and fathers: children who report increases in the frequency of inter-parental conflict report increasing negative communication with their mothers and fathers.

Analogous to the spillover hypothesis, the *compensation hypothesis* proposes that family members, and parents in particular, seek to compensate for the negative experiences

that result from inter-parental conflict. Parents are likely to invest more time, be more attentive and dedicated towards a child in order to balance the negative environment that results from inter-parental conflict (Engfer, 1988; Erel & Burman, 1995; Katrijn et al., 2017; Kouros et al., 2014). The third hypothesis investigated in this study is thus:

H3: Increasing inter-parental conflict frequency has a positive effect on the warmth of both parents towards the child: children who report increases in inter-parental conflict frequency report increasing warmth from their mothers and fathers.

Lastly, to test the transmission process suggested by the EST, the current study hypothesizes that:

H4: Maternal and paternal parenting behavior mediates the effect of increasing inter-parental conflict on children's social well-being: increasing inter-parental conflict frequency is associated with child-perceived worsening of maternal and paternal parenting behavior which ultimately leads to decreasing social well-being in children.

In addition to the aforementioned theoretical arguments, there is broad empirical evidence that the lives, mental health and happiness of parents decisively shape the well-being of children and adolescents. Parental attributes and behavior can determine whether children oppose deleterious habits such as smoking, are mentally healthy and behave in socially acceptable manners (Dickerson, 2021; Flouri et al., 2019; Nikolaou, 2017). A significant amount of research in recent years has focused on the effect of inter-parental conflict on children's internalizing and externalizing problems (e.g., Davies et al., 2016a; Koçak et al., 2017; Kouros et al., 2010; Zemp et al., 2014, 2018).

Some studies have linked inter-parental conflict and children's social well-being, that is, to a variety of children's social behaviors in the school environment. Parental conflict, including marital conflict and intimate partner violence between parents, has been found to predict decreased prosocial behavior, poorer social skills, aggressive behavior, impaired self-control, lower cooperation, and loneliness in children (Holmes et al., 2015; Hosokawa & Katsura, 2017; Koçak et al., 2017; McCoy et al., 2009).

Studies have revealed a number of transmission processes that explain the mechanism behind the effect of inter-parental conflict on children's well-being. The leading transmitter appears to be the parenting behavior of mothers and fathers (e.g., Camisasca et al., 2016; Coln et al., 2013): Warm parenting behavior towards a child, as well as negative parenting practices such as psychological control and negative communication, have repeatedly been identified as the mediating factors at the intersection of inter-parental conflict and children's prosocial behavior, school adjustment, and overall well-being (Coln et al., 2013; Hosokawa & Katsura, 2017; Koçak et al., 2017; McCoy et al., 2013; Vandewater & Lansford, 1998).

The current body of literature, however, has left three major research gaps that this study seeks to fill. First, most of the previous literature is strongly characterized by studies based on data from the United States (e.g., Kouros et al., 2010; McCoy et al., 2013; Miga et al., 2012). Only few studies have documented the detrimental effects of family conflict in non-US contexts that range from various mental problems in adolescents in Hong Kong, Turkey and Egypt (Elemary et al., 2016; Koçak et al., 2017; Low, 2021), and lower self-control skills in Japanese children (Hosokawa & Katsura, 2017) to more internalizing and externalizing problems in children from Australia (Brummert Lennings & Bussey, 2017) and poorer academic performance in children from the UK (Harold et al., 2007), for example.

The current study is among the first to investigate the association between children's social well-being and inter-parental conflict using data from a European country, in this case Germany. Findings from studies using US American samples might not be applicable to the German context due to the substantial differences in family-related factors that determine child outcomes. First and foremost, there is a vast difference concerning the use of time within the family environment. School-aged children in Germany spend significantly less time in school than their US counterparts (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2020; OECD, 2016, 2020), and parents' working hours are lower in Germany than in the United States (OECD, 2014). Consequently, German children are likely to spend more time at home and with their parents, and might therefore be more frequently exposed to inter-parental conflict than their US American counterparts. Secondly, parenting behaviors differ between the countries. German parents tend to be less strict and more relaxed, authoritative and authoritarian parenting is less common, and permissive parenting is more common in German parents compared to US American parents (Doepke & Zilibotti, 2019). These differences might result in different relationships between inter-parental conflict frequency, parenting behavior and children's social wellbeing. Lastly, there are distinct differences between German and US American perceptions of parenting duties, values and goals. Empirical evidence from the World Values Survey suggests that US Americans are more likely to believe that it is a parent's duty to do the best for their child even at the expense of their own well-being, and that they value qualities like good manners, hard work, tolerance and respect for others, religious faith, unselfishness and obedience in children more than Germans (Halman et al., 2007). Germans on the other hand value independence, and feelings of responsibility as well as determination and perseverance in children, more than US Americans do (Doepke & Zilibotti, 2019; Halman et al., 2007).

The second research gap I seek to address is the scarcity of longitudinal evidence on the effect of inter-parental conflict on children's social behavior and well-being in non-US settings. Existing studies on the effect of inter-parental conflict on children's social well-being mostly use a cross-sectional design (e.g., Camisasca et al., 2016; Zemp et al., 2014),

but cross-sectional studies often suffer from problems inherent in their design, and are prone to bias due to unobserved heterogeneity (e.g., the personality traits of family members), which may affect inter-parental conflict, parenting behavior, and children's social well-being, and might therefore confound these associations. This study uses panel data and fixed-effects regression models to account for the problem of unobserved heterogeneity. Researchers assume that individual- and family-level heterogeneity are constant over time (e.g., Boyce, 2010). The use of repeated observations of individuals makes it possible to statistically control for time-invariant characteristics without directly observing them. Indeed, those problems are widely acknowledged, and various researchers have called for longitudinal approaches to analyze the effect of inter-parental conflict on children's social well-being (e.g., Camisasca et al., 2016; Coln et al., 2013; Gryczkowski et al., 2018; Hosokawa & Katsura, 2017).

The last contribution of this study is the use of child-reported measures. Many earlier investigations relied on parent-reported inter-parental conflict and parent- or teacherreported child well-being (e.g., Brock & Kochanska, 2016; Gryczkowski et al., 2018; Harold et al., 2007), however, earlier studies have repeatedly demonstrated that parents' reports of their children's well-being are seldom congruent with children's self-evaluations, and that parent reports are prone to bias or misconceptions (e.g., Koskelainen et al., 2000; Seiffge-Krenke & Kollmar, 1998; Waters et al., 2003; White-Koning et al., 2007). A parent's perceptions have been shown to be influenced by their own experiences and feelings, which can lead to overly negative parent reports of children's well-being and behavior (Seiffge-Krenke & Kollmar, 1998; White-Koning et al., 2007). Consequently, it is possible that parents' reports are less reliable than children's self-reports, especially when analyzing the intersection between socially adverse behavior, such as increased inter-parental conflict, and children's well-being. Parents' reports concerning inter-parental conflict might also suffer from social desirability: reports from parents might under- or overestimate the magnitude of inter-parental conflict witnessed by the child – in fact, previous studies that relied on parentreported inter-parental conflict and parent-reported child outcomes suggest that childreported measures may provide more reliable and less biased insights (e.g., Kouros et al., 2010; Miga et al., 2012; Zemp et al., 2014).

Methods

Data

In this study, I analyzed data from the German interdisciplinary Panel Analysis of Intimate Relationships and Family Dynamics (pairfam). This project is funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). Pairfam has a multi-cohort (1971–73, 1981–1983, and 1991–93), multi-actor design that enables research on intergenerational transmission processes as well as intergenerational relationships (Huinink et al., 2011). Pairfam initially collected a representative sample of about 12,000 main respondents - known as anchor persons - from the three birth cohorts, and further included data provided by the main respondent's current partner and minor children living in a pairfam household from Wave 2 onward. All children between the ages of 7 and 16 years who reside in a household that was sampled for the pairfam survey are invited to participate in the pairfam study after the anchor person (mother or father) has given their consent for the child's participation. Children voluntarily complete a 15-min Computer Assisted Paper Interview and a self-administered Computer Assisted Self Interview section that includes sensitive questions such as those regarding interparental conflict (Brüderl et al., 2017). For completing the interview children are incentivized with a small gift worth €5 (Huinink et al., 2011). The adult questionnaires focus on family topics, such as partnership quality and conflict behavior, and the child questionnaires focus on a variety of sociological phenomena that are relevant to children's lives, such as their well-being, family and school life, the parenting of their mother and father, and social relationships (Huinink et al., 2011).

Overall, the quality of the longitudinal child data provided by pairfam is high: the coverage rate is between 70% (Wave 12) and 90% (Wave 8) and the conditional response rates range from 95% (Waves 8, 10, 11) to 96% (Waves 9, 12) which means that the attrition rate among the child questionnaires is low, with only about 5% of the children not participating in the questionnaire although their parents had given their consent each year (Brüderl et al., 2017).

Participants

The sample in this study consisted of 1,157 children (4,016 observations) who participated in the survey at least twice within the observation period from Wave 8 in 2015/2016 to Wave 12 in 2019/2020. Table 13 shows the sample characteristics for the longitudinal sample, as well as information for each cross-sectional wave. Overall, 281 children completed the questionnaire twice within the observation period, 308 children completed the questionnaire three times, 310 children participated in four waves, and 258 children participated in all five waves. The longitudinal sample consisted of 52% boys and

48% girls. The participants were aged 7 to 16 with a mean age of 11.5 years. Mothers' ages ranged from 26 to 54 years (mean: 41.2 years), and fathers' ages ranged from 25 to 70 years (mean: 44.0 years).

Because the study focuses on changes in inter-parental conflict frequency, the analysis was restricted to children in two-parent families with married parents. On average, the parents were married for 13.7 years. Eleven percent of the children were only children, 52% of the children had one sibling, and 37% had two or more siblings in the household. The parents included in the sample are relatively highly educated. Based on the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED), 40% of mothers and 49% of fathers were highly educated, 55% of mothers and 46% of fathers had an intermediate educational level, and 5% of mothers and fathers had a lower educational level. The majority of mothers were employed (part-time: 59%, full-time: 22% and 6% worked more than 44 h per week). Only 14% of mothers were not employed. Nearly half the fathers were working more than full-time, thus putting in overtime (> 44 h weekly, 47%), and 48% were employed full-time. Only 5% of the fathers were employed part-time and 0.3% were not employed. This distribution of employed work in German parents is well in line with the male-dominated dual-earner model (mother employed part-time, father employed full-time), which is prevalent in Germany (Keller & Kahle, 2018).

Measures

Children's Social Well-Being. In this study, the social well-being of children and adolescents was captured by two dimensions of the Strength and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ) developed by Goodman (1997). Overall, the SDQ covers five different domains of child well-being and development: behavioral problems, emotional problems, hyperactivity, peer problems, and prosocial behavior. Each domain is captured through five items. Both children and adolescents are asked to answer the same set of questions on a three-point scale ranging from 0 "not true" to 2 "certainly true", independent of their age. The pairfam data includes the German version of the SDQ. The German SDQ questionnaire has been evaluated and validated multiple times since its initial translation in 1997 (Klasen et al., 2000). There is a version of the questionnaire that is suitable for children because the wording of each item is adjusted specifically to children's needs to ensure proper understanding, and thus to provide measures of the psychological attributes that can be utilized for scientific purposes (Youth in Mind, 2012a). Because this study focuses on children's *social* well-being, I used the SDQ domains prosocial behavior and peer problems. The prosocial behavior scale ($\alpha = 0.70$) consists of the items "I am kind to younger children", "I usually share with others (for example, candy, games, markers)", "I try to be nice to other people. I care about their feelings", "I am helpful if someone is hurt, upset or feeling ill",

and "I often offer to help others (parents, teachers, children)". The measure used in the analyses to capture prosocial behavior is a sum score for each child in each year which was divided by the number of items answered by the child. The scale thus displays the row mean of prosocial behavior, and higher scores indicate higher levels of prosocial behavior in each child. The prosocial behavior scale ranges from a minimum of 0.4 to a maximum of 2.0, with a mean of 1.6 (see Table 13, longitudinal sample).

The second measure of children's social well-being captures children's *peer problems* ($\alpha = 0.56$). The children and adolescents were asked to rate the statements: "I would rather be alone than with others", "I have one good friend or more", "Other people at my age generally like me", "I get along better with adults than with other people my age", and "Other children or young people pick on me or bully me" on the scale described above. Positive statements were reversed before constructing a row mean score. Again, higher scores imply a higher level of peer problems. Overall, this scale ranges from a minimum of 0.0 to a maximum of 2.0 (mean: 0.38, see Table 13, longitudinal sample).

Parental Conflict Behavior. This study uses the well-established Children's Perception of Inter-parental Conflict Scale developed by Grych et al. (1992) to assess interparental conflict behavior. The items include objective features of inter-parental conflict as well as appraisal factors. The German version that was used in this study has been translated and shortened, and shows good reliability and validity for the German context (Gödde & Walper, 2001). The original measure consists of three different dimensions measuring persisting conflict, the child as the subject of the conflict, and the child as mediator. Pairfam only provides items that measure the first dimension.

Child and adolescent perceptions of inter-parental conflict frequency ($\alpha = 0.75$) were assessed through the items "How often do the following things happen between your mother and your father?": "They argue", "They often nag and complain about each other", and "They are mean to each other" on a five-point scale from 1 "never" to 5 "very often". Higher values on the inter-parental conflict frequency scale thus indicate more frequent conflict between mothers and fathers from the child's perspective. The children's assessments of parental conflict frequency range from a minimum of 1.0 to a maximum of 5.0 with a mean of 1.8 (see Table 13, longitudinal sample).

Maternal and Paternal Parenting Behavior. This study covers two different parenting behaviors in mothers and fathers: emotional warmth and negative communication.

First, *emotional warmth* ($\alpha = 0.78$) involves three items that capture the degree of affirmative attention and care (Jaursch, 2003). The children and adolescents were asked to rate statements on a five-point scale ranging from 1 "never" to 5 "very often". The items that capture maternal and paternal emotional warmth are phrased as follows: "How often does

your mother/father show you that they like you?", "How often does your mother/father try to cheer you up when you are sad?", and "How often does your mother/father praise you?". The warmth of mothers and fathers is assessed separately by the children. I constructed a row mean score for the measure and higher scores on the scale translate into a higher prevalence of maternal and paternal warmth. In this sample, the children's evaluations of their mother's emotional warmth range from a minimum of 1.33 to a maximum of 5.0 (mean: 4.4, see Table 13 longitudinal sample) and their fathers' warmth ranges from a minimum of 1.00 to a maximum of 5.00 (mean: 4.2, see Table 13 longitudinal sample). On average children thus perceive their mothers as a little warmer than their fathers.

The items that measure *negative communication* ($\alpha = 0.64$) are based on an instrument proposed by Schwarz, Walper, Gödde, and Jurasic (1997). It uses three items that specify the degree of a mother's and father's negative verbal parenting towards the child. The children rate the items "How often does your mother/father criticize you?", "How often does your mother/father yell at you because you did something wrong?", and "How often does your mother/father scold you because they are angry at you?" on a five-point scale from 1 "never" to 5 "very often". Again, the negative communication behavior of mothers and fathers was assessed separately. The measure used for the analyses is the row mean of all items answered by the children. Consequently, higher scores on the negative communication scale indicate higher levels of negative communication. The children evaluated negative maternal and paternal communication from a minimum of 1.0 to a maximum of 5.0 (mean mothers: 1.9, mean fathers: 1.9, see Table 13 longitudinal sample).

Covariates. All models control for a variety of child-specific and household-specific socio-demographic variables including child's, mother's and father's age in years; marriage duration in years; number of children living in the household; both parents' educational levels; and the occupational status of both parents, based on their working hours. All models control for the children's perception of economic deprivation in the household on a scale from 0 "not deprived" to 5 "very deprived" (mean in longitudinal sample: 1.7).

Analytical Strategy

I use the regression-based mediation approach as suggested by Hayes (2013) to analyze whether increasing inter-parental conflict frequency affects children's prosocial behavior and peer problems through maternal warmth and negative communication. This approach makes it possible to identify mediation effects in the triad of inter-parental conflict behavior, maternal, and paternal parenting behavior respectively, and children's social well-being, because it allows a distinction to be made between a direct effect of parental conflict frequency on children's social well-being and indirect effects transmitted through maternal and paternal parenting behavior. I utilize fixed-effects (FE) linear regressions with cluster-

robust standard errors at the household level to correct for possible heteroskedasticity and the serial correlation of errors within the family. FE models rely solely on within-subject information to estimate the regression parameters (Allison, 2009; Firebaugh et al., 2013) and consequently depend only on intra-individual variation: changes in inter-parental conflict frequency, changes in parenting behavior, and changes in children's social wellbeing. This regression method eliminates unobserved time-invariant heterogeneity such as children's and parents' personality traits. FE models thus eliminate bias due to time-constant unobservables if the unobserved characteristics are indeed time-invariant. The approach of modeling changes in inter-parental conflict frequency and child social well-being, rather than modeling the level of conflict, also reduces bias due to persistent reporting errors resulting, for instance, from the tendency of individuals to consistently over- or underreport their subjective well-being in different domains. Overall, these properties make FE regressions particularly suitable for examining the intersection of inter-parental conflict frequency, parenting behavior, and children's social well-being.

I conduct the analyses in three steps, each including separate estimates for children's prosocial behavior and children's peer problems. First, I investigate the association between increasing frequency of inter-parental conflict and the parenting behavior of mothers and fathers (negative communication and warmth). Second, I investigate the effect of increasing inter-parental conflict frequency on children's social well-being. In the third and final step, I estimate the direct and indirect effects based on FE regressions with and without controlling for maternal and paternal parenting behavior. This makes it possible to explore the extent to which the effect of changes in the frequency of inter-parental conflict on changes in children's social well-being is transmitted by changes in maternal and paternal warmth and changes in negative maternal and paternal communication. This study uses the Monte Carlo method to assess mediation to determine the confidence intervals for the indirect effects, that is, the effect of inter-parental behavior that is transmitted through parenting behavior. This method treats the parameter estimates from Steps 1 and 2 as parameters, and uses them and their associated asymptotic variances and covariances to simulate random draws from the joint distribution of the indirect paths to construct confidence intervals through re-sampling, thus testing for chance effects (Preacher & Hayes, 2008; Preacher & Selig, 2012; Selig & Preacher, 2008).

Missing values were handled by listwise deletion. Overall, a total of 344 (7.8%) observations were excluded from the analyses due to missing values on any of the variables included in the models. Most missing values occurred in the inter-parental conflict measure (241 observations) that was captured in CASI mode. Because this represents roughly 70% of all missing values on a very central variable of this analysis, I conducted a missing value diagnosis. According to Little's Missing Completely At Random (MCAR) Test, the missing

values in the sample are not completely random, however, I did not find covariate-dependent missingness for children's age and gender, or children's peer problems or prosocial behavior according to the test's extension for testing the covariate-dependent missingness (CDM: see, Li, 2013). Moreover, separate correlation analyses for each variable with missing values indicate that missing values are at random (MAR) – no systematically missing value patterns with regard to children's gender or age, mothers' and fathers' educational level, employment status, marriage duration or the economic deprivation of the household have emerged. Because there were no missing values patterns, all analyses were conducted using a full-information sample.

Table 13. Sample Characteristics of Children and Parents

	Longitudi	nal (2015/16	5-2018/19)		Wave 8 (2015/16)	Wave 9 (2	2016/17)	Wave 10	(2017/18)	Wave 11	(2018/19)	Wave 12 (2019/20)	
Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Child characteristics														
Prosocial behavior	1.6	0.3	0.4	2.0	1.6	0.3	1.6	0.3	1.6	0.4	1.6	0.3	1.6	0.3
Peer problems	0.4	0.3	0.0	2.0	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3
Child gender					!									
boy	0.5				0.5		0.5		0.5		0.5		0.5	
girl	0.5				0.5		0.5		0.5		0.5		0.5	
Age of child	11.5	2.1	7.0	16.0	10.9	2.0	11.4	2.2	11.5	2.1	11.9	1.9	12.4	1.6
Number of children in household					!									
1 child	0.1				0.1		0.1		0.1		0.1		0.1	
2 children	0.5				0.5		0.5		0.5		0.5		0.5	
3 children or more	0.4				0.4		0.4		0.4		0.4		0.4	
Parent characteristics					!									
Inter-parental conflict frequency	1.8	0.6	1.0	5.0	1.8	0.6	1.8	0.6	1.9	0.7	1.9	0.6	1.9	0.7
Maternal warmth	4.4	0.6	1.3	5.0	4.5	0.6	4.4	0.6	4.4	0.6	4.4	0.6	4.4	0.6
Negative maternal communication	1.9	0.7	1.0	5.0	1.8	0.7	2.0	0.7	1.9	0.7	1.9	0.7	1.9	0.7
Paternal warmth	4.2	0.8	1.0	5.0	4.2	0.8	4.2	0.8	4.2	0.8	4.2	0.8	4.2	0.7
Negative paternal communication	1.9	0.7	1.0	5.0	1.8	0.7	1.9	0.8	1.9	0.7	1.9	0.7	1.8	0.7
Educational level (mother)														
lower	0.1				0.1		0.1		0.1		0.0		0.0	
intermediate	0.5				0.5		0.6		0.5		0.5		0.5	
upper	0.4				0.4		0.4		0.4		0.4		0.4	
Educational level (father)					"									
lower	0.0				0.1		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.1	
intermediate	0.5				0.5		0.5		0.5		0.4		0.4	
upper	0.5				0.5		0.5		0.5		0.5		0.5	
Employment status (mother)					"									
not employed	0.1				0.2		0.1		0.1		0.1		0.1	
full-time	0.2				0.2		0.2		0.2		0.2		0.2	
part-time	0.6				0.6		0.6		0.6		0.6		0.6	
overtime (> 44 hours per week)	0.1				0.0		0.1		0.1		0.1		0.1	
Employment status (father)	0.1				""		0.1		0.1		0.1		0.1	
not employed	0.0				$\frac{1}{2}$ 0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0	
full-time	0.5				0.5		0.5		0.5		0.5		0.5	
part-time	0.0				0.0		0.0		0.1		0.0		0.1	
overtime (> 44 hours per					!									
week)	0.5				0.5		0.5		0.5		0.4		0.4	
Age (mother)	41.2	4.6	26.0	54.0	40.1	4.4	40.9	4.5	41.4	4.6	41.8	4.7	42.4	4.7
Age (father)	44.0	5.3	25.0	70.0	42.8	5.0	43.6	5.1	44.2	5.3	44.8	5.5	45.5	5.6
Marriage duration in years	13.7	5.0	0.0	29.8	12.8	4.9	13.4	5.0	13.8	5.1	14.1	4.9	14.8	5.0
Economic deprivation	1.7	0.8	1.0	5.0	1.8	0.8	1.7	0.8	1.7	0.8	1.6	0.7	1.6	0.7
N			observations		839	0.0	986	0.0	894	0.0	747	···	540	

Results

Inter-Parental Conflict and Parenting Behavior

Table 14. Predictors of Mothers' Parenting Behavior (Fixed-Effects Regression, N=4,016

Observations)

		Wa	armth		N	legative c	ommunicati	on
	Mot	thers	Fat	hers	Mo	thers	Fat	hers
	Model 1a		Mod	Model 1b		lel 2a	Model 2b	
Variable	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Inter-parental conflict	-0.122***	0.023	-0.235***	0.026	0.323***	0.027	0.332***	0.031
frequency	-0.122	0.023	-0.233	0.020	0.323	0.027	0.332	0.031
Age of child ^a	-0.064	0.036	0.002	0.046	0.011	0.05	-0.038	0.045
Number of children in								
household ^b								
2 children	-0.073	0.078	-0.056	0.09	0.108	0.088	0.054	0.102
3 children or more	-0.089	0.093	-0.072	0.109	0.201	0.111	0.117	0.118
Educational level (mother) ^c								
lower	-0.021	0.13	0.418***	0.108	0.032	0.222	0.05	0.169
upper	-0.106	0.163	0.187	0.11	-0.13	0.175	-0.142	0.138
Educational level (father) ^d								
lower	0.243***	0.032	0.764***	0.039	-0.102**	0.038	-0.135**	0.047
upper	0.059	0.23	-0.091	0.173	0.09	0.16	-0.182**	0.07
Employment status (mother) ^e								
not employed	-0.03	0.044	-0.035	0.057	0.029	0.054	0.039	0.052
part-time	0.024	0.033	0.048	0.039	0.03	0.046	-0.016	0.04
overtime (> 44 hours per	-0.124**	0.043	-0.043	0.061	0.114	0.059	0.043	0.055
week)	-0.124	0.043	-0.043	0.001	0.114	0.039	0.043	0.033
Employment status (father) ^f								
not employed	0.142^{*}	0.063	-0.089	0.199	-0.2	0.286	0.034	0.256
part-time	0.047	0.055	0.073	0.065	-0.127	0.088	0.044	0.089
overtime (> 44 hours per	-0.037	0.023	-0.025	0.03	0.04	0.032	-0.048	0.033
week)	-0.037	0.023	-0.023	0.03	0.04	0.032	-0.046	0.033
Age (mother) ^g	-0.056	0.04	-0.014	0.043	0.007	0.05	-0.017	0.057
Age (father) h	0.013	0.053	0.017	0.048	-0.063	0.051	-0.037	0.063
Marriage duration i	0.058	0.082	-0.065	0.082	0.032	0.09	0.072	0.11
Economic deprivation	-0.076***	0.016	-0.050*	0.02	0.067^{**}	0.022	0.056^{*}	0.022
R ²	0.062		0.083		0.069		0.068	

Note: *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001; Standard Errors clustered on household level

Following the analytical strategy, the models in Table 14 show the results for the effect of changes in inter-parental conflict frequency as perceived by the child, on changes in the warmth of mothers and fathers (Models 1a and 1b) and the negative communication of mothers and fathers (Models 2a and 2b). The results showed a significant relationship between increased inter-parental conflict and both parenting behaviors in mothers and fathers: child-reported maternal warmth (b = -0.122, p < 0.001) and child-reported paternal warmth (b = -0.235, p < 0.001) were negatively associated with increases in inter-parental conflict frequency. The effect size for fathers was substantially higher, indicating that children perceive a stronger change in paternal warmth compared to maternal warmth. Secondly, both negative maternal communication (b = 0.323, p < 0.001) and negative

^a In years. ^b Ref.: 1 child. ^c Ref.: Intermediate educational level. ^d Ref.: Intermediate educational level. ^e Ref.: Employed full-time. ^g In years. ^h In years. ⁱ In years.

paternal communication (b = 0.332, p < 0.001) were positively associated with increases in inter-parental conflict frequency. Increases in inter-parental conflict were thus associated with decreases in the warmth of both parents, and with increases in negative communication from both parents from the child's perspective. These results are well in line with H2: Children who report increases in inter-parental conflict frequency do indeed report increasingly negative communication with their mothers and fathers. The analyses did not reveal evidence for H3, however. Contrary to the theoretical argument proposed by the compensatory hypothesis, children who report increases in inter-parental conflict frequency do not report increasing warmth from their mothers and fathers – no compensatory effect was found.

Inter-Parental Conflict and Children's Social Well-Being

Table 15 displays the effects of increasing inter-parental conflict frequency on changes in children's social well-being. Models 3a and 4a show the effect of changes in the frequency of inter-parental conflict on changes in children's social prosocial behavior and children's peer problems without controlling for the parenting behavior of mothers or fathers. The indicators of inter-parental conflict frequency showed a negative association with children's prosocial behavior (b = -0.052, p < 0.001), and a positive association with children's peer problems (b = 0.070, p < 0.001), thus indicating statistically significant decreases in prosocial behavior and increases in peer problems when there was an increase in inter-parental conflict frequency. The results thus lend support to H1, as children's social well-being decreases when inter-parental conflict increases.

In the Models 3b and 4b, I added the first potential mediator variables, maternal and paternal warmth, to the regression model. Maternal warmth was significantly related to both child outcomes, showing a positive association with children's prosocial behavior and a negative association with peer problems, which indicates an increase in prosocial behavior and a decrease in peer problems in children who report a perceived increase in both maternal warmth (b = 0.102, p < 0.001) and paternal warmth (b = 0.065, p < 0.001). Adding maternal and paternal warmth to the models altered the association between inter-parental conflict frequency and children's prosocial behavior markedly: the effect of increasing inter-parental conflict frequency on children's prosocial behavior became statistically insignificant (b = -0.025, p > 0.05), indicating full mediation. When maternal warmth (b = -0.031, p < 0.05) and paternal warmth (b = -0.049, p < 0.001) were included in Model 4b for changes in children's peer problems, the coefficient of increased inter-parental conflict frequency decreased substantially in size, but remained statistically significant, thus indicating partial mediation.

To evaluate whether the effect of inter-parental conflict frequency on children's social well-being was mediated by child-reported negative maternal and paternal communication, I estimated a third set of models following the same strategy (Models 3c and 4c in Table 15), adding negative maternal and paternal communication instead of maternal and paternal warmth. Changes in negative maternal communication were statistically significant predictors of changes in children's prosocial behavior (b = -0.035, p < 0.01), but not for changes in children's peer problems. Negative paternal communication, on the other hand, was not associated with changes in children's prosocial behavior, but was positively related to changes in children's peer problems (b = 0.030, p < 0.05).

When controlling for negative maternal and negative paternal communication, the regression coefficients for changes in inter-parental conflict frequency decreased substantially. The association between increased inter-parental conflict frequency and changes in prosocial behavior decreased from b = -0.052 (p < 0.001) to b = -0.037 (p < 0.05), and the coefficient for changes in children's peer problems decreased from b = 0.070 (p < 0.001) to b = 0.054 (p < 0.001). As the relationship between increasing inter-parental conflict frequency and children's social well-being remains statistically significant in Model 3c and Model 4c, however, a partial mediation effect is indicated.

Table 15. Predictors of Children's Prosocial Behavior and Peer Problems (Fixed-Effects Regression, N=4,016 Observations)

			social behav		1	00			Peer pro	blems		
	Mode	Model 3a		el 3b	Mode	el 3c	Mode	el 4a	Model 4b		Mod	el 4c
Variable	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Inter-parental conflict frequency	-0.052***	0.013	-0.025	0.013	-0.037**	0.013	0.070***	0.013	0.055***	0.013	0.054***	0.013
Maternal warmth			0.102***	0.015					-0.031*	0.014		
Paternal warmth			0.065^{***}	0.013					-0.049***	0.012		
Negative maternal					-0.035**	0.011					0.020	0.012
communication					0.033	0.011					0.020	0.012
Negative paternal					-0.013	0.012					0.030*	0.013
communication												
Age of child ^a	0.019	0.026	0.025	0.025	0.019	0.026	-0.006	0.022	-0.008	0.022	-0.005	0.022
Number of children in												
household b												
2 children	-0.083	0.064	-0.072	0.063	-0.079	0.064	0.081	0.052	0.075	0.051	0.077	0.051
3 children or more	-0.064	0.077	-0.050	0.075	-0.056	0.077	0.062	0.064	0.056	0.062	0.055	0.063
Educational level (mother) ^c												
lower	-0.109	0.077	-0.134	0.072	-0.107	0.080	0.240^{**}	0.088	0.260^{**}	0.086	0.238^{**}	0.092
upper	0.088	0.094	0.086	0.098	0.081	0.094	0.065	0.131	0.071	0.132	0.072	0.131
Educational level (father) ^d												
lower	0.042^{*}	0.018	-0.032	0.020	0.037^{*}	0.018	-0.222***	0.019	-0.177***	0.020	-0.216***	0.019
upper	-0.017	0.036	-0.018	0.018	-0.017	0.041	0.121	0.079	0.118	0.077	0.125	0.080
Employment status (mother) ^e												
not employed	-0.031	0.027	-0.026	0.024	-0.03	0.027	0.061^{*}	0.029	0.058^{*}	0.028	0.059^{*}	0.029
part-time	0.002	0.021	-0.003	0.019	0.003	0.021	0.001	0.022	0.004	0.021	0.000	0.022
overtime (> 44 hours per	-0.028	0.029	-0.013	0.028	-0.024	0.03	0.04	0.036	0.034	0.035	0.036	0.035
week)	-0.020	0.027	-0.013	0.020	-0.024	0.03	0.04	0.030	0.054	0.033	0.050	0.033
Employment status (father) ^f												
not employed	0.005	0.095	-0.004	0.100	-0.002	0.089	-0.009	0.033	-0.009	0.032	-0.006	0.027
part-time	0.061	0.038	0.052	0.038	0.057	0.037	-0.026	0.037	-0.021	0.037	-0.025	0.036
overtime (> 44 hours per	0.000	0.016	0.005	0.015	0.000	0.016	-0.019	0.014	-0.021	0.014	-0.018	0.014
week)		0.010			0.000		-0.019					
Age (mother) ^g	0.046	0.024	0.053^{*}	0.023	0.046	0.024	-0.003	0.024	-0.006	0.024	-0.003	0.024
Age (father) h	0.044	0.024	0.042	0.024	0.041	0.024	-0.008	0.024	-0.007	0.024	-0.006	0.024
Marriage duration i	-0.112*	0.044	-0.114**	0.043	-0.110*	0.044	0.002	0.041	0.001	0.041	0.000	0.042
Economic deprivation	-0.013	0.009	-0.002	0.009	-0.010	0.009	0.023^{*}	0.010	0.018	0.010	0.020^{*}	0.010
R ²	0.015		0.071		0.022		0.030		0.046		0.038	

Note: *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001; Standard Errors clustered on household level

^a In years. ^b Ref.: 1 child. ^c Ref.: Intermediate educational level. ^d Ref.: Intermediate educational level. ^e Ref.: Employed full-time. ^f Ref.: Employed full-time. ^g In years. ^h In years. ⁱ In years.

Mediation Analyses

In the last step, I quantified the indirect effects of the mediation processes (Table 16) as described in the analytical strategy. The results indicated significant indirect effects of the frequency of inter-parental conflict on children's prosocial behavior and children's peer problems through increases in maternal and paternal warmth. The indirect effect of interparental conflict frequency on children's prosocial behavior that is transmitted via maternal warmth was b = -0.013 (p < 0.05), and the indirect effect transmitted via paternal warmth was b = -0.016 (p < 0.05), which yielded a total indirect effect transmitted via parental warmth of b = -0.029 (p < 0.05). This indicates a very strong mediating effect: 54.9% of the total effect was mediated by parental warmth. The indirect effect on peer problems via maternal warmth was b = 0.004 (p < 0.05) and b = 0.013 (p < 0.05) for paternal warmth (total indirect effect: b = 0.018; p < 0.05), which implies a mediation of 25.1% on the total effect. The significant indirect effect of negative maternal communication, on children's prosocial behavior was b = -0.013 (p < 0.05). Negative paternal communication did not have a significant indirect effect. Finally, the significant indirect effect of inter-parental conflict frequency on children's peer problems transmitted via negative maternal communication was b = 0.008 (p < 0.05), and b = 0.012 (p < 0.05) for negative paternal communication. The total indirect effect mediated via negative parental communication was thus b = 0.021, indicating that the total mediated effect is 29.5%. Overall, these findings show that parental warmth is a much stronger mediator than negative communication in the effect of increasing inter-parental conflict frequency on changes in children's social well-being. Finally, the mediation analyses provided support for H4: Maternal and paternal parenting behavior does indeed mediate the effect of increasing inter-parental conflict on children's social wellbeing: increasing inter-parental conflict frequency is associated with a child-perceived worsening of maternal and paternal parenting behavior which ultimately leads to substantially decreased social well-being in children.

Table 16. Indirect Effects Predicting the Effect of Inter-Parental Conflict Through Parenting Behavior on Children's Social Well-Being (N = 4,016 Observations)

	Prosoci	al behavio	Peer pr			
	Indirect	LL	UL	Indirect	LL	UL
Variable	Effect	LL	UL	Effect	LL	OL
Maternal warmth	-0.013	-0.019	-0.007	0.004	0.001	0.008
Paternal warmth	-0.016	-0.023	-0.010	0.013	0.007	0.020
Negative maternal communication	-0.013	-0.020	-0.006	0.008	0.001	0.016
Negative paternal communication	-0.006	-0.013	0.001	0.012	0.004	0.021

Note: Unstandardized results of fixed effects regressions. Indirect effects were tested by using the Monte Carlo Method for Assessing Mediation (95% confidence intervals, 500,000 repetitions, LL = lower limit; UL = upper limit). Significant indirect effects are highlighted in bold characters.

Further controlled for the covariates age of child, number of children in the household, educational level of mother and father, occupation status of mother and father, age of mother and father, marriage duration and economic deprivation.

Additional Analyses

In order to deepen the understanding of the mechanism and determining the role of children's gender, I analyzed the association between inter-parental conflict, the parenting behavior of mothers and fathers, and children's social well-being with regard to gender (results not reported). I estimated the sets of models according to the analytical strategy for boys (2,093 observations) and girls (1,923 observations) separately because fixed effects regressions omit variables that remain constant over time. Changes in inter-parental conflict frequency predicted changes in the warmth and negative communication of mothers and fathers for both groups. Changes in maternal and paternal warmth were also significantly associated with changes in the prosocial behavior of both boys and girls. Slight differences emerged for changes in peer problems: while the negative association between changes in maternal and paternal warmth persisted, paternal warmth but not maternal warmth was significantly associated with peer problems in boys. Another difference emerged for changes in negative communication by parents: while changes in negative paternal communication were not significantly related to changes in the prosocial behavior of either girls or boys, negative maternal communication was only related to changes in the prosocial behavior of boys, not girls. The analyses also revealed the significant effects of changes in negative paternal communication on changes in girls' peer problems but not boys, and changes in negative maternal communication were associated with changes in peer problems for boys but not girls.

A similar pattern for girls and boys emerged regarding the mediating effects of parenting behavior by mothers and fathers: in line with the analyses for the whole sample, maternal and paternal warmth fully mediated the effect of increases in interparental conflict frequency on the prosocial behavior of girls and boys while changes in negative

communications from mothers and fathers fully mediated the effect on changes in boys' prosocial behavior, and partially for girls. Negative parental communication partially mediated the effect of increases in the frequency of inter-parental conflict on changes in the peer problems of boys and girls.

Lastly, I examined the age and developmental state of children more closely in additional analyses. Neither changes in the metric age nor changes in developmental state – child (age 7 to 10) versus early adolescence (age 11 to 13) and mid- to late adolescence (age 14 to 16) – were significant in any of the models. The mechanism thus seems to stay the same for children and adolescents, independent of their age.

Discussion

In today's society, prosocial behavior and adequate peer behavior are important for flourishing as they promote success in private and work life and are associated with a higher quality of life for children and adolescents (Dou et al., 2019; Lavy, 2020; Shek & Chai, 2020; Zhou et al., 2021), which reinforces the need to understand the mechanisms that lead to those behaviors. Previous studies have documented the harmful effect of inter-parental conflict on children's social well-being (e.g., Gong & Paulson, 2017; Holmes et al., 2015; McCoy et al., 2009). Using data from the German Family Panel, pairfam, this study intended to broaden our understanding of the intersection between inter-parental conflict and children's social well-being by applying panel regression analyses and mediation modeling to test three empirical relationships: (1) the association between an increasing frequency of inter-parental conflict and changes in children's social well-being, (2) the association between the frequency of inter-parental conflict and changes in parenting behavior by mothers and fathers, and (3) the mediating effect of maternal and paternal parenting behavior on the relationship between changes in the frequency of inter-parental conflict and children's social well-being.

Overall, the results are well in line with past findings from US American studies (e.g., Holmes et al., 2015; McCoy et al., 2013). Despite the differences in parenting behavior, the time budgets of families, and family values in Germany and the USA (Doepke & Zilibotti, 2019; Halman et al., 2007; OECD, 2014, 2016, 2020), I find that children who are exposed to more frequent conflict between parents seem to be prone to transfer the commonly observed behaviors in their parents to the school environment, and have more peer problems and behave in a less prosocial manner. This provides further empirical evidence for social learning theory (Bandura, 1969; Bandura & Walters, 1977).

This study explored the effect of changes in the frequency of inter-parental conflict on children's social well-being rather than levels of inter-parental conflict, in order to deepen our understanding of this association and acknowledge that the frequency of conflict is unlikely to be constant over time. An increased frequency of inter-parental conflict repeatedly exposes children to situations of social conflict within the family environment, which might elicit changes in children's social behavior and well-being (e.g., Miller et al., 2010; Power, 2004) because the children of parents who argue more frequently witness conflict and the associated adverse social behaviors more often, and may therefore accept these behaviors as normal (McCord, 1988), thus imitating their parents' (conflict) behavior (Bandura & Walters, 1977; Halberstadt et al., 1993). The empirical evidence provided in this study hints at a spillover process from home to the school environment in children, and suggests that it is not only the overall level of inter-parental conflict that contributes to a deterioration in children's social well-being, but also that an increasing frequency of interparental conflict has severe negative effects on children's social well-being as well.

The analyses also shed light on the underlying mechanism of the association between increases in inter-parental conflict frequency and changes in children's prosocial behavior and peer problems. While previous studies showed that parenting behavior and parenting stress have a mediating effect on the association between parental conflict and internalizing and externalizing problems in children (e.g., Camisasca et al., 2016; Coln et al., 2013), the present study complements and expands our knowledge by focusing more narrowly on the emotional warmth and negative communication of mothers and fathers. The analyses indicated that maternal and paternal parenting behavior is highly responsive to inter-parental conflict frequency: an increase in inter-parental conflict frequency is accompanied by a decrease in the warmth of both parents and an increase in negative communication between parents and their children. It is noteworthy that I did find some evidence for the father vulnerability hypothesis, which suggests that fathers react with more vulnerability to interparental conflict than mothers, and alter their parenting behavior more strongly when there is conflict within the family environment (Cummings et al., 2004, 2010; Goeke-Morey & Cummings, 2007; Krishnakumar & Buehler, 2000). Indeed, the analyses revealed that changes in inter-parental conflict have a much greater effect on a father's warmth and a slightly greater effect on negative communication compared to maternal parenting.

The mediation analyses identified parental warmth in particular as a powerful mediator when considering the effect of the frequency of inter-parental conflict on changes in children's social well-being. As perceived by the children, mothers and fathers seem to be less likely to express affection or cheer their children up when they are sad or upset, and more likely to berate, quarrel with, and criticize their children in the children's perceptions. These changes in parenting behavior, in turn, are associated with decreased social well-being in children: more peer problems and less prosocial behavior. These findings are well in line with the arguments of emotional security theory (EST), which proposes a cascade that

transmits the effects of inter-parental conflict to children's well-being (Davies & Cummings, 1994), and with the spillover hypothesis, as well as empirical evidence provided by earlier studies (e.g., Holmes et al., 2015; Hosokawa & Katsura, 2017; McCoy et al., 2009, 2013; Miga et al., 2012). However, I did not find evidence in favor of the compensatory hypothesis (Engfer, 1988): both parents act less warmly and communicate more negatively with the child, which ultimately leads to lower social well-being. The analyses further revealed that the warmth of parents has stronger mediating effects than negative communication. Changes in the emotional component within the family system seem to have a greater effect on changes in children's social well-being than changes in the communicative component. Interestingly, maternal parenting behavior has a stronger negative effect on changes in children's prosocial behavior while a father's parenting behavior is more strongly associated with increasing peer problems.

Finally, although some studies have examined the association between interparental conflict and children's social behavior and social well-being (e.g., Holmes et al., 2015; McCoy et al., 2009, 2013; Troxel & Matthews, 2004), the child's perspective has received less attention. By incorporating children's reports of interparental conflict and their self-reports of social well-being, the current study aimed to reduce possible biases compared to earlier analyses that only used reports from parents and teachers reports (e.g., Brock & Kochanska, 2016; Gryczkowski et al., 2018; Harold et al., 2007). In light of the existing empirical evidence that children perceive their well-being and family environments very differently from their parents and teachers, and that adults' reports are not always congruent with children's (e.g., Seiffge-Krenke & Kollmar, 1998; White-Koning et al., 2007), it is essential to consider children's self-reports when seeking to explain the effect of the frequency of inter-parental conflict on children's social well-being. However, the empirical evidence also suggests that the detrimental effects of inter-parental conflict are persistent when using child- and adolescent-reported measures, confirming the parent- and teacher-reports.

Limitations

While the present study advances the current body of literature by testing changes in inter-parental conflict frequency with longitudinal, child-reported data, and providing evidence of how parenting behavior functions as a mediator between interparental conflict and child outcomes, some limitations should be addressed.

First, I only tested the effect of increases in inter-parental conflict frequency in this study. It would be valuable to test whether declining inter-parental conflict leads to an increase in children's social well-being, and also to examine the effects of constant high

levels of inter-parental conflict. This study also concentrated on conflict frequency only. Some studies have shown that, in addition to conflict frequency, parental conflict resolution behavior and hostility between parents contribute to children's emotional and behavioral problems (for an overview see van Eldik et al., 2020). It would thus be beneficial to utilize more complex conflict measures to determine coping strategies for within-family conflicts more effectively. Secondly, this study employed the child's perspective only. A multiinformant approach that incorporates the parents' assessment of parenting behavior would be beneficial to improve the reliability of the findings by cross-validating the parents' behaviors (e.g., Camisasca et al., 2016; Harold et al., 2007). Third, I need to address the limitations of fixed-effects regressions: FE models suffer from a number of limitations ranging from culture of omission (e.g., time fixed traits like gender), limited external validity and low statistical power (Hill et al., 2020). Indeed, the effect sizes in this study are relatively small, which is not unusual for psychological and social scientific studies (Bosco et al., 2015; Cohen, 2013) The results of this study should therefore be interpreted with care. Fourth, the causal direction assumed in this study is not undisputed. Although it is reasonably and generally assumed that inter-parental conflict determines the social well-being of parents and children, there is some empirical evidence that child problems might be bi-directionally associated with inter-parental conflict, coparenting conflict, and parenting practices (e.g., Choi et al., 2019a; Howard et al., 2019; Larsson et al., 2008; Salari et al., 2014; Zvara et al., 2018). Lastly, the research on child and adolescent outcomes may suffer from poor external validity: most of the studies conducted on the effect of inter-parental conflict on child and adolescent outcomes stem from Western researchers and rely on data from Western countries; it is not conclusively clear whether the results can be transferred without restriction to other cultural contexts (Nielsen et al., 2017; Qi et al., 2020). This study is no exception to this Western bias. Future research should urgently address this research gap.

Notwithstanding the aforementioned limitations, this study overall provides empirical evidence for the negative impact of inter-parental conflict on children's social well-being through a cascade of negative behavior within the family environment that spills over to the school environment. Children of parents who have frequent inter-parental conflicts perceive their mothers and fathers to be less warm and to communicate more negatively, which, in turn, leads to more peer problems and less prosocial behavior in those children.

7 Exosystem – Work-family conflict

Paper 3: Associations between Mothers' Work-Family Conflict and Children's Psychological Well-being: The Mediating Role of Mothers' Parenting Behavior

Abstract

Objectives Work-family conflict (WFC) has severe negative effects on workers' health and well-being. This study examined whether parents' WFC also affects the well-being of their children. It was analyzed whether, and to what extent, maternal WFC is associated with child emotional and behavioral problems, and whether this association is mediated by mothers' use of harsh parenting practices.

Methods Using data from two waves of the German Family Panel (pairfam) a total of 1781 children and their employed mothers were analyzed using mediation modeling with pooled OLS regressions.

Results The analyses show that children whose mothers experience higher levels of WFC report higher levels of emotional problems, conduct problems, and hyperactivity. The results also indicate that this association is mediated by mothers' parenting behavior.

Conclusions The findings suggest that mothers' parenting behavior underpins the association between maternal WFC and child behavioral problems: Mothers who experience higher levels of WFC use harsher parenting practices, which negatively affects their children's well-being.

Adult life is largely divided between two spheres: work and family life. The intersection of these two spheres is currently changing, with a growing percentage of workers experiencing conflicts between work and family life (Nomaguchi 2009). A broad literature has studied the negative effects of work-family conflict (WFC) on workers' physical health and psychological distress (Allen & Armstrong 2006; Oshio et al. 2017). WFC has also been found to affect various dimensions of psychological well-being, such as job satisfaction, family and relationship satisfaction, and overall life satisfaction (Cooklin et al. 2014; Liu & Zhou 2017).

However, WFC might not only affect the well-being of adults, but also that of their children. To date, only a few studies have addressed the association between parental WFC and child mental health. In light of a growing prevalence of WFC among parents as well as increasing mental health problems among children in recent decades (Collishaw 2015; Collishaw et al. 2004), it is important to know whether and in what ways parental WFC affects children's psychological well-being.

A prominent theoretical framework to explain associations between parental employment and child well-being is the ecological theory of child development (Bronfenbrenner 1986, 1992). The ecological theory suggests that child development is decisively influenced by the child's social and normative environment as well as time factors in the form of individual changes and historical transformation processes (Bronfenbrenner & Morris 1998). Children themselves interact with a variety of interrelated individuals and systems. Direct contact with individuals such as family members or peers has the most powerful impact on child development and is referred to as the child's microsystem. Further connections between the different agents comprise the mesosystem, including the interaction between the family environment and school. A broader environment of family and community contexts make up the exosystem. The child does not actively participate in this system, but it has indirect effects on child development outcomes. A prominent example of the exosystem is the parents' workplace. Workplace characteristics can affect children by determining how parents interact with them. Parents' jobs can, for instance, limit the amount of financial and time resources available to the family, affect family routines and the amount of time spent together, and thereby impact family functioning (Bronfenbrenner 1986). According to the ecological theory, child development is also affected by the macrosystem; the social and normative context consisting of values, policies, and the economic and cultural norms with which the child is raised (Bronfenbrenner and Morris 1998).

Previous research has produced various findings that support the hypothesis that parental WFC indirectly affects child well-being via parents' mental health and parenting behavior. The negative consequences of WFC for parents' mental health are well

documented. High levels of WFC are associated with higher levels of depressive symptoms and severe effort-reward imbalance in parents (Bergs et al. 2018; Peter et al. 2016). WFC has also been linked to lower job and life satisfaction, reduced emotional, psychological, and social well-being as well as lower relationship quality, emotional exhaustion, and more stress-related disorders and psychological strain (Adams et al. 1996; Byron 2005; Fellows et al. 2015; Liu et al. 2015; Nieuwenhuijsen et al. 2010). The strength of these associations, however, varies by gender. Mothers experience higher levels of WFC in general (Cinamon 2006; Duxbury et al. 1994) and suffer more often from depression than fathers when WFC occurs (Marchand et al. 2016). This might be due to women feeling more responsible for the family and experiencing greater disparities between work and family roles (Marchand et al. 2016; Peter et al. 2016) and higher role overload (Duxbury et al. 1994). Mothers also experience higher levels of WFC because they often bear the double burden of paid and unpaid work. Women usually still bear the vast share of household and childcare responsibilities and spend significantly more time on housework and child care than men, even when they are employed full-time (Hochschild & Machung 2012; Procher et al. 2018). As a consequence, the negative effects of WFC on job-life satisfaction are greater for women than for men (Kossek & Ozeki 1998).

Lower levels of mental health and psychological well-being due to WFC might impact parenting practices and behavior. Previous research indicated that higher levels of WFC in parents are associated with reduced family leisure activities and worse family functioning (Lau 2009). Few studies, however, have explicitly investigated the link between WFC and parenting behavior. Nevertheless, there is some evidence that higher WFC among parents is associated with lower levels of parenting warmth and parenting consistency, higher levels of parenting irritability (Cooklin et al. 2014), and lower overall quality of the parent-child relationship (Vieira et al. 2016).

Generally, parenting is categorized according to parenting styles or parenting behavior. Parenting styles are defined as global, contextual attitudes parents display towards their children (Baumrind, 1972), which are thought to moderate the relationship between specific parenting practices and developmental outcomes in children (Darling & Steinberg 1993, p. 493). Parenting behavior and practices are defined as the directly observable, context- and child-specific parent-child interactions that parents undertake to promote certain socialization goals (Darling & Steinberg 1993; Kuppens & Ceulemans 2019). Both parenting behavior and parenting styles affect child behavior and well-being (Pinquart 2017). Positive parenting (e.g., emotional warmth) is associated with lower levels of emotional and behavioral problems (Bhide et al. 2019; Mckee et al. 2007). Negative parenting behavior (e.g., inconsistent parenting, harsh parenting, warmth withdrawal), in

contrast, is linked to increased levels of emotional and behavioral problems as well as aggression (Gershoff 2002; Yap & Jorm 2015). Among the various negative parenting behaviors, harsh parenting has been identified as a particularly strong predictor of externalizing problems (Chen & Raine 2018; Pinquart 2017).

Research on the relationship between parenting styles and child well-being has shown that this association can vary between contexts. Cross-country studies indicate that authoritative parenting is associated with lower internalizing and externalizing problems in North America, Western Europe and Asia, but not in Eastern Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa (Garcia et al. 2019; Querido et al. 2002). Authoritarian parenting, in contrast, is associated with higher internalizing problems and behavioral problems in America, Europe, Australia, South Asia, and East Asia than in South-east Asia and in Sub-Saharan Africa (Braza et al. 2015; Rudy & Grusec 2001). The association between parenting and child well-being also varies between ethnic groups within countries. Studies in a U.S. context indicate that authoritarian parenting is associated with fewer externalizing and internalizing problems in White, Hispanic and Asian children, but not in children with an African ethnic background (Baumrind 1972; Steinberg et al. 1991). However, there seem to be more similarities than differences between cultures and ethnicities regarding the effect of parenting styles on child outcomes. Many differences insignificant (Pinquart & Kauser 2018).

The theoretical arguments and empirical findings reported above suggest that parental WFC causes emotional and behavioral problems in children, and that this association is mediated by parenting behavior. However, only a few studies to date have studied this association. Using data from Australia, Dinh et al. (2017), Strazdins et al. (2013) and Vahedi et al. (2018) found that children experience higher levels of mental and behavioral problems when one or both parents suffer from WFC. Likewise, Vieira et al. (2016) found associations between parents' WFC and externalizing and internalizing problems in Portuguese children. Parental WFC was also found to be associated with lower levels of self-esteem among children in Hong Kong (Lau 2009) and higher levels of emotional distress in American children (Chee et al. 2009). Yet, less is known about the underlying link between parental WFC and children's mental health. Vieira et al. (2016) show for Portugal that the relationship between parental WFC and children's internalizing and externalizing problems is mediated by the quality of the parent-child relationship. Two studies for Australia show inconsistent results: While Dinh et al. (2017) suggest that the effect of parental WFC on children's mental health is mediated by the broader family environment, Vahedi et al. (2018) report no mediating effect of inter-parental conflict. The current study explores the association between parental WFC and children's mental health for Germany. Germany's family support policies differ from those in countries that have

been the focus of previous research. In recent decades, Germany has introduced policies that help parents to balance work and family life. Although family policies in Germany are still less supportive than those in Scandinavian countries (Boje & Ejrnæs 2012), various policies introduced since 2001 have aimed at increasing the provision of public child care and have granted parents the right to reduce their working hours to part-time (Blome 2016). German parents therefore have more resources than their counterparts in the United States, Australia, and many southern European countries to balance work and family responsibilities. Consequently, WFC may be less severe among German parents, and may have weaker effects on child well-being.

Based on the theoretical foundation and the findings reported above, this study hypothesizes that children whose mothers experience high levels of WFC more often experience emotional and behavioral problems. It also hypothesizes that this effect is mediated by mothers' parenting behavior, more specifically that mothers who experience high levels of WFC more often engage in harsh parenting than mothers with low levels of WFC, and that harsh parenting in turn increases children's emotional and behavioral problems. By investigating the association between maternal WFC and child emotional and behavioral problems in Germany, this study was able to test whether previous findings on this association are also valid for countries with fundamentally different labor market regimes and family policies.

Methods

Participants

Table 17. Sample characteristics for mothers and children (N = 1,781 *observations*)

Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Mother characteristics				
WFC	2.14	0.87	1.00	5.00
Harsh parenting	2.41	0.61	1.00	4.67
Occupation status				
full-time	0.25			
part-time	0.67			
overwork (> 44 hours weekly)	0.07			
Educational level				
lower: left school without degree, Volks-/ Haupschule	0.12			
intermediate: Realschule, GDR, POS 10	0.43			
upper: Fachhochschulreife / FOS	0.45			
Married	0.91			
Cohabitating	0.90			
Birth cohort				
1960 - 1969	0.03			
1970 - 1979	0.79			
1980 - 1989	0.17			
Occupational status				
self-employed/liberal professions	0.07			
blue collar workers	0.16			
unskilled white collar workers	0.18			
skilled white collar workers	0.44			
professional workers	0.15			
Partner's employment status				
not employed	0.05			
full-time	0.48			
part-time	0.03			
overwork (> 44 hours weekly)	0.44			
Child characteristics				
Emotional problems	0.49	0.39	0.00	2.00
Conduct problems	0.30	0.28	0.00	1.80
Hyperactivity	0.74	0.45	0.00	2.00
Age of child	11.69	2.19	8.00	16.00
Sex of child	1.49			
Number of children in household	2.10			

This study is based on data from the Germany Family Panel (pairfam), a long-term project funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). Pairfam is a longitudinal representative survey of three birth cohorts (1971–73, 1981–1983 and 1991–93). The data were collected by CAPI and PAPI. The pairfam study started in 2008 with around 12,000 adult respondents and is conducted since then annually. As of now, pairfam provides data from 10 survey waves. Pairfam has a multi-actor design and interviews sampled respondents

and their partners. In addition, pairfam collects data from all children aged 8 to 16 years living in a pairfam household. Participating children take a 15-min CAPI interview after the parents give their permission. The questionnaire is completed by the children voluntarily, and children receive a small gift worth €5 as an incentive. The questionnaire for adult respondents focuses on family issues, such as fertility, partnership, parenthood, intergenerational relationships, parenting, and child development as well as social embeddedness, whereas children are asked to answer a variety of questions about their well-being, health, school life, and relationships (Huinink et al. 2011).

For our analysis, we used data from wave 6 (collected in 2013/14) and wave 8 (collected in 2015/16), as these are the only waves that provide information on WFC. We restricted the analysis to children who had no disabilities and whose mothers were gainfully employed at the time of the interview. Finally, we excluded 57 observations due to missing information on any relevant variable. The final sample consisted of data from 1279 children. Because 502 children participated in both survey waves (waves 6 and 8), our data comprised a total of 1781 observation. Pairfam interviews all children living in a participating household; therefore, our analytical sample contained 324 children from households in which two or more children were interviewed.

Measures

Behavioral and emotional problems. We used three dependent variables that indicate behavioral and emotional problems: emotional problems, conduct problems, and hyperactivity. These symptoms were assessed with the Strength and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ). The SDQ is a brief screening questionnaire that assesses four types of emotional and behavioral problems. The fourth type, peer problems, is not considered in our analysis, because data on peer problems is only available in one wave of the pairfam data. The SDQ was translated into German in 1997 and has since been evaluated and validated (Klasen et al. 2003). There are various versions of the SDQ for parents, teachers, and children. In the version for children, the wording of the items is slightly modified to ensure a proper understanding and reflection of the relevant psychological traits (Youth in Mind 2012b).

Emotional symptoms ($\alpha = 0.66$) were evaluated with five items, such as "I am nervous in new situations, I easily lose confidence" and "I am often unhappy, depressed or fearful". Conduct problems ($\alpha = 0.52$) were measured by five items such as "I get very angry and often lose my temper" and "I fight a lot and I can make other people do what I want". Hyperactivity ($\alpha = 0.71$) also consists of five items such as "I am often restless and I can't sit still for long" and "I am constantly in motion and fidgety". Children were asked to rate

all of the items above on a scale from 0 "Not true" to 2 "Certainly true". We constructed a sum score for each subscale and divided it by the number of items evaluated. Higher scores in each subscale indicate higher levels of emotional problems, conduct problems, and hyperactivity. The subscales constructed for emotional problems and hyperactivity range from 0.00 to a maximum of 2.00, with hyperactivity being more prevalent (mean: 0.74) than emotional problems (mean: 0.49). The score for conduct problems ranges from 0.00 to 1.8 with a mean of 0.30.

Work-family conflict. The WFC measure ($\alpha = 0.79$) consists of four items that measure time issues on the one hand and stress and strain on the other. In this study, WFC refers to conflicts in which work interferes with family, also known as work-to-family conflicts. In most cultures, work-to-family conflicts are more prevalent and have stronger effects on parents' well-being than family-to-work conflicts (Aycan 2008; Drummond et al. 2016). In this study, time-based WFC is measured by the items "Because of my workload in my job [...], my personal life suffers" and "My work prevents me from doing things with my friends, partner, and family more than I'd like", while stress-based WFC is assessed by the items "Even when I am doing something with my friends, partner, or family, I must often think about work" and "After the stress of work I find it difficult to relax at home and/or to enjoy my free time with others". Mothers evaluated the extent of WFC by using a scale from 1 "Not at all" to 5 "Absolutely". Thus, higher scores on the WFC measure indicate higher interference of work with family life. Following previous research (French et al. 2018; Netemeyer et al. 1996), we computed an overall score for WFC by calculating the row mean of all four items. As displayed in Table 17, the WFC scale is used in full (1.00–5.00) with a mean of 2.14.

Harsh parenting behavior. Studies found that both physically and verbally harsh parenting is linked to behavioral problems in children (Deater-Deckard et al. 2012; Mckee et al. 2007). Because pairfam does not provide information on physically harsh parenting behavior, the analysis is limited to verbally harsh parenting behavior, which was measured by three items ($\alpha = 0.72$). Parents were asked to rate the items "You criticize your child", "You scream at your child when he/she did something wrong" and "You scold your child when you are angry at him/her" on a scale from 1 "Never" to 5 "Very often". Thus, higher values on this scale indicate a higher prevalence of harsh parenting. Harsh parenting was evaluated with scores from 1.00 to 4.67 (see, Table 17).

Covariates. In the multivariate regression models, we controlled for various parent and child characteristics (see Table 17). Parent characteristics include mother's age and partnership status (married and cohabitating vs. no partner). We also controlled for various socioeconomic characteristics (employment status, occupational position, educational level).

These characteristics might covary with both mothers' WFC and children's well-being, hence confounding the relationship between the two (Bianchi & Milkie 2010; Monna & Gauthier 2008; Sayer et al. 2004). We controlled for mothers' and their partners' employment status by assigning their working hours to the categories "not employed", "parttime", "full-time" and "overtime (more than 44 h weekly)". Mothers' occupational status was categorized as "self-employed", "blue-collar worker", "unskilled white-collar worker", "skilled white-collar worker", and "professional worker". Mothers' education was taken into account by mothers' level of secondary schooling ("low", "intermediate", or "high"). Child characteristics cover demographics such as age and sex, which might modify the effect of parenting on child development (Goldstein & Heaven 2000; Hughes et al. 1999). Another important control variable is the number of children living in the household. The amount of time parents have available for a child is strongly affected by the presence of other children in the family. The number of children is positively correlated with parenting stress (Chan 1994; Nam et al. 2015) and has been identified as determinant of harsh and abusive parenting behavior (Malik 2010; Tucker & Rodriguez 2014). In addition, the number of children in the household is associated with higher levels of WFC (Adkins & Premeaux 2012).

Data Analysis

To analyze whether maternal WFC affects child well-being through harsh parenting, we used mediation modeling (e.g., Hayes 2013). This regression-based approach allowed us to identify the mechanism in the triad of WFC, harsh parenting, and children's well-being by distinguishing between a direct effect of maternal WFC on children's well-being and an indirect effect that describes the extent to which harsh parenting behavior transmits the effect of WFC on children's well-being. In the first part of the analysis, we examined the effect of WFC and harsh parenting on child well-being (emotional problems, conduct problems, and hyperactivity). In a second step, we estimated the direct and indirect effects. Following Preacher and Hayes (2008), we conducted bootstrapping with 5000 replications to obtain reliable standard errors for the indirect effects. To analyze the data, we used pooled OLS regression with robust standard errors clustered at the household level. Generally, panel regression models (i.e., fixed effects regression) are better suited to analyze the data at hand. Unfortunately, such models did not lead to consistent results due to the small number of children who participated in both waves and due to limited interpersonal variation in the outcome variables over time. We also conducted two additional analyses. To address possible differences in child development, we analyzed two age groups separately (ages 8– 12 and 13–16). Further, the models were estimated separately for time-based and strainbased WFC to test whether these two dimensions affect child well-being differently.

Results

Following our analytical strategy, we first estimated the effects of maternal WFC on harsh parenting behavior (Table 18). The results showed a significant positive relationship between mothers' levels of WFC and harsh parenting (b = 0.125, p < 0.001). According to the estimates, mothers with the highest levels of WFC scored 0.82 standard deviations higher on the harsh parenting measure than mothers with the lowest levels of WFC.

Table 18. Predictors of harsh parenting for mothers

	Harsh parenting						
		Model 1					
Variable	b		SE				
WFC (mother)	0.125	***	0.023				
Age of child ^a	-0.005		0.007				
Sex of child ^b	-0.040		0.033				
Number of children in household ^c							
2 children	-0.008		0.052				
3 children or more	-0.022		0.059				
Occupation status ^d							
part-time	0.033		0.048				
overwork (> 44 hours weekly)	-0.108		0.083				
Educational level (mother) ^e							
intermediate: Realschule, GDR, POS 10	-0.081		0.065				
upper: Fachhochschulreife / FOS	-0.042		0.074				
Married vs. cohabitation ^f	-0.064		0.067				
Birth cohort (mother) ^g							
1960-1969	0.027		0.087				
1980-1938	0.005		0.055				
Partner's occupation status ^h							
unemployed	-0.102		0.088				
part-time	0.092		0.117				
overwork (> 44 hours weekly)	0.116	**	0.042				
Occupational status ⁱ							
self-employed/liberal professions	-0.038		0.074				
blue collar workers	-0.103		0.063				
unskilled white collar workers	-0.067		0.057				
professional workers	-0.127		0.066				
Constant	2.332	***	0.136				
R ²	0.047						

Note: Clustered linear regressions. *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001.

a In years. b Ref.: boy. c Ref.: 1 child. d Ref.: Employed full-time. e Ref.: lower: left school without degree, Volks-/ Haupschule. f Ref.: Married. g Ref: 1970-1979. h Ref.: Employed full-time. f Ref.: skilled white collar workers.

In the next step, we regressed the effects of maternal WFC on the three dimensions of child well-being (emotional problems, conduct problems, and hyperactivity). The first set of models show the effect of WFC on child problems without controlling for harsh parenting (Models 2a, 3a, 4a, in Table 19). Maternal WFC was positively associated with the children's emotional problems (b = 0.054, p < 0.001), conduct problems (b = 0.027, p < 0.01), and hyperactivity (b = 0.036, p < 0.05). Children of mothers with the highest levels of WFC

scored 0.26 standard deviations higher on the emotional problems scale, 0.13 standard deviations higher on the conduct problems scale, and 0.18 standard deviations higher on the hyperactivity scale than children whose mothers reported the lowest levels of WFC. The regression results also show that younger children. Further, children of self-employed mothers showed significantly more emotional problems than children of skilled white-collar workers, whereas children of professional workers reported significantly less emotional problems and hyperactivity. Girls experienced higher levels of emotional problems, but lower levels of conduct problems and hyperactivity than boys. Mothers' employment status and that of their partners did not affect children's well-being over and above the effect of maternal WFC.

To evaluate whether the effect of WFC on the three dimensions of child behavioral problems was mediated by the mothers' parenting behavior, we estimated a second set of regression models (Models 2b, 3b and 4b, in Table 19). When including harsh parenting in Model 2b for emotional problems, the coefficient for WFC decreased slightly in size but remained statistically significant. In contrast, when adding harsh parenting to the models for conduct problems and hyperactivity (Model 3b and 4b), the effects of WFC decreased substantially in size. For conduct problems, the coefficient for WFC decreased from b = 0.027 (p < 0.01) to b = 0.017 (p > 0.05), and for hyperactivity, the coefficient decreased from b = 0.036 (p < 0.05) to b = 0.017 (p > 0.05). Overall, these findings support the hypothesis that the relationship between maternal WFC and children's well-being is (partly) mediated by mothers' harsh parenting behavior.

Table 19. Predictors of children's emotional and conduct problems (Pooled OLS Regression)

			Emotio	nal problen	ıs		Conduc	et prob	lems				Hypera	activit	у			
	N	/lodel	2a	M	Iodel 2	2b	N	Iodel :	3a	N	Iodel :	3b	N	/Iodel	4a	N	/Iodel	4b
Variable	b		SE	b		SE	b		SE	b		SE	b	ı	SE	b		SE
WFC (mother)	0.054	***	0.013	0.0442	***	0.013	0.027	**	0.009	0.017		0.009	0.036	*	0.015	0.017		0.015
harsh parenting				0.0753	***	0.017				0.078	***	0.011				0.155	***	0.017
Age of childa	-0.015	***	0.004	-0.015	***	0.004	-0.016	***	0.003	-0.016	***	0.003	-0.021	***	0.005	-0.020	***	0.005
Sex of child ^b	0.080	***	0.021	0.0832	***	0.020	-0.058	***	0.014	-0.055	***	0.013	-0.080	***	0.024	-0.074	**	0.023
Number of children in household ^c																		
2 children	-0.058		0.031	-0.058		0.031	-0.007		0.021	-0.007		0.021	-0.114	**	0.036	-0.113	***	0.034
3 children or more	-0.028		0.035	-0.026		0.035	0.015		0.025	0.017		0.024	-0.108	**	0.041	-0.105	**	0.039
Employment status ^d																		
part-time	0.045		0.026	0.0426		0.026	0.008		0.018	0.005		0.018	-0.003		0.032	-0.008		0.030
overwork (> 44 hours weekly)	-0.025		0.040	-0.017		0.040	0.014		0.032	0.023		0.032	0.029		0.043	0.046		0.043
Educational level (mother) ^e																		
intermediate	-0.012		0.040	-0.008		0.040	-0.035		0.028	-0.031		0.027	0.106	*	0.043	0.114	**	0.040
upper	-0.027		0.043	-0.021		0.042	-0.042		0.029	-0.035		0.028	0.091	*	0.045	0.104	*	0.043
Married or cohabiting ^f	-0.023		0.036	-0.018		0.035	-0.022		0.025	-0.017		0.024	-0.080		0.043	-0.071		0.041
Birth cohort (mother) ^g																		
1960-1969	0.001		0.062	-1E-03		0.062	-0.014		0.040	-0.016		0.039	-0.067		0.085	-0.078		0.084
1980-1989	0.087	**	0.031	0.0864	**	0.030	0.059	**	0.022	0.059	**	0.021	0.070		0.038	0.081	*	0.036
Partner's employment status ^h																		
unemployed	-0.011		0.053	-0.003		0.052	-0.024		0.050	-0.016		0.050	-0.043		0.061	-0.027		0.058
part-time	0.020		0.058	0.0127		0.056	0.002		0.045	-0.005		0.043	0.041		0.081	0.027		0.080
overwork (> 44 hours weekly)	-0.004		0.023	-0.013		0.023	0.000		0.016	-0.009		0.016	0.003		0.026	-0.015		0.026
Occupational position ⁱ																		
self-employed/liberal professions	0.101	*	0.051	0.103	*	0.051	0.029		0.038	0.032		0.038	0.015		0.056	0.020		0.054
blue collar workers	0.054		0.036	0.0616		0.035	0.021		0.024	0.029		0.024	0.055		0.040	0.071		0.038
unskilled white collar workers	0.030		0.031	0.035		0.031	0.007		0.021	0.012		0.020	0.043		0.036	0.054		0.035
professional workers	-0.074	*	0.033	-0.064		0.033	-0.025		0.022	-0.015		0.021	-0.104	**	0.036	-0.084	*	0.035
Constant	0.578	***	0.077	0.361	***	0.086	0.500	***	0.058	0.317	***	0.064	1.009	***	0.098	0.647	***	0.098
R ²	0.048			0.072			0.052			0.081			0.057			0.100		0.103
N	1781			1781			1781			1781			1781			1781		

Note: Clustered linear regressions. ° p<0.1, *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001.

a In years. b Ref.: boy. c Ref.: 1 child. d Ref.: Employed full-time. e Ref.: lower: left school without degree, Volks-/ Haupschule. Ref.: Married. Ref.: Married. Ref.: Employed full-time. Ref.: skilled white collar workers.

To decompose the total effects into direct effects of maternal WFC on child well-being and indirect effects of WFC via harsh parenting, we estimated mediation models as described in the analytical strategy. Regarding emotional problems (Model 5 in Table 20), the direct effect (b = 0.044, p < 0.001) was substantially larger than the indirect effect (b = 0.009, p < 0.001), and only 17% of the total effect (b = 0.054, p < 0.001) was mediated by harsh parenting behavior. Stronger mediating effects were found for the children's conduct problems and hyperactivity. Regarding conduct problems (Model 6), only the indirect effect of WFC via harsh parenting (b = 0.010, p < 0.001), but not the direct effect (b = 0.015, p > 0.05) was statistically significant. The insignificant direct effect of maternal WFC on children's conduct problems and the highly significant indirect effect via harsh parenting indicate a strong mediation effect: 40% of the total effect was mediated by harsh parenting behavior. Lastly, we decomposed the direct and indirect effects of maternal WFC on children's hyperactivity (Model 7). The mediation model showed an insignificant direct effect (b = 0.017, p > 0.05) and a highly significant indirect effect (b = 0.019, p < 0.001). The proportion of the total effect mediated by harsh parenting amounts to 53%.

Table 20. Indirect Effects predicting the effect of harsh parenting on SDO (N = 1,781)

	Emotio Proble		Condi proble		Hyperactivity			
	Model	1 5	Mode	16	Model 7			
Variable	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE		
Direct Effect	0.044 ***	0.012	0.015	0.008	0.017	0.013		
Indirect Effects via harsh parenting	0.009 ***	0.002	0.010 ***	0.002	0.019 ***	* 0.003		
Total Effect	0.054 ***	0.012	0.025 **	0.008	0.036 **	0.013		

Note: Bootstrapped SEs (5,000 repetitions). * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001.

Further controlled for covariates age of child, sex of child, number of children in household, employment status (mother), educational level (mother), Occupational position (mother), married or cohabitating (mother), partner's employment status.

Additionally, we stratified the analysis by child age by splitting the sample into two age groups: children aged 8–12 years (n = 1126) and adolescents aged 13–16 years (n = 655). Altogether, the patterns for both age groups were similar (results not reported). The effect of maternal WFC on emotional and conduct problems was statistically significant for both younger children and adolescents. However, mothers' WFC affected the level of hyperactivity in adolescents (b = 0.044, p < 0.05) but not in younger children (b = 0.033, p > 0.05). Harsh parenting had negative effects on emotional problems, conduct problems and hyperactivity in both age groups, being slightly higher in magnitude for the adolescents. The mediation analysis for both groups indicated that harsh parenting fully mediated the effect of WFC on adolescents' emotional problems and hyperactivity and younger children's conduct problems.

In a final step, the mediating effects of time-based WFC and strain-based WFC were analyzed separately (results not reported). Overall, the analyses of these two dimensions of WFC provided similar result patterns. Time-based and strain-based WFC both negatively affected emotional problems (b= 0.043, p < 0.001 and b = 0.040, p < 0.001) and conduct problems (b= 0.018, p < 0.01 and b = 0.024, p < 0.05). However, hyperactivity was affected statistically significantly only by strain-based WFC (b = 0.032, p < 0.05). Both strain-based and time-based WFC were associated with harsh parenting (b = 0.083, p < 0.001 and b = 0.115, p < 0.001).

Overall, the findings support the hypothesis that the effect of maternal WFC on child well-being is mediated by harsh parenting: Higher levels of WFC lead to higher levels of harsh parenting. Harsher parenting, in turn, has adverse effects on children's emotional problems and behavioral problems. This mediating effect is especially strong for children's conduct problems and hyperactivity. These findings suggest that harsh parenting underpins the influence of maternal WFC on child behavioral problems.

Discussion

A large proportion of working parents experience WFC. Much of the past research on adverse effects of WFC focused on the consequences for the well-being and health of adults (Bergs et al. 2018; Hammer et al. 2004). The aim of this study was to investigate the association between maternal WFC and child well-being, and to explore the underlying mechanism by examining the mediating role of harsh parenting by mothers.

The analysis produced several important findings that enhance our understanding of the mechanisms connecting maternal WFC and child well-being. Similar to previous studies for Australia and Portugal (Dinh et al. 2017; Vahedi et al. 2018; Vieira et al. 2016), our findings support the hypothesis of a negative association between maternal WFC and child well-being. The results indicate that the negative impact of maternal WFC on emotional problems is notably stronger than its impact on behavioral problems (conduct problems and hyperactivity). This finding is in line with Vahedi et al. (2018), who found that WFC is more closely related to internalizing problems than to externalizing problems.

By examining the association between maternal WFC and child well-being in a country that differs in key elements of family policy from those investigated in previous studies, this study also aimed to contribute to our understanding of the relevance of contextual factors. In contrast to the countries studied previously (Australia, Hong Kong, Portugal, and the United States), Germany has enacted family policies that help parents to reconcile work and family life by offering public child care and granting the right to work part-time (Blome 2016). However, our findings show that even in Germany, a country with more supportive family policies, maternal WFC is strongly associated with child well-being.

This indicates that family-friendly policies do not substantially mitigate the negative effects of WFC.

The mediation analyses shed light on the underlying link between WFC and child well-being. Previous studies providing evidence of a mediating effect focused on broader family characteristics such as the quality of the parent-child relationship (Vieira et al. 2016) and family functioning (Dinh et al. 2017). This study complements and builds on earlier studies by focusing more narrowly on mothers' parenting behavior. Our analyses identified harsh parenting as a powerful mediator of the effect of maternal WFC on child well-being. The results indicate that mothers' parenting behavior is highly responsive to WFC: Mothers are more likely to scold, argue with, and criticize their children when they experience high levels of WFC. Poorer communication between mother and child seems to ultimately lead to a higher prevalence of emotional and behavioral problems in children.

A methodically innovative feature of this study is the use of children's self-reports. Most of the previous studies on child well-being lacked children's reports on their wellbeing and instead used information provided by parents. However, children may evaluate their well-being differently than their parents. Previous research has shown that parents do not always report their children's well-being accurately (Seiffge-Krenke & Kollmar 1998; Waters et al. 2003). Several studies have reported notable differences between parental assessments and child self-assessments of child well-being (Koskelainen et al. 2000; White-Koning et al. 2007). There is empirical evidence that parent's assessments of child wellbeing are biased by their own experiences and sentiments. Various studies have shown, for instance, that stress and strain in parents has negative effects on parents' assessments of their children's well-being (Seiffge-Krenke & Kollmar 1998; White-Koning et al. 2007). Thus, information provided by parents is presumably less reliable than information provided by children themselves. Previous studies that relied on parents' evaluations of child well-being have acknowledged that the use of child-reported measures could provide more reliable insights (Dinh et al. 2017; Vahedi et al. 2018). This study followed the recommendations from the child indicators movement to incorporate information from children themselves when researching their well-being (Ben-Arieh 2005, 2008b).

Finally, this study includes children in a broader variety of age groups. Dinh et al. (2017) provide results for younger and pre-school children (ages 4–13 years), Vahedi et al. (2018) focus on an even narrower age range of 10–11 years and Vieira et al. (2016) draw conclusions from a sample of preschoolers. Vieira et al. (2016) suggest that future research should be extended to more diverse samples that can represent later stages of family development. Overall, the results of this study suggest that the mediating effect of harsh parenting is not limited to a certain age but valid for children and adolescents alike.

Limitations and Future Research Directions

Despite these important findings, it is necessary to acknowledge some limitations. First, the findings are based on cross-sectional data. Due to the limited number of cases appropriate for longitudinal analysis, a causal relationship between maternal WFC and child well-being could not be established. WFC may increase due to increasing work demands, but also due to increasing parenting demands. Despite this uncertainty, the assumed causal effect of WFC on child well-being aligns closely with previous studies using longitudinal data (Dinh et al. 2017). Second, our analysis did not address dynamics in the association between maternal WFC, parenting behavior, and child well-being. Due to data limitations, we could not investigate whether the negative effects of WFC on child well-being are temporary or permanent. Third, this study did not include fathers due to the small number of fathers in the pairfam data. Also, this study did not assess couple effects originating from interacting effects between maternal and paternal WFC on child well-being.

The findings presented here suggest that WFC also affects child well-being in countries with family policies that aim to make it easier for parents to reconcile the demands of family and work. However, to gain a deeper understanding of the relevance of context factors in the association between maternal WFC and child well-being, it is necessary to investigate this association in countries with more advanced family policies. Therefore, future research should systematically examine moderating effects of contextual factors in the association between maternal WFC and child well-being.

8 Macrosystem – Cultural values

Paper 4: The Impact of Cultural Values on the Association Between Family Relations and Children's Life Satisfaction. A Comparison Across 39 Countries

Abstract

Despite increasing interest in country differences and the identification of macro-societal circumstances that shape children's well-being, cross-national comparisons of children's subjective well-being are still rare. This study investigates the effect of family relations on children's life satisfaction in 39 countries from multiple world regions, with the aims of unveiling differences in average life satisfaction, comparing the effect of family relations on life satisfaction and testing the moderating effect of cultural values, emphasizing differences between collectivist and individualistic countries. Single-country regressions and multilevel modelling are used to analyse data from 129,018 children who participated in the first, second or third wave of the International Survey of Children's Lives and Well-Being. The results reveal that average life satisfaction is slightly higher in individualistic societies, but that the association between the Individualism Index and life satisfaction is not linear. Good family relations are shown to improve life satisfaction in all countries, but the effect strength differs considerably. The life satisfaction of children from individualistic countries, compared to that of children from collectivist countries, suffers considerably more from the experience of bad family relations. These findings highlight the necessity of considering children's cultural environment when examining their life satisfaction.

Introduction

Children's lives and well-being are inarguably shaped by their relationships with family members – particularly their parents (Dew & Huebner, 1994; Kühner et al., 2021; McAuley & Layte, 2012). Studies repeatedly provide empirical evidence that children's subjective well-being is higher if they spend quality time with their family and feel cared for, supported, respected and safe in their family environment (e.g., Deković et al., 2004; Lau & Bradshaw, 2018; Povedano-Diaz et al., 2020).

These findings are mainly based on single-country studies and samples consisting of children from western societies. Cross-national comparisons, especially studies that include evidence for a diverse set of countries from different world regions, are scarce to date. The lack of cross-cultural comparisons is striking when one considers that macro-societal conditions and prevalent family values strongly shape children's family environment (Gilbert, 2008). Indeed, a number of studies have found that children's macro-societal environment explains a non-negligible share of the variance in children's subjective well-being (Dinisman & Ben-Arieh, 2016; Lee & Yoo, 2017; Savahl et al., 2021). Consequently, a cross-national perspective on the interrelation between family relations and children's subjective well-being would enhance the current body of literature and might provide new insights into the determinants of child well-being (e.g., Gomez-Baya et al., 2020; Newland et al., 2019; Proctor et al., 2009; Rees & Dinisman, 2015).

Although scholars increasingly often investigate the impact of macro-societal circumstances on children's well-being, the current literature is mainly concerned with economic conditions such as societal wealth (e.g., Casas et al., 2020; Lau & Bradshaw, 2010; Newland et al., 2019), national income inequality (e.g., Gross-Manos, 2017; Main et al., 2019; Torsheim et al., 2006) and public spending on education (Lee & Yoo, 2015) or families (Klocke et al., 2014). Some studies point out that a broader variety of country-level characteristics needs to be considered when determining the role of the macro-societal context in children's well-being (Gromada et al., 2020; Newland et al., 2019).

Among these other characteristics, the cultural value climate is of particular interest, because the prevalent family values and attitudes determine relevant aspects of family lives such as care arrangements (Geissler, 2005; Pfau-Effinger, 2005) and parenting behaviour (Lansford, 2022). A number of well-known concepts are used to operationalize the cultural value climate (e.g., Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Schwartz, 2012; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 2011), but one of the most commonly utilized in cross-cultural research is collectivism versus individualism (Hofstede, 1984, 2011; Triandis, 1995). Because cultural values have an impact on both subjective well-being and the design of social networks (Triandis, 1995, pp. 109-110), they are also likely to shape the effect of family relations on

children's subjective well-being, which underlines the need to study this relationship from a cross-cultural perspective. Following this proposition, the study at hand explores the effect of family relations on children's life satisfaction in 39 societies across all the major world regions. To determine cross-cultural differences in (a) the level of subjective well-being, (b) the relationship between family relations and children's individual-level life satisfaction, and (c) the moderating effect of collectivism versus individualism within this association, I analyse data from 129,018 children between the ages of 10 and 14 years who participated in the first, second or third wave of the International Survey of Children's Lives and Well-Being (2011/12, 2013/14 and 2016-2019).

Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

The impact of collectivism vs. individualism on children's subjective well-being

One of the most commonly utilized theoretical frameworks for analysing children's development and well-being is ecological systems theory (EST, Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1986, 1992), according to which child development (and well-being) is determined by a number of interrelated but distinct systems: the micro-, meso-, exo- and macro- systems. Because this study takes a cross-cultural approach, the macrosystem is of especial interest. It comprises the cultural, legal and normative system of rules, norms and beliefs in which children grow up (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 26). Prominent examples of cultural values that determine attitudes and social connectedness are collectivism and individualism.

According to Triandis (1995, p. 2), collectivism can be defined as a social setting in which individuals see themselves as part of an (in-)group or collective and define themselves mainly by the norms and duties of that collective. Members of collectivist societies are prepared to prioritize the goal of the group over their own goals. Individualism, in contrast, can be defined as a social setting in which individuals are only loosely linked to other individuals and define themselves mainly by their own preferences and needs. Members of individualistic societies prioritize their own goals rather than the goal of a collective group. Triandis (1995, p. 109) further notes that subjective well-being (i.e., life satisfaction) is an individualistic concept that, in collectivist societies, can only be understood in the context of what other individuals think. This is likely to result in members of individualistic societies giving greater value to their own life satisfaction than individuals from collectivist societies. Because there is no thorough theoretical framework or empirical findings with regard to the effect of societal values on children's lives, I rely on the theoretical considerations for adult populations and my first hypothesis is: 'Children's average life satisfaction is higher in

individualistic countries than in collectivist countries, whereas the average quality of family relations is higher in collectivist societies' (H1).

Although the body of literature that explicitly addresses the relationship between cultural values and children's subjective well-being is small to date, conceptual considerations and descriptive analyses underline the need to consider cultural values when researching children's subjective well-being (e.g., Exenberger & Juen, 2014). Empirical evidence is lacking on the association between country-level collectivism, as opposed to individualism, and subjective well-being in child populations. To the best of the author's knowledge, only two studies have addressed the impact of collectivism, as opposed to individualism, in a cross-national analysis. First, Reyes (2019) analysed data on children from three collectivist and eight individualistic countries, and found no significant correlation between cultural values and the children's subjective well-being. Second, Gilman et al. (2008) compared the mean scores of adolescents' life satisfaction and life domain satisfaction using data from two individualistic and two collectivist countries. The authors found that overall life satisfaction was generally high in all countries, but that adolescents from collectivist South Korea reported significantly lower average life satisfaction than those from the other three countries. These limited findings for child populations are largely in line with studies that examine this relationship in adult populations. These suggest that individual as well as aggregated average subjective well-being is higher in individualistic societies than in collectivistic societies (e.g., Diener & Diener, 1995; Krys et al., 2019; Suh & Oishi, 2002).

Individual-level association between family relations and children's well-being

EST also suggests that the so-called microsystem – that is, the interaction with other individuals such as parents, siblings or peers – influences children's well-being (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The impact of the microsystem is significantly stronger than that of the macrosystem, as children actively and directly participate in their microsystem because interactions are immediate in children's everyday lives and consequently are closely related to their well-being (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The family setting is, undoubtedly, one of the most important parts of the microsystem. Children are nurtured, educated, and socialized within this social network, and it further serves as a place of recreation and as a safety zone (Bronfenbrenner, 1986; Schatzki, 1996). Following these theoretical considerations, my second hypothesis is 'Good family relations are universally positively related to children's life satisfaction' (H2).

The theoretical arguments are underpinned by a vast number of empirical studies that have repeatedly and unanimously shown family relations to be among the strongest and most consistent predictors of children's subjective well-being (e.g., Dew & Huebner, 1994; Newland et al., 2015; Povedano-Diaz et al., 2020). Good family relations – operationalized, for example, as spending time with the family, being listened to by parents or caregivers, or high levels of parental involvement – have been linked to higher levels of subjective well-being (Corominas et al., 2020; Gomez-Baya et al., 2020; Lau & Bradshaw, 2018; Savahl et al., 2020), greater levels of flourishing (Whitaker et al., 2022), better mental health (Gromada et al., 2020; Lawler et al., 2017) and better social well-being (Deković et al., 2004).

By contrast, negative family relations and family stressors, such as parents' depression or negative parenting behaviours, have been associated with lower psychological well-being (McAuley & Layte, 2012), lower family satisfaction (Henry, 1994), and lower overall well-being (Joronen & Åstedt-Kurki, 2005). Finally, a number of studies show that good family relations can serve as a protection against factors that harm subjective well-being such as low socio-economic status, low social capital and deprivation (Cho, 2018; Kühner et al., 2021; Lau & Bradshaw, 2018).

The moderating effect of cultural values on the association between family relations and subjective well-being

Triandis (1995, p. 110) states that cultural values impact the shape of family relations as well as individuals' subjective well-being. It is thought that people in collectivist societies have quantitatively fewer contacts with individuals from out-groups but more intimate relationships with their in-group, while people from individualistic societies have quantitatively more, but more loosely-knit, social networks and lower intimacy relationships. Consequently, children from collectivist societies are more dependent on their family relations than children from individualistic societies because the intensity of these relations is higher. Further, they do not need to rely on special social skills to maintain close relations because these are ingrained in their collectivist social surroundings (Triandis, 1995, p. 111). Children from individualistic societies, in contrast, are likely to have a broader social network outside the family environment (e.g., with peers from school or sports teams), but social contacts might be more exhausting for children in individualistic societies because they do not have guiding social scripts or social norms to follow when it comes to maintaining these relationships (Triandis, 1995, p. 111). Additionally, children from collectivist societies are brought up with a set of values and beliefs that prioritize their family over their own needs. Children growing up in individualist societies, however, are focused more narrowly on their own feelings and their subjective well-being. In turn, they are thought to rely on their family environment to a lesser extent (Triandis, 1995, p. 2). In other words, if we assume the same mechanism that applies to adult populations, family relations should be more important to children's well-being in collectivist countries, whereas the self (and not family relations) should be more important to their well-being in individualistic societies. Consequently, the third hypothesis is 'The societal value climate impacts the relationship between family relations and children's well-being: children from collectivist societies benefit to a greater extent from good family relations than children from individualistic societies' (H3).

It has to be noted that it remains unclear whether this assumption is applicable to children, whose needs are different from those of adults. Children are thought generally to pursue the goal of feeling emotionally safe and embedded (Davies et al., 2016b) in their family environment. Thus, having high-intimacy relationships might be more important to children in individualistic countries where families are generally nuclear and where high-intimacy relationships are mostly limited to close family members such as parents. Children from collectivist countries, in contrast, generally live in bigger families that also include more distant relatives such as aunts and uncles, where family cohesion is stronger (Georgas et al., 1997). Thus, the family relations within the nuclear family might be less important to children from collectivist countries because they have more high-intimacy relationships with people other than their parents.

Systematic empirical evidence with regard to the moderating role of cultural values is scarce. As described above, family relations have been found to be predictive of children's subjective well-being in many societies, but there is some evidence that the effect strength varies between cultures. Comparing children from eight countries – seven individualistic and one collectivist – Kutsar et al. (2019) showed that having a good time with their family is predictive of eight-year-old children's subjective well-being in most of the individualistic societies but not in the collectivist country, Romania. In a comparison between collectivist South Korea and individualistic England, Kim and Main (2017) found the satisfaction with the family to be positively related to children's subjective well-being in both countries, but found that the effect was stronger for the English sample. A similar result was obtained by Lawler et al. (2018), who found that family relationships were positively related to wellbeing in both countries but that, surprisingly, children from South Korea relied comparatively more on social networks *outside* the family. Finally, Reyes (2019) found that societal collectivism acted as an amplifier for the predictive power of safety and space in the family environment on children's subjective well-being. These limited findings contradict the theoretical arguments presented above, which supports the notion that children's needs differ vastly from adults' and that theoretical arguments based on adult populations might need to be revised before they can be applied to children. To address these theoretical and empirical shortcomings, this study makes use of large-scale data to systematically explore the relationship between family relations and children's subjective well-being, thereby comparing collectivist and individualistic societies.

Data and Methods

Data

This study employs data on children from 39 countries who participated in the three waves of the Children's Worlds: International Survey of Children's Lives and Well-Being (ISCWeB). The cross-sectional survey rounds were fielded in 2011/12 (wave 1), 2013/14 (wave 2) and 2016-2019 (wave 3), and initially included children aged between 8 and 14 years who attended mainstream schools that participated in the survey project. Children answered self-completed questionnaires in their school setting. The questionnaires were administered to three age groups, 8-10 years, 10-12 years and 12-14 years, in order to provide age-appropriate questions, scale visualizations and scale ranges. The questionnaires included internationally comparable information on children's (familial) living conditions and social relationships, as well as different assessments of their subjective well-being (ISCWeB, 2023a, 2023b).

ISCWeB aims to close the data gap around children's subjective well-being and to design suitable measures of children's well-being across the globe (ISCWeB, 2023a). Because the ISCWeB data cover a vast number of nations speaking many languages, the questionnaire was originally designed in English and then translated into the respective languages. As quality control, the country-specific translations were re-translated into English and wording anomalies were corrected as necessary. This design procedure ultimately yielded a usable questionnaire for each of the participating countries (Rees & Main, 2015). The ethical approval for the survey was obtained in advance from the respective ethics committee in each country. Additionally, parents had to approve their children's participation in the project in advance, and all children were informed that answering the questionnaire was voluntary, that they could stop answering the questionnaire at any time and that all answers and information given would be treated anonymously because they were considered confidential (Rees, 2017; Rees & Main, 2015). An in-depth description of the sampling strategies and data collection procedure for each country can be found in the country reports provided on the project website (www.isciweb.org).

Because the questionnaire aimed at 8-year-olds employed different scales and included, overall, fewer topics and questions, this study only used the data provided by children in the 10-12 and 12-14 years age groups. Additionally, the sample was restricted to

children who indicated that they lived in two-parent families, because there is evidence that the subjective well-being of children living in one-parent families differs significantly from that of those living in two-parent families (Dinisman et al., 2017).

Table 21. Descriptive statistics for the pooled country sample

Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Individual-level				
(n=129,018)				
Overall life satisfaction	8.90	1.96	0	10
Family relations	3.38	0.77	0	4
Gender				
boy	0.50		0	1
girl	0.50		0	1
Age in years	11.14	1.08	10	14
Siblings				
has siblings	0.23		0	1
no siblings	0.77		0	1
Country-level (N=39)				
Individualism index (IDV)	41.75	22.78	13	91
Societal value climate				
collectivist	0.58		0	1
individualist	0.42		0	1

Note: Weighted with population weight to give equivalent sample sizes between countries.

Throughout the whole analysis, the number of missing values amounted to 6.5%. Because the non-responses for each variable of interest were generally small (0.5%-2.8%), they were handled using list-wise deletion. The final analytical sample amounts to 129,018 children from 39 countries (see Table 21).

Measures

Overall life satisfaction was operationalized using the well-known question 'How satisfied are you with your life as a whole?'. Children of both age groups were asked to rate their overall life satisfaction on an 11-point scale ranging from 0 'not at all satisfied' to 10 'totally satisfied'.

Family relations were measured by a row mean index that captures feelings of safety, relations with family members and parental responsiveness. Children rated each of the statements 'I feel safe at home', 'We have a good time together in my family', and 'My parents listen to me and take what I say into account' on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 0 'I do not agree' to 4 'I totally agree'. Hence, higher scores on the family relations index indicate better family relations. Cronbach's alpha indicated a sufficient reliability, with α =0.7 in all waves and for both collectivist (α =0.7) and individualist (α =0.7) societies.

All models control for **socio-demographic characteristics** that are known to determine children's subjective well-being, in order to control for the most important confounding factors: child gender (e.g., Gilman & Huebner, 2003; Lawler et al., 2017; Macek et al., 2022), child age (e.g., dos Santos et al., 2019; Lawler et al., 2017) and a dummy that indicates whether the child has siblings.

Cultural value climate was operationalized using the Individualism Index (IDV) according to Hofstede's cultural dimensions theory (Hofstede, 1984, 2011; Hofstede Insights, 2023). The index measures the extent of collectivism and individualism in a society, as polar opposites. It has a theoretical range from 0 'collectivist' to 100 'individualistic'; countries with index scores between 0 and 49 are classified as (rather) collectivist, and countries that score between 50 and 100 are classified as (rather) individualistic (see, for example Hofstede, 1983; Hofstede Insights, 2023). The set of countries in this study comprises 23 collectivist societies and 16 individualistic societies (see Table 22 for country classification); 58% of the children lived in collectivist cultures and 42% lived in individualistic cultures (see Table 21). Overall, the IDV score ranged from 13 in Colombia to 91 in the United States of America.

Analytical strategy

The analysis is reported in three consecutive steps. First, I provide a comprehensive descriptive overview of the children's overall life satisfaction and family relations. The descriptive analysis puts a special emphasis on the differences between collectivist and individualistic countries in order to test H1. Because the general association between family relations and life satisfaction has not yet been established in theoretical or empirical works for child populations, I then provide, in the second step, correlational analyses on the country level as well as single-country, time-pooled OLS regressions. I compare the b-coefficients across the diverse set of countries to determine whether family relations are indeed positively related to children's life satisfaction independently of the country setting, empirically testing H2. Because I expect the effect of family relations on life satisfaction to differ considerably between countries, I additionally estimate a three-level multilevel model with random slopes for family relations in the final step of the analysis. In these models, children (level 1) are nested in country-years (level 2) that are nested in countries (level 3). The model is used to examine the moderating role of collectivism, as opposed to individualism, within the relationship between family relations and child well-being (H3). All analyses are conducted using a weight that makes sample sizes across the countries equivalent.

Results

Children's subjective well-being and family relations in collectivist and individualistic societies

Table 22. Weighted means of overall life satisfaction and family relations by country (n=129,018)

Collectivist countries	·		Individualistic countri		-122,010)
Country	Overall life satisfaction	Family relations	Country	Overall life satisfaction	Family relations
Albania	9.76	3.64	Belgium	9.09	3.50
Algeria	9.06	3.50	Canada	9.02	3.51
Brazil	8.87	3.18	Estonia	8.95	3.55
Chile	8.67	3.42	Finland	8.97	3.58
Colombia	9.45	3.52	France	9.10	3.44
Croatia	9.36	3.56	Germany	8.85	3.41
Ethiopia	8.72	2.87	Hungary	9.12	3.66
Greece	9.73	3.73	Israel	9.18	3.61
Hong Kong	8.29	3.02	Italy	9.08	3.20
India	9.09	3.54	Malta	9.04	3.53
Indonesia	8.52	3.24	Norway	9.10	3.62
Malaysia	9.15	2.99	Poland	8.92	3.55
Namibia	8.77	3.20	South Africa	8.80	3.21
Nepal	8.50	3.24	Spain	9.19	3.47
Romania	9.55	3.45	United Kingdom	8.59	3.43
Russia	8.96	3.23	United States	8.82	3.32
Rwanda	8.91	3.32			
South Korea	8.09	3.30			
Sri Lanka	8.71	3.70			
Taiwan	8.58	3.23			
Turkey	9.28	3.36	Collectivist	8.85	3.31
Uganda	6.84	2.86	Individualistic	8.99	3.47
Vietnam	8.62	3.14	Pooled Sample	8.90	3.38

Note: Weighted with population weight to make sample sizes equivalent between countries.

Table 22 displays the weighted means of life satisfaction and self-rated family relations in each of the countries, as well as the total mean and the means for collectivist and individualistic countries. Overall, children's life satisfaction and family relations are rated highly in the pooled sample. When taking a closer look at the country averages, children from Uganda rate their life satisfaction and family relations worst, followed by those from South Korea and Hong Kong. Children from Albania and Greece rate their subjective well-being and family relations comparatively highly. Thus, the best and worst ratings stem from collectivist societies. The ratings of children from individualistic countries tend to lie in the mid-range of the sample but are overall slightly higher. However, the differences in average scores are small.

Figure 8. Country-level correlations

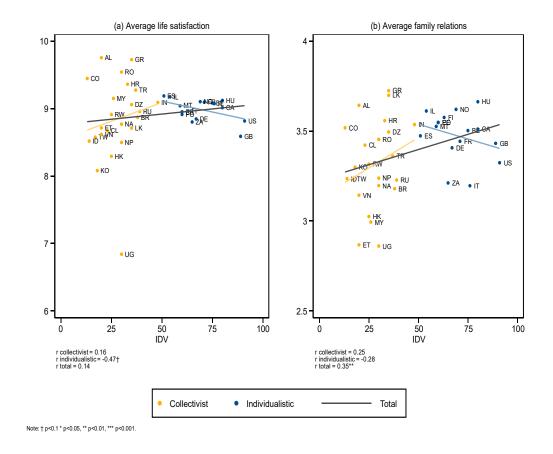


Figure 8 visualizes the ecological (country-level) correlation between (a) children's life satisfaction and (b) family relations and the IDV index for collectivist countries (plotted in yellow) and individualistic countries (plotted in blue). The grey line indicates the correlation for the total sample.

For the total sample, IDV and life satisfaction are non-significantly but positively correlated – higher IDV scores are related to higher average levels of life satisfaction. When differentiating between collectivist and individualistic countries, this positive correlation can be found for children from collectivist societies but not for children from individualistic societies, where the IDV score is significantly and moderately strongly negatively related to average levels of life satisfaction: that is, higher levels of individualism are associated with lower levels of average subjective well-being in individualistic countries. This indicates that the relationship between average subjective well-being and societal level individualism might follow an inverted U-shape: very high levels of individualism as well as very high levels of collectivism on the country level are associated with lower average levels of life satisfaction.

A similar picture emerges for the country average of family relations (right-hand panel in Figure 8). In the total sample, higher IDV is associated with better average evaluations of family relations, but, again, collectivist and individualistic countries differ:

while IDV and average family relations are positively related in collectivist countries, the association is negative in individualistic countries, but neither of these relationships are significant and they have to be interpreted with caution. This could again indicate an inverted U-shaped relationship between IDV and family relations, so that children from very collectivist and very individualistic countries seem to give a worse evaluation of their family relations on average. These results lend some partial support to the first hypothesis: overall, children from collectivist countries report slightly lower levels of life satisfaction compared to children from individualistic societies, but while higher levels of IDV are associated with higher levels of life satisfaction in collectivist countries, this trend is reversed in individualistic countries.

The association between family relations and children's life satisfaction

Moving to the association between family relations and children's subjective well-being, I first employ multivariate, single-country regressions. Table 23 displays the effect of family relations on children's overall life satisfaction for each of the 39 countries. First of all, the relationship between family relations and life satisfaction is universally positive and, in most cases, (moderately) strong: scoring one point higher on the family relations index is associated with around one point more for life satisfaction, in both collectivist and individualistic societies. However, with b < 0.05, the effect is small in 6 of 19 collectivist countries, whereas this is not the case for any of the individualistic countries. In the latter, the effect of family relations on children's subjective well-being tends to be especially strong, with 10 of 16 regressions yielding b > 1.0 (compared to 7 of 23 collectivist societies showing such a strong effect).

Table 23. Single-country regressions of children's subjective well-being on family relations

Collectivist countries			Individualistic countries					
Overall life satisfaction				Overall life satisfaction				
Country	b		SE	Country	b		SE	
Albania	0.345	***	0.066	Belgium	0.609	***	0.080	
Algeria	0.808	***	0.057	Canada	1.246	***	0.270	
Brazil	1.067	***	0.058	Estonia	1.313	***	0.069	
Chile	1.251	***	0.068	Finland	1.273	***	0.105	
Colombia	0.515	***	0.076	France	1.109	***	0.082	
Croatia	1.062	***	0.079	Germany	0.964	***	0.081	
Ethiopia	0.438	***	0.052	Hungary	1.503	***	0.103	
Greece	0.583	***	0.139	Israel	1.273	***	0.092	
Hong Kong	1.365	***	0.064	Italy	0.992	***	0.067	
India	0.425	***	0.082	Malta	1.021	***	0.102	
Indonesia	0.711	***	0.031	Norway	0.918	***	0.073	
Malaysia	0.589	***	0.084	Poland	1.268	***	0.066	
Namibia	0.861	***	0.080	South Africa	0.527	***	0.036	
Nepal	0.441	***	0.049	Spain	0.948	***	0.034	
Romania	0.499	***	0.043	United Kingdom	1.385	***	0.052	
Russia	0.810	***	0.067	United States	1.299	***	0.127	
Rwanda	1.109	***	0.247					
South Korea	1.469	***	0.026					
Sri Lanka	0.904	***	0.104					
Taiwan	1.252	***	0.052					
Turkey	0.482	***	0.067	Collectivist	0.902	***	0.016	
Uganda	0.195	**	0.195	Individualistic	1.052	***	0.021	
Vietnam	0.685	***	0.067	Pooled Sample	0.917	***	0.013	

Note: * *p*<0.05, ** *p*<0.01, *** *p*<0.001.

Weighted with population weight to make sample sizes equivalent between countries.

Controlled for gender, age and siblings. Cluster robust standard errors, clustered in country-vears.

In sum, family relations explain 14% of the variance in children's subjective well-being within the pooled sample. The explanatory power of family relations on life satisfaction ranges between 1% in Uganda and 39% in Hong Kong. Additional analyses (not shown) suggest that the adjusted R-squared obtained from the models shown in Table 23 is positively correlated with IDV on a country level – the higher the IDV score, the higher the amount of explained variance in life satisfaction. Overall, family relations explain a bigger share of variance in children's life satisfaction in individualistic countries (adj. $R^2 = 17\%$) than in collectivistic countries (adj. $R^2 = 12\%$). Family relations are a slightly stronger predictor of children's life satisfaction in individualistic countries than in collectivist ones. Additionally, the correlation is negative in collectivist and positive in individualistic countries. Overall, the single-country regressions thus lend support to the second hypothesis: family relations are indeed positively related to children's subjective well-being in every country, but to a vastly differing extent.

The moderating role of collectivism

Table 24. Multilevel regression of life satisfaction on level 1 and level 3 variables

	Overall Life Satisfaction						
	M1	M2					
	b	SE	b	SE			
Family relations			0.695***	0.165			
Female (ref.: male)			-0.116***	0.026			
Age in years			-0.127***	0.016			
Siblings (ref.: no siblings)			0.038	0.020			
IDV			-0.021*	0.009			
Family relations x IDV			0.006*	0.003			
Constant	8.900***	0.076	8.134***	0.503			
ICC Level 1	89.5						
ICC Level 2	6.1						
ICC Level 3	4.4						
Chi ²			418.145***				
Log Likelihood	-272,729.34		-262,479.563				
Individuals (L1)	129,018		129,018				
Country years (L2)	58		58				
Countries (L3)	39		39				

Note: *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001, weighted with population weight to make sample sizes equivalent between countries. Random slopes for family relations.

Finally, to test whether cultural values moderate the relationship between family relations and children's life satisfaction, I estimate multilevel regressions as described in the analytical strategy. The results are depicted in Table 24. The model suggests that the effect of family relations on children's subjective well-being is substantial: with a change in life satisfaction of 0.695 points per one-point increase on the five-point family relations index, the difference between worst family relations and best family relations accounts for nearly 3.5 points on the 11-point life satisfaction scale.

Regarding the country-level cultural value climate, IDV is another strong predictor. With each increase of one point on the individualism index, children's life satisfaction decreases by 0.021 points, so children's average life satisfaction is lower when individualism is stronger on the country level. This negative effect would add up to a difference of 1.64 points between average life satisfaction in the most individualistic country (United States) and the most collectivist country (Colombia) in this analytical sample. Because the correlational analyses suggest that the relationship between IDV and children's subjective well-being might be non-linear, I add a quadratic IDV term to the model as a robustness check (see Model 3 in Table A3 in the Appendix). When including the quadratic term, neither IDV nor IDV² are significant but the leading signs of the regression coefficients point to the suggested inverted U-shape for the relationship between IDV and life satisfaction.

Finally, to determine whether country-level cultural values moderate the relationship between family relations and child well-being, the model further includes a cross-level interaction between family relations on the individual level and IDV on the country level. The interaction effect indicates a strengthening effect: higher individualism at the country level is generally negatively related to life satisfaction. This negative effect, however, weakens with better family relations, as indicated by the positive interaction term between family climate and IDV. When comparing children with bad and good family relations, the maximum gain in life satisfaction from good family relations amounts to 3.1 points on the 11-point scale in collectivist societies and 4.8 points in individualistic societies.

Figure 9. The marginal effects of family relations on life satisfaction at different levels of cultural value climate

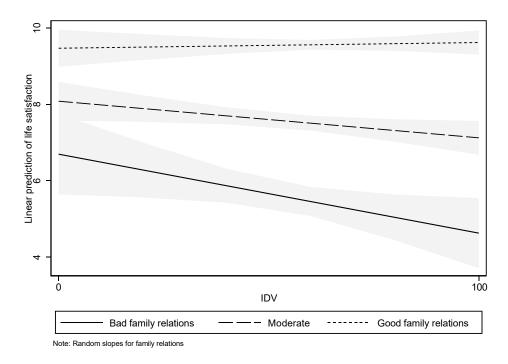


Figure 9 visualizes the marginal effects of bad, moderate and good family relations on children's overall life satisfaction at different levels of IDV. As can be seen from the way the lines fan out, children in more individualistic countries benefit marginally more from good family relations but are hit particularly hard when experiencing bad family relations, compared to children from collectivist societies. Overall, it seems evident that country-level cultural values moderate the extent to which children's life satisfaction benefits (or suffers) from family relations. In other words, children from individualistic countries are more strongly influenced by family relations than children from collectivist countries, contradicting the initial expectation phrased in hypothesis 3.

Discussion

Using data from the first to the third wave of the ISCWeB survey that covered more than 125,000 children from 39 countries, and starting from theoretical arguments proposed in Urie Bronfenbrenner's (1977, 1992) ecological systems theory, this study is among the first to examine cross-cultural differences in the level of children's life satisfaction, the effect of family relations on life satisfaction, and the moderating role of country-level collectivism versus individualism on this relationship.

Average life satisfaction is generally high in the child populations from all countries (except Uganda), with differences between collectivist and individualistic countries being marginal; this is in line with evidence from earlier studies on adolescents (Gilman et al., 2008; Reyes, 2019). Interestingly, the results suggest that very high levels of individualistic values, as well as very high levels of collectivist values, harm children's life satisfaction – partially contradicting the initial hypothesis (H1). A possible explanation for this finding is that many of the collectivist countries included in this study have undergone profound transformations in their social and economic structures. For example, South Korea and Hong Kong, the two collectivist countries that are noticeably different from the others, have a higher level of societal wealth (World Bank, 2023) and of human development (UNDP, 2023) compared to many of the other collectivist societies in the sample, which might explain why they are similar to the individualistic countries. The diverging trend between collectivist and individualistic societies might be due to overall life satisfaction – itself an individualistic concept (Triandis, 1995, p. 109) – not being a sufficiently culturally sensitive measure of children's subjective well-being. Recent studies on measuring subjective wellbeing in adult populations revealed that life satisfaction might not be an ideal measure in collectivist countries, and that culturally sensitive well-being measures might produce valuable new insights (Krys et al., 2019; Krys et al., 2021; Krys et al., 2023). These considerations need to be factored in for children's well-being in future research.

As for the question of how family relations influence life satisfaction, the results in this study are in line with those from earlier single-country studies (e.g., Corominas et al., 2020; Forrester et al., 2022; Kühner et al., 2021) and show that family relations are universally beneficial for children's life satisfaction, lending support to hypothesis 2. Notably, family relations are, on average, a better predictor of children's life satisfaction in individualistic countries, and the strength of association between family relations and life satisfaction depends strongly on the country setting. The results further show that the life satisfaction of children in individualistic countries suffers significantly more from very bad family relations when they are compared to their counterparts in collectivist countries. This finding is in line with results from earlier studies (Kim & Main, 2017; Lawler et al., 2018),

but contradicts the theoretical assumption established by Triandis (1995) – and hypothesis 3 which was derived from his theoretical arguments.

Cultural differences with regard to the concept of family might be an explanation for the contradictory results. While in most individualistic countries "family" generally refers to the nuclear family, "family" includes extended family in collectivist societies (Georgas et al., 1997). Moreover, a small nuclear family size is very common in western countries. In the EU, for example, the realization of fertility intentions is being delayed and the average number of children in western countries has been steadily declining since the 1980s (Beaujouan, 2023; INED, 2023). Since 2013, roughly 50% of all families have one child (Eurostat, 2023). This decline in the number of children has been accompanied by a rise in the sentimental and financial investment in a child in western societies (Lesthaeghe, 2015), stronger involvement of parents in their only child's life (Furman & Lanthier, 2005), and closer, child-centred parent-child bonds (Khadaroo & MacCallum, 2021). It is therefore possible that children from individualistic cultures largely rely solely on their parents, whereas children from collectivist cultures benefit from having more family members outside the nuclear family and, thus, a number of different, emotionally close, adults on whom to rely. In addition, the lower intimacy networks outside the family that are prevalent in individualistic societies are seemingly not protective enough when the family bonds are weak and family relations bad. In contrast, fewer but more intimate relationships, as are often seen in collectivist societies, seem to promote child well-being on the country level but to inhibit the enhancing effect of good family relations on the individual level.

This study is not without its limitations. First, I only consider collectivist and individualist values on the country level. As shown in the analyses, the individual level is more predictive of child well-being, and thus collectivist and individualist values and attitudes on the individual level should be considered in the future. Secondly, the country set is still dominated by western and Asian societies. Collecting data from a more diverse country set would massively enhance our understanding of the effect of cultural values on children's lives, and might generate valuable insights into how macro-societal circumstances shape children's social environments. This data collection should be enabled and supported by policy makers and non-governmental organizations in order to include countries that have not yet been thoroughly studied. This is particularly the case for African and Latin American countries. Finally, I only consider family relations. As the family is only one part of a child's social networks, future research needs to investigate whether relationships in other social settings – especially peer relations – are sensitive to cultural values, too.

Notwithstanding these limitations, this study is among the first to empirically test the interrelation between children's family relations and subjective well-being from a cross-

cultural perspective. The results show that cultural values are a non-negligible factor in children's lives, and should not be ignored when comparing the effects of social relationships on children's subjective well-being across different cultures and countries.

9 Discussion

This dissertation set out to investigate how the subjective well-being of children in Germany is determined by experiences in parents' lives and to identify the underlying mechanisms that enable intergenerational transfer processes. I drew on children's own reports and aimed to provide a comprehensive overview of the various direct and indirect effects of experiences in parents' lives on children's subjective well-being and identified the underlying mechanisms that enable intergenerational transfer processes. To this end, I investigated the formation of children's well-being under consideration of different, parentrelated ecological systems (Research Goal 1). I considered how children's subjective wellbeing is determined by parenting behaviour and family relations (microsystem), interparental conflict and parents' depressiveness (mesosystem), parents' work-family conflict (exosystem), and cultural values (macrosystem). Additionally, I explored whether the association between family relations and children's subjective well-being varies with regard to country-level cultural values in terms of collectivism versus individualism Research Goal 2). I further analysed two different mechanisms behind the interrelation of parents' and children's lives: direct intergenerational transmission of subjective well-being, and parenting behaviour as an indirect transmission link. With regard to the direct pathway, I examined the intergenerational transmission of psychological and social well-being, testing whether increasing depressiveness in mothers and fathers as well as increasing conflict frequency between parents spill over to children's emotional problems and their behaviour towards peers (Research Goal 3). Concerning the indirect link, I aimed to clarify whether mothers' and fathers' parenting behaviours, that is their emotional warmth and verbally harsh parenting towards the child, is the underlying mechanism that transfers parents' adverse experiences with each other and in their work environment to children's subjective well-being (Research Goal 4).

I drew upon different theoretical frameworks that are commonly used in family and child research. The analyses are mainly guided by Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1986, 1992) ecological systems theory. I extended his theoretical framework for children's development to children's subjective well-being, arguing that the formative processes are of a similar nature (Schatzki, 1996). I further derived the arguments from social learning theory (Bandura, 1969, 1977) and argued that children are not only impacted by their parents' everyday experiences but that the social learning process causes an intergenerational transmission of behaviours that influence social as well as psychological well-being. Based on the emotional security hypothesis (Davies & Cummings, 1994; Davies et al., 2016a, 2016b), I finally argued that parenting behaviour is the crucial underlying mechanism between parents' adverse experiences and children's subjective well-being. I tested two

competing possibilities of this transmission link: building on the spillover hypothesis (Krishnakumar & Buehler, 2000; Staines, 1980; Williams & Alliger, 1994), I empirically tested whether adverse experiences are associated with less emotional warmth and more verbally harsh parenting, which causes strain and stress that then decreases children's well-being. Building on the compensation hypothesis (Engfer, 1988; Erel & Burman, 1995; Katrijn et al., 2017; Kouros et al., 2014; Staines, 1980) I additionally empirically examined whether adverse experiences increase positive parenting practices, i.e. more warm behaviour towards the child and less verbally harsh parenting, which ultimately protects children from the adverse experiences in parents' lives.

My main argument was that the effect of parents' adverse experiences in the children's mesosystem, such as parents' conflicts with each other, as well as the children's exosystem, such as parental working conditions, distinctly impact children's subjective well-being but that it is not the parental experience of adversities per se that directly influences children's subjective well-being. Instead, these experiences alter the child's microsystem: the parent—child relationship, i.e. mothers' and fathers' parenting behaviour. It is this change in parents' behaviours that ultimately impacts children's subjective well-being. Parents' experiences in systems where children do not actively participate, such as the parent—parent relationship or parents' working conditions are thus indirectly linked to children's subjective well-being via the direct parent—child interaction, which is more important to the formation of children's subjective well-being than external circumstances. Based on ecological systems theory and Triandis's (1995) notions regarding country-level collectivism and individualism, I finally suggested that children's subjective well-being is sensitive to cultural values: the role of family relations for children's well-being varies with the cultural settings children live in.

This dissertation drew on children's *self-reported subjective well-being* because the child perspective is a valid and necessary information on children's well-being. Yet, as of now it has been underexplored in the quantitative empirical literature, as has been shown in the systematic literature review in Chapter 3. Chapter 5 first and foremost provides empirical evidence that gives a cautionary note for research projects that concern children's subjective well-being. I employed a multiple-informant approach to assess the intergenerational transmission of psychological well-being, which unveiled that the magnitude of transmission depends on *who* reports children's emotional problems: although the models show that mothers' and fathers' increasing levels of depressiveness impact children's psychological well-being negatively, independent from whether the outcome was reported by mothers, fathers, or the children themselves, a parental mood bias was evident in the German data. The intergenerational transmission of psychological well-being was remarkably smaller in

magnitude using children's self-reports instead of mothers' and fathers' reports and became less congruent the higher the levels of parents' depressiveness. This result is well in line with a smaller number of studies that also illustrated the inadequacy of parents' reports of their children's subjective well-being (e.g. Booth et al., 2023; Seiffge-Krenke & Kollmar, 1998; White-Koning et al., 2007). Since the main body of literature on children's subjective wellbeing is concerned with negative, stressful events in parents' lives, this bias needs to be considered when interpreting parent-reported child well-being. Chapter 6 additionally provides evidence for an intergenerational transmission of social well-being: children who report increasing interparental conflict frequency also show lower levels of social wellbeing. This lends support to the social learning process noted in social learning theory. However, the direct link is not the only transmission mechanism. As hypothesized, mothers' and fathers' parenting behaviour was shown to be another mechanism that transfers parents' experiences to children's subjective well-being. More precisely, adverse experiences in parents' lives lead to harsher parenting behaviour: parents display emotional warm behaviour towards their child less commonly and more often communicate in a negative way with their child when experiencing interparental conflict or work–family conflicts. This, in turn, leads to a deteriorating subjective well-being in the child's life. Thus, the results obtained from the empirical analyses in Chapters 6 and 7 provide evidence for a spillover of negative emotions and behaviours rather than a compensatory mechanism. The findings are largely in line with the body of empirical studies that rely on parent reports of children's well-being, that confirm negative effects of interparental conflict (Pearce-Morris & King, 2012; Vandewater & Lansford, 1998), parents' mental problems (e.g., Hunt et al., 2017; Keyser et al., 2017; Ma & Klein, 2018; Shelleby, 2018; Yeung & Li, 2022), and adverse working conditions (e.g., Castillo et al., 2020; Pilarz, 2021; Roeters & van Houdt, 2019) on children's subjective well-being, as well as with studies that find spillover effects via parenting behaviour (e.g., Chen & Lee, 2021; Flannery et al., 2023; Pilarz, 2021; Turney, 2012; Vandewater & Lansford, 1998).

The aforementioned mechanism was tested in depth for Germany. To address the lack of research results from a broader variety of cultural settings, Chapter 8 additionally tested the effect of family relations – the microsystem – on children's subjective well-being from a cross-national perspective, thus accounting for the child's macrosystem. I found that good family relations are beneficial for children's subjective well-being across all 39 countries included in the analyses and across different cultural zones but to a vastly differing extent. Individualism and collectivism on the country-level shaped the extent to which negative family relations harm children's subjective well-being. Results show that children from individualistic countries are – with regard to their subjective well-being – more reliant on their nuclear family compared to children from collectivist countries. This indicates that

the relevance of parent—child relationships for children's subjective well-being is impacted by the prevalent cultural values of a society. The study in Chapter 8 provides the first comprehensive investigation of this relationship thereby adding to the, thus far, scarce evidence on its cultural variation. Differences between individualistic and collectivist countries with regard to family relations and children's subjective well-being have, to date, only been tested in very few studies that compared much smaller sets of countries (Kim & Main, 2017; Kutsar et al., 2019; Lawler et al., 2018; Reyes, 2019). Because cultural values exert a formative influence on children's as well as parents' attitudes, beliefs and behaviour within and outside of the family, this finding highlights the necessity to generally consider the broader societal context when studying child well-being, not only when conducting cross-cultural comparisons. This finding further highlights the need to conduct research on the relationship between parents' lives and children's well-being based on a greater variety of countries and across different cultural zones.

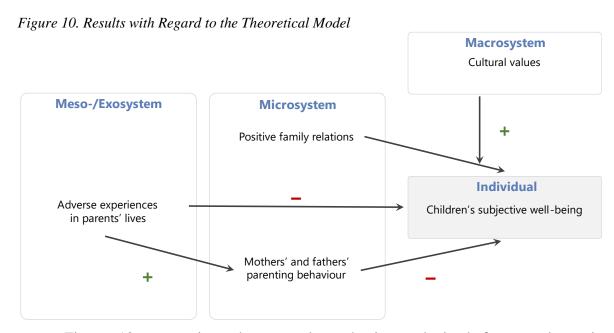


Figure 10 summarizes the general mechanisms obtained from analyses in Chapters 5 to 8: children's self-reported subjective well-being is negatively impacted by parents' adverse experiences in the meso- and exosystem. These are transmitted both directly through intergenerational transmission processes that are determined by children experiencing and observing parents' depressiveness and conflictive social behaviour and also indirectly through a spillover process via mothers' and fathers' adverse parenting behaviours. Thus, adverse experiences cause direct negative effects on child well-being as well as an indirect effect through an increase in adverse parenting behaviours that ultimately harm children's subjective well-being. In summary, the empirical evidence does indeed suggest that ecological systems have direct effects on the formation of children's well-being. They are further strongly intertwined: disruptions and dysfunctions occurring in ecological

systems where children are not actively involved (such as the parents' relationship and workplaces) can ripple through the microsystem and lead to well-being losses for children. Additionally, the importance of family relations for children's self-reported subjective well-being depends on the cultural context: the beneficial effects of good family relations on children's subjective well-being varies interculturally with regard to the prevalent cultural values. Consequently, all of the systems suggested in ecological systems theory together determine children's subjective well-being. These key findings have far-reaching research and policy implications that are discussed in the next subsections.

Research Implications

Ecological systems theory, social learning theory, and the emotional security hypothesis stress the particular relevance of parents' environment and emphasize the significance of parents' behaviour towards their children for child development and wellbeing. The interrelation of parents' and children's lives have broad and far-reaching implications for society as a whole: as children's well-being is significantly shaped by parental moods, emotional states, strain and stress levels, this potentially produces a significant well-being inequality for children. Assuming that the intergenerational transmission of subjective well-being can be defined as social practice (Schatzki, 1996, p. 12), negative parent experiences have the potential to set an intergenerational downward spiral of subjective well-being in motion: parents with low subjective well-being transfer social scripts of low well-being that are likely to be reproduced by the following generations. The same is true for children with high well-being parents, which would, in turn, cause an intergenerational upward spiral of subjective well-being. When additionally considering that significant levels of family- or work-related stress and strain in adults are more common among the lower strata of society (e.g., Boye, 2009; Byron, 2005; Popova & Navicke, 2019; Reimann et al., 2022; Remery & Schippers, 2019) and that individuals with lower social class, lower income, and lower educational level also have lower levels of subjective wellbeing, on average (e.g. Anderson et al., 2012; Bartolini et al., 2013; Caporale et al., 2009; Delhey, 2004; Pancheva & Vásquez, 2022; Tan et al., 2020), it becomes evident that children from families with lower socio-economic status are faced with a double well-being penalty. Not only is the generally lower level of well-being transmitted from parents to their children (Bandura, 1977; Schatzki, 1996) but in addition they are more likely to bear the results of parents' adverse experiences, which add to the detrimental effect on children's well-being.

The results from Chapters 6 and 7, however, provide evidence that this downward spiral of subjective well-being is not inevitable. It is not the mere presence of everyday adversities in parents' lives but the shift towards more negative family dynamics that harm children's subjective well-being. Harsh *verbal* parenting was found to be a major pathway

that transmits parents' negative experiences onto their children. It constitutes a major oversight that the majority of the research on harsh parenting behaviour emphasizes *physical* harsh parenting (see Chapter 3.3) considering that verbal harsh parenting is equally common as physical harsh parenting in general and throughout all social groups (Witt et al., 2017). As verbal harshness is generally perceived as less detrimental to children's well-being than physical harshness, it is, accordingly, more accepted in large parts of the parent population (Plener et al., 2016). Many parents are not aware that verbal aggression and regular, harsh criticism can have severe negative effects on children. This is especially the case if the adults have experienced this kind of parenting behaviour themselves – studies show that parenting behaviour, too, underlies certain intergenerational transmission processes (Kerr & Capaldi, 2019; Su et al., 2022). Recognizing verbal abuse as a form of maltreatment (Dube et al., 2023) will be a necessary step to protect children from this kind of treatment and to ultimately improve their subjective well-being. It will further aid in fully understanding the intergenerational transmission cycles of abuse (Haselschwerdt et al., 2019; Kaufman & Zigler, 1989), trauma (Zhang et al., 2022) and mental problems (Goodman, 2020).

The mechanism described above can also inform research on labour conditions. Considering the family as a whole when researching employees' stress levels and job satisfaction could generate valuable new insights. Even though research on family and labour increasingly addresses the work-family interrelation (for an overview see, for example, Kossek & Ozeki, 1998; Reimann et al., 2022), the effects on children's subjective well-being have not yet been systematically documented. Extending the current research on workfamily conflicts and work-life balance to include children will produce manifold new research directions. Based on my findings that concern the spillover of parental strain, it seems plausible that adverse working conditions have more unintended side effects than previously anticipated. It is not only the employed parent who suffers from stress and strain but also the dependent child. Research has shown that a good family life depends on the happiness of children (Eck et al., 2019; Nomaguchi & Milkie, 2020) but that it also heavily impacted by parents' working lives and vice versa (Byron, 2005; Michel et al., 2011; Reimann et al., 2022). Thus, two entities – employed parents and their children – pay the price for externally caused problems. It would be insightful to do more research on family time use with regard to parent-parent time as well as parent-child time. As children need shared activities with their parents to flourish and be happy (Goisis, 2015; Lietz et al., 2020; Liu & Merritt, 2021), and because shared family time was shown to relieve a non-negligible share of stress and strain, which in turn decreases interparental conflict as well as workfamily conflicts, investigating these interrelations in depth might provide valuable new insights that promote employees' well-being as well as that of their children.

Relieving the work-related stress of parents (and their children) further has significant implications for public health. Unravelling the relationship between parental experiences and children's well-being can inform public health policies and interventions aimed at improving the overall health and well-being of the population, particularly for vulnerable children and families. In the light of recent negative developments in public mental health – increases in diagnoses of, and hospitalization due to, mental illnesses all around the world but particularly among the youngest age groups (Elharake et al., 2023; Kauhanen et al., 2023; Saunders et al., 2022; Theberath et al., 2022) – aggravated by the COVID-19 pandemic and the Russo-Ukrainian War, deep diving into the underlying mechanisms besides the experience of threat and crises themselves will be of particular relevance for psychologists and public health economists. Since many countries enforced strict containment measures during the COVID-19 pandemic, children spent significantly more time in the confinement of their parental home and might thus have been exposed to parents' adverse experiences more than in times of normalcy. In order to relieve this societal mental health crisis and keep societal costs as low as possible, it is necessary to address the spillover effects and consider these mechanisms when planning future prevention strategies.

Finally, the findings have implications for research on gender equality. Women are still the primary caregiver in Germany (Steinbach & Schulz, 2021) and most European countries (Martínez-Pastor et al., 2022). Thus, they are confronted with carrying the double burden of wage labour and care work (Hochschild & Machung, 2012). Extending research on the complex consequences of irreconcilable work and family lives to also consider children's well-being potentially provides valuable new insights and might provide an empirical base for new policy approaches. Addressing this issue seems particularly relevant in a cross-national context, because the congestion of role expectations harms maternal mental health particularly in egalitarian societies where female participation possibilities are challenged with unequal parenting duties (Roskam et al., 2022).

Policy Implications

The vast impact of parents' everyday experiences on children's subjective well-being also has implications for policymakers because they carry the possibility of enabling families to actively help their children to have higher levels of subjective well-being. A broader knowledge of the underlying transfer mechanisms between parents' and children's lives enables policymakers to implement better family policies that target higher levels of life satisfaction in order to strengthen human capital development (Gilman & Huebner, 2006; Tabbodi et al., 2015), public physical and mental health (George, 2013; Gilman & Huebner, 2003; Huebner, 1991; Schuchard et al., 2022), as well as societal social cohesion (Llamas-

Díaz et al., 2022). Improving these factors offers extensive opportunities to secure long-term economic productivity, economic growth, and stability.

Since economic strain is often at the root of strained family climates (Conger et al., 2010; Masarik & Conger, 2017), social policy should first aim to lower economic pressure on families. Compared to nearly all other OECD countries, lower-income families in Germany receive only little financial support (Thévenon, 2011). A well-designed basic child allowance would therefore help to relieve family stress. Indeed, Germany has just decided on a comprehensive financial programme, the so-called Kindergrundsicherung (English: Child Basic Income), aiming to alleviate families' financial strain by providing a financial safety net for families with children (BMFSFJ, 2023). This package might be a first, powerful step on the way to improving children's lives and well-being, but policymakers and researchers need to monitor the effects of the Kindergrundsicherung in order to ensure that the amount of funding per child is sufficient and that the financial aid is effective. In case the financial aid is not effective, the expenditure might be better spent on childcare infrastructure because this is the second policy that might avoid strain.

Policymakers and employers further need to provide better care arrangements in order to reduce stress and strain in employed caregivers. Work-family conflicts could be evaded if parents, especially parents on lower incomes, were provided with better institutional care arrangements, such as suitable day care and the possibility of full day care in schools. In 2022, only 35.5% of children under 3 were in day care (Destatis, 2022), and childcare is totally free of charge only in two of the sixteen federal states (Hubert et al., 2021). Thus, childcare is often not available nor is it free to use. Making institutional childcare more and freely available, especially to low-income families requires better funding for childcare services as well as training and hiring more (kindergarten) teachers, educators, and social workers. Even though the number of employees in the childcare sector increased slightly from 2022 to 2023 (Destatis, 2023b), the supply of day care is not sufficient to mitigate the stress and strain of employed parents. The current care ratio for children under the age of 8 is 1:8 (Destatis, 2021) – the suggested care ratio at this age would be 1:7 (Strunz, 2013). In Germany, childcare is more than 350,000 day-care places short; across the federal states nearly 100,000 kindergarden teachers would be needed to provide a sufficient supply of day care (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2022). Over and above better day-care options, employers need to enable a higher work schedule flexibility for caregivers and provide better support in dealing with workplace pressure and high-intensity workload, as this would help to reduce the stress-based strain of parents.

Moving from the work–family interface to social cohesion, the findings from Chapter 8 have major implications for societal integration efforts. According to Eurostat and Destatis,

the majority of migrants — especially refugees — in the EU and Germany come from collectivist countries of origin (Destatis, 2023a; Eurostat, 2023a, 2023d). Considering that children's well-being is strongly protected by the bigger family structures that are prevalent in collectivist societies, migration will take part of this protection mechanism away because they commonly migrate with their nuclear family only. Thus, children will have to rely solely on this smaller set of family members when arriving in the host country. In order to maintain and improve their subjective well-being after migration, it is therefore crucial to provide these children with opportunities of participation and social networks that help mitigate harmful impacts due to the loss of family. Schools, sports, and other clubs should therefore specifically target the integration of children with migration experiences in existing structures.

To monitor the development of children's well-being, policymakers should provide and allocate funds to collect, archive, and systematically analyse data on children's lives. While the government of the United Kingdom, for example, has provided a thorough documentation of children's and adolescents' well-being, which includes information on children's physical, mental, social, and overall subjective well-being, since 2019 (GOV UK Department for Education, 2023), information is scarce in most European countries and even scarcer in many other world regions. A vast share of relevant information on children's living conditions can only be derived from small sample sizes and often relies on parent-reported data that are prone to mood bias and social desirability bias, as was shown in this dissertation (see Chapter 3 and Chapter 5). Moreover, information on the living conditions of children, such as the share of children who live with mentally ill parents or who are subject to domestic violence, is estimated and often based on outdated survey data (Dimitrova-Stull, 2014; Plass-Christl et al., 2017). Of course, these kind of data can hardly be derived systematically without bias due to the necessity of parents' consent to interview children, which is why survey projects such as the International Survey of Children's Well-Being – which is the only internationally comparable survey that focuses on measuring and monitoring children's self-reported subjective well-being – need to be guaranteed state funding, similarly to the European Commission's Eurobarometer (European Union, 2023).

Limitations

This dissertation is subject to certain limitations. Some of them have already been discussed in Chapters 5 to 8, others have already been addressed in the discussion above. However, two crucial limitations need to be highlighted with regard to the sample of children that have been studied in this dissertation. First, most of the evidence is based on children from Germany, a rich, Western society with generous policies in place to protect parents and children that relieve their burden to a certain extent. Compared to other OECD countries,

and especially compared to the United States, Germany provides higher tax benefits to families, child poverty rates are lower, female employment is slightly higher, paid maternity leave is longer (Thévenon, 2011). Thus, the results of this dissertation need to be interpreted with these well-situated societal circumstances in mind. Second, one has to consider that interviewing children is not possible without the parents' consent; it is not possible to survey any child without parents granting their approval first. This produces another data bias that has to be kept in mind: children of parents who severely and knowingly mistreat their children, children from precarious households, as well as children of parents who are lowly educated and mistrust scientific research, are very likely to be vastly under-represented in the samples at hand.

A second blind spot of this dissertation are family constructs apart from nuclear families. In this dissertation, I only included heteronormative, two-parent families due to data availability; one-parent families, blended families, and rainbow families were excluded from all analyses due to them not being sufficiently represented in the pairfam data. With family constructs and dynamics becoming more diverse (Lesthaeghe, 2015) – unmarried parenthood, union dissolution, and divorce as well as re-partnering with children after union dissolutions (OECD, 2023b; Sobotka & Berghammer, 2021), and same sex unions (Cortina & Festy, 2020) are becoming more common in Germany and all over Europe – the omission of these family constructs is undoubtedly a limitation that should be overcome in future research. This is especially relevant as it is likely that individuals who live in nonheteronormative family settings are more often exposed to additional adverse experiences such as discrimination. Discrimination itself is an adverse event in parents' lives but it also comes with a number of adversities that have been addressed in this dissertation: people who are discriminated against suffer from mental problems more often (Vargas et al., 2020), are more likely to experience conflictive work environments (Ozeren, 2014), and experience internal family internal conflicts more often (Siegel et al., 2022). It remains unknown whether the findings of this dissertation hold for more diverse family settings or whether they are more pronounced and more detrimental to children's well-being.

Future Research Directions

Notwithstanding these limitations, this dissertation is among the first quantitative empirical research projects that address the interrelation between adverse events in parents' lives, family lives, and multiple dimensions of children's self-reported subjective well-being from a culturally diverse perspective. Nonetheless, a number of open questions remain that should be addressed by future research. First, this dissertation provided further evidence for the mismatch between parents' and children's reports (see also Booth et al., 2023; Gartstein et al., 2009; Koskelainen et al., 2000; Seiffge-Krenke & Kollmar, 1998; White-Koning et

al., 2007). As child reports differ from those of their parents, the incorporation of their views opens up new opportunities to increase our understanding of the family environment. Researchers interested in understanding and improving children's and adolescents' well-being should collectively make use and encourage the collection and use of child-reported data sources in order to develop and implement social policies and family-based interventions aiming at promoting positive subjective experiences among young people. Future research thus needs to systematically investigate the extent of the discrepancy between parent and child reports. Based on the findings in Chapters 5 to 8, this call should be extended: future research should account for the complex interrelatedness of family members and incorporate multi-informant designs more often when researching children's subjective well-being.

Second, it is imperative to determine this discrepancy depending on the cultural context. For example, it is possible that parent reports in cultures with low power distance, where family life is less authoritarian, are significantly closer to child reports than in cultures with high power distance where family life is more strongly hierarchically structured (Hofstede, 2011). A culturally sensitive study of the reliability of parental reports would be of great value for future data collection. If, for instance, in societies with traditional family values and hierarchical family structures, reliable information on children's subjective wellbeing is solely provided by primary caregivers, this can be considered in data collection. Only when such reporting patterns are systematically clarified can a research field heavily reliant on parental reports be evaluated and improved in the future, as it will then become evident which parental reports can be assumed to mirror child reports and which would differ significantly. Additionally, it might be very insightful to clarify whether the differing perceptions of parents and children may hint at a lack in the frequency or the quality of communication between parents and their children. Future research will need to address whether a lack of inner-familial communication is able to explain the differences in parent and child reports.

Third, the value climate surrounding families seems to be a more auspicious predictor of variation in children's subjective well-being compared to economic macro-societal conditions (Lee & Yoo, 2015; Newland et al., 2019). This finding highlights the necessity to find culturally sensitive, comparable measures of subjective well-being – as has already been shown and discussed for adult populations (Krys, Chun Yeung, et al., 2023; Krys, Haas, et al., 2023; Krys et al., 2021; Krys et al., 2019). To successfully unravel the intertwined relations between cultural values, family lives and children's well-being, child researchers need to follow in the footsteps of adult subjective well-being researchers and develop suitable and reliable measures. Chapters 5 to 7, like many other studies, are

concerned with measures of children's ill-being rather than their well-being. Consequently, future research needs to find a more standardized way to measure and monitor children's subjective *well*-being.

Fourth, to date, cross-national research on children's subjective well-being is scarce, not least because suitable databases are rare. Collecting cross-national data that link, for example, parent- and child reports to each other would be especially fruitful when aiming to research the complex interrelations between parents' and children's lives. Likewise, it would enhance the body of literature to additionally collect teacher-reported data on parents' behaviour and children's subjective well-being in order to gain a more objective assessment. Further, data collection on children's (subjective) well-being needs to be better organized and documented. To this end, research needs to collaborate with suitable organizations, such as Eurofound or UNICEF. Data archiving and availability needs to be pooled and centralized so as to facilitate the search for suitable data for researchers, policymakers, and practitioners. Considering the scarcity of cross-cultural analyses of children's subjective well-being and the dominance of research based on US data, it is necessary to critically reflect on the universality of the current state of research. Future research should aim to fill the white spots on the map and investigate the subjective well-being of children in *all* world regions in depth and in comparison.

Future research should additionally closely monitor the well-being of vulnerable child populations. A significant proportion of migrant children are likely to have experienced adverse family events, such as separation from extended family members and being exposed to new living environments. Monitoring the development of children's subjective well-being, adaptation processes and social exchanges in the host population might generate valuable insights into integration processes. For example, it will be crucial to determine whether the role of family relations with the nuclear family will become more important for children's subjective well-being after they migrate to individualistic societies and whether their social contacts with out-groups increase. Analysing mechanisms of these kinds has the potential to generate valuable new insights for cross-cultural psychology and cross-cultural family research, as well as for research on migration and social cohesion.

Future research needs to take family forms other than nuclear families into account – as discussed in the limitations. Further, it is vital to investigate other daily hassles, such as financial strain, discrimination experiences, or massively inhibited time resources to confirm the direct as well as the indirect transmission mechanisms via parenting behaviour that have been detected in this dissertation. Likewise, other mechanisms and other ecological systems need to be explored systematically. Though the family environment and parenting emerged as powerful predictors of children's subjective well-being, other impact factors, such as peer

relationships, socio-economic status, and personality traits have not been studied to a sufficient extent, yet.

Practical Implications

The results of this dissertation are not only relevant to researchers and policymakers, they also provide practical implications for professionals working with children and parents. As stressed above, one key finding in this dissertation was that mothers' and fathers' parenting behaviour is among the most powerful transmission mechanisms that might prevent the downward spiral of well-being in families. Thus, practitioners such as social workers and family therapists should consider providing interventions in the style of the suggestions that have been made by the WHO and UNICEF (WHO, 2021). These interventions aim to strengthen parenting skills and to improve family environments in order to nurture healthy and happy children (WHO, 2021, p. 59). Such programmes and information on how to strengthen families and family bonds, how to implement positive parenting techniques, and how to create secure and protective environments for children could, for example, be implemented in programmes similar to the parent letters provided for (new) parents by the Committee for New Education (ANE, 2023; BMFSFJ, 2022). Based on the mechanisms shown in this dissertation, information should include that adverse experiences such as interparental conflict and work-family conflict are mainly transferred to children's well-being because mothers' and fathers' parenting behaviour becomes harsher and that verbally harsh parenting has negative consequences for children's well-being – in the same way as physically harsh parenting.

The identified mechanisms further have significance for (family) psychotherapy because parenting styles, parents' mental health, and working conditions seem to impact children's emotional and psychological well-being. This knowledge can inform therapeutic approaches, interventions, and counselling strategies for families. The results can first be linked to research on resilience. Families were shown to be more resilient to outside adverse events when parents were able to not let such experiences affect their parenting and attitudes towards the children (Walsh, 2021). Thus, family therapists could improve more than one agent's lives simultaneously when identifying and specifically targeting the transmission mechanism via emotionally cold and harsh verbal parenting behaviour, i.e. making parents aware that words matter even though verbal abuse is not officially declared as abuse (Dube et al., 2023).

Moreover, the result that children report their well-being differently from their parents is of utter relevance to family therapists and other fields of psychotherapy. Parental reporter bias shows that considering children's self-reports provides a more accurate, nuanced, and comprehensive understanding of children's subjective well-being and thus

increases the potential of successfully implementing practices that promote positive outcomes for children. Because higher levels of parents' mental problems seem to be accompanied by a stronger mismatch between parent and child reports, the differences might not only be driven by a mood bias but also by a lack of parent—child attachment. This lack of attachment might cause children and their mentally ill parent to grow apart, which causing the parent to no longer being able to take subtle hints about their child's well-being, which in turn leads to parents projecting their own feelings on the child (Kerns et al., 2001). Therefore, family therapists could benefit from comparatively assessing children's wellbeing from both the parents' and the child's perspective. Since research provided evidence that it is of crucial importance to discover child depression as early as possible in order to prevent children from severe long-term illness (Luby et al., 2009), an approach that implements complementary children's self-reports might offer new therapy options. Similar implications seem evident for practical social work and educators. Being aware of the detrimental effects of parents' experiences on children's well-being enables a more effective professional support and assistance system to families in need. It can be used to provide better-tailored and evidence-based interventions, and an early detection of these effects might prevent these negative effects from fully developing. This way, the detrimental effects of negative parental experiences on children's social skills, delinquency, and academic performance might be prevented. Likewise, it is necessary to make social workers and educators aware that the mere presence of problems in parents' lives does not automatically need to be a warning signal, as parents seem to overestimate the effect of negative experiences in their lives. Instead of being overly protective, it might be more prudent to survey the parent-child relationship closely in order to not endanger the triad between child, social worker/educator, and the parents.

References

- Abel, K. M., Hope, H., Swift, E., Parisi, R., Ashcroft, D. M., Kosidou, K., . . . Pierce, M. (2019). Prevalence of maternal mental illness among children and adolescents in the UK between 2005 and 2017: A national retrospective cohort analysis. *The Lancet Public Health*, 4(6), e291–e300. https://doi.org/10.1016/S2468-2667(19)30059-3
- Achenbach, T. M., & Edelbrock, C. (1991). Child behavior checklist. Burlington (Vt), 7, 371–392.
- Adams, G. A., King, L. A., & King, D. W. (1996). Relationships of job and family involvement, family social support, and work- family conflict with job and life satisfaction. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 81(4), 411–420. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.81.4.411.
- Adkins, C. L., & Premeaux, S. F. (2012). Spending time: the impact of hours worked on work-family conflict. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 80(2), 380–389. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2011.09.003.
- Allen, T. D., & Armstrong, J. (2006). Further examination of the link between work-family conflict and physical health—the role of health-related behaviors. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 49(9), 1204–1221. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764206286386.
- Allison, P.D. (2009). Fixed effects regression models (Vol. 160). Thousand Oaks: SAGE publications.
- Alsmeier N., Schulz W. (2020). Intergenerationale Transmission psychischer Auffälligkeiten unter Berücksichtigung von Geschlechtereffekten. Zeitschrift für Klinische Psychologie und Psychotherapie, 49(2), 93–102. https://doi.org/10.1026/1616-3443/a000577
- Anderson, C., Kraus, M. W., Galinsky, A. D., & Keltner, D. (2012). The local-ladder effect:Social status and subjective well-being. *Psychological Science*, 23(7), 764–771. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797611434537
- Andreas A., White L. O., Sierau S., Perren S., von Klitzing K., Klein A. M. (2018). Like mother like daughter, like father like son? Intergenerational transmission of internalizing symptoms at early school age: A longitudinal study. *European Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 27(8), 985–995. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00787-017-1103-y
- Andresen, S., Hurrelmann, K., & Schneekloth, U. (2012). Care and freedom: Theoretical and empirical aspects of children's well-being in Germany. *Child Indicators Research*, 5(3), 437–448. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-012-9154-6
- Arnett, J. J. (2002). Adolescents in western countries in the 21st century: Vast opportunities—for all. In B. Bradford Brown, R. Larson, & T. Saraswathi (Eds.), *The World's Youth: Adolescence in Eight Regions of the Globe* (pp. 307–343). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511613814.011
- Artis, J. E. (2007). Maternal cohabitation and child well–being among kindergarten children. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 69(1), 222–236. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2006.00355.x
- Auersperg, F., Vlasak, T., Ponocny, I., & Barth, A. (2019). Long-term effects of parental divorce on mental health A meta-analysis. *Journal of Psychiatric Research*, 119(December 2019), 107–115. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpsychires.2019.09.011
- Augustijn L. (2022). The association between joint physical custody and children's mental health. Do children's experiences of parental loyalty conflicts moderate the relationship? *Children & Society*, 36(4), 494–510. https://doi.org/10.1111/chso.12508
- Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung. (2020). Bildung in Deutschland 2020. Ein indikatorengestützer Bericht mit einer Analyse zu Bildung in einer digitalisierten Welt. Bertelsmann. Retrieved from https://www.bildungsbericht.de/static_pdfs/bildungsbericht-2020.pdf
- Awada, S. R., & Shelleby, E. C. (2021). Increases in maternal education and child behavioral and academic outcomes. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *30*(7), 1813–1830. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-021-01983-7
- Aycan, Z. (2008). Cross-cultural approaches to work-family conflict. In K. Korabik, D. Lero & D. Whitehead (Eds.), *Handbook of work-family integration* (pp. 353–370). Amsterdam: Academic Press.
- Ayer, L., Kohl, P., Malsberger, R., & Burgette, L. (2016). The impact of fathers on maltreated youths' mental health. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 63(April 2016), 16–20. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2016.02.006
- Bacter, C., Bălțătescu, S., Marc, C., Săveanu, S., & Buhaș, R. (2021). Correlates of preadolescent emotional health in 18 countries: A study using children's words data. *Child Indicators Research*, *14*(4), 1703–1722. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-021-09819-y

- Bandura, A. (1969) Social—learning theory of identificatory processes. In D. A. Goslin (Ed.), Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research (pp. 213–262). Chicago, IL: Rand McNally.
- Bandura, A. (1977) Social Learning Theory (Vol. 1). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Bandura, A., & Walters, R.H. (1977). Social learning theory (Vol. 1). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Barker E. D., Copeland W., Maughan B., Jaffee S. R., Uher R. (2012). Relative impact of maternal depression and associated risk factors on offspring psychopathology. *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 200(2), 124–129. https://doi.org/10.1192/bjp.bp.111.092346
- Bartolini, S., Bilancini, E., & Sarracino, F. (2013). Predicting the trend of well-being in Germany: How much do comparisons, adaptation and sociability matter? *Social Indicators Research*, 114(2), 169–191. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-012-0142-5
- Baumrind, D. (1972). An exploratory study of socialization effects on black children: some black-white comparisons. *Child Development*, 43(1), 261–267.
- Baumrind, D. (1991). Parenting styles and adolescent development. In J. Brooks–Gunn, R. Lerner and A.C. Petersen (Eds.) *The Encyclopedia of Adolescence* (p.746–758). New York City: Garland Publishing.
- Beaujouan, E. (2023). Delayed fertility as a driver of fertility decline? In R. Schoen (Ed.), *The demography of transforming families* (pp. 41–63). Cham: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-29666-6_4
- Becchetti, L., Massari, R., & Naticchioni, P. (2013). The drivers of happiness inequality: Suggestions for promoting social cohesion. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 66(2), 419–442. https://doi.org/10.1093/oep/gpt016
- Beck, U., & Beck–Gernsheim, E. (1994). Riskante Freiheiten: Individualisierung in modernen Gesellschaften. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp.
- Ben-Arieh, A. (2005). Where are the children? Children's role in measuring and monitoring their well-being. *Social Indicators Research*, 74(3), 573–596. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-004-4645-6
- Ben-Arieh, A. (2008a). The child indicators movement: Past, present, and future. *Child Indicators Research*, *I*(1), 3–16. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-007-9003-1
- Ben–Arieh, A. (2008b). Indicators and indices of children's well–being: towards a more policy–oriented perspective. *European Journal of Education*, 43(1), 37–50. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1465-3435.2007.00332.x
- Berger, L., Brooks–Gunn, J., Paxson, C., & Waldfogel, J. (2008). First–year maternal employment and child outcomes: Differences across racial and ethnic groups. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *30*(4), 365–387. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2007.10.010
- Bergs, Y., Hoofs, H., Kant, I., Slangen, J., & Jansen, N. W. (2018). Work-family conflict and depressive complaints among Dutch employees: examining reciprocal associations in a longitudinal study. Scandinavian Journal of Work, Environment & Health, 44(1), 69–79. https://doi.org/10.5271/sjweh.3658
- Bernardo, A. B., & Estrellado, A. F. (2017). Subjective well-being of Filipino women who experienced intimate partner violence: A person-centered analysis. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, 39(July 2017), 360–376. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10447-017-9303-1
- Bertelsmann Stiftung. (2022). 2023 fehlen in Deutschland rund 384.000 Kita-Plätze. Retrieved from https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/de/themen/aktuelle-meldungen/2022/oktober/2023-fehlen-in-deutschland-rund-384000-kita-plaetze#detail-content-2c3e-222833
- Bhide, S., Sciberras, E., Anderson, V., Hazell, P., & Nicholson, J. M. (2019). Association between parenting style and socio-emotional and academic functioning in children with and without ADHD: a community-based study. *Journal of Attention Disorders*, 23(5), 463–474. https://doi.org/10.1177/1087054716661420
- Bianchi, S. M., & Milkie, M. A. (2010). Work and family research in the first decade of the 21st century. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72(3), 705–725. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737. 2010.00726.x
- Bitterman, M. E. (2006). Classical conditioning since Pavlov. *Review of General Psychology*, 10(4), 365–376. https://doi.org/10.1037/1089–2680.10.4.365
- Black, C. F. D. (2022). Partner emotional support and child problem behaviors: the indirect role of harsh parenting for young mothers and their children. *Family Process*, 61(1), 375–390. https://doi.org/10.1111/famp.12663
- Blome, A. (2016). The politics of work-family policy reforms in Germany and Italy. London: Routledge.

- Boje, T. P., & Ejrnæs, A. (2012). Policy and practice: the relationship between family policy regime and women's labour market participation in Europe. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 32(9/10), 589–605. https://doi.org/10.1108/01443331211257670.
- Booth, C., Moreno–Agostino, D., & Fitzsimons, E. (2023). Parent–adolescent informant discrepancy on the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire in the UK Millennium Cohort Study. *Child and Adolescent Psychiatry and Mental Health*, *17*(May 2023), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1186/s13034-023-00605-y
- Borgers, N., De Leeuw, E., & Hox, J. (2000). Children as respondents in survey research: Cognitive development and response quality 1. *Bulletin of Sociological Methodology/Bulletin de méthodologie sociologique*, 66(1), 60–75. https://doi.org/10.1177/075910630006600
- Bornstein, M. H., Putnick, D. L., Lansford, J. E., Pastorelli, C., Skinner, A. T., Sorbring, E., . . . Oburu, P. (2015). Mother and father socially desirable responding in nine countries: Two kinds of agreement and relations to parenting self–reports. *International Journal of Psychology*, 50(3), 174–185. https://doi.org/10.1002/ijop.12084
- Borowsky, C., Drobnič, S., & Feldhaus, M. (2020). Parental commuting and child well–being in Germany. *Journal of Family Research*, 32(2), 357–392. https://doi.org/10.20377/jfr–370
- Bos, H. M. W., Kuyper, L., & Gartrell, N. K. (2018). A population–based comparison of female and male same–sex parent and different–sex parent households. *Family Process*, 57(1), 148–164. https://doi.org/10.1111/famp.12278
- Bosco, F. A., Aguinis, H., Singh, K., Field, J. G., & Pierce, C. A. (2015). Correlational effect size benchmarks. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 100(2), 431. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0038047
- Boyce, C. J. (2010). Understanding fixed effects in human well–being. *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 31(1), 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.joep.2009.08.009
- Boye, K. (2009). Work and well-being in a comparative perspective: The role of family policy. *European Sociological Review*, 27(1), 16–30. https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcp051
- Braza, P., Carreras, R., Muñoz, J. M., Braza, F., Azurmendi, A., Pascual-Sagastizábal, E., Cardas, J., & Sánchez-Martín, J. R. (2015). Negative maternal and paternal parenting styles as predictors of children's behavioral problems: moderating effects of the child's sex. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 24(4), 847–856. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-013-9893-0.
- Brennan P. A., Hammen C., Andersen M. J., Bor W., Najman J. M., Williams G. M. (2000). Chronicity, severity, and timing of maternal depressive symptoms: Relationships with child outcomes at age 5. *Developmental Psychology*, 36(6), 759–766. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.36.6.759
- Brock, R. L., & Kochanska, G. (2016). Interparental conflict, children's security with parents, and longterm risk of internalizing problems: A longitudinal study from ages 2 to 10. Development and Psychopathology, 28(1), 45–54. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954579415000279
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1977). Toward an experimental ecology of human development. *American Psychologist*, 32(7), 513–531. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.32.7.513
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design.* Cambridge, Massachusetts & London: Harvard University Press.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1986). Ecology of the family as a context for human development: Research perspectives. *Developmental Psychology*, 22(6), 723–742. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.22.6.723
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1992). Ecological systems theory. In R. Vasta (Ed.), *Six theories of child development:* revised formulations and current issues (pp. 187–249). London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
- Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. (1998). The ecology of develop—mental processes. In R.M. Lerner (Ed.), *Theorectical models of human development* (5 ed., pp. 993–1028). New York: Wiley.
- Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (2007). The bioecological model of human development. *Handbook of Child Psychology*, 793–828. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Brüderl, J., Edinger, R., Eigenbrodt, F., Garrett, M., Hajek, K., Herzig, M., . . . Timmermann, K. (2023). pairfam data manual, Release 14.0. *LMU Munich:* Technical Report. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5678 Data File Version 14.0.0. https://doi.org/10.4232/pairfam.5678.14.0.0
- Brüderl, J., Schmiedeberg, C., Castiglioni, L., Arránz Becker, O., Buhr, P., Fuß, D., . . . Schumann, N. (2022). The German family panel: study design and cumulated field report (Waves 1 to 13), Release 13.0. pairfam Technical Paper No. 01. https://doi.org/10.5282/ubm/epub.91983
- Brüderl, J., Schmiedeberg, C., Castiglioni, L., Becker, O.A., Buhr, P., Fuß, D., Ludwig, V., Schröder, J., & Schumann, N. (2017). The German family panel: study design and cumulated field report (Waves

- 1 to 12), Release 12.0. *pairfam Technical Paper No. 01*. Retrieved from https://www.pairfam.de/fileadmin/user_upload/redakteur/publis/Dokumentation/TechnicalPapers/TP01%20Cumulated%20Field%20Report%2C%20pairfam%202021.pdf
- Brummert Lennings, H. I., & Bussey, K. (2017). The mediating role of coping self–efficacy beliefs on the relationship between parental conflict and child psychological adjustment. *Social Development*, 26(4), 753–766. https://doi.org/10.1111/sode.12241
- Byron, K. (2005). A meta-analytic review of work-family conflict and its antecedents. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 67(2), 169–198. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2004.08.009.
- Camisasca, E., Miragoli, S., & Di Blasio, P. (2016). Families with distinct levels of marital conflict and child adjustment: Which role for maternal and paternal stress? *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 25(3), 733–745. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-015-0261-0
- Cantril, H. (1965). The pattern of human concern. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Caporale, G. M., Georgellis, Y., Tsitsianis, N., & Yin, Y. P. (2009). Income and happiness across Europe: Do reference values matter? *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 30(1), 42–51. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.joep.2008.06.004
- Carlson, M. J., & Corcoran, M. E. (2001). Family structure and children's behavioral and cognitive outcomes. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 63(3), 779–792. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2001.00779.x
- Casanueva, C., Goldman–Fraser, J., Ringeisen, H., Lederman, C., Katz, L., & Osofsky, J. D. (2010). Maternal perceptions of temperament among infants and toddlers investigated for maltreatment: Implications for services need and referral. *Journal of Family Violence*, 25(6), 557–574. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896–010–9316–6
- Casas, F., & Rees, G. (2015). Measures of children's subjective well-being: analysis of the potential for cross-national comparisons. *Child Indicators Research*, 8(1), 49–69. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-014-9293-z
- Casas, F., Oriol, X., & González-Carrasco, M. (2020). Positive affect and its relationship with general life satisfaction among 10 and 12-year-old children in 18 countries. *Child Indicators Research*, *13*(6), 2261–2290. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-020-09733-9
- Castillo, B., Grogan–Kaylor, A., Gleeson, S. M., & Ma, J. (2020). Child externalizing behavior in context: Associations of mother nonstandard work, parenting, and neighborhoods. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 116(September 2020), 1–9. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2020.105220
- Chan, Y. C. (1994). Parenting stress and social support of mothers who physically abuse their children in Hong Kong. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 18(3), 261–269. https://doi.org/10.1016/0145-2134(94)90110-4.
- Chandy, L., Marlin, A., & Teixeira, C. (2021). *Understanding child subjective well-being: A call for more data, research and policy making targeting children*. UNICEF Office of Global Insight & Policy. Retrieved from https://www.unicef.org/globalinsight/reports/understanding-child-subjective-well-being
- Chee, K. H., Conger, R. D., & Elder, Jr., G. H. (2009). Mother's employment demands, work-family conflict, and adolescent development. *International Journal of Sociology of the Family*, 35(2), 189–202.
- Chen, F. R., & Raine, A. (2018). Effects of harsh parenting and positive parenting practices on youth aggressive behavior: the moderating role of early pubertal timing. *Aggressive Behavior*, 44 (1), 18–28. https://doi.org/10.1002/ab.21720.
- Chen, W.-Y., & Lee, Y. (2021). Mother's exposure to domestic and community violence and its association with child's behavioral outcomes. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 49(7), 2623–2638. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22508
- Chen, Y., Haines, J., Charlton, B. M., & VanderWeele, T. J. (2019). Positive parenting improves multiple aspects of health and well–being in young adulthood. *Nature Human Behaviour*, *3*(7), 684–691. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-019-0602-x
- Chi, T. C., & Hinshaw, S. P. (2002). Mother–child relationships of children with ADHD: The role of maternal depressive symptoms and depression–related distortions. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 30(4), 387–400. https://doi.org/10.1023/a:1015770025043
- Cho, E. Y.-N. (2018). Links between poverty and children's subjective wellbeing: Examining the mediating and moderating role of relationships. *Child Indicators Research*, 11(2), 585–607. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-017-9453-z

- Choi, J.–K., & Becher, E. H. (2019). Supportive coparenting, parenting stress, harsh parenting, and child behavior problems in nonmarital families. *Family Process*, 58(2), 404–417. https://doi.org/10.1111/famp.12373
- Choi, J.–K., Parra, G., & Jiang, Q. (2019a). The longitudinal and bidirectional relationships between cooperative coparenting and child behavioral problems in low–income, unmarried families. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 33(2), 203–214. https://doi.org/10.1037/fam0000498
- Choi, J.-K., Wang, D., & Jackson, A. P. (2019b). Adverse experiences in early childhood and their longitudinal impact on later behavioral problems of children living in poverty. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 98(December 2019), 1-10. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2019.104181
- Cicognani, E. (2014). Social well-being. In A. C. Michalos (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of quality of life and well-being research* (pp. 6193–6197). Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-0753-5 2797
- Cinamon, R. G. (2006). Anticipated work-family conflict: effects of gender, self-efficacy, and family background. *Career Development Quarterly*, 54(3), 202–215. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-0045.2006.tb00152.x
- Clair, A. (2012). The relationship between parent's subjective well-being and the life satisfaction of their children in Britain. *Child Indicators Research*, *5*(4), 631–650. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-012-9139-5
- Clark, M. A., Early, R. J., Baltes, B. B., & Krenn, D. (2019). Work–family behavioral role conflict: scale development and validation. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 34(1), 39–53. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10869-017-9529-2
- Cohen, J. (2013). Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences. New York, San fransisco, London: Academic Press.
- Collishaw, S. (2015). Annual research review: secular trends in child and adolescent mental health. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 56(3), 370–393. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcpp.12372
- Collishaw, S., Maughan, B., Goodman, R., & Pickles, A. (2004). Time trends in adolescent mental health. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 45(8), 1350–1362. https://doi.org/10.1111/j. 1469-7610.2004.00335.x
- Coln, K. L., Jordan, S. S., & Mercer, S. H. (2013). A unified model exploring parenting practices as mediators of marital conflict and children's adjustment. *Child Psychiatry & Human Development*, 44(3), 419–429. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10578-012-0336-8
- Committee for New Education (ANE). (2023). *ANE-Elternbriefe*. Retrieved from https://www.ane.de/elternbriefe
- Conger, R. D., Conger, K. J., & Martin, M. J. (2010). Socioeconomic status, family processes, and individual development. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72(3), 685–704. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2010.00725.x
- Conroy S., Pariante C. M., Marks M. N., Davies H. A., Farrelly S., Schacht R., Moran P. (2012). Maternal psychopathology and infant development at 18 months: The impact of maternal personality disorder and depression. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 51(1), 51–61. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaac.2011.10.007
- Cooklin, A. R., Westrupp, E. M., Strazdins, L., Giallo, R., Martin, A., & Nicholson, J. M. (2014). Fathers at work. *Journal of Family Issues*, *37*(11), 1611–1635. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513x14553054
- Corominas, M., González-Carrasco, M., & Casas, F. (2020). The importance of feeling adequately heard by adults and enjoying time with family in relation to children's subjective well-being. *Child Indicators Research*, *13*(1), 193-214. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-019-09680-0
- Cortina, C., & Festy, P. (2020). Same-sex couples and their legalization in Europe: Laws and numbers. In M. Digoix (Ed.), *Same-sex families and legal recognition in Europe* (pp. 45–71). Cham: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-37054-1 3
- Cummings, E. M., Merrilees. C, E,, & George. M, W, (2010), Fathers, marriages, and families: Revisiting and updating the framework for fathering in family context. In M. E. Lamb (Ed.). The role of the father in child development (pp, 154–176), Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Cummings, E.M., Goeke–Morey, M.C., & Raymond, J. (2004). Fathers in family context: effects of marital quality and marital conflict. In M. Lamb (Ed.), The role of the father in child development (4th ed., pp. 196–221). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Cummins, R. A. (1996). The domains of life satisfaction: An attempt to order chaos. *Social Indicators Research*, *38*(3), 303–328. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00292050

- Darling, N., & Steinberg, L. (1993). Parenting style as context: an integrative model. *Psychological Bulletin*, 113(3), 487–496. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.113.3.487
- Davies, P. T., & Cummings, E. M. (1994). Marital conflict and child adjustment: An emotional security hypothesis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 116(3), 387–411. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.116.3.387
- Davies, P. T., Hentges, R. F., Coe, J. L., Martin, M. J., Sturge–Apple, M. L., & Cummings, E. M. (2016a). The multiple faces of interparental conflict: Implications for cascades of children's insecurity and externalizing problems. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 125(5), 664–678. https://doi.org/10.1037/abn0000170
- Davies, P. T., Martin, M. J., & Sturge–Apple, M. L. (2016b). Emotional security theory and developmental psychopathology. In D. Cicchetti (Ed.), *Developmental Psychopathology* (pp. 1–66). https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119125556.devpsy106
- de Leeuw, E., Borgers, N., & Smits, A. (2004). Pretesting questionnaires for children and adolescents. In R.M. Groves, G. Kalton, J.N.K. Rao, N. Schwarz, C. Skinner, S. Presser, J.M. Rothgeb, M.P. Couper, J.T. Lessler, E. Martin, J. Martin & E. Singer (Eds.), *Methods for testing and evaluating survey questionnaires* (pp. 409–429). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley. https://doi.org/10.1002/0471654728.ch20
- De Luca, S. M., Yan, Y., & Johnston, C. (2020). "Can we talk?": A longitudinal analysis of Latino & non–Hispanic parent–child connectedness & adolescent ideation. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 110(March 2020), 1-9. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2020.104775
- Deater-Deckard, K., Wang, Z., Chen, N., & Bell, M. A. (2012). Maternal executive function, harsh parenting, and child conduct problems. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, *53*(10), 1084–1091. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-7610.2012.02582.x
- Deković, M., Wissink, I. B., & Marie Meijer, A. (2004). The role of family and peer relations in adolescent antisocial behaviour: Comparison of four ethnic groups. *Journal of Adolescence*, 27(5), 497-514. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2004.06.010
- Delany–Brumsey, A., Mays, V. M., & Cochran, S. D. (2014). Does neighborhood social capital buffer the effects of maternal depression on adolescent behavior problems? *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 53(3–4), 275–285. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-014-9640-8
- Delhey, J. (2004). *Life satisfaction in an enlarged Europe*. Eurofound. Retrieved from https://policycommons.net/artifacts/1829452/life-satisfaction-in-an-enlarged-europe-report/
- Delhey, J. (2014). Domain Satisfaction. In A. C. Michalos (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of quality of life and well–being research* (pp. 1679–1683). Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-0753-5_769
- Delhey, J., & Dragolov, G. (2016). Happier together. Social cohesion and subjective well–being in Europe. *International Journal of Psychology*, *51*(3), 163–176. https://doi.org/10.1002/ijop.12149
- Delle Fave, A. (2014). Eudaimonic and hedonic happiness. In A. C. Michalos (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of quality of life and well-being research* (pp. 1999–2004). Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-0753-5_3778
- Deng, Z., & Li, B. (2022). Parents' experiences of discrimination and children's depressive symptoms: evidence from China. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 31(2), 349–364. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-021-02150-8
- Dew, T., & Huebner, E. S. (1994). Adolescents' perceived quality of life: An exploratory investigation. *Journal of School Psychology*, 32(2), 185–199. https://doi.org/10.1016/0022-4405(94)90010-8
- Dickerson, S. W. (2021). Maternal psychological well-being and offspring's outcomes in Peru: A quantitative analysis. *Applied Research in Quality of Life*, 16(2), 527–571. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11482-019-09757-6
- Diener, E. (1984). Subjective well-being. *Psychological Bulletin*, 95(3), 542–575. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033–2909.95.3.542
- Diener, E. (1994). Assessing subjective well–being: Progress and opportunities. *Social Indicators Research*, 31(2), 103–157. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01207052
- Diener, E. (1998). Subjective well—being and personality. In D. F. Barone, M. Hersen, & V. B. Van Hasselt (Eds.), Advanced personality (pp. 311–334). Boston, MA: Plenum Press. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-8580-4_13
- Diener, E., & Diener, M. (1995). Cross-cultural correlates of life satisfaction and self-esteem. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 68(4), 653-663. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.68.4.653

- Diener, E., Lucas, R. E., & Oishi, S. (2002). Subjective well-being: The science of happiness and life satisfaction. In Shane J. Lopez, and C. R. Snyder (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Positive Psychology* (2 ed, pp. 63–73), Oxford: Oxford Academic https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195187243.013.0017
- Diener, E., Napa Scollon, C., & Lucas, R. E. (2003). The evolving concept of subjective well-being: the multifaceted nature of happiness. In P. Costa & I.C. Siegler (Eds.), *Advances in cell aging and gerontology* (Vol. 15, pp. 187–219). Amsterdam: Elsevier. https://doi.org/10.1016/S1566–3124(03)15007–9
- Diener, E., Suh, E. M., Lucas, R. E., & Smith, H. L. (1999). Subjective well-being: Three decades of progress. *Psychological Bulletin*, 125(2), 276. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.125.2.276
- Dimitrova–Stull, A. (2014). *Violence towards children in the EU*. EPRS: European Parliamentary Research Service. Retrieved from https://policycommons.net/artifacts/1337881/violence-towards-children-in-the-eu/1945958/
- Dinh, H., Cooklin, A. R., Leach, L. S., Westrupp, E. M., Nicholson, J. M., & Strazdins, L. (2017). Parents' transitions into and out of work-family conflict and children's mental health: longitudinal influence via family functioning. *Social Science & Medicine*, 194(December 2017), 42–50. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2017.10.017
- Dinisman, T., & Ben-Arieh, A. (2016). The characteristics of children's subjective well-being. *Social Indicators Research*, 126(2), 555–569. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-015-0921-x
- Dinisman, T., & Rees, G. (2014). *Findings from the first wave of data collection* (Wave Reports, Issue). Retrieved from https://isciweb.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/FirstWaveReport_FINAL2.pdf
- Dinisman, T., Andresen, S., Montserrat, C., Strózik, D., & Strózik, T. (2017). Family structure and family relationship from the child well–being perspective: Findings from comparative analysis. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 80(September 2017), 105–115. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2017.06.064
- Doepke, M., & Zilibotti, F. (2019). Parenting styles around the contemporary world. In M. Doepke & F. Zilibotti (Eds.) *Love, Money, and Parenting* (pp. 85–124). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. https://doi.org/10.1515/9780691184210-005
- dos Santos, B. R., Sarriera, J. C., & Bedin, L. M. (2019). Subjective well-being, life satisfaction and interpersonal relationships associated to socio-demographic and contextual variables. *Applied Research in Quality of Life*, 14(3), 819–835. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11482-018-9611-6
- Dou, K., Li, J.–B., Wang, Y.–J., Li, J.–J., Liang, Z.–Q., & Nie, Y.–G. (2019). Engaging in prosocial behavior explains how high self–control relates to more life satisfaction: Evidence from three Chinese samples. *PLoS ONE*, *14*(10), 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0223169
- Dow-Fleisner, S. J., Pandey, S., Baum, C., & Hawkins, S. S. (2021). Heterogeneity in child health and well-being in the context of maternal depression: a latent profile analysis. *Journal of the Society for Social Work and Research*, 12(1), 131–154. https://doi.org/10.1086/713569
- Downey G., Coyne J. C. (1990). Children of depressed parents: An integrative review. *Psychological Bulletin*, 108(1), 50–76. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033–2909.108.1.50
- Drummond, S., O'driscoll, M. P., Brough, P., Kalliath, T., Siu, O.-L., Timms, C., Riley, D., Sit, C., & Lo, D. (2016). The relationship of social support with well-being outcomes via work-family conflict: moderating effects of gender, dependants and nationality. *Human Relations*, 70(5), 544–565. https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726716662696
- Dube, S. R., Li, E. T., Fiorini, G., Lin, C., Singh, N., Khamisa, K., . . . Fonagy, P. (2023). Childhood verbal abuse as a child maltreatment subtype: A systematic review of the current evidence. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 144(October 2023), 1-15. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2023.106394
- Dunst, C. J., Serrano, A. M., Mas, J. M., & Espe–Sherwindt, M. (2021). Meta–analysis of the relationships between family strengths and parent, family and child well–being. *European Journal of Applied Positive Psychology*, 5(5), 2397–7116
- Duxbury, L., Higgins, C., & Lee, C. (1994). Work-family conflict: a comparison by gender, family type, and perceived control. *Journal of Family Issues*, 15(3), 449–466. https://doi.org/10. 1177/019251394015003006
- Eck, K. M., Delaney, C. L., Olfert, M. D., Shelnutt, K. P., & Byrd-Bredbenner, C. (2019). "If my family is happy, then I am happy": Quality-of-life determinants of parents of school-age children. *SAGE Open Medicine*, 7(February 2019), 1–9. https://doi.org/10.1177/2050312119828535

- Eid, M., & Diener, E. (2004). Global judgments of subjective well-being: situational variability and long-term stability. *Social Indicators Research*, 65(3), 245–277. https://doi.org/10.1023/B:SOCI.0000003801.89195.bc
- Elemary, F., Al Omari, O., & Wynaden, D. (2016). The perception of adolescents' inter-parental conflict and accompanied emotional security: A descriptive study. *Journal of Nursing Education and Practice*, 6(5), 84–90. https://doi.org/10.5430/jnep.v6n5p84
- Elgar F. J., Mills R. S., McGrath P. J., Waschbusch D. A., Brownridge D. A. (2007). Maternal and paternal depressive symptoms and child maladjustment: The mediating role of parental behavior. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 35(6), 943–955. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10802-007-9145-0
- Elharake, J. A., Akbar, F., Malik, A. A., Gilliam, W., & Omer, S. B. (2023). Mental health impact of COVID-19 among children and college students: A systematic review. *Child Psychiatry & Human Development*, *54*(3), 913–925. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10578-021-01297-1
- Engfer, A. (1988). The interrelatedness of marriage and the mother-child relationship. In R. A. Hinde & J. Stevenson-Hinde (Eds.), *Relationships within families: Mutual influences* (pp. 105–118). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Erel, O., & Burman, B. (1995). Interrelatedness of marital relations and parent–child relations: A meta–analytic review. *Psychological Bulletin*, 118(1), 108–132. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033–2909.118.1.108
- European Union. (2023). *Eurobarometer Public opinion in the European Union*. Retrieved from https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/screen/home
- Exenberger, S., & Juen, B. (2014). Culture and child well-being. In S. Exenberger & B. Juen (Eds.) *Well-being, resilience and quality of life from children's perspectives: A contextualized approach* (pp. 15–21). Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-7519-0_2
- Fagan, J., & Wildfeuer, R. (2022). Low–income parental risk and engagement in early childhood and child social–emotional functioning in middle childhood. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *31*(1), 70–85. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-021-02204-x
- Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ). (2022). *Direkte Beratung und Informationen für Familien*. https://www.bmfsfj.de/bmfsfj/themen/familie/chancen-und-teilhabe-fuer-familien/direkte-beratung-und-informationen-fuer-familien/direkte-beratung-und-informationen-fuer-familien-73470
- Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ). (2023). *Bundeskabinett beschließt den Gesetzentwurf zur Kindergrundsicherung*. Retrieved from https://www.bmfsfj.de/bmfsfj/aktuelles/alle-meldungen/bundeskabinett-beschliesst-dengesetzentwurf-zur-kindergrundsicherung-231186
- Fellows, K. J., Chiu, H.-Y., Hill, E. J., & Hawkins, A. J. (2015). Work-family conflict and couple relationship quality: a meta- analytic study. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, *37*(4), 509–518. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10834-015-9450-7
- Ferro M. A., Boyle M. H. (2015) The impact of chronic physical illness, maternal depressive symptoms, family functioning, and self–esteem on symptoms of anxiety and depression in children. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 43(1), 177–187. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10802-014-9893-6
- Firebaugh, G., Warner, C., & Massoglia, M. (2013). Fixed effects, random effects, and hybrid models for causal analysis. In S. L. Morgan (Ed.), *Handbook of Causal Analysis for Social Research* (pp. 113–132). Dordrecht: Springer.
- Flannery, A. J., Awada, S. R., & Shelleby, E. C. (2023). Influences of maternal parenting stress on child behavior problems: examining harsh and positive parenting as mediators. *Journal of Family Issues*, 44(5), 1215–1236. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513x211056207
- Fletcher R. J., Feeman E., Garfield C., Vimpani G. (2011). The effects of early paternal depression on children's development. *The Medical Journal of Australia*, 195(11–12), 685–689. https://doi.org/10.5694/mja11.10192
- Flouri E., Ruddy A., Midouhas E. (2017). Maternal depression and trajectories of child internalizing and externalizing problems: The roles of child decision making and working memory. *Psychological Medicine*, 47(6), 1138–1148. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0033291716003226
- Flouri E., Sarmadi Z., Francesconi M. (2019). Paternal psychological distress and child problem behavior from early childhood to middle adolescence. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 58(4), 453–458. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaac.2018.06.041

- Fomby, P., & Musick, K. (2018). Mothers' time, the parenting package, and links to healthy child development. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 80(1), 166–181. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12432
- Forrester, P., Kahric, U., Lewis, E. M., & Rose, T. (2022). Family, peer, and neighborhood influences on urban children's subjective wellbeing. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal*, Online First, 1-13. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10560-022-00866-0
- Franc, R., Prizmic–Larsen, Z., & Lipovčan, L. K. (2011). Personal security and fear of crime as predictors of subjective well–being. In D. Webb & E. Wills–Herrera (Eds). *Subjective well–being and security*. Social Indicators Research Series (Vol 46., pp. 45–67). Dordrecht: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-2278-1_4
- French, K. A., Dumani, S., Allen, T. D., & Shockley, K. M. (2018). A meta-analysis of work-family conflict and social support. *Psychological Bulletin*, *144*(3), 284–314. https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000120
- Furman, W., & Lanthier, R. (2005). Parenting siblings. In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of parenting: Children and* parenting (pp. 165–188). Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Garcia, F., Serra, E., Garcia, O.F., Martinez, I., & Cruise, E. (2019). A third emerging stage for the current digital society? Optimal parenting styles in Spain, the United States, Germany, and Brazil. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 16(13). https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph16132333
- Gartstein, M. A., Bridgett, D. J., Dishion, T. J., & Kaufman, N. K. (2009). Depressed mood and maternal report of child behavior problems: Another look at the depression—distortion hypothesis. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 30(2), 149–160. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2008.12.001
- Geissler, B. (2005). Welfare state and the family in the field of social care. In B. Pfau-Effinger & B. Geissler (Eds.), *Care and social integration in European societies* (pp. 307–316). Bristol: Policy Press.
- Georgas, J., Christakopoulou, S., Poortinga, Y. H., Angleitner, A., Goodwin, R., & Charalambous, N. (1997). The relationship of family bonds to family structure and function across cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 28(3), 303–320. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022197283006
- George, L. K. (2013). Life-course perspectives on mental health. In C. S. Aneshensel, J. C. Phelan, & A. Bierman (Eds.), *Handbook of the sociology of mental health* (pp. 585–602). Dodrecht: Springer Netherlands. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-4276-5 28
- German Panel Analysis of Intimate Relationships and Family Dynamics (pairfam). (2023). *pairfam The German family panel*. Retrieved from https://www.pairfam.de/en/
- Gershoff, E. T. (2002). Corporal punishment by parents and associated child behaviors and experiences: a meta-analytic and theoretical review. *Psychological Bulletin*, *128*(4), 539–579. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.128.4.539
- Giallo, R., Cooklin, A., Wade, C., D'Esposito, F., & Nicholson, J. M. (2014). Fathers' postnatal mental health and child well-being at age five: the mediating role of parenting behavior. *Journal of Family Issues*, *35*(11), 1543–1562. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513x13477411
- Gilbert, N. (2008). A mother's work: How feminism, the market, and policy shape family life. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Gilman, R., & Huebner, E. S. (2006). Characteristics of adolescents who report very high life satisfaction. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 35(3), 293–301. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-006-9036-7
- Gilman, R., & Huebner, S. (2003). A review of life satisfaction research with children and adolescents. School Psychology Quarterly, 18(2), 192–205. https://doi.org/10.1521/scpq.18.2.192.21858
- Gilman, R., Huebner, E. S., Tian, L., Park, N., O'Byrne, J., Schiff, M., Scerko, D., & Langknecht, H. (2008). Cross-national adolescent multidimensional life satisfaction reports: Analyses of mean scores and response style differences. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 37(2), 142–154. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-007-9172-8
- Gödde, M., & Walper, S. (2001). Elterliche Konflikte aus der Sicht von Kindern und Jungdlichen: Die deutsche Kurzfassung der Children's Perception of Interparental Conflict Scale (CPIC). [The German short version of the Children's Perception of Interparental Conflict Scale.]. *Diagnostica*, 47(1), 18–26, https://doi.org/10.1026//0012-1924.47.1.18
- Goeke–Morey, M. C., & Cummings, E. M., (2007). Impact of father involvement: A closer look at indirect effects models involving marriage and child adjustment. *Applied Developmental Science*, 11(4), 221–225. https://doi.org/10.1080/10888690701762126

- Goisis, A. (2015). How are children of older mothers doing? Evidence from the United Kingdom. Biodemography and Social Biology, 61(3), 231–251. https://doi.org/10.1080/19485565.2014.1001887
- Gold, S., Edin, K. J., & Nelson, T. J. (2020). Does time with dad in childhood pay off in adolescence? *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 82(5), 1587–1605. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12676
- Goldberg, J. S., & Carlson, M. J. (2014). Parents' relationship quality and children's behavior in stable married and cohabiting families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 76(4), 762–777. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12120
- Goldstein, M., & Heaven, P. C. L. (2000). Perceptions of the family, delinquency, and emotional adjustment among youth. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 29(6), 1169–1178. https://doi.org/10. 1016/S0191-8869(99)00264-0
- Gomez-Baya, D., Muñoz-Silva, A., & Garcia-Moro, F. J. (2020). Family climate and life satisfaction in 12-year-old adolescents in Europe. *Sustainability*, 12(15), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.3390/su12155902
- Gong, X., & Paulson, S. E. (2017). Effect of family affective environment on individuals' emotion regulation. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 117(October 2017), 144–149. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2017.05.047
- González-Carrasco, M., Malo, S., Casas, F., Crous, G., Baena, M., & Navarro, D. (2015). The assessment of subjective well-being in young children: strengths and challenges. *Journal of Social Research & Policy*, 6(2), 71–81.
- Goodman S. H. (2020). Intergenerational transmission of depression. *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology*, *16*, 213–238. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-clinpsy-071519-113915
- Goodman S. H., Gotlib I. H. (1999). Risk for psychopathology in the children of depressed mothers: A developmental model for understanding mechanisms of transmission. *Psychological Review*, 106(3), 458–490. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033–295x.106.3.458
- Goodman, A., Lamping, D. L., & Ploubidis, G. B. (2010). When to use broader internalising and externalising subscales instead of the hypothesised five subscales on the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ): data from British parents, teachers and children. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, *38*(8), 1179–1191. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10802-010-9434-x
- Goodman, R. (1997). The Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire: a research note. *The Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, *38*(5), 581–586. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-7610.1997.tb01545.x
- GOV UK Department for Education. (2023). *State of the nation reports: Children and young people's well-being*. Retrieved from https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/state-of-the-nation-reports-children-and-young-peoples-wellbeing
- Graf, G. (2015). Conceptions of childhood, agency and the wellbeing of children. In G. Schweiger & G. Graf (Eds.), *The well-being of children: philosophical and social scientific approaches* (pp. 20–33). Warsaw: De Gruyter Open Poland. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110450521-005
- Graf, G., & Schweiger, G. (2015). Introduction: conceptualizing children's well-being. In G. Schweiger & G. Graf (Eds.), *The well-being of children: philosophical and social scientific approaches* (pp. 20–33). Warsaw: De Gruyter Open Poland. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110450521-004
- Greenhaus, J. H., & Beutell, N. J. (1985). Sources of conflict between work and family roles. *The Academy of Management Review*, 10(1), 76–88. https://doi.org/10.2307/258214
- Gromada, A., Rees, G., & Chzhen, Y. (2020). Worlds of influence: Understanding what shapes child wellbeing in rich countries. United Nations Children's Fund. Innocenti Report Card, no. 16, UNICEF Office of Research Innocenti, Florence.
- Gromoske, A. N., & Maguire–Jack, K. (2012). Transactional and cascading relations between early spanking and children's social–emotional development. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 74(5), 1054–1068. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2012.01013.x
- Gross, J. J., & Muñoz, R. F. (1995). Emotion regulation and mental health. *Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice*, 2(2), 151–164. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2850.1995.tb00036.x
- Gross-Manos, D. (2017). Material well-being and social exclusion association with children's subjective well-being: Cross-national analysis of 14 countries. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 80(September 2017), 116–128. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2017.06.048
- Grych, J. H., Seid, M., & Fincham, F. D. (1992). Assessing marital conflict from the child's perspective: The Children's perception of interparental conflict scale. *Child Development*, 63(3), 558–572. https://doi.org/10.2307/1131346

- Gryczkowski, M., Jordan, S. S., & Mercer, S. H. (2018). Moderators of the relations between mothers' and fathers' parenting practices and children's prosocial behavior. *Child Psychiatry & Human Development*, 49(3), 409–419. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10578-017-0759-3
- Gutierrez-Galve L., Stein A., Hanington L., Heron J., Ramchandani P. (2015). Paternal depression in the postnatal period and child development: Mediators and moderators. *Pediatrics*, *135*(2), e339–e347. https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2014–2411
- Halberstadt, A. G., Fox, N. A., & Jones, N. A. (1993). Do expressive mothers have expressive children? The role of socialization in children's affect expression. *Social Development*, 2(1), 48–65. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467–9507.1993.tb00004.x
- Hale, L., Berger, L. M., LeBourgeois, M. K., & Brooks–Gunn, J. (2011). A longitudinal study of preschoolers' language–based bedtime routines, sleep duration, and well–being. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 25(3), 423–433. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0023564
- Halman, L., Inglehart, R. L., Díez-Medrano, J., Luijkx, R., Moreno, A., & Basáñez, M. (2007). *Changing values and beliefs in 85 countries: Trends from the values surveys from 1981 to 2004*. Leiden: Brill.
- Hammer, T. H., Saksvik, P. O., Nytro, K., Torvatn, H., & Bayazit, M. (2004). Expanding the psychosocial work environment: work-place norms and work-family conflict as correlates of stress and health. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *9*(1), 83–97. https://doi.org/10.1037/1076-8998.9.1.83.
- Hanington L., Ramchandani P., Stein A. (2010). Parental depression and child temperament: Assessing child to parent effects in a longitudinal population study. *Infant Behavior and Development*, *33*(1), 88–95. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.infbeh.2009.11.004
- Hansen, L. K., & Jordan, S. S. (2020). Internalizing behaviors. In V. Zeigler–Hill & T. K. Shackelford (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of personality and individual differences* (pp. 2343–2346). Cham: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-24612-3_907
- Hardie, J. H., & Turney, K. (2017). The intergenerational consequences of parental health limitations. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 79(3), 801–815. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12341
- Harold, G. T., Aitken, J. J., & Shelton, K. H. (2007). Inter-parental conflict and children's academic attainment: A longitudinal analysis. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 48(12), 1223–1232. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-7610.2007.01793.x
- Haselschwerdt, M. L., Savasuk-Luxton, R., & Hlavaty, K. (2019). A methodological review and critique of the "intergenerational transmission of violence" literature. *Trauma, Violence*, & *Abuse*, 20(2), 168– 182. https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838017692385
- Hatem, C., Lee, C. Y., Zhao, X., Reesor-Oyer, L., Lopez, T., & Hernandez, D. C. (2020). Food insecurity and housing instability during early childhood as predictors of adolescent mental health. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 34(6), 721–730. https://doi.org/10.1037/fam0000651
- Hayes, A. F. (2013). *Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis: a regression—based approach*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Henderson, M., Cheung, S. Y., Sharland, E., & Scourfield, J. (2015). The effect of social work use on the mental health outcomes of parents and the life satisfaction of children in Britain. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 58(November 2015), 71–81. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2015.09.007
- Henry, C. S. (1994). Family system characteristics, parental behaviors, and adolescent family life satisfaction. *Family Relations*, 43(4), 447–455. https://doi.org/10.2307/585377
- Herwig J. E., Wirtz M., Bengel J. (2004). Depression, partnership, social support, and parenting: Interaction of maternal factors with behavioral problems of the child. *Journal of Affective Disorders*, 80(2–3), 199–208. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0165-0327(03)00112-5
- Hill, T. D., Davis, A. P., Roos, J. M., & French, M. T. (2020). Limitations of fixed–effects models for panel data. *Sociological Perspectives*, 63(3), 357–369. https://doi.org/10.1177/0731121419863785
- Hochschild, A., & Machung, A. (2012). *The second shift: working families and the revolution at home*. New York: Penguin.
- Hofstede, G. (1983). The cultural relativity of organizational practices and theories. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 14(2), 75–89. https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.jibs.8490867
- Hofstede, G. (1984). *Culture's consequences: International differences in work–related values* (Vol. 5). Beverly Hills/London: Sage.

- Hofstede, G. (2011). Dimensionalizing cultures: The Hofstede model in context. *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture*, 2(1). https://doi.org/10.9707/2307-0919.1014
- Holaday, B., & Turner-Henson, A. (1989). Response effects in surveys with school–age children. *Nursing Research*, *38*(4), 248–250. https://doi.org/10.1097/00006199–198907000–00019
- Holmes, M. R., Voith, L. A., & Gromoske, A. N. (2015). Lasting effect of intimate partner violence exposure during preschool on aggressive behavior and prosocial skills. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 30(10), 1651–1670. https://doi.org/10.1177/08862 60514552441
- Hong, S., Hardi, F., & Maguire–Jack, K. (2022). The moderating role of neighborhood social cohesion on the relationship between early mother–child attachment security and adolescent social skills: Brief report. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 40(1), 277–287. https://doi.org/10.1177/02654075221118096
- Hosokawa, R., & Katsura, T. (2017). Marital relationship, parenting practices, and social skills development in preschool children. *Child and Adolescent Psychiatry and Mental Health*, 11(1), 1–8. https://doi.org/10.1186/s13034-016-0139-y
- Howard, K. R., Reinecke, M. A., Lavigne, J. V., Gouze, K. R., & Jordan, N. (2019). Marital and parent—child relationships during treatment for adolescent depression: Child—driven and bidirectional effects. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 47(11), 1841–1850. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10802-019-00566-x
- Hox, J., & Borgers, N. (2001). Item nonresponse in questionnaire research with children. *Journal of Official Statistics*, 17(2), 321–335.
- Huang, C.–C., Chen, Y., & Cheung, S. (2021). Early childhood exposure to intimate partner violence and teen depression symptoms in the U.S. *Health & Social Care in the Community*, 29(5), e47–e55. https://doi.org/10.1111/hsc.13240
- Hubert, S., Jähnert, A., Hegemann, U., & Kuger, S. (2021). Elternbeiträge in der Kindertagesbetreuung: Ungleichheiten, Teilhabe, Verbesserungen. DJIKinderbetreuungsreport 2020. Deutsches Jugendinstitut eV. Retrieved from https://www.dji.de/fileadmin/user_upload/KiBS/DJI_Kinderbetreuungsreport_2020_Studie6.pdf
- Huebner, E. S. (1991). Correlates of life satisfaction in children. School Psychology Quarterly, 6(2), 103–111. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0088805
- Hughes, C., Deater-Deckard, K., & Cutting, A. L. (1999). "Speak roughly to your little boy?" Sex differences in the relations between parenting and preschoolers' understanding of mind. Social Development, 8(2), 143–160. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9507.00088
- Huinink, J., Brüderl, J., Nauck, B., Walper, S., Castiglioni, L., & Feldhaus, M. (2011). Panel analysis of intimate relationships and family dynamics (pairfam): Conceptual framework and design. *Zeitschrift für Familienforschung / Journal of Family Research*, 23(1), 77–101. https://doi.org/10.20377/jfr-235
- Hunt, T. K. A., Slack, K. S., & Berger, L. M. (2017). Adverse childhood experiences and behavioral problems in middle childhood. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 67(May 2017), 391–402. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2016.11.005
- Huppert, F. A. (2014). The state of wellbeing science: concepts, measures, interventions, and policies. In C. L. Cooper (Ed.), Wellbeing: A complete reference guide (pp. 1–49). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118539415.wbwell036
- Idstad, M., Ask, H., & Tambs, K. (2010). Mental disorder and caregiver burden in spouses: The Nord—Trøndelag health study. *BMC Public Health*, 10(August 2010), 1–7. https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2458-10-516
- Inglehart, R. (1977). The silent revolution: Changing values and political styles among western publics. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Inglehart, R., & Welzel, C. (2005). *Modernization, cultural change and democracy. The human development sequence.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Interministerielle Arbeitsgruppe "Gesundheitliche Auswirkungen auf Kinder und Jugendliche durch Corona" der Deutschen Bundesregierung (IMA). (2023). *Abschlussbericht*. Retrieved from https://www.bmfsfj.de/resource/blob/214866/fbb00bcf0395b4450d1037616450cfb5/ima-abschlussbericht-gesundheitliche-auswirkungen-auf-kinder-und-jugendliche-durch-coronadata.pdf
- International Health Conference. (2002). Constitution of the World Health Organization. 1946. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, 80(12), 983–984.

- ISCWeB. (2019). Second wave of data collection. Country reports. Retrieved from https://isciweb.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/NationalReports_Introduction_FINAL.pdf
- ISCWeB. (2023a). Aims and objectives. Retrieved from https://isciweb.org/about-us/the-project/aims-and-objectives/
- ISCWeB. (2023b). History. Retrieved from https://isciweb.org/about-us/the-project/history/
- Jahng, K. E., & Kim, E. (2022). Effects of parental bedtime involvement during children's bedtime. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *36*(5), 736–746. https://doi.org/10.1037/fam0000980
- Jaursch, S. (2003). Erinnertes und aktuelles Erziehungsverhalten von Müttern und Vätern: intergenarationale Zusammenhänge und kontextuelle Faktoren: Inaugural Dissertation. Friedrich-Alexander-Universität.
- Jones, M. S., Pierce, H., & Chapple, C. L. (2022). Early adverse childhood experiences and self–control development among youth in fragile families. *Youth & Society*, 54(5), 806–832. https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118x21996378
- Joronen, K., & Åstedt-Kurki, P. (2005). Familial contribution to adolescent subjective well-being. *International Journal of Nursing Practice*, 11(3), 125–133. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1440-172X.2005.00509.x
- Juan, S.-C., Washington, H. M., & Kurlychek, M. C. (2020). Breaking the intergenerational cycle: partner violence, child-parent attachment, and children's aggressive behaviors. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 35(5-6), 1158–1181. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260517692996
- Katrijn, M. B., Soenens, B., Van Petegem, S., & Kins, E. (2017). Searching for the roots of overprotective parenting in emerging adulthood: Investigating the link with parental attachment representations using an Actor Partner Interdependence Model (APIM). *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 26(8), 2299–2310. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-017-0744-2
- Kaufman, J., & Zigler, E. F. (1989). The intergenerational transmission of child abuse. In D. Cicchetti & V. Carlson (Eds.), *Child maltreatment: Theory and research on the causes and consequences of child abuse and neglect* (pp. 129–150). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511665707.006
- Kauhanen, L., Wan Mohd Yunus, W. M. A., Lempinen, L., Peltonen, K., Gyllenberg, D., Mishina, K., . . . Sourander, A. (2023). A systematic review of the mental health changes of children and young people before and during the COVID-19 pandemic. *European Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 32(6), 995–1013. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00787-022-02060-0
- Kauten, R., & Barry, C. T. (2020). Externalizing behavior. In V. Zeigler–Hill & T. K. Shackelford (Eds.), Encyclopedia of personality and individual differences (pp. 1509–1512). Cham: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-24612-3_894
- Keller, M., & Kahle, I. (2018). Realisierte Erwerbstätigkeit von Müttern und Vätern zur Vereinbarkeit von Familie und Beruf. *Statistisches Bundesamt WISTA 3*. Retrieved from https://www.destatis.de/DE/Methoden/WISTA-Wirtschaft-und-Statistik/2018/03/realisierte-erwerbstaetigkeit-032018.pdf?__blob=publicationFile
- Kerns, K. A., Aspelmeier, J. E., Gentzler, A. L., & Grabill, C. M. (2001). Parent–child attachment and monitoring in middle childhood. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 15(1), 69–81. https://doi.org/10.1037/0893-3200.15.1.69
- Kerr, D. C. R., & Capaldi, D. M. (2019). Intergenerational transmission of parenting. In *Handbook of parenting: Being and becoming a parent, Vol. 3* (3 Ed., pp. 443–481). London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429433214-13
- Keyes, C. L. (2006). Subjective well-being in mental health and human development research worldwide: An introduction. Social Indicators Research, 77(1), 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-005-5550-3
- Keyser, D., Ahn, H., & Unick, J. (2017). Predictors of behavioral problems in young children 3 to 9years old: The role of maternal and child factors. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 82(November 2017), 149–155. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2017.09.018
- Khadaroo, A., & MacCallum, F. (2021). Parenting of adolescent single children: A mixed-methods study. *Journal of Family Issues*, 42(12), 2896-2919. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513x21993180
- Kiernan K. E., Huerta M. C. (2008). Economic deprivation, maternal depression, parenting and children's cognitive and emotional development in early childhood. *British Journal of Sociology*, *59*(4), 783–806. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-4446.2008.00219.x

- Kim J., Wickrama K. A. S. (2022). Trajectories of maternal postpartum distress and employment profiles: Implications for parenting. *Journal of Family Studies*, 28(3), 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1080/13229400.2020.1763427
- Kim, J., & Lee, J. (2021). Paternal influence on the developmental pathways of maternal parenting stress, home learning stimulation, and children's social skills in the U.S. and Korea: a moderated mediation model. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 52(3), 344–372. https://doi.org/10.3138/jcfs.52.3.03
- Kim, S., & Main, G. (2017). Comparing child subjective well—being in South Korea and the UK: testing an ecological systems approach. *Child Indicators Research*, *10*(1), 19–32. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-016-9373-3
- Kim, T. H. M., Connolly, J. A., Rotondi, M., & Tamim, H. (2018). Investigating pathways to behavioural problems in children of teenage, middle age, and advanced age mothers in Canada. *Child Indicators Research*, 11(5), 1631–1647. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-017-9500-9
- Kim, Y., Lee, S., Jung, H., Jaime, J., & Cubbin, C. (2019). Is neighborhood poverty harmful to every child? Neighborhood poverty, family poverty, and behavioral problems among young children. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 47(3), 594–610. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22140
- Klasen H., Woerner W., Wolke D., Meyer R., Overmeyer S., Kaschnitz W., Rothenberger A., Goodman R. (2000). Comparing the German versions of the strengths and difficulties questionnaire (SDQ–Deu) and the child behavior checklist. *European Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 9(4), 271–276. https://doi.org/10.1007/s007870070030
- Klasen, H., Woerner, W., Rothenberger, A., & Goodman, R. (2003). Die deutsche Fassung des Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ–Deu) Übersicht und Bewertung erster Validierungs– und Normierungsbefunde. *Praxis der Kinderpsychologie und Kinderpsychiatrie*, *52*(7), 491–502. https://doi.org/10.23668/psycharchives.11726
- Klocke, A., Clair, A., & Bradshaw, J. (2014). International variation in child subjective well-being. *Child Indicators Research*, 7(1), 1-20. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-013-9213-7
- Koçak, A., Mouratidis, A., Sayıl, M., Kındap–Tepe, Y., & Uçanok, Z. (2017). Interparental conflict and adolescents' relational aggression and loneliness: The mediating role of maternal psychological control. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 26(12), 3546–3558. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-017-0854-x
- Korhonen M., Luoma I., Salmelin R., Tamminen T. (2012). A longitudinal study of maternal prenatal, postnatal and concurrent depressive symptoms and adolescent well–being. *Journal of Affective Disorders*, 136(3), 680–692. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jad.2011.10.007
- Koskelainen, M., Sourander, A., & Kaljonen, A. (2000). The Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire among Finnish school–aged children and adolescents. *European Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 9(4), 277–284. https://doi.org/10.1007/s007870070031
- Kossek, E. E., & Ozeki, C. (1998). Work-family conflict, policies, and the job-life satisfaction relationship: a review and directions for organizational behavior human resources research. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 83(2), 139–149. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.83.2.139
- Kouros, C. D., Cummings, E. M., & Davies, P. T. (2010). Early trajectories of interparental conflict and externalizing problems as predictors of social competence in preadolescence. *Development and Psychopathology*, 22(3), 527–537. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954579410000258
- Kouros, C. D., Papp, L. M., Goeke-Morey, M. C., & Cummings, E. M. (2014). Spillover between marital quality and parent—child relationship quality: Parental depressive symptoms as moderators. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 28(3), 315. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0036804
- Krishnakumar, A., & Buehler, C. (2000). Interparental conflict and parenting behaviors: A meta–analytic review. *Family Relations*, 49(1), 25–44. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3729.2000.00025.x
- Krys, K., Chun Yeung, J., Haas, B. W., van Osch, Y., Kosiarczyk, A., Kocimska-Zych, A., . . . Uchida, Y. (2023). Family first: Evidence of consistency and variation in the value of family versus personal happiness across 49 different cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *54*(3), 323–339. https://doi.org/10.1177/00220221221134711
- Krys, K., Haas, B. W., Igou, E. R., Kosiarczyk, A., Kocimska-Bortnowska, A., Kwiatkowska, A., Lun, V. M-C., Maricchiolo, F., Park, J., Šolcová, I. P., Sirlopú, D., Uchida, Y., Vauclair, C-M., Vignoles, V. L., Zelenski, J. M., Adamovic, M., Akotia, C.S., Albert, I., Appoh, L.,... Bond, M. H. (2023). Introduction to a culturally sensitive measure of well-being: Combining life satisfaction and interdependent happiness across 49 different cultures. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 24(2), 607-627. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-022-00588-1

- Krys, K., Park, J., Kocimska-Zych, A., Kosiarczyk, A., Selim, H. A., Wojtczuk-Turek, A., Haas, B. W., Uchida, Y., Torres, C., Capaldi, C. A., Bond, M. H., Zelenski, J. M., Lun, V. M-C., Maricchiolo, F., Vauclair, C-M., Solcová, I. P., Sirlopú, S., Xing, C., Vignoles, V. L., . . Adamovic, M. (2021). Personal life satisfaction as a measure of societal happiness is an individualistic presumption: Evidence from fifty countries. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 22(5), 2197–2214. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-020-00311-y
- Krys, K., Zelenski, J. M., Capaldi, C. A., Park, J., van Tilburg, W., van Osch, Y., . . . Uchida, Y. (2019). Putting the "we" into well-being: Using collectivism-themed measures of well-being attenuates well-being's association with individualism. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 22(3), 256–267. https://doi.org/10.1111/ajsp.12364
- Kühner, S., Lau, M., & Addae, E. A. (2021). The mediating role of social capital in the relationship between Hong Kong children's socioeconomic status and subjective well-being. *Child Indicators Research*, 14(5), 1881–1909. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-021-09831-2
- Kuijsten, A. (1995). Recent trends in household and family structures in Europe: an overview. In E. van Imhoff, A. Kuijsten, P. Hooimeijer, & L. van Wissen (Eds.), *Household demography and household modeling* (pp. 53–84). Boston, MA: Springer US. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4757-5424-7
- Kuppens, S., & Ceulemans, E. (2019). Parenting styles: a closer look at a well-known concept. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 28 (1), 168–181. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-018-1242-x
- Kutsar, D., Soo, K., Strózik, T., Strózik, D., Grigoraș, B., & Bălțătescu, S. (2019). Does the realisation of children's rights determine good life in 8-year-olds' perspectives? A comparison of eight European countries. *Child Indicators Research*, 12(1), 161–183. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-017-9499-y
- Kvalevaag A. L., Ramchandani P. G., Hove O., Assmus J., Eberhard–Gran M., Biringer E. (2013). Paternal mental health and socioemotional and behavioral development in their children. *Pediatrics*, *131*(2), e463–e469. https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2012–0804
- Land, K. C. (1983). Social indicators. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 9(1), 1–26 https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.so.09.080183.000245
- Landis J. R., Koch G. G. (1977). The measurement of observer agreement for categorical data. *Biometrics*, 33(1), 159–174. https://doi.org/10.2307/2529310
- Lansford, J. E. (2022). Annual research review: Cross-cultural similarities and differences in parenting. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 63(4), 466–479. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcpp.13539
- Larson R. W., Verma S. (1999). How children and adolescents spend time across the world: Work, play, and developmental opportunities. *Psychological Bulletin*, 125(6), 701–736. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033–2909.125.6.701
- Larson, J. S. (1993). The measurement of social well–being. *Social Indicators Research*, 28(3), 285–296. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01079022
- Larsson, H., Viding, E., Rijsdijk, F. V., & Plomin, R. (2008). Relationships between parental negativity and childhood antisocial behavior over time: A bidirectional effects model in a longitudinal genetically informative design. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, *36*(5), 633–645. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10802-007-9151-2
- Lau, M., & Bradshaw, J. (2010). Child well-being in the Pacific Rim. *Child Indicators Research*, *3*(3), 367–383. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-010-9064-4
- Lau, M., & Bradshaw, J. (2018). Material well-being, social relationships and children's overall life satisfaction in Hong Kong. *Child Indicators Research*, 11(1), 185–205. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-016-9426-7
- Lau, Y. K. (2009). The impact of fathers' work and family conflicts on children's self-esteem: the Hong Kong case. *Social Indicators Research*, 95(3), 363–376. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-009-9535-5
- Lavy, S. (2020). A review of character strengths interventions in twenty–first–century schools: Their importance and how they can be fostered. *Applied Research in Quality of Life*, 15(2), 573–596. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11482-018-9700-6
- Lawler, M. J., Choi, C., Yoo, J., Lee, J., Roh, S., Newland, L. A., Giger, J. T., Sudhagoni, R., Brockevelt, B. L., Lee, B. J. (2018). Children's subjective well-being in rural communities of South Korea and the United States. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 85(January 2018), 158–164. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2017.12.023
- Lawler, M. J., Newland, L. A., Giger, J. T., Roh, S., & Brockevelt, B. L. (2017). Ecological, relationship-based model of children's subjective well-being: Perspectives of 10-year-old children in the United

- States and 10 other countries. Child Indicators Research, 10(1), 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-016-9376-0
- Lee, B. J., & Yoo, M. S. (2015). Family, school, and community correlates of children's subjective well-being: An international comparative study. *Child Indicators Research*, 8(1), 151–175. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-014-9285-z
- Lee, B. J., & Yoo, M. S. (2017). What accounts for the variations in children's subjective well-being across nations?: A decomposition method study. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 80(September 2017), 15-21. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2017.06.065
- Lee, J. (2018). Prosocial parent–to–peer path model for South Korean school–aged children. *Child Indicators Research*, 11(6), 1867–1888. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-017-9522-3
- Lee, J.–K., & Schoppe–Sullivan, S. J. (2017). Resident fathers' positive engagement, family poverty, and change in child behavior problems. *Family Relations*, 66(3), 484–496. https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12283
- Lee, S. J., Altschul, I., & Gershoff, E. T. (2015). Wait until your father gets home? Mother's and fathers' spanking and development of child aggression. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 52(May 2015), 158–166. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2014.11.006
- Lee, Y. (2009). Child rights and child well-being. The 3rd OECD World Forum on "Statistics, Knowledge and Policy," Busan, Korea. Retrieved from http://www.oecd. org/site/progresskorea/44137252. pdf
- Lehr D., Hillert A., Schmitz E., Sosnowsky N. (2008). Screening depressiver Störungen mittels Allgemeiner Depressions–Skala (ADS–K) und State–Trait Depressions Scales (STDS–T). *Diagnostica*, *54*(2), 61–70. https://doi.org/10.1026/0012-1924.54.2.61
- Lesthaeghe, R. J. (2015). Second demographic transition. In G. Ritzer (Ed.) *The Blackwell encyclopedia of sociology* (pp.1–5). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405165518.wbeoss059.pub2
- Lever, J. P., Piñol, N. L., & Uralde, J. H. (2005). Poverty, psychological resources and subjective well-being. *Social Indicators Research*, 73(3), 375–408 https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-004-1072-7
- Levin, E. (2011). Child development. In S. Goldstein & J. A. Naglieri (Eds.), Encyclopedia of child behavior and development (pp. 337–339). Boston, MA: Springer US. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-79061-9 523
- Levin, K. A., & Currie, C. (2014). Reliability and validity of an adapted version of the Cantril ladder for use with adolescent samples. *Social Indicators Research*, 119(2), 1047–1063. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-013-0507-4
- Li, C. (2013). Little's test of missing completely at random. *The Stata Journal*, 13(4), 795–809. https://doi.org/10.1177/1536867X1301300407
- Li, C., Xia, Y., & Zhang, Y. (2023). Relationship between subjective well-being and depressive disorders: Novel findings of cohort variations and demographic heterogeneities [Brief Research Report]. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 13, 1–12. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.1022643
- Li, J., Johnson, S. E., Han, W.–J., Andrews, S., Kendall, G., Strazdins, L., & Dockery, A. (2014). Parents' nonstandard work schedules and child well–being: A critical review of the literature. *The Journal of Primary Prevention*, *35*(1), 53–73. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10935-013-0318-z
- Li, J., Ohlbrecht, H., Pollmann–Schult, M., & Habib, F. E. (2020). Parents' nonstandard work schedules and children's social and emotional wellbeing: A mixed–methods analysis in Germany. *Journal of Family Research*, 32(2), 330–356. https://doi.org/10.20377/jfr-371
- Lietz, P., Dix, K. L., Tarabashkina, L., O'Grady, E., & Ahmed, S. K. (2020). Family fun: a vital ingredient of early adolescents having a good life. *Journal of Family Studies*, 26(3), 459–476. https://doi.org/10.1080/13229400.2017.1418410
- Liu, Y., & Lachman, M. E. (2019). Socioeconomic status and parenting style from childhood: Long–term effects on cognitive function in middle and later adulthood. *The Journals of Gerontology: Series B*, 74(6), e13–e24. https://doi.org/10.1093/geronb/gbz034
- Liu, Y., & Merritt, D. H. (2021). Family routines and child problem behaviors in fragile families: The role of social demographic and contextual factors. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 129(October 2021), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2021.106187
- Liu, Y., & Zhou, L. N. (2017). The dynamics of work-family conflict. *Communications of the ACM*, 60(6), 66–70. https://doi.org/10. 1145/3081884
- Liu, Y., Wang, M., Chang, C. H., Shi, J., Zhou, L., & Shao, R. (2015). Work-family conflict, emotional exhaustion, and displaced aggression toward others: the moderating roles of workplace

- interpersonal conflict and perceived managerial family support. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 100(3), 793–808. https://doi.org/ 10.1037/a0038387
- Livings, M. S. (2021). The gendered relationship between maternal depression and adolescent internalizing symptoms. *Social Science & Medicine*, 291(8), 114464. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2021.114464
- Llamas–Díaz, D., Cabello, R., Megías–Robles, A., & Fernández–Berrocal, P. (2022). Systematic review and meta–analysis: The association between emotional intelligence and subjective well–being in adolescents. *Journal of Adolescence*, 94(7), 925–938. https://doi.org/10.1002/jad.12075
- Lobe, B., Livingstone, S., Olafsson, K., & Alberto Simões, J. (2008). Best practice research guide: how to research children and online technologies in comparative perspective. London: EU Kids Online (Deliverable D4.2). Retrieved from https://eprints.lse.ac.uk/21658/1/Best%20practice%20research%20guide%28lsero%29.pdf
- Loter K., Arránz Becker O., Mikucka M., Wolf C. (2019). Mental health dynamics around marital dissolution. Moderating effects of parenthood and children's age. *Journal of Family Research*, 31(2), 155–179. https://doi.org/10.3224/zff.v31i2.03
- Low, Y. T. A. (2021). Family conflicts, anxiety and depressive symptoms, and suicidal ideation of Chinese adolescents in Hong Kong. *Applied Research in Quality of Life 16*(6), 1–18, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11482-021-09925-7
- Luby, J. L., Belden, A. C., Pautsch, J., Si, X., & Spitznagel, E. (2009). The clinical significance of preschool depression: Impairment in functioning and clinical markers of the disorder. *Journal of Affective Disorders*, 112(1), 111–119. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jad.2008.03.026
- Luhmann, M., Hawkley, L. C., Eid, M., & Cacioppo, J. T. (2012). Time frames and the distinction between affective and cognitive well–being. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 46(4), 431–441. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2012.04.004
- Luhmann, M., Hofmann, W., Eid, M., & Lucas, R. E. (2012). Subjective well-being and adaptation to life events: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 102(3), 592–615. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0025948
- Luoma I., Tamminen T., Kaukonen P., Laippala P., Puura K., Salmelin R., Almqvist F. (2001). Longitudinal study of maternal depressive symptoms and child well–being. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 40(12), 1367–1374. https://doi.org/10.1097/00004583-200112000-00006
- Ma, J. (2016). Neighborhood and parenting both matter: The role of neighborhood collective efficacy and maternal spanking in early behavior problems. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 70(November 2016), 250–260. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2016.09.028
- Ma, J., & Klein, S. (2018). Does race/ethnicity moderate the associations between neighborhood and parenting processes on early behavior problems? *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 27(11), 3717–3729. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-018-1200-7
- Ma, J., Grogan–Kaylor, A., & Lee, S. J. (2018). Associations of neighborhood disorganization and maternal spanking with children's aggression: A fixed–effects regression analysis. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 76(February 2018), 106–116. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2017.10.013
- Macek, P., Ježek, S., & Lacinová, L. (2022). Stable or changing well-being? Daily hassles and life satisfaction of Czech adolescents over the last three decades [Brief Research Report]. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 13. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.961373
- Mahase, E. (2020). COVID-19: EU states report 60% rise in emergency calls about domestic violence. *BMJ*, 369, m1872. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.m1872
- Main, G., Montserrat, C., Andresen, S., Bradshaw, J., & Lee, B. J. (2019). Inequality, material well-being, and subjective well-being: Exploring associations for children across 15 diverse countries. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 97(February 2019), 3–13. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2017.06.033
- Malik, F. (2010). Determinants of child abuse in Pakistani families: parental acceptance-rejection and demographic variables. *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 1(1), 67–80.
- Marçal, K. (2021). Caregiver depression and child behaviour problems: A longitudinal mixed effects approach. *Child & Family Social Work*, 26(1), 26–37. https://doi.org/10.1111/cfs.12786
- Marchand, A., Bilodeau, J., Demers, A., Beauregard, N., Durand, P., & Haines, 3rd, V. Y. (2016). Gendered depression: vulnerability or exposure to work and family stressors? *Social Science & Medicine*, 166(October 2016), 160–168. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2016.08.021

- Marchand–Reilly, J. F., & Yaure, R. G. (2019). The role of parents' relationship quality in children's behavior problems. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 28(8), 2199–2208. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-019-01436-2
- Martínez-Pastor, J.-I., Jurado-Guerrero, T., Fernández-Lozano, I., & Castellanos-Serrano, C. (2022). Caring fathers in Europe: Toward universal caregiver families? *Gender, Work & Organization*, Online first, 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12948
- Masarik, A. S., & Conger, R. D. (2017). Stress and child development: A review of the Family Stress Model. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 13(February 2017), 85–90. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2016.05.008
- Maschi, T., Baer, J., Morrissey, M. B., & Moreno, C. (2013). The aftermath of childhood trauma on late life mental and physical health: A review of the literature. *Traumatology*, 19(1), 49–64. https://doi.org/10.1177/1534765612437377
- Maselko J., Sikander S., Bangash O., Bhalotra S., Franz L., Ganga N., Rajan D. G., O'Donnell K, Rahman A. (2016). Child mental health and maternal depression history in Pakistan. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*, *51*(1), 49–62. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00127-015-1143-x
- Mastellou E.–S., Tantaros S. (2022). The intergenerational transmission of self–esteem in adolescence: Gender–birth order–specific pathways and parenting as a mediator. Psychology: *The Journal of the Hellenic Psychological Society*, 27(2), 59–79. https://doi.org/10.12681/psy_hps.31758
- Mazzonna, F. (2014). The long-lasting effects of family background: A European cross-country comparison. *Economics of Education Review*, 40(June 2014), 25–42. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2013.11.010
- McAuley, C., & Layte, R. (2012). Exploring the relative influence of family stressors and socio-economic context on children's happiness and well-being. *Child Indicators Research*, 5(3), 523–545. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-012-9153-7
- McCord, J. (1988). Parental behavior in the cycle of aggression. *Psychiatry*, 51(1), 14–23. https://doi.org/10.1080/00332747.1988.11024376
- McCoy, K. P., Cummings, E. M., & Davies, P. T. (2009). Constructive and destructive marital conflict, emotional security and children's prosocial behavior. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 50(3), 270–279. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-7610.2008.01945.x
- McCoy, K. P., George, M. R., Cummings, E. M., & Davies, P. T. (2013). Constructive and destructive marital conflict, parenting, and children's school and social adjustment. *Social Development*, 22(4), 641–662. https://doi.org/10.1111/sode.12015
- McHugh M. L. (2012). Interrater reliability: The kappa statistic. *Biochemia Medica*, 22(3), 276–282. https://doi.org/10.11613/BM.2012.031
- Mckee, L., Roland, E., Coffelt, N., Olson, A. L., Forehand, R., Massari, C., Jones, D., Gaffney, C. A., & Zens, M. S. (2007). Harsh discipline and child problem behaviors: the roles of positive parenting and gender. *Journal of Family Violence*, 22(4), 187–196. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-007-9070-6
- Merrill, R. M. (2022). Within– and cross–mental health disorder correlations in husband–and–wife pairs. BMC Psychiatry, 22, 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12888-022-04335-x
- Michel, J. S., Kotrba, L. M., Mitchelson, J. K., Clark, M. A., & Baltes, B. B. (2011). Antecedents of work–family conflict: A meta-analytic review. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 32(5), 689–725. https://doi.org/10.1002/job.695
- Miga, E. M., Gdula, J. A., & Allen, J. P. (2012). Fighting fair: Adaptive marital conflict strategies as predictors of future adolescent peer and romantic relationship quality. *Social Development, 21*(3), 443–460. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9507.2011.00636.x
- Mihalec-Adkins, B. P. (2020). Parent-child relationships. In V. Zeigler-Hill & T. K. Shackelford (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of personality and individual differences* (pp. 3433–3435). Cham: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-24612-3_1866
- Miller, P. A., Kliewer, W., & Partch, J. (2010). Socialization of children's recall and use of strategies for coping with interparental conflict. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 19(4), 429–443. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-009-9314-6
- Monna, B., & Gauthier, A. H. (2008). A review of the literature on the social and economic determinants of parental time. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, 29(4), 634–653. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10834-008-9121-z

- Mustillo S. A., Dorsey S., Conover K., Burns B. J. (2011). Parental depression and child outcomes: The mediating effects of abuse and neglect. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 73(1), 164–180. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2010.00796.x
- Nadeem S., Rafique G., Chachar Y. S. (2018). Maternal depression: A major risk factor for psychosocial wellbeing among preschoolers. *Asian Journal of Psychiatry*, *37*(October 2018), 85–89. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ajp.2018.08.018
- Nahkur, O., & Kutsar, D. (2019). Social ecological measures of interpersonal destructiveness impacting child subjective mental well–being: perceptions of 12–year–old children in 14 countries. *Child Indicators Research*, 12(1), 353–378. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-018-9542-7
- Najman J. M., Williams G. M., Nikles J., Spence S., Bor W., O'Callaghan M., Le Brocque R., Andersen M. J., Shuttlewood G. J. (2001). Bias influencing maternal reports of child behaviour and emotional state. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*, 36(4), 186–194. https://doi.org/10.1007/s001270170062
- Nam, Y., Wikoff, N., & Sherraden, M. (2015). Racial and ethnic differences in parenting stress: evidence from a statewide sample of new mothers. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 24(2), 278–288. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-013-9833-z
- Netemeyer, R. G., Boles, J. S., & Mcmurrian, R. (1996). Development and validation of work-family conflict and family-work conflict scales. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 81(4), 400–410. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.81.4.400
- Nettle, D. (2005). Happiness: The science behind your smile. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Newland, L. A., Giger, J. T., Lawler, M. J., Roh, S., Brockevelt, B. L., & Schweinle, A. (2019). Multilevel analysis of child and adolescent subjective well-being across 14 countries: Child- and country-level predictors. *Child Development*, 90(2), 395-413. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.13134
- Newland, L. A., Lawler, M. J., Giger, J. T., Roh, S., & Carr, E. R. (2015). Predictors of children's subjective well-being in rural communities of the United States. *Child Indicators Research*, 8(1), 177–198. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-014-9287-x
- Nicholson, J. H., & Ha, Y. (2022). Intimate partner violence, child care, and children's behavioral outcomes. *Journal of Family Violence*, Online first, 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-022-00464-9
- Nielsen, M., Haun, D., Kärtner, J., & Legare, C. H. (2017). The persistent sampling bias in developmental psychology: A call to action. *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology*, 162(October 2017), 31–38. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jecp.2017.04.017
- Nieuwenhuijsen, K., Bruinvels, D., & Frings-Dresen, M. (2010). Psychosocial work environment and stress-related disorders, a systematic review. *Occupational Medicine*, 60(4), 277–286. https://doi.org/10.1093/occmed/kqq081
- Nieuwenhuis, R. (2020). *The situation of single parents in the EU*. EPRS: European Parliamentary Research Service. Retrieved from https://policycommons.net/artifacts/1426760/the-situation-of-single-parents-in-the-eu/
- Nikolaou D. (2017). Maternal life satisfaction, marital status, and child skill formation. *Eastern Economic Journal*, *43*(4), 621–648. https://doi.org/10.1057/eej.2015.48
- Noll, H.-H. (1989). Indikatoren des subjektiven Wohlbefindens: Instrumente für die gesellschaftliche Dauerbeobachtung und Sozialberichterstattung? *ZUMA Nachrichten*, *13*(24), 26–41.
- Nomaguchi, K. M. (2009). Change in work-family conflict among employed parents between 1977 and 1997. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 71(1), 15–32. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737. 2008.00577.x
- Nomaguchi, K., & Milkie, M. A. (2020). Parenthood and well-being: A decade in review. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 82(1), 198–223. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12646
- O'Hara, K. L., Sandler, I. N., Wolchik, S. A., & Tein, J.–Y. (2019). Coping in context: The effects of longterm relations between interparental conflict and coping on the development of child psychopathology following parental divorce. *Development and Psychopathology*, 31(5), 1695–1713. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954579419000981
- O'Brien M., Bahadur M. A., Gee C., Balto K., Erber S. (1997). Child exposure to marital conflict and child coping responses as predictors of child adjustment. *Cognitive Therapy and Research*, 21(1), 39–59. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1021816225846
- Organisation for Economic Co–operation and Development (OECD). (2020). Education at a glance 2020. OECD Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1787/69096 873-en

- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (2016). How is learning time organised in primary and secondary education? Education Indicators in Focus, 38, 1–4. https://doi.org/10.1787/22267077
- Osborne, C., & Berger, L. M. (2009). Parental substance abuse and child well-being: A consideration of parents' gender and coresidence. *Journal of Family Issues*, 30(3), 341–370. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513x08326225
- Osborne, C., & Knab, J. (2007). Work, welfare, and young children's health and behavior in the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 29(6), 762–781. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2006.12.005
- Oshio, T., Inoue, A., & Tsutsumi, A. (2017). Does work-to-family conflict really matter for health? Cross-sectional, prospective cohort and fixed-effects analyses. *Social Science & Medicine*, *175*(February 2017), 36–42. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2016.12.039
- Ozeren, E. (2014). Sexual orientation discrimination in the workplace: A systematic review of literature. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 109(January 2014), 1203–1215. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2013.12.613
- Page, M. J., McKenzie, J. E., Bossuyt, P. M., Boutron, I., Hoffmann, T. C., Mulrow, C. D., . . . Moher, D. (2021). The PRISMA 2020 statement: an updated guideline for reporting systematic reviews. *BMJ*, 372. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.n71
- Pancheva, M., & Vásquez, A. (2022). Close to others closer to happiness?: An empirical investigation of the social determinants of subjective wellbeing. *International Journal of Wellbeing*, 12(2), 206–232. https://doi.org/10.5502/ijw.v12i2.1887
- Parkes, A., Green, M., & Mitchell, K. (2019). Coparenting and parenting pathways from the couple relationship to children's behavior problems. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 33(2), 215–225. https://doi.org/10.1037/fam0000492
- Parsons, T. (2013[1956]). Family structure and the socialization of the child. In Robert F. Bales & Talcot Parsons (Eds.), *Family: Socialization and interaction process* (1 ed, pp. 35–131). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315824307
- Pawlby S., Hay D. F., Sharp D., Waters C. S., O'Keane V. (2009). Antenatal depression predicts depression in adolescent offspring: Prospective longitudinal community–based study. *Journal of Affective Disorders*, 113(3), 236–243. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jad.2008.05.018
- Pearce–Morris, J., & King, V. (2012). The well–being of children living with interethnic parents: are they at a disadvantage? *Journal of Family Issues*, 33(7), 898–919. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513x11420938
- Pei, F., Wang, X., Yoon, S., & Tebben, E. (2019). The influences of neighborhood disorder on early childhood externalizing problems: The roles of parental stress and child physical maltreatment. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 47(5), 1105–1117. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22174
- Pei, F., Yoon, S., Maguire–Jack, K., & Lee, M. Y. (2022). Neighborhood influences on early childhood behavioral problems: Child maltreatment as a mediator. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 123(January 2022), 105391. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2021.105391
- Perales, F., O'Flaherty, M., & Baxter, J. (2016). Early life course family structure and children's socioemotional and behavioural functioning: a view from Australia. *Child Indicators Research*, 9(4), 1003–1028. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-015-9356-9
- Peter, R., March, S., & Du Prel, J. B. (2016). Are status inconsistency, work stress and work-family conflict associated with depressive symptoms? Testing prospective evidence in the lidA study. *Social Science* & *Medicine*, *151*(February 2016), 100–109. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2016.01.009
- Petts, R. J., & Knoester, C. (2007). Parents' religious heterogamy and children's well-being. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 46(3), 373–389. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5906.2007.00364.x
- Petts, R. J., & Kysar–Moon, A. E. (2012). Child discipline and conservative Protestantism: why the relationship between corporal punishment and child behavior problems may vary by religious context. *Review of Religious Research*, *54*(4), 445–468. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13644-012-0080-3
- Pfau-Effinger, B. (2005). Development paths of care arrangements in the framework of family values and welfare values. In B. Pfau-Effinger & B. Geissler (Eds.), *Care and social integration in European societies* (pp. 21–46). Bristol: Policy Press.
- Pilarz, A. R. (2021). Mothers' work schedule inflexibility and children's behavior problems. *Journal of Family Issues*, 42(6), 1258–1284. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513x20940761

- Pilarz, A. R., & Hill, H. D. (2017). Child–care instability and behavior problems: Does parenting stress mediate the relationship? *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 79(5), 1353–1368. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12420
- Pinquart, M. (2017). Associations of parenting dimensions and styles with externalizing problems of children and adolescents: an updated meta-analysis. *Developmental Psychology*, *53*(5), 873–932. https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0000295
- Pinquart, M., & Kauser, R. (2018). Do the associations of parenting styles with behavior problems and academic achievement vary by culture? Results from a meta-analysis. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 24(1), 75
- Pizeta F. A., Loureiro S. R., Pasian S. R. (2018). Maternal depression, social vulnerability and gender: Prediction of emotional problems among schoolchildren. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 27(6), 1981–1991. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-018-1023-6
- Plass–Christl, A., Haller, A. C., Otto, C., Barkmann, C., Wiegand–Grefe, S., Holling, H., . . . Klasen, F. (2017). Parents with mental health problems and their children in a German population based sample: Results of the BELLA study. *PLOS ONE*, *12*(7), e0180410. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0180410
- Plener, P. L., Rodens, K. P., & Fegert, J. M. (2016). "Ein Klaps auf den Hintern hat noch niemandem geschadet": Einstellungen zu Körperstrafen und Erziehung in der deutschen Allgemeinbevölkerung. Berufsverband der Kinder-und Jugendärzte e. V., Themenheft, 20–25.
- Popova, D., & Navicke, J. (2019). The probability of poverty for mothers after childbirth and divorce in Europe: The role of social stratification and tax-benefit policies. *Social Science Research*, 78(February 2019), 57–70. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2018.10.007
- Poutiainen, M., & Holma, J. (2013). Subjectively evaluated effects of domestic violence on well-being in clinical populations. *International Scholarly Research Notices*, 2013, 1–8. https://doi.org/10.1155/2013/347235
- Povedano-Diaz, A., Muñiz-Rivas, M., & Vera-Perea, M. (2020). Adolescents' life satisfaction: The role of classroom, family, self-concept and gender. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, *17*(1), 19. https://www.mdpi.com/1660-4601/17/1/19
- Powdthavee, N., & Vignoles, A. (2008). Mental health of parents and life satisfaction of children: a within–family analysis of intergenerational transmission of well–being. *Social Indicators Research*, 88(3), 397–422. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-007-9223-2
- Power, T.G. (2004). Stress and coping in childhood: The parents' role. *Parenting: Science and Practice*, 4(4), 271–317, https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327922par0404 1
- Preacher, K. J., & Hayes, A. F. (2008). Asymptotic and resampling strategies for assessing and comparing indirect effects in multiple mediator models. *Behavior Research Methods*, 40(3), 879–891. https://doi.org/10.3758/BRM.40.3.879
- Preacher, K. J., & Selig, J. P. (2012). Advantages of Monte Carlo confidence intervals for indirect effects. *Communication Methods and Measures*, 6(2), 77–98. https://doi.org/10.1080/19312458.2012.679848
- Procher, V., Ritter, N., & Vance, C. (2018). Housework allocation in Germany: the role of income and gender identity. *Social Science Quarterly*, 99(1), 43–61. https://doi.org/10.1111/ssqu.12390
- Proctor, C. L., Linley, P. A., & Maltby, J. (2009). Youth life satisfaction: A review of the literature. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 10(5), 583-630. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-008-9110-9
- Putney, N. M., & Bengtson, V. L. (2002). Socialization and the family revisited. *Advances in Life Course Research*, 7(2002), 165–194. https://doi.org/10.1016/S1040-2608(02)80034-X
- Putnick, D. L. (2019). Measurement of parenting. In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of parenting: Volume 4: social conditions and applied parenting* (3 ed., Vol. 4, pp. 331–361). New York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429398995
- Qi, S., Hua, F., Zhou, Z., & Shek, D. T. L. (2020). Trends of positive youth development publications (1995–2020): A scientometric review. *Applied Research in Quality of Life 17*(1), 421 446,. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11482-020-09878-3
- Querido, J. G., Warner, T. D., & Eyberg, S. M. (2002). Parenting styles and child behavior in African American families of pre-school children. *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology*, 31(2), 272–277
- Quinn, A., Briggs, H. E., Miller, K. M., & Orellana, E. R. (2014). Social and familial determinants of health: Mediating effects of caregiver mental and physical health on children's mental health. *Children*

- *and Youth Services Review*, *36*(January 2014), 163–169. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2013.11.016
- Qvortrup, J. (2005). Varieties of childhood. In J. Qvortrup (Ed.), *Studies in modern childhood: Society, agency, culture* (pp. 1–20). London: Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230504929_1
- Radfar, M., Ahmadi, F., & Fallahi Khoshknab, M. (2014). Turbulent life: The experiences of the family members of patients suffering from depression. *Journal of Psychiatric and Mental Health Nursing*, 21(3), 249–256. https://doi.org/10.1111/jpm.12077
- Ratcliffe, G. C., Norton, A. M., & Durtschi, J. A. (2016). Early romantic relationships linked with improved child behavior 8 years later. *Journal of Family Issues*, 37(5), 717–735. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513x14525618
- Ravens–Sieberer, U., Kaman, A., Erhart, M., Devine, J., Schlack, R., & Otto, C. (2022). Impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on quality of life and mental health in children and adolescents in Germany. *European Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, *31*(6), 879–889. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00787-021-01726-5
- Reeb B. T., Wu E. Y., Martin M. J., Gelardi K. L., Chan S. Y. S., Conger K. J. (2015). Long-term effects of fathers' depressed mood on youth internalizing symptoms in early adulthood. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 25(1), 151–162. https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12112
- Rees, G. (2017). Children's views on their lives and well-being. findings from the Children's Worlds Project (1 ed.). Cham: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-65196-5
- Rees, G. (2017). Details of the study. In G. Rees (Ed.), *Children's views on their lives and well-being:* Findings from the Children's Worlds project (pp. 9–17). Cham: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-65196-5_2
- Rees, G., & Bradshaw, J. (2018). exploring low subjective well-being among children aged 11 in the UK: an analysis using data reported by parents and by children. *Child Indicators Research*, 11(1), 27–56. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-016-9421-z
- Rees, G., & Dinisman, T. (2015). Comparing children's experiences and evaluations of their lives in 11 different countries. *Child Indicators Research*, 8(1), 5–31. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-014-9291-1
- Rees, G., & Main, G. (2015). Children's views on their lives and well-being in 15 countries: an initial report on the Children's Worlds Survey, 2013–14. York, UK: Children's Worlds Project (ISCWeB). Retrieved from https://isciweb.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/ChildrensWorlds2015-FullReport-Final.pdf
- Rees, G., Tonon, G., Mikkelsen, C., & Rodriguez de la Vega, L. (2017). Urban–rural variations in children's lives and subjective well–being: A comparative analysis of four countries. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 80(September 2017), 41–51. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2017.06.056
- Reim, J., Alt, P., Geissler, S., Sawatzki, B., Thönnissen, C., & Walper, S. (2022). pairfam scales and instruments manual, release 13.0. *LMU Munich: Technical Report*. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5678 Data File Version 13.0.0. https://doi.org/10.4232/pairfam.5678.13.0.0
- Reimann, M., Schulz, F., Marx, C. K., & Lükemann, L. (2022). The family side of work–family conflict: A literature review of antecedents and consequences. *Journal of Family Research*, *34*(4), 1010–1032. https://doi.org/10.20377/jfr-859
- Reinbold, G. W. (2018). Comparing mechanisms to child outcomes from long–term economic well–being measured with the Official Poverty Measure and the Supplemental Poverty Measure. *Child Indicators Research*, 11(3), 1007–1028. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-017-9477-4
- Remery, C., & Schippers, J. (2019). Work–family conflict in the European Union: The impact of organizational and public facilities. *nternational Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 2019, 16(22), 1–19. https://www.mdpi.com/1660-4601/16/22/4419
- Reyes, M. L. (2019). Cultural moderators of the influence of environmental affordances and provisions on children's subjective well-being. *Child Indicators Research*, 12(1), 71–98. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-017-9520-5
- Richter, N., Bondü, R., & Trommsdorff, G. (2022). Linking transition to motherhood to parenting, children's emotion regulation, and life satisfaction: A longitudinal study. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *36*(2), 291–300. https://doi.org/10.1037/fam0000868
- Richters, J., & Pellegrini, D. (1989). Depressed mothers' judgments about their children: An examination of the depression—distortion hypothesis. *Child Development*, 60(5), 1068–1075. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.1989.tb03537.x

- Ringoot A. P., Tiemeier H., Jaddoe V. W., So P., Hofman A., Verhulst F. C., Jansen P. W. (2015). Parental depression and child well–being: Young children's self–reports helped addressing biases in parent reports. *Journal of Clinical Epidemiology*, 68(8), 928–938. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jclinepi.2015.03.009
- Roeters, A., & van Houdt, K. (2019). Parent–child activities, paid work interference, and child mental health. *Family Relations*, 68(2), 232–245. https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12355
- Roskam, I., Gallée, L., Aguiar, J., Akgun, E., Arena, A., Arikan, G., . . . Mikolajczak, M. (2022). Gender Equality and Maternal Burnout: A 40-Country Study. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 53(2), 157–178. https://doi.org/10.1177/00220221211072813
- Rossi, F. (2020). Human capital and macroeconomic development: A review of the evidence. *The World Bank Research Observer*, *35*(2), 227–262. https://doi.org/10.1093/wbro/lkaa002
- Rudy, D., & Grusec, J. E. (2001). Correlates of authoritarian parenting in individualist and collectivist cultures and implications for understanding the transmission of values. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32(2), 202–212. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022101032002007
- Ruehlman, L. S., & Wolchik, S. A. (1988). Personal goals and interpersonal support and hindrance as factors in psychological distress and well–being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *55*(2), 293–301. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.55.2.293
- Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2001). On happiness and human potentials: a review of research on hedonic and eudaimonic well-being. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 52(1), 141–166. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.52.1.141
- Ryff, C. D. (1995). Psychological well-being in adult life. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 4(4), 99–104. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8721.ep10772395
- Ryff, C. D., & Singer, B. (2010). Psychological well–being: meaning, measurement, and implications for psychotherapy research. *Psychotherapy and Psychosomatics*, 65(1), 14–23. https://doi.org/10.1159/000289026
- Saasa, S., Ward, K. P., Sandberg, S., & Jacobson, J. (2021). Financial hardship, neighborhood cohesion and child externalizing behaviors: An extension of the family stress model among immigrant mothers. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 128(September 2021), 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2021.106153
- Salari, R., Wells, M. B., & Sarkadi, A. (2014). Child behaviour problems, parenting behaviours and parental adjustment in mothers and fathers in Sweden. *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health*, 42(7), 547–553. https://doi.org/10.1177/1403494814541595
- Salmeron Gomez, D., Engilbertsdottir, S., Cuesta Leiva, J. A., Newhouse, D., & Stewart, D. (2023). Global trends in child monetary poverty according to international poverty lines. *World Bank Group Policy Research Working Paper* Nr. 10525.
- Sándor, E., Clerici, E., & Eurofound. (2019). *Household composition and well–being*. Eurofound. Retrieved from https://policycommons.net/artifacts/1845206/household-composition-and-well-being/
- Saunders, H., Kraus, A., Barone, L., & Biringen, Z. (2015). Emotional availability: theory, research, and intervention. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 6, 1–5. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2015.01069
- Saunders, N. R., Kurdyak, P., Stukel, T. A., Strauss, R., Fu, L., Guan, J., . . . Toulany, A. (2022). Utilization of physician-based mental health care services among children and adolescents before and during the COVID-19 pandemic in Ontario, Canada. *JAMA Pediatrics*, 176(4), e216298–e216298. https://doi.org/10.1001/jamapediatrics.2021.6298
- Savahl, S., Adams, S., Florence, M., Casas, F., Mpilo, M., Isobell, D., & Manuel, D. (2020). The relation between children's participation in daily activities, their engagement with family and friends, and subjective well-being. *Child Indicators Research*, 13(4), 1283–1312. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-019-09699-3
- Savahl, S., Casas, F., & Adams, S. (2021). The structure of children's subjective well-being. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 12, 650691. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.650691
- Sayer, L., Xa, C., Bianchi, S., Xa, M., Robinson, J., & Xa, P. (2004). Are parents investing less in children? Trends in mothers' and fathers' time with children. *American Journal of Sociology*, 110(1), 1–43. https://doi.org/10.1086/386270
- Schatzki, T. R. (1996). *Social practices: A Wittgensteinian approach to human activity and the social.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schlack, R., Neuperd, L., Junker, S., Eicher, S., Hölling, H., Thom, J., . . . Beyer, A.–K. (2023). Veränderungen der psychischen Gesundheit in der Kinder– und Jugendbevölkerung in

- Deutschland während der COVID-19- Pandemie Ergebnisse eines Rapid Reviews. *Journal of Health Monitoring*, S1, 1–74. https://doi.org/10.25646/10760
- Schleider, J. L., & Weisz, J. R. (2017). Family process and youth internalizing problems: A triadic model of etiology and intervention. *Development and Psychopathology*, 29(1), 273–301. https://doi.org/10.1017/S095457941600016X
- Schneider, S. (2020). Associations between childhood exposure to community violence, child maltreatment and school outcomes. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 104(June 2020), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2020.104473
- Schuchard, J., Blackwell, C. K., Ganiban, J. M., Giardino, A. P., McGrath, M., Sherlock, P., . . . Forrest, C. B. (2022). Influences of chronic physical and mental health conditions on child and adolescent positive health. *Academic Pediatrics*, 22(6), 1024–1032. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.acap.2022.01.013
- Schudlich T. D. D. R., Jessica N. W., Erwin S. E., Rishor A. (2019). Infants' emotional security: The confluence of parental depression, interparental conflict, and parenting. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 63(July–August 2019), 42–53. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2019.05.006
- Schwartz, S. H. (2012). An overview of the Schwartz theory of basic values. *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture*, 2(1), 1–20. https://doi.org/10.9707/2307-0919.1116
- Schwarz, B., Walper, S., Gödde, M., & Jurasic, S. (1997). Dokumentation der Erhebungsinstrumente der 1. Haupterhebung (überarbeitete Version). *Berichte aus der Arbeitsgruppe Familienentwicklung nach der Trennung*, 14, 1997.
- Seiffge–Krenke, I., & Kollmar, F. (1998). Discrepancies between mothers' and fathers' perceptions of sons' and daughters' problem behaviour: A longitudinal analysis of parent–adolescent agreement on internalising and externalising problem behaviour. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry and Allied Disciplines*, 39(5), 687–697. https://doi.org/10.1111/1469-7610.00368
- Selig, J.P., & Preacher, K.J. (2008). Monte Carlo method for assessing mediation: An interactive tool for creating confidence intervals for indirect effects [Computer software]. Retrieved from http://quantpsy.org/
- Sen, A. (2003). The role of early childhood investment in development. In R. Morán (Ed.), *Escaping the poverty trap: investing in children in Latin America* (pp. 75–80). New York: Inter–American Development Bank.
- Shek, D. T. L. (1998). A longitudinal study of Hong Kong adolescents' and parents' perceptions of family functioning and well–being. *The Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 159(4), 389–403. https://doi.org/10.1080/00221329809596160
- Shek, D. T. L., & Chai, W. (2020). The impact of positive youth development attributes and life satisfaction on academic well–being: A longitudinal mediation study. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *11*, 2126–2126. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.02126
- Shelleby, E. C. (2018). Economic stress in fragile families: pathways to parent and child maladjustment. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 27(12), 3877–3886. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-018-1232-z
- Shelton K. H., Harold G. T. (2008). Interparental conflict, negative parenting, and children's adjustment: Bridging links between parents' depression and children's psychological distress. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 22(5), 712–724. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0013515
- Shields, B. J., Palermo, T. M., Powers, J. D., Grewe, S. D., & Smith, G. A. (2003). Predictors of a child's ability to use a visual analogue scale. *Child: Care, Health and Development*, 29(4), 281–290. https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1365-2214.2003.00343.x
- Siegel, M., Legler, M., Neziraj, F., Goldberg, A. E., & Zemp, M. (2022). Minority stress and positive identity aspects in members of LGBTQ+ parent families: literature review and a study protocol for a mixed-methods evidence synthesis. *Children*, *9*(9), 1364. https://www.mdpi.com/2227-9067/9/9/1364
- Skinner, B. F. (1963). Operant behavior. *American Psychologist*, 18(8), 503–515. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0045185
- Sobotka, T., & Berghammer, C. (2021). 10. Demography of family change in Europe. In N. F. Schneider & M. Kreyenfeld (Ed.) *Research handbook on the sociology of the family* (pp. 162–186). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing

- Staines, G. L. (1980). Spillover versus compensation: A review of the literature on the relationship between work and nonwork. *Human Relations*, 33(2), 111–129. https://doi.org/10.1177/00187267800330020
- Statistisches Bundesamt (Destatis). (2021). Der Personalschlüssel in Kindertageseinrichtungen 2020. Methodische Grundlagen und aktuelle Ergebnisse. Retrieved from https://www.destatis.de/DE/Themen/Gesellschaft-Umwelt/Soziales/Kindertagesbetreuung/Publikationen/Downloads-Kindertagesbetreuung/kindertageseinrichtungen-personalschluessel-5225409209004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile
- Statistisches Bundesamt (Destatis). (2022). *Press release No. 451 of 21 October 2022: 35.5% of children under three in day care on 1 March 2022* Retrieved from https://www.destatis.de/EN/Themes/Society-Environment/Social-Statistics/Day-Care-Children/_node.html
- Statistisches Bundesamt (Destatis). (2023a). *Migration and integration: Foreign population (as at 31st December 2021)* Retrieved from https://www.destatis.de/EN/Themes/Society-Environment/Population/Migration-Integration/_node.html
- Statistisches Bundesamt (Destatis). (2023b). Pressemitteilung Nr. 241 vom 22. Juni 2023: Öffentlicher Dienst 2022: Personalzuwachs bei Schulen und Kitas. Retrieved from https://www.destatis.de/DE/Presse/Pressemitteilungen/2023/06/PD23_241_741.html
- Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland (Destatis). (2023c). Pressemitteilung Nr. N042 vom 13. Juli 2023.

 Psychische Erkrankungen waren 2021 die häufigste Ursache für Krankenhausbehandlungen von 10- bis 17-Jährigen. Retrieved from https://www.destatis.de/DE/Presse/Pressemitteilungen/2023/07/PD23 N042 231.html
- Steckermeier, L. C. (2019). Better safe than sorry. Does agency moderate the relevance of safety perceptions for the subjective well-being of young children? *Child Indicators Research*, 12(1), 29–48. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-017-9519-y
- Steinbach A., Schulz F. (2021). Stability and change in German parents' childcare patterns across two decades. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 29(2), 428–445. https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxab017
- Steinberg, L., Mounts, N. S., Lamborn, S. D., & Dornbusch, S. M. (1991). Authoritative parenting and adolescent adjustment across varied ecological niches. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *I* (1), 19–36
- Strazdins, L., Clements, M. S., Korda, R. J., Broom, D. H., & D'Souza, R. M. (2006). Unsociable work? Nonstandard work schedules, family relationships, and children's well–being. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 68(2), 394–410. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2006.00260.x
- Strazdins, L., OBrien, L. V., Lucas, N., & Rodgers, B. (2013). Combining work and family: Rewards or risks for children's mental health? *Social Science & Medicine*, 87(June 2013), 99–107. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2013.03.030
- Streit, C., & Davis, A. N. (2022). The longitudinal links between parenting stress, harsh parenting, and adolescents' social behaviors in Latinx families. *Journal of Latinx Psychology*, 10(2), 128–139. https://doi.org/10.1037/lat0000203
- Strunz, E. (2013). Wie viel Personal für wie viele Kinder? Der Personalressourceneinsatz in Kindertageseinrichtungen 2013. *Forum Jugendhilfe* 4, 33–40.
- Su, Y., D'Arcy, C., & Meng, X. (2022). Intergenerational effect of maternal childhood maltreatment on next generation's vulnerability to psychopathology: A systematic review with meta-analysis. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 23*(1), 152–162. https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838020933870
- Suh, E. M., & Oishi, S. (2002). Subjective well-being across cultures. *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture*, 10(1). https://doi.org/10.9707/2307-0919.1076
- Suldo S. M., Huebner E. S. (2004). The role of life satisfaction in the relationship between authoritative parenting dimensions and adolescent problem behavior. *Social Indicators Research*, 66(1), 165–195. https://doi.org/10.1023/B:SOCI.0000007498.62080.1e
- Suls, J., & Sanders, G. S. (1982). Self–evaluation through social comparison: A developmental analysis. In L. Wheeler (Ed.), *Review of personality and social psychology* (Vol. 3, pp. 171–197). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

- Su–Russell, C., & Russell, L. T. (2021). Maternal autonomy support and children's social competencies, academic skills, and persistence: social determinants and mediation. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 30(3), 757–770. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-020-01869-0
- Sutter–Dallay A. L., Murray L., Dequae–Merchadou L., Glatigny–Dallay E., Bourgeois M. L., Verdoux H. (2011). A prospective longitudinal study of the impact of early postnatal vs. chronic maternal depressive symptoms on child development. *European Psychiatry*, 26(8), 484–489. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eurpsy.2010.05.004
- Sweeney S., MacBeth A. (2016). The effects of paternal depression on child and adolescent outcomes: A systematic review. *Journal of Affective Disorders*, 205(November 2016), 44–59. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jad.2016.05.073
- Swift, R. (2011). The relationship between health and GDP in OECD countries in the very long run. *Health Economics*, 20(3), 306–322. https://doi.org/10.1002/hec.1590
- Tabbodi, M., Rahgozar, H., & Makki Abadi, M. M. (2015). The relationship between happiness and academic achievements. *European Online Journal of Natural and Social Sciences: Proceedings*, 4(1s), 241–246.
- Tan, J. J. X., Kraus, M. W., Carpenter, N. C., & Adler, N. E. (2020). The association between objective and subjective socioeconomic status and subjective well-being: A meta-analytic review. *Psychological Bulletin*, *146*(11), 970–1020. https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000258
- Theberath, M., Bauer, D., Chen, W., Salinas, M., Mohabbat, A. B., Yang, J., . . . Wahner-Roedler, D. L. (2022). Effects of COVID-19 pandemic on mental health of children and adolescents: A systematic review of survey studies. *SAGE Open Medicine*, 10, 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1177/20503121221086712
- Thévenon, O. (2011). Family policies in OECD countries: A comparative analysis. *Population and Development Review*, *37*(1), 57–87. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1728-4457.2011.00390.x
- Thompson, A. J., & Henrich, C. C. (2022). Cross–lagged effects between parent depression and child internalizing problems. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *36*(8), 1428–1438. https://doi.org/10.1037/fam0001012
- Thomson, E., Hanson, T. L., & McLanahan, S. S. (1994). Family structure and child well–being: Economic resources vs. parental behaviors. *Social Forces*, 73(1), 221–242. https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/73.1.221
- Torsheim, T., Currie, C., Boyce, W., & Samdal, O. (2006). Country material distribution and adolescents' perceived health: Multilevel study of adolescents in 27 countries. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 60(2), 156. https://doi.org/10.1136/jech.2005.037655
- Triandis, H. C. (1995). Individualism & collectivism. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Trommsdorff, G. (2012). Cultural perspectives on values and religion in adolescent development: A conceptual overview and synthesis. In G. Trommsdorff & X. Chen (Eds.), *Values, religion, and culture in adolescent development* (pp. 3–45). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139013659.003
- Trompenaars, F., & Hampden-Turner, C. (2011). *Riding the waves of culture: Understanding diversity in global business*. London: Nicholas Brealey International.
- Troxel, W. M., & Matthews, K. A. (2004). What are the costs of marital conflict and dissolution to children's physical health? *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review*, 7(1), 29–57. https://doi.org/10.1023/B:CCFP.0000020191.73542.b0
- Tucker, M. C., & Rodriguez, C. M. (2014). Family dysfunction and social isolation as moderators between stress and child physical abuse risk. *Journal of Family Violence*, 29(2), 175–186. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-013-9567-0
- Turney, K. (2011). Chronic and proximate depression among mothers: implications for child well-being. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 73(1), 149–163. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2010.00795.x
- Turney, K. (2012). Pathways of disadvantage: Explaining the relationship between maternal depression and children's problem behaviors. *Social Science Research*, 41(6), 1546–1564. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2012.06.003
- Turns, B. A., & Sibley, D. S. (2018). Does maternal spanking lead to bullying behaviors at school? A longitudinal study. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 27(9), 2824–2832. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-018-1129-x
- Uddin, J., Ahmmad, Z., Uddin, H., & Tatch, A. (2021). Family resilience and protective factors promote flourishing and school engagement among US children amid developmental disorder and adverse

- psychosocial exposure. *Sociological Spectrum*, *41*(2), 177–195. https://doi.org/10.1080/02732173.2021.1875089
- United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). (1989). Convention on the Rights of the Child. Retrieved from https://www.unicef.org/child-rights-convention/convention-text
- United Nations Department of Economic Social Affairs. (2022). The sustainable development goals: Report 2022. UN.
- Vahedi, A., Krug, I., Fuller-Tyszkiewicz, M., & Westrupp, E. M. (2018). Longitudinal associations between work-family conflict and enrichment, inter-parental conflict, and child internalizing and externalizing problems. *Social Science & Medicine*, 211(August 2018), 251–260. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2018.06.031
- van Eldik, W. M., de Haan, A. D., Parry, L. Q., Davies, P. T., Luijk, M. P., Arends, L. R., & Prinzie, P. (2020). The interparental relationship: Meta–analytic associations with children's maladjustment and responses to interparental conflict. *Psychological Bulletin*, *146*(7), 553–594. https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000233
- Van Roy, B., Veenstra, M., & Clench–Aas, J. (2008). Construct validity of the five–factor Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ) in pre–, early, and late adolescence. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 49(12), 1304–1312. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-7610.2008.01942.x
- van Santvoort, F., Hosman, C. M. H., van Doesum, K. T. M., & Janssens, J. M. A. M. (2014). Children of mentally ill parents participating in preventive support groups: Parental diagnoses and child risk. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 23(1), 67–75. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-012-9686-x
- Vandewater, E. A., & Lansford, J. E. (1998). Influences of family structure and parental conflict on children's well–being. *Family Relations: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Applied Family Studies*, 47(4), 323–330. https://doi.org/10.2307/585263
- Vargas, S. M., Huey Jr, S. J., & Miranda, J. (2020). A critical review of current evidence on multiple types of discrimination and mental health. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 90(3), 374–390. https://doi.org/10.1037/ort0000441
- Veenhoven, R. (1984). Conditions of happiness. Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company.
- Veenhoven, R. (2012). Happiness: also known as "life satisfaction" and "subjective well-being". In K. C. Land, A. C. Michalos, & M. J. Sirgy (Eds.), *Handbook of social indicators and quality of life research* (pp. 63–77). Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-2421-1 3
- Vieira, J. M., Matias, M., Lopez, F. G., & Matos, P. M. (2016). Relationships between work-family dynamics and parenting experiences: a dyadic analysis of dual-earner couples. *Work & Stress*, 30(3), 243–261. https://doi.org/10.1080/02678373.2016.1211772
- Višak, T. (2015). Does welfare trump freedom? A normative evaluation of contextualism about how to promote welfare. In G. Schweiger & G. Graf (Eds.), *The well-being of children: philosophical and social scientific approaches* (pp. 34–48). Warsaw: De Gruyter Open Poland. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110450521-006
- Walsh, F. (2021). Family resilience: A dynamic systemic framework. In M. Ungar (Ed.) *Multisystemic resilience* (pp. 255–270). New York: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190095888.003.0015
- Waters, E., Stewart–Brown, S., & Fitzpatrick, R. (2003). Agreement between adolescent self–report and parent reports of health and well–being: Results of an epidemiological study. *Child: Care, Health and Development*, 29(6), 501–509. https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1365-2214.2003.00370.x
- Whitaker, R. C., Dearth-Wesley, T., Herman, A. N., van Wingerden, A.-S. N., & Winn, D. W. (2022). Family connection and flourishing among adolescents in 26 countries. *Pediatrics*, 149(6). https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2021-055263
- White–Koning, M., Arnaud, C., Dickinson, H. O., Thyen, U., Beckung, E., Fauconnier, J., . . . Colver, A. (2007). Determinants of child–parent agreement in quality–of–life reports: A European study of children with cerebral palsy. *Pediatrics*, *120*(4), e804–814. https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2006-3272
- Williams, K. J., & Alliger, G. M. (1994). Role stressors, mood spillover, and perceptions of work–family conflict in employed parents. *Academy of Management Journal*, *37*(4), 837–868. https://doi.org/10.5465/256602
- Windle M., Windle R. C. (2012). Intergenerational relations for drinking motives: Invariant for same—and opposite—sex parent—child dyads? *Journal of Studies on Alcohol and Drugs*, 73(1), 63–70. https://doi.org/10.15288/jsad.2012.73.63

- Witt, A., Brown, R. C., Plener, P. L., Brähler, E., & Fegert, J. M. (2017). Child maltreatment in Germany: Prevalence rates in the general population. *Child and Adolescent Psychiatry and Mental Health*, 11(1), 1-9. https://doi.org/10.1186/s13034-017-0185-0
- Woodhead, M. (2009). Child development and the development of childhood. In J. Qvortrup, W. A. Corsaro, & M.–S. Honig (Eds.), *The Palgrave handbook of childhood studies* (pp. 46–61). London: Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-230-27468-6 4
- World Health Organization (WHO). (2021). Helping adolescents thrive toolkit: Strategies to promote and protect adolescent mental health and reduce self-harm and other risk behaviours. Retrieved from https://www.who.int/publications/i/item/9789240025554
- Wu, Y., & Qi, D. (2020). Material deprivation, parenting practices, and children's psychological health and wellbeing in China. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 48(8), 2644–2662. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22441
- Yap, M. B., & Jorm, A. F. (2015). Parental factors associated with childhood anxiety, depression, and internalizing problems: a systematic review and meta-analysis. *Journal of Affective Disorders*, 175(April 2015), 424–440. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jad.2015.01.050
- Yerkes, M. A., Hopman, M., Stok, F. M., & De Wit, J. (2021). In the best interests of children? The paradox of intensive parenting and children's health. *Critical Public Health*, 31(3), 349–360. https://doi.org/10.1080/09581596.2019.1690632
- Yeung, W.–J. J., & Li, N. (2022). Paternity leave, family dynamics, and children's behavior in Singapore. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 85(2), 580–602. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12896
- Yildirim, E. D., & Roopnarine, J. L. (2015). The mediating role of maternal warmth in the associations between harsh parental practices and externalizing and internalizing behaviors in Hispanic American, African American, and European American families. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 21(3), 430–439. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0038210
- Yoon, D., Shipe, S. L., Park, J., & Yoon, M. (2021). Bullying patterns and their associations with child maltreatment and adolescent psychosocial problems. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 129(October 2021), 1–9. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2021.106178
- Youth in Mind. (2012a). *Information for researchers and professionals about the Strengths & Difficulties Questionnaires*. Retrieved from https://www.sdqinfo.org/a0.html
- Youth in Mind. (2012b). What is the SDQ? Youth in Mind. Retrieved from http://www.sdqinfo.org/a0.html
- Zemp, M., Johnson, M. D., & Bodenmann, G. (2018). Within–family processes: Interparental and coparenting conflict and child adjustment. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 32(3), 299–309. https://doi.org/10.1037/fam0000368
- Zemp, M., Merrilees, C. E., & Bodenmann, G. (2014). How much positivity is needed to buffer the impact of parental negativity on children? *Family Relations*, 63(5), 602–615. https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12091
- Zhang, L., & Han, W.–J. (2021). Childhood deprivation experience, family pathways, and socioemotional functioning. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 35(2), 213–224. https://doi.org/10.1037/fam0000811
- Zhang, L., & Mersky, J. P. (2022). Bidirectional relations between adverse childhood experiences and children's behavioral problems. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal*, *39*(2), 183–193. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10560-020-00720-1
- Zhang, L., Mersky, J. P., Gruber, A. M. H., & Kim, J.-Y. (2022). Intergenerational transmission of parental adverse childhood experiences and children's outcomes: A scoping review. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 24(5),3251-3264. https://doi.org/10.1177/15248380221126186
- Zhang, S., & Eamon, M. K. (2011). Parenting practices as mediators of the effect of mothers' community violence exposure on young children's aggressive behavior. *Families in Society*, 92(3), 336–343. https://doi.org/10.1606/1044-3894.4130
- Zhang, S., Xu, Y., Hong, J. S., Liu, M., & Liao, M. (2022). Discrepancies between children's and caregivers' child maltreatment reporting and their associations with child wellbeing. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 133(November 2022), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2022.105858
- Zhou, Z., Shek, D. T. L., Zhu, X., & Lin, L. (2021). The influence of moral character attributes on adolescent life satisfaction: The mediating role of responsible behavior. *Child Indicators Research*, *14*(3), 1293–1313. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-020-09797-7
- Zvara, B. J., Sheppard, K. W., & Cox, M. (2018). Bidirectional effects between parenting sensitivity and child behavior: A cross–lagged analysis across middle childhood and adolescence. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 32(4), 484–495. https://doi.org/10.1037/fam0000372

Data Sources

- Eurostat. (2023). Distribution of households with children by number of children EU-SILC survey [ILC_LVPH05]. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/ilc_lvph05/default/table?lang=en
- Eurostat. (2023a). Asylum applicants by type of applicant, citizenship, age and sex Annual aggregated data [MIGR_ASYAPPCTZA.] Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/MIGR_ASYAPPCTZA_custom_5958246/bookmark/table?lang=en&bookmarkId=d2d0efc2-a485-4350-ad15-31955cb67c55
- Eurostat. (2023b). Number of households by household composition, number of children and age of youngest child (1000) [LFST_HHNHTYCH]. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/LFST_HHNHTYCH/default/table?lang=en
- Eurostat. (2023c). People at risk of poverty or social exclusion by age and sex [ILC_PEPS01N]. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/ilc_peps01n/default/table?lang=en
- Eurostat. (2023d). Population on 1 January by age group, sex and country of birth [MIGR_POP3CTB]. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/MIGR_POP3CTB__custom_5958588/bookmark/ta ble?lang=en&bookmarkId=3876784e-fd97-4fe3-a740-2bd2154233cd
- Hofstede Insights. (2023). Individualism index. Retrieved from https://doi.org/https://www.hofstede-insights.com/country-comparison-tool
- Institut National d'Études Démographiques (INED). (2023). Total fertility rate. Average number of children per woman in Europe and other developed OECD countries. Retrieved from https://www.ined.fr/en/everything_about_population/data/europe-developed-countries/fertility-indicators/
- International Survey of Child Well-Being (ISCWeB). (2011-2019). ISCWeB—Children's Worlds—International Survey of Children's Well-being. [Dataset]. Retrieved from: http://www.isciweb.org
- Organisation for Economic Co–operation and Development (OECD). (2023b). Marriage and divorce rates (SF3.1). Retrieved from https://doi.org/https://www.oecd.org/els/family/SF_3_1_Marriage_and_divorce_rates.pdf
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (2014). Average annual hours actually worked [ANHRS]. Retrieved from https://stats.oecd.org/index.aspx?DataSetCode=ANHRS
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (2023a). Fertility rates (indicator). Retrieved from https://data.oecd.org/pop/fertility-rates.htm
- Panel Analysis of Intimate Relationships and Family Dynamics. (pairfam). (2009-2021). pairfam Data Release 13.0. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5678 Data file Version 13.0.0. https://doi.org/10.4232/pairfam.5678.13.0.0
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (2023). Human Development Index and its components. Retrieved from https://hdr.undp.org/data-center/human-development-index#/indicies/HDI
- World Bank. (2023). GDP per capita (current US\$) [NY.GDP.PCAP.CD.]. Retrieved from https://databank.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD/1ff4a498/Popular-Indicators
- World Values Survey (WVS). (2023). The Inglehart–Welzel world cultural map. Retrieved from http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/

Appendix

Table A1. Item description and dimensions of emotional problems from the Strength and Difficulties Questionnaire. Parent wording.

Questionnaire. I areni wording.				
		Subjective		
		well-being		
Sub-domain	Items	dimension		
Now I would like to know something about your child's personality. Please give us your				
answers on the basis of this young persons's behavior over the last six month.				
Emotional problems	Many fears, easily scared			
	Often complains of headaches, stomach-aches or sickness			
	Many fears, easily scared	Psychological		
	Many worries or often seems worried			
	Often unhappy, depressed or tearful	_		

Note: Evaluated for each child and both caregivers if both are willing to participate

Table A2. Cronbach's Alpha Reliability Coefficient for Family Relations in the ISCWeB Data.

Collectivist countries		Individualistic countries	
Country	α	Country	α
Albania	0.5	Belgium	0.7
Algeria	0.6	Canada	0.6
Brazil	0.6	Estonia	0.7
Chile	0.7	Finland	0.8
Colombia	0.7	France	0.6
Croatia	0.6	Germany	0.8
Ethiopia	0.5	Hungary	0.7
Greece	0.4	Israel	0.7
Hong Kong	0.8	Italy	0.6
India	0.7	Malta	0.7
Indonesia	0.5	Norway	0.8
Malaysia	0.5	Poland	0.7
Namibia	0.7	South Africa	0.6
Nepal	0.7	Spain	0.6
Romania	0.6	ÚK	0.8
Russia	0.8	USA	0.8
Rwanda	0.7		
South Korea	0.8		
Sri Lanka	0.7		
Taiwan	0.7		
Turkey	0.8	Total Collectivist	0.7
Uganda	0.6	Total Individualistic	0.7
Vietnam	0.5	Pooled Sample	0.7

Note: Weighted with population weight to equivalize sample sizes between countries.

Table A3. Multilevel regression of life satisfaction on level 1 and level 3 indicators including quadratic IDV term.

	Overall life	Overall life satisfaction	
	1	M3	
	b	SE	
Family relations	0.695***	0.165	
Female (ref.: male)	-0.116***	0.026	
Age in years	-0.127***	0.016	
Siblings (ref.: no siblings)	0.038	0.02	
IDV	0.032	0.047	
IDV^2	-0.001	0.000	
Family relations * IDV	0.006*	0.003	
Constant	7.100***	1.101	
Chi ²	440.824***	:	
Log Likelihood	-262478.85	1	
Individuals (L1)	129,018		
Country years (L2)	58		
Countries (L3)	39		

Note: p<0.05, p<0.01, p<0.001, weighted with population weight to make sample sizes equivalent between countries. Random slopes for family relations.

Ehrenerklärung

Ich versichere hiermit, dass ich die vorliegende Arbeit ohne unzulässige Hilfe Dritter und

ohne Benutzung anderer als der angegebenen Hilfsmittel angefertigt habe. Verwendete

fremde und eigene Quellen sind als solche kenntlich gemacht. Ich habe nicht die Hilfe eines

kommerziellen Promotionsberaters in Anspruch genommen. Ich habe insbesondere nicht

wissentlich:

❖ Ergebnisse erfunden oder widersprüchliche Ergebnisse verschwiegen

statistische Verfahren absichtlich missbraucht, um Daten in wissenschaftlich

ungerechtfertigter Weise zu interpretieren

fremde Ergebnisse oder Veröffentlichungen plagiiert

• fremde Forschungsergebnisse verzerrt wiedergegeben.

Mit ist bekannt, dass Verstöße gegen das Urheberrecht Unterlassungs- und

Schadensersatzansprüche des Urhebers sowie eine strafrechtliche Ahndung durch die

Strafverfolgungsbehörden begründen können. Die Arbeit wurde bisher weder im Inland

noch im Ausland in gleicher oder ähnlicher Form als Dissertation eingereicht und ist als

Ganzes auch noch nicht veröffentlicht. Ich erkläre mich damit einverstanden, dass die

Dissertation ggf. mit Mitteln der elektronischen Datenverarbeitung auf Plagiate überprüft

werden kann.

Magdeburg, 07. November 2023

Stephanie Heß